

IKOS, UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

MØNA 2505

IRAN IN THE WORLD: POLITICS, SOCIETY, PRAXIS



Graphic design: D. A.

WEDNESDAYS 14:15-16:00 PAM SEMINAR 13
AND ONE FRIDAY FEB. 28 14:15 - 10:00 PAM SEMINAR 1

Instructor: K. Soraya Batmanghelichi, Ph.D
Contact: k.s.batmanghelichi@ikos.uio.no
Office Location and Hours: 386 PAM; time TBA

This course will directly address the complex nature of the politics and society of contemporary Iran to gain an oversight of its dynamic, internal dimensions and how they link with the country's regional and extra-regional relations. Covering a range of approaches from Politics, Sociology, Comparative Politics, Visual Arts, and Anthropology, among others, "Iran in the World" addresses the evolving positions of

modern Iran through weekly thematic discussions on its dynamics pertaining to politics, economy, identity, culture, religion and security. Engaging interdisciplinary scholarship, readings will highlight the tensions between state and civil society and the influence and involvement of regional politics and global networks, starting with the Qajar dynasty in the 19th century to its present status as an Islamic Republic. Iran will be framed as a vibrant country with rich and interrelated historical, political, cultural and religious contexts.

We will examine the rise of the Pahlavi dynasty in 1925; the nationalization of oil by nationalist reformer Mossadeq; the development of the heterogeneous opposition movement against the Pahlavi regime; the occurrence of the “Islamic Revolution” of 1979; and finally, its almost forty-year long transformation into a post-revolutionary political system and regional power. Moreover, we will attend to themes highlighting the institutional structure of the state, focusing on the role of Western and regional powers in its formation and economic development. Discussions will also heavily feature the 1979 Revolution’s impact on state, society and political ideas and the ways in which scholars have sought to understand and interpret modern Iranian history.

By taking this course, students should expect to:

- Know and understand the key players (local, regional, and global) and their motivations in the formation of the modern Iranian state.
- Evaluate the significance of reformist and revolutionary elements in light of social and economic changes in Iran.
- Be familiarized with domestic debates and theoretical positions internal to the Iranian sociopolitical landscape.
- Examine, in a wider context, the impact of the 1979 Revolution on social forces in Iran and the rise of political Islam in the Middle East.
- Address open questions in the relationship between the state and civil society from many historical and theoretical viewpoints.

The format of this course is seminar-lecture. In some cases, guest lecturers will be invited to offer their unique perspectives on the themes mentioned above.

REQUIRED TEXT:

Michael Axworthy. *Revolutionary Iran: A History of the Islamic Republic*. London: Allen Lane, 2013.

All other readings will be available on Canvas and/or via JSTOR. Please see class schedule for assigned readings.

Grading will be determined as follows:

Course Activities	Explanation
-------------------	-------------

End-of-the-semester Portfolio	100% of grade; includes edited and improved three review essays Due Date: TBD
Three Review Essays for each student	Compulsory activity Reviewed and assessed by instructor; scored with check minus, check, and check plus system Due Class 4, 7 & 10
One in-class presentation for each student	Compulsory activity Groups to be determined first day of class

I. Attendance & Active Participation in Class

80% attendance is expected. Writing assignments will often reflect what is discussed in class.

All readings should be prepared prior to your coming to class. You must also be ready to both answer and pose questions about them. Please note: I will call on you and engage in a version of the Socratic method!

There will be unannounced and ungraded quizzes throughout the semester on the readings to test your preparation for class and knowledge of the readings.

Please do not be late for class, as it is disrespectful and disruptive to me and to your classmates and will lower your grade.

