

## Iranian intellectuals and feminism in Islamic Republic of Iran

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**Abstract:** Feminism and women's movements has been in to concern during the last years in Iran. But there isn't any comprehensive and coherent understanding about it among Iranian intellectuals' minds due to its deconstructive aspect of this theory. Since feminism thesis relies on Foucault's theory of discourse and power relation analysis, this article is trying to represent the reply to this question that how Iranian elites have perceived feminism in Islamic Republic of Iran by applying the concepts of Foucault's discourse theory such as discourse, power/knowledge and gender. From the view of Foucault's, in any negotiation the knowledge power will produce its own correlated thus the current negotiation in Islamic Republic of Iran (Islamic, construction, reforms and fundamentalism) have formulated the feminism knowledge in intellectuals' mind under the shadow of dominant power relation considering the fact which has been produced pertaining to women (gender) in discussed discourses. Consequently, what as feminism in Islamic Republic of Iran has been generated by Iranian intellectuals is strictly affected by the frame of power in this period, so acquires features and characteristics which will distinguish it from its own western model.

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### 1. Introduction

Debatable theory of feminism is the fruit of western notion in modern period. In regard to the diversity of theories, it can be defined in a general definition as well: "feminism as a social and conceptual movement in its widest definition is endeavoring to raise women situation as a group of community." (Moshirzade, 1385:15). Since more than two centuries of women movements, we face yet with difficulty in definition and explanation of feminism theories and these deficiencies will arise more when we intend to survey this theory according to south developing communities with conditional texture of coherent culture and religion.

Despite three decades after Islamic revolution in Iran and the entry of women in different political, social, economical... arenas and women' movement activities, feminism has still been regarded as an awkward label.

We confront with a variety spectrum of votes in Iran which are somehow contradicting each other and would not follow the linear and evolutionary process. What are the effective factors in formation of intellectuals' mentality? Since Sarah Mills believes that feminism theory is strictly relied upon Foucault's discourse theory (Mills, 1382:99). The focus on methodology is based on Foucault interpretation of discourse. In this article the focal point focuses on understanding the feminism knowledge in the frame of power relations (social-political structures) from the view point of Iranian intellectuals in Islamic Republic of Iran. As Foucault considers the power as partial and

trivial in all over the society, we also frame the power relationship in Islamic Republic of Iran in four arenas: political, economical, social and cultural, but since the power relationship pertaining to women is considered, from each above mentioned areas an appropriate one due to women's problems has been chosen for investigation, in cultural area: higher education, social area: family, political area: elections and finally in economical area: employment, in order to understand how the exerted power relations in these areas have formed the gender and as the alleged words of Foucault that knowledge power will produce its own correlated we also are following this knowledge formation which is feminism among Iranian elites since they are the conversational means in the community. The study of above arenas necessitates perceiving social textures which are active in those areas. So, regarding the political-social structures of Islamic Republic of Iran we have made the distinction four discourses which are as the follows:

- 1- Islamic discourse (1357-1367)
- 2- Construction discourse (1367-1376)
- 3- Reforms discourse (1376 - 1384)
- 4- Fundamentalist discourse (1384 till now)

In these four discourses we would survey the political, social and even legal structures affecting Iranian intellectuals mentality in order to understand that how feminism and gender in particular have been conceived in Islamic Republic of Iran's period and to achieve this goal in different discourses we would use the works of enlighteners who have written in this field and the activists who have taken the step in

development and progress of feminism and women's rights in this country.

## 2. Definition of concepts

The concept of discourse and its critical analysis has been associated with Foucault. His scopes in context of knowledge, power, discourse, culture and society has ranked him alongside of European thinkers. He negates the correlation among rationality, freedom and improvement in his works and tries to prove that the new forms of power and knowledge will provide the field of progress and growth of sovereignty. Many Foucault's exegetes would refer to works before 1970s (paleontology period) and the works after it (decent biology period) as two separate course in his notions. Foucault, however, has reconstructed his previous works in the light of his next interests. The concepts which have been documented from Foucault's intellectual series are the fruit of these periods. Foucault's discourse theory has been formed in his paleontology studies. He represents a trihedral definition of speech act, and sometimes considers it as a common field of all words and statements, sometimes a set of specific and distinct statements and sometimes as logic deeds which indicates a set of statements. The first definition refers to all real applications of routine written and speech language. The second defines the formulation and or specific areas such as racism, feminism discourse and... and finally the third definition returns to politic-social structures which determine the conditions and rules of speech and statements. In fact, discourse is that common and general area in which the language is formulated and applied in specific forms. The discourse is a determinant of area in which knowledge is constructed and reconstructed. (Zeymaran, 1382:33). One of the most useful ways of reflection in discourse is to be considered not as a set of symptoms or a piece of text, but "procedures" which formulate the alleged topics and objects systematically. Thus, discourse is something which produces something else (part of speech, concept, effect). (Foucault, 1972:49) In the regard of discourse as an effective object, it is important to monitor truth, power and knowledge factors, so because of these elements the discourse is influential. Foucault believes: "truth belongs to this world and it is rooted in the universe due to the requirements and compulsions. Each real regime has general policy of its own truth and those are the types of discourse which that community nourishes and imposes them to play the role of truth. The mechanisms and evidences which enable a person to distinguish the real propositions from fake ones and their proving ways of each one: the techniques and formalities which have become valuable due to obtaining truth: the medal and rate of those who are obligated to say something which is considered to be

true." Mills, 1382:28). So the truth is what the communities should act for its production, not as represented in transcendental style. Thus, Foucault is not bounded in which discourse is the representative of fact or the reality. The notion in Foucaultian style provides this possibility of understanding how meaning is being produced, but not subject to the will of unique man-oriented individual, not as a linguistic structure and not in such a way as socio-economic relations has been triggered, but through a range of power-knowledge systems which organizes the context. The conditions can create the possibility of different actions and is rooted in the core of the social entities. Foucault believes that power and knowledge are interlinked in the discourse. Discourses are the practices of knowledge composing, those are something more than the ways of notion and meaningfulness, and those are shaping the body nature, conscious and unconscious mind and subjects' sense of life who desire to rule over them (azdanlou, 1374:48). From the viewpoint of Foucault, the power of knowledge makes its correlated, but his desired power is not possessed by state, dominant class and or ruling person, on the contrary power is a strategy: power is neither entity nor a structure but a "complex strategic situation" and "plurality of relations among forces", and indeed power for its establishment requires a large number of resistance points. According to Foucault analysis, power is exerted only on released individuals and their actions and induces them to choose from different options. So the constant relationship of power with struggle, resistance and freedom is the condition for its existence. But wherever disobedience and resistance came to an end, the relation of power would be terminated. Thus Foucault has allowed an important distinction between power and violence. (Refer to Foucault, 1384). Exerting power necessarily activates knowledge devices and provides the areas in which knowledge is being formulated, from the standpoint of Foucault, this is the relation of power and knowledge which promote subjectivity and objectivity to human beings as an individual and make into forms of knowledge threads. But Foucault attitude to the power is a type of which accordingly power would dominate all the community simultaneously as an integrated whole. in this type of power, there is no intellectual and autonomous subject which has taken the control of power, but this is the power which generates the subject and what returns back to it. This is the power which brings the social entities under its umbrella and determines the practices of their notions and speeches. (Soltani, 1387:17). We should delve into deeds micro level to conceive power in its activity and routine performance, namely that level of politic technologies in which our deeds are shaped. Power is not restricted

to politic entities. Power plays a direct productive role which derives from lower section, is multi directional, and acts from down and up and vice versa. (Same: 312). Given to the central issue of feminism in this article, it is necessary to take a look at the concept of feminism from the standpoint of Foucault. In his opinion, the gender is an incidental system of speeches, behaviors and themes which presently surrounds people in the core of power and discourse relations. In other words, the gender is a strategy for management, production and supervision on humans' body and their social relations. Namely, the gender acts as a leverage to dominate human existence. Foucault discussed the gender in exact historical meaning; it is not a basic tentative biological phenomenon, but a historical product. (Jahandide, 1383:18). This paper follows to recognize Iranian intellectuals' concept about feminism. As we initially pointed out feminism definition so our intent about intellectual has to be determined. Intellectual in terms of Edward Said is an individual with specific common role in society, who is capable and talented in resembling, visualization and clear expression of a message, a view, an idea, philosophy or opinion to or for a group of people. This role is so difficult and the enlightener can not play it unless through this percept and sense of which his/her task is to induce disturbing questions and encounter with traditionalism and dogmatism and not to provoke them (Said, 1382:30) and this was the definition by Edward Said which became a basis for intellectuals in Islamic Republic of Iran.