II. In-class Presentations

Almost every session will include student presentations by two to four students (depending on class size) who act as discussion leaders and will thus lead that particular week's class. The goal of any presentation is to encourage more discovery and dialogue. As a general rule of thumb, prepare the following for your presentations:

a) First, in a 20-minute engaging oral summary to be presented in class, critically addressing the week's readings and the overall theme. Perhaps you can include the following: texts' main points; comments about tone and persuasive elements; the theme's importance; the author's point-of-view; strengths or weaknesses in his/her argument; their connection to other themes and readings discussed in class; the historical and political context of the readings.

b) Second, prepare **three critical questions** to distribute to the class, which highlight some of the main issues and implications operating in the texts. By *critical* questions, I mean ones that

express or involve an analysis of the merits and faults of a work. Moreover, they should help generate class discussion and debate. One of the aims of this exercise is to engage with both the readings and your peers in a public forum.

c) The use of Powerpoint is accepted.

d) You are strongly encouraged to meet with me the week before your presentation to go over some of your plans, questions, and thoughts about the presentation.

Presentations will be assigned during Class 1 and, if necessary, Class 2. They will commence in Class 2.

III. Three Review Essays

Assignment Explanation

Each student will write three review essays throughout the course. These written assignments are concise essays that will engage critical themes discussed in both the class and from the readings. Each essay should offer a focused analysis. They should be critical engagements with the texts, not summaries, reviews, or reports on what you liked or did not like about the readings.

The first essay should be 2 pages in length; the second should be 3; and the third should be 4 pages. Each assignment will be provided with commentaries in order for the student to improve.

I will distribute the essay questions via Canvas one week before each essay is due.

These essays should be uploaded on Canvas before the start of Class 4, Class 7 and Class 10. Late essays will not be accepted.

All written assignments must be grammatically correct, typed, 1.5 spaced, written in Times or New Times Roman 12 pt. font, have 1 inch margins, conform to standard Chicago Style structure and source citation, and observe the niceties of style, grammar, etc. Chicago Style Quick guide found here: http://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/tools_citationguide.html

Assignment Feedback

I will review these assignments and offer comments and suggestions to improve them within one to two weeks after they are submitted. Additionally, I will score them according to the following system: check, check minus, or check plus, which will be explained the first day of class.

IV. Portfolio Submission

Towards the term's end, students will submit their three edited review essay assignments that they have worked on in the course of the semester. Feedback on these assignments should be used to revise the component parts of the portfolio before final submission in Canvas within a

given deadline.

Length of portfolio submissions: The total length of the submission should be 8-10 pages, excluding bibliography and appendices. Approved drafts are only valid for one semester.

The portfolio must be grammatically correct, typed, single spaced or 1.5 spaced, written in Times or New Times Roman 12 pt. font, have 1 inch margins, conform to standard Chicago system structure and source citation, and observe the niceties of style, grammar, etc. The language of the Word document should be set to “English” (either UK or US).

V.	Course	Readings
See	Course	Schedule.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to be familiar with the University of Oslo’s policies on plagiarism and academic integrity. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. For more on the university’s policy on cheating and plagiarism, see here: <http://www.uio.no/english/studies/summerschool/for-employees/work-support/academic-information/exams/cheating%20and%20plagiarism/>

If you submit any work with your name affixed to it, I assume that work is your own and that all sources are indicated and documented in the text (with quotations and/or citations). If you have any questions or concerns, please talk to me.

Students with Disabilities

I will make every effort to support and accommodate students with special needs and/or disabilities. Please contact me as early as possible in the semester if you require adaptation for your everyday study situation. For more information, consult the University’s webpage: <http://www.uio.no/english/studies/special-needs/>.

Contact

The best way to reach me outside of class and office hours is by email. I will do my best to respond in a timely manner. Given the very high volume of emails I receive daily, please write to me only if there is an urgent matter that cannot wait until the next class or office hours. Please include the course name in the subject heading of your message.

General Note to Students:

Do the readings. Come to class. Be thoughtfully present in them. Don’t be afraid to speak. Ask questions. Listen well to each other, responding to what has actually been said. Contribute to the electronic discussion that will go on in the days between classes.

Class Policies:

1. No laptop computers, no cell phones & no text messaging.
2. Taking notes is necessary and thus encouraged, although using a pen and paper.

3. Please turn off all electronic devices when you enter class.
4. Students must adhere to intellectual honesty. Plagiarism will not be tolerated. Neither ignorance nor carelessness is an acceptable defense in cases of plagiarism.

COURSE SCHEDULE SPRING 2020

Please note that the schedule is subject to change at any time

Class will not be held January 29, February 5 and 19.