### 3. Power relations in Islamic Republic of Iran

The desired power of Michel Foucault is a partial and scattered power which includes social relations thoroughly and exists in all decision making, actions and ...

Since the aim is to understand this power relations in Islamic Republic of Iran, so for more in depth survey according to Foucault thesis about discourse as a set of social-political structures which determines the conditions and rules of texts and speeches we have distinguished four discourses in 30 years life time of Islamic Republic of Iran and we would study the power relation in four areas of elections, employment, higher education and family and in each state we will discuss about women.

- 1- Islamic discourse (1357-1367)
- 2- Construction discourse (1368-1376)
- 3- Reforms discourse (1376-1384)
- 4- Fundamentalism discourse (1384- present)

#### 1. Islamic discourse (1357-1367)

Prior to Islamic revolution's victory in 1357, Pahlavism hegemonic discourse, aimed to deconstruction and had lost its unity of discourse field,

till on 22 Bahman 1357 which was completely overthrown and Islamic revolution led by Imam Khomeini succeeded, as the name of this popular movement describes "Islamic Revolution" the main reason of people for this revolution was establishing a government with the essence of Islam. What we nominate as Islamic discourse encircles two discourses of revolutionary and war. The dominant discourse of years 1357-1359 was the revolutionary speech. The years of debate swirl for power, nationalist movements, Islamic and leftist which during the early years of revolution victory and the same year of 1357 were living in a metaphorical air according to the theory of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse analysis (See, Gheyranlu: 21-36) demanded for running the society based on their own ideologies the next day of revolution victory. But some of groups' aims and ideologies were not aligned with revolutionary goals and ideals. This was Islamic and religious groups among the impressive forces in the victory of Islamic revolution which could take the power through a large social base, rejecting and excluding other movements (Bashiriye, 1382:43).

The war speech was the dominant discourse of years 1359-1367, because as Imam Khomeini had stated: this was not a war between two countries but the war of blasphemy against Islam and the battle of right and wrong (Imam Khomeini, 1378:223). The bourse out of imposed war against Iran made a significant role in considering the discourse as Islamic. After removal of liberal and leftist otherness, gradually othering among Islamic groups was highlighted. This eventually led to originate right and left wings in the country. Right-wing has the tendency toward "aristocracy, bazaar-traditional" and left-wing had the trend of "petty equity, radical-traditional". The difference point of these two Islam-oriented factions was over political concepts rather than political ones. Traditional right believed in private property and lack of control over domestic and foreign trade and the traditional leftists was rather than rival the advocate of state-owned economy, anti-imperialism and U.S opposition. The definition of Islamic community in this period is a provincial society and Islamic hard core of supreme leader. This sacred entity as an internal mechanism is far more than the power relations and can release theocracy government from deviation and neither any other have the exponent and competence beyond this entity. Any consideration about Islam in this period is a juridical and theological one, and religious ritual and appearances are paid more attention and establishment of religious reign is possible only through enforcing the religious commandments. When the imposed war begun which Iran's economy was in the threshold of implementing the plans and programs in case of self-sufficiency and

reduction to oil dependency which allocated a part of country budget to defensive affairs, and a large number of human and other resources were consumed in war affairs, war could have an impressive and deterrent impact on Iran development process.(for more details see Dejpasand and Raoufi:1389). After understanding the Islamic discourse now we review the power relations about women in the areas of election, employment, higher education and family.

Elections: despite the legal platforms for political participation of women in elections, there are in practice some restrictions and barriers on the path of this partnership particularly in the field of women's select ability. By the approval of election bill of state and provincial associations on October 1341, the women's political laws and their right to participate in elections for the first time was granted. But due to the pressure of some religious people for the reason of being pretext it was cancelled on 8th Aban of the same year, then another single article about women participation in elections approved on 1343 was adopted and this right was granted. What is considered here about political participation in particular is the right of women select ability in presidential elections. When the franchise will be effective in which the characteristics of generality, equality and freedom of choice have been into consideration. Although some limitations such as nationality, age, abuse history are the logic reasons for the lack of right for elector and to be selected, but the discrimination in public participation merely for the reason of gender does not seem to be justifiable. Regarding the select ability of women in presidential elections, Article 115 of IRI constitution has been controversial since its very beginning of approval, and always at the threshold of presidential elections the discussions, comments and interpretations arise to the peak but eventually never take place. At the beginning, Article 115 of constitution in its first initial draft has been as the follows:

“The president should be Iranian-born, Iranian nationality, has the country's official religion and being its promoter, faithful to the principles of IRI, man, a good record, trustworthiness and piety.” (The detailed discussion of parliament about the final review of IRI constitutions, 1364:1766). In relation to the principles of Ayatollah Montazeri's reasoning as the head of Assembly of Experts, the draft of constitution in terms of women's incumbency for presidency are, the huge responsibility and its disproportion with women's specific features. Mrs. Gorji the only female representative, the member of Assembly of Experts as the oppose of presidential male select ability in response would observed: “when the most people should vote, if against sharia, would have not participated in voting and should be

approved by the leader too, given that there is not provincial and it is a demonstrative and power of attorney and if in case of competency, namely the trustworthiness, piety, good record and faithful to Islamic principles, they can meet the features, because a woman can be capable of being faithful, trustworthy and piety and her political power is assigned by Islam.” (Same, 1770) “The president should be selected from among the religious and political figures which obtain the following conditions: Iranian-born, Iranian nationality, director and resourceful, a good history of trustworthiness, piety, faithful and believer to IRI principles and country's official religion.”(Same, 1796) This principle was reviewed without any discussion by Assembly of Experts members and the constitution was share voted and approved by the session chairman. Assembly of Experts for Constitution representatives by setting the term of “religious and political men” represented in brief the issue of women presence, and they kept open the discussion about this case till the future by more in depth theoretical arguments and providing the social bases which this task should be settled down. Due to the lack of women's expressing dissatisfaction about mentioned principle in that cross section of time, holding four presidential elections during Islamic discourse and the review of this elections candidates reveal that the issue of taking the responsibility of presidential post in that period basically has not been in to consideration for the women.

Employment: with regard to economic employment necessity and women's participation in economic activities in our county, yet the desirable and admissible balance in this area between men and women in different activities have not been yet achieved. The unavoidable circumstances of Iran-Iraq war like a huge tide led many of country's activities and investments toward the advance of defensive goals. A surge which would not left any areas for women's economic participation. Change in product sectors, economic problems, the widespread influence of dominant view of society over the appropriate role of women drove them out from economic activities areas. Although, there hasn't been any changes in labor laws pertained to women but the prevailing notion in war period was the role of motherhood and partnership is more deserving and the house is a proper space for them and the public area should be assigned for men, consequently, in this period the share of housewives from total women of age 10 years and above remained unchanged. (69%) while the share of employed women had a decline process. In this era the share of active women from total women of age 10 years and above declined from 12/9 percentage to 8/2, also the share of employed women from country's total employed people declined from 13/8 percentage