Wednesday, January 15, 2020

Class 1: Introduction: Overview of Structure and Requirements of the Course

- Hamid Dabashi, *Iran: A People, Interrupted*, Introduction and Chapter 1, "On Nations without Borders."
- Axworthy, "Introduction: The Hidden Continent of Iran," xxvii-xxii.
- Ervand Abrahamian. *A History of Modern Iran*. "A Political Who's Who of Modern Iran." pp. xvii and Introduction.

Suggested:

Abbas Amanat. *Resurrection and Renewal: The Making of the Babi Movement in Iran, 1844-1850*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989. pp. 295-331. A. K. S. Lambton. *Qajar Persia: Eleven Studies*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988. "The Qajar Dynasty" and "Persian Society under the Qajars," pp. 319-339.

Janet Afary. "On the Origins of Feminism in Early Twentieth-Century Iran." *Journal of Women's History* 1, no. 2 (1989): pp. 65-87.

Gary Sick. "Iran: The Adolescent Revolution." *Journal of International Affairs* 49, no. 1 (1995): 145-66. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24357446>.

Wednesday, January 22, 2020

Class 2: The Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911)

- Ervand Abrahamian. "The Causes of the Constitutional Revolution in Iran." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 10, no. 3 (Aug. 1979): pp. 381-414. **JSTOR**
- Pejman Abdolmohammadi. "The Political Thought of Mirzā Aqā Khān Kermāni, The Father of Persian National Liberalism." *Oriente Moderno*, NUOVA SERIE, 94, no. 1 (2014): 148-61. **JSTOR**
- Afsaneh Najmabadi. "Is Our Name Remembered? Writing the History of Iranian Constitutionalism as if Women and Gender Mattered." *Iranian Studies* 29, no.1-2 (1996): pp. 59-81. **JSTOR**
- Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi. "Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture during the Constitutional Revolution." *Iranian Studies* 23, no. 1/4 (1990): pp. 77-101. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4310728>. **JSTOR**

Wednesday, February 12, 2020

Class 3: Reza Shah and the Formation of the Modern Bureaucratic State

- Rudi Matthee. "Transforming Dangerous Nomads into Useful Artisans, Technicians, Agriculturists: Education in the Reza Shah Period." *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3/4 (1993): pp. 313-36. [JSTOR](#)
- M. H. Faghfoory. "The Ulama-State Relations in Iran: 1921-1941." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 19, no. 4 (1987): pp. 413-432. [JSTOR](#)
- H.E. Chehabi. "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and Nation-Building under Reza Shah." *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3-4 (1993): pp. 209-229. [JSTOR](#)
- Camron Michael Amin. "Selling and Saving "Mother Iran": Gender and the Iranian Press in the 1940s." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33, no. 3 (2001): pp. 335-61. [JSTOR](#)
- Janet Afary. "Steering between Scylla and Charybdis: Shifting Gender Roles in Twentieth Century Iran." *NWSA Journal* 8, no. 1 (1996): 28-49. [JSTOR](#)

Suggested:

Keddie, *Modern Iran*, Chapter 4.

Feroz Abroad. "Historiography, Class, and Iranian Workers in Workers and Working Classes." In *Middle East Struggles, Histories, Historiographies*, edited by Zachary Lockman. New York: SUNY Press, 1993.

Afsaneh Najmabadi. "Hazards of Modernity and Morality: Women, State and Ideology in Contemporary Iran." In *Women, Islam, and the State*, edited by Deniz Kandiyoti, pp. 48-76, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991.

Wednesday, February 26, 2020 *****First Review Essay Due

Class 4: Iranian Nationalism under Mohammad Reza Shah: Nurturing a Political Elite while Looking Back at an Imperial Past

- Axworthy, "The Background: *Ma Chegoneh Ma Shodim?*," pp. 15-75.
- E. Abrahamian. *A History of Modern Iran*, Chapter 5, "Muhammad Reza Shah's White Revolution," pp. 123-154.
- Kamyar Abdi. "Nationalism, Politics, and the Development of Archaeology in Iran." *American Journal of Archaeology* 105, no. 1 (2001): 51-76. doi:10.2307/507326. [JSTOR](#)
- Encyclopedia Iranica online, "Coup D'etat of 1332/1953," <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/coup-detat-1953>

Suggested:

Homa Katouzian. *Musaddiq and the Struggle for Power in Iran*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1990.