to 8/9. In explanation of such a decline it cannot be confined just to the factors of downturn or increasing the number of female students while the effects of discriminatory policies of statesmen in this roll back is appropriately visible (Shaditalab: 1386, 36). It has been proved that after revolution the positions and socio-political opportunities which have been granted to women, due to its lack of a strong belief context was challengeable and women were excluded from many decision making and management levels. During this epoch, judge women were forefronts. Because it was announced that women have no right to judge on bahman 22nd 1357. under the influence and domination of this type of radical vision and concept which had been visualized in a group of current policymakers, women's most favorable extensive training programs in many fields were halted and eventually the man and women's natural division of labor which is a completely different idea against women's social participation was reinforced and female anti-employment beliefs and ideas could find to raise and progress in more suitable environment. The absence of measure over population control and shutting down of family welfare centers affiliated to women's organization training them contraception practices added more problems, closing of public kindergarten became a burden and in total, some events occurred which shifted the flow of women employment to anti-employment and the programs of creating appropriate opportunities for employment were closed (Kar, 1384:103). In this era the experts have classified social barriers which had banned the women path in the case of economic participation as the follows: "encouragement of women to earlier redemption and retirement- inspiring and drawing the women who were interested in doing successful and basic social activities to marginal and auxiliary affairs- using the mass media to show women as the creatures within the house which had a direct impact in providing the conditions which reinforced women to adopt it.

Part-time job for women-separation of men and women in workplace, and sometime transferring women from technical and specialized jobs which they were responsible besides men to simple and non-professional occupations, moreover, another strategy was adopted which avoid the assignment of any management positions to women. It was argued that women are not responsible for providing family subsistence and any upgrade in administrative system belongs to man. As a result women were not allowed to grow more than the restricted level of expert in the administrative structure and basically they became a mere executors rather than decision maker (Kar,1384:152). Therefore, women employment is marginal in this discourse and more focus on

supportive, educational roles which can be interpreted within the frame of motherhood and partnership.

Higher education: after the revolution victory, due to the dominant atmosphere on universities, all the country's universities for awhile were closed.(1359-1362) and in order to organize the cultural affairs of schools and universities, purpose of islamization and the unity between seminary and university the Revolution Culture Staff was established by Imam Khomeini's decree. The measures taken during Cultural Revolution as one of its goals were considered as a part of fighting program against western culture in Iran. During this period according to the current perspective the content of many textbooks and scientific books were reviewed. The views of so-called liberal and left were eliminated from the university through the different practices; these programs yielded a great impact on cultural and scientific structures, so many of intellectuals and enlighteners left Iran. Though new universities were established in towns aiming at increasing the access to higher education facilities for town's inhabitant, but university research in many fields were limited and after the cultural revolution, the number of researcher's papers in prestigious scientific journal significantly decreased. Based on drafted constitution in the years of after revolution, the task of government is to prepare primary education facilities for all which this led to increase the number of schools and teachers in the first decade of revolution,, providing the educational facilities even in remote villages along with family especially fathers' new interpretation of educational system and Islamic consideration, caused dramatically the fading of cultural barriers on the way of female education. Consequently, girls almost throughout Iran could accede to elementary schools and even in rural areas more than 50% of girls enrolled in schools. In the first decade after revolution despite the war conditions, the attempt of the entire system for expanding the educational facilities and progression of urban and rural girls at least to primary school level caused significant changes along side with qualitative changes.

In this period, the expansion of girls education in primary and secondary levels, the policy of higher education by the development of public universities capacity and establishment of private university provided the area for girls' more progressive awareness, but there have been attempts for separating the universities simultaneously or girls classes done and determination of courses which according to job definition was suitable for women. In such a way, that in 1363 the choice of 91 out of 169 available courses which mostly were in technical and engineer field was not possible for girls, moreover, according to the law adopted in 1364, the possibility of further education in

abroad for unmarried girls was restricted (Karname Haghghi, 1384:88).

Family: the revision of family laws systematically was implemented on 1364 and ultimately family protection law was ratified and in 1353 made some changes for more conformity with women's profit in family. Significant changes then in family laws implemented after Islamic revolution which the most important was the Family Protection Act in 1353 which took place after dramatic changes in family laws. Family after revolution is considered as fundamental unit of Islamic society and women are nominated by Imam Khomeini as the pillars of nation which have to be a stronghold of spirituality and virtue. The law attempted to create a homogenous relation between Islamic family and nation through the defensive manner of special series relations on one hand to strengthen the control of men over women in the family, on the other hand promoted the position of women as the active citizens. Imam Khomeini believed that Pahlavi's Family Protection Act was based on foreign resources and tendencies and ascribed it non-religious which hurt the family and caused family life to collapse. Thus, Family Protection Act was abolished and referred back to the set of civil law in 1315. This meant those women's all short-run prudential supports about divorce, marriage, child custody and abortion which ever existed were cancelled since then; the religious traditional laws superseded the current family laws. During these years, the number of married female at the age of less than 14 reached to 112,000 people which consisted 2/4 percent of total married female. Although this contribution is negligible but, besides the negative impact on female education, provided the field of fertility and number of children increase rate, the issue which its inducing effect on society as a whole caused that Iran faced with a population explosion which its consequences are revealed in later periods.