Ali Gheissari. *Iranian Intellectuals in the Twentieth Century*. Austin: University of Texas, 1998.

Daniel Burwen, Operation AJAX interactive graphic novel,

https://www.youtube.com/watch?time_continue=42&v=kvNfmr6oUJ0&feature=emb_title

Friday, February 28, 2020

Class 5: Theoretical Approaches on the 1979 Revolution

Guest Lecture with Prof. Samad Alavi

- Axworthy, "Ten Days of Dawn," pp. 1-14; "The 1970s and the Slide to Revolution," pp. 76-132.
- Abrahamian. *Iran between Two Revolutions*, Chapter 11, "The Islamic Revolution," pp. 496-529.
- E. Abrahamian. "The Guerrilla Movement in Iran, 1963-1977." *MERIP Reports* no. 86 (March-April 1980): pp. 3-15. <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer86/guerrilla-movement-iran-1963-1977>

- Mansoor Moaddel. "Ideology as Episodic Discourse: The Case of the Iranian Revolution." *American Sociological Review* 57, no. 3 (1992): 353-79. [JSTOR](#)

Suggested:

Hamid Dabashi. *Iran: A People Interrupted*. New York: The Free Press, 2007. pp.137-181.

Val Moghadam. "The Left and Revolution in Iran: A Critical Analysis." In *Post-Revolutionary Iran*, edited by Hooshang Amirahmadi and Manoucher Parvin, pp. 23-40. Boulder: Westview Press, 1988.

Charles Kurzman. "Structural Opportunity and Perceived Opportunity in Social-Movement Theory: The Iranian Revolution of 1979." *American Sociological Review* 61 (February 1996): pp. 153-170.

Hamid Dabashi, *Theology of Discontent*, pp. 41-146; 409-447.

Arjomand, pp. 36-55.

Abrahamian, Chapter 6.

Kashefi, Mahmoud. "WHY THE 1979 IRANIAN REVOLUTION DID NOT BRING AN ADVANCED MODE OF PRODUCTION WITH A REPRESENTATIVE AND REDUCED STATE POWER? A SOCIOLOGICAL EXPLANATION." *International Review of Modern Sociology* 34, no. 1 (2008): 77-93. www.jstor.org/stable/41421659. JSTOR

Wednesday, March 4, 2020

Class 6: Khomeini's Charismatic Politics: Building a Theocratic State

- Axworthy, "Like the Person He Ought to Be: Islamic Republic, 1979-80," pp. 133-186.
- Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini. *Islamic Government*. Selections TBA.
http://www.iranchamber.com/history/rkhomeini/books/velayat_faqeeh.pdf
- Mehdi Moslem, *Factional Politics in Post-Khomeini Iran*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002. "The Islamic State in Iran: From Theory to Reality," pp. 11-46.
- Kazem Alamdari. "The Power Structure of Islamic Republic of Iran: Transition from Populism to Clientelism, and Militarization of the Government." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 8 (December 2005): pp. 1285-1301. [JSTOR](#)

Suggested:

Said Amir Arjomand. "Shi'ite Jurisprudence and Constitution Making in the Islamic Republic of Iran." In *Fundamentalisms and the State: Remaking Polities, Economies and Militancy*, edited by Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, pp. 88-109. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

A. Ashraf. "Charisma, Theocracy, and Men of Power." In *The Politics of Social Transformation in Afghanistan, Iran, and Pakistan*, edited by M. Weiner & 4 A. Banuazizi. pp. 101-51.