#### 2- Construction discourse (1368-1376)

In late 1360s the occurred massive changes around the country led to formation of speech within Islamic discourse. Due to the long term war of attrition, bombardment attack on economic centers by Iraq, the increased number of martyrs, injured and missing people, and economic sanction and ... this speech intended to end the war and reconstruct the country.

Iran entered a new stage by the end of war and approval of resolution, the stage which was far more different than the war period. The first diversity of current period to the previous one was the specific attention to economic problems and the attempt to resolving the country's economy. Low product activity had no result except the expansion of poverty and corruption in society and because of

expropriations and nationalizations, private investment in product sector moved back and even state-owned economy did not yet grow. Rationed and coupon terminated in sharing the poverty and followed by brokerage and corruption spread. Just one economic and social peace could heal the tired and painful mind of Iranian nation. The relatively intellectual slogans, such as privatization, economic structure reform, preparation for foreign investment and free trade zones, press expanding and other issues like "less child, better life and ... Imam Khomeini passed by following the disease on 14th Khordad 1368 and based on revised constitution, Mr. Khamenei was introduced as the new leader. Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani as the president of Iran assigned the economic development in his own top priority. He in second period presidency due to the frustration and critiques done about economic adjustment program released the economic stabilization program to the parliament. In the middle of 70s Mr. hashemi's state economic programs had widespread consequences which in total led to the growth of reform movement. Between the years of 1368-1376 there have been major structural changes like demographic revolution, generation gap, cultural similarities of rural and urban populations, increasing literacy rate in the community, consumerism promotion and classification gap in the country which had been rooted in previous discourse (Islamic). These evolutions played a major role in meaningfulness and making valuable and in this era the values of Islamic discourse lacked its own required performance and the necessity for new values was in air (Rabiei, 1378, 40).

Elections: we have witnessed in holding two presidential elections by the end of war and the beginning of reconstruction era. But in this period there is no evidence based on women's presence and or their demand in select ability stage for this position.

Employment: state implemented new policies in the frame of first development plan aimed at reducing the public sector dimensions and encouraging investment in private sector during the second decade of revolution, a reconstruction era which are the reflection of some adjustments which has been taken place in ideological interpretations of system and has had widespread impact on women's lives such as shift of population policy from a national retrospective to a family-based policy which was followed by stabilizing the population's growth rate. The government interest in removal of structural obstacles in deployment of women's workforce in different fields of community caused to establish women's office in presidential entity and the similar offices in all ministries and governmental organizations for consulting about women affairs. President also issued a circular for women appointment in managerial positions. Thus the

negative growth of previous era shifted to a positive growth. The ration of employed women to total country's employed increased from 9% in 1365 to 12/1 in 1375 and the number of employed women increased to a figure of more than 2million people. The ratio of housewives to total women at the age of 10 and above decreased from 69% to 10% which had been stagnant for a decade. During the reconstruction era, the employment of women in industry sector which had the most decrement occurred during the war, showed a rapid increase process and the number of employed women in this section is nearly being tripled. Again the share of employed women in industry sector which had decreased from 52/7 % to 21/6% reached to 23% in 1357 (Bagherian, 1389:87). The reforms entered the banking system in order to provide the possibility of women presence in economic activities. Central bank has prioritized grant facility for household employee women. Agricultural and Tejarat banks have promoted special programs in product and service sectors for rural and employer women respectively (Shaditalab, 1375:80). Although women employment has had a positive trend, but women's share in management of state-owned organization, though to all attempted efforts, has not improved according to their expectations and in recent years has been remained about 3%. As the result the educated and more work experience women have mentioned top discriminative variables in creating women employment problems and their dissatisfaction as follows: 1- Inequality of opportunities for getting job 2- Inequality of opportunities in making suggestions and critics 3- Disregarding women's ideas in decision making process. 4- Providing higher job opportunities for men (Shaditalab, 1377:283).

Higher education: the positive change taken place in Islamic discourse in the case of girl education and particularly primary education has been resumed in construction discourse. So we observed girls' enrollment rate enhancing in all educational levels. This issue in the recent years of construction period became a matter of competition of girls and boys for entering the university, because the student in the early years of revolution now were ready to enter country's higher education system and in this contestation the girls surpassed boys. So the ratio of female to male candidates in the entrance exam has been increased more than 10% since 1368-1376. Unfortunately, in this era despite of dramatic growth of women presence in country's scientific arenas, they are not allowed yet to study in some courses. So that according to studies done in academic year of 1369-70 women are unable to study in 55/55% of technical and mathematical sciences, 28/1357 of human sciences, in 23/35% of experimental sciences and 5/26% of art, it means they have legal prohibition. (Jarollahi, 1372:6)

Family: the changes of rules and regulations in the field of family have been initiated from the last years of 50s which still is continuing. A major part of these changes are due to family laws revision in a more relaxed atmosphere and the study of the outcome of Islamic discourse changes in the family which its stability significance as the most important social unity has been consistently and repeatedly in to consideration of the statesmen. In addition to reform of marriage laws, the reform in the case of divorce laws has been necessitated to prevent its increasing process. Moreover the above mentioned, the researches show the elapsing patriarchal era in Iran. (Alagha, 1376:327). It can be concluded that the power-sharing structure in the family is transforming, most importantly the youths and educated people are more adherent to participatory decision making in the family. Thus this education improvement has caused the decrement in exclusive power of men.

#### Reform discourse (1376-1384)

2nd of khordad 1376 is the formal entry of this discourse to the country's political, cultural, social and economical areas. The election held on 2nd khordad 1376 is the stage of confrontation between two conflicting discourse models. A victorious model filled with new concepts, boundaries and the modern cultural, social and political horizons (Gholamreza Kashi, 1379:7). Here is an example model which for a long time has been in the sideline of the dominant and formal discourse, and by the domination of right wing discourse on power sources could not afford, as it was expected to attend in political arena and for this reason has been drawn back to the margin and intellectual circles. The major part of reform discourse, which we are recalling, has been formulated during the elections, namely the interval between 7th Bahman 1375 (Khatami's candidacy) till 2nd Khordad 1376, indeed the main basis of this discourse have been rooted in this period and the superstructure of this discourse was laid the foundation in Khatami's presidency era. Population growth, increment of young troops of society, promotion of awareness in this class, communication expansion, disregarding the political development and lack of inflation inhibition caused the formation of new demands in the society. The demands up until now have not been explicitly considered. Of course, the other factors such as freedom of speech, civil society and in one word the democracy have been impressive in exposure on new demands. The left wing had been marginalized after the war end and the beginning of construction period and this was a big opportunity for reconsidering this wing's votes and thoughts. The usual presidency election model changed by the arrival of leftwing particularly Khatami to the political conflicts area who was one of the well known political figures in

elections and was considered as coming president. He along with several other rivals participated in the arena and all political forces did their best in encouraging people in attending more in polling places on Election Day. The art of Khatami was applying a new indication which has been proposed in constitution law but has been neglected. Since the beginning of Islamic revolution till 1376 in political discourses arena the privilege was granted to Islamic and its peripheral indications while Khatami's applied indication was republican instead. He applied law, people, freedom, civil society in his speeches and slogans, discussing the issues which constructed the concept of republicanism and people as the core and fundamental of this concept. The indication kept silent and constantly has been defined and surrounded by the shade of Islamic indication. Khatami revived this indication but never isolated it from the Islamic sense, but tried to provide an opportunity to display itself and since the concept of religious democracy has been formed. The main reason of people's interest to this discourse was due to its legislator's democratic notions