Wednesday, March 11, 2020*****Second Review Essay Due

Class 7: Paradoxes of a Modern Day Theocratic State: Social and Political Consequences of the Revolution

- Axworthy, "Bim-e Mowj(Fear of the Wave)," pp. 324-369.
- Mansoor Moaddel. "After Religion: Assessing a Liberal Shift among Iranians in the Post-Khomeini Period. In *Inside the Islamic Republic: Social Change in Post-Khomeini Iran*, edited by Mahmood Monshipouri, pp. 63-90.
- Abdolkarim Soroush. *Reason, Freedom and Democracy*, pp. 3-25; pp. 156-170.
- Djavad Salehi-Isfahani. "The Iranian Family in Transition." In *Inside the Islamic Republic: Social Change in Post-Khomeini Iran*, edited by Mahmood Monshipouri, pp 133-150.

Suggested:

Said Arjomand. *After Khomeini, Iran under his Successors*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
 Melanie McAlister. *Epic Encounters*. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001. pp. 198-234.
 William Beeman. "Images of the Great Satan: Representations of the United States in the Iranian Revolution." In *Religion and Politics in Iran*, edited by Nikki R. Keddie, pp. 191-217. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

Wednesday, March 18, 2020

Class 8: Attending to Socioeconomic Reform: Rafsanjani, Khatami, Ahmadinejad, and Rouhani

- Axworthy, "Everything Must Change, So That Everything Can Stay the Same: Ahmadinejad and Khamenei, 2005-12," pp. 370-424.
- Roksana Bahramitash. "Islamic Fundamentalism and Women's Economic Role: The Case of Iran." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 16, no. 4 (2003): pp. 551-68.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20020185>. JSTOR
- Kevan Harris, *A Social Revolution: Politics and the Welfare State in Iran*. Oakland: University of California Press, 2017. Chapter 5, "Development and Distinction," pp. 144-174; Chapter 6, "Lineages of the Welfare State," pp.175-216

Suggested:

Akbar Ganji. "The Latter-Day Sultan: Power and Politics in Iran." *Foreign Affairs* 87, no. 6 (November/December 2008): pp. 45-62, 64-66.
 Parvin Alizadeh and Barry Harper. "The Feminisation of the Labour Force in Iran." In *Iran Encounters Globalization: Problems and Prospects*, edited by Ali Mohammadi, pp.180-196. New York: Routledge, 2003.

Wednesday, March 25, 2020

Class 9: Enghelab Street Politics

- Asef Bayat. *Street Politics: Poor Peoples Movements in Iran*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997, Chapter 3, "The Disenfranchised and the Islamic Revolution: 'Our Revolution and Theirs,'" pp. 35-58.
- Mehrdad Mashayekhi. "The Revival of the Student Movement in Post-Revolutionary Iran." *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society* 15, no. 2 (Winter, 2001): pp. 283-313.
 JSTOR
- Ervand Abrahamian. "The Crowd in the Iranian Revolution." *Radical History Review*, no. 105 (Summer 2009), pp. 13-34. JSTOR

Wednesday, April 1, 2020 *****Third Review Essay Due

Class 10: Mobilizing "Feminist Consciousness" in an Emerging Women's Movement

- Valentine Moghadam. "Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents: Toward a Resolution of the Debate." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 27, no. 4 (Summer 2002): pp. 1135-1171. JSTOR
- Fatemeh Sadeghi. "Foot Soldiers of the Islamic Republic's 'Culture of Modesty.'" *Middle East Report*, no. 250, *The Islamic Revolution at 30* (Spring, 2009): pp. 50-55. JSTOR
- Haleh Afshar. "Islam and Feminism: An Analysis of Political Strategies." In *Feminism and Islam*, edited by May Yamani, pp. 197-217. New York University Press, 1996.

- Kristin Soraya Batmanghelichi and Leila Mouri, “Cyberfeminism, Iranian Style: Online Activism since 2009.” *Feminist Media Histories* 3, no. 1 (Winter 2017). [JSTOR](#)

Suggested:

Ziba Mir-Hosseini. “Beyond ‘Islam’ vs. ‘Feminism.’” *IDS Bulletin* 42, no. 2 (January 2011).

Divorce Iranian Style, a film by Kim Longinotto and Ziba Mir-Hosseini, UK, 1998.

[Class 11: Make-up class \(if necessary\)](#)

[Final Portfolio:](#) May 18 at 11.00 AM in Inspera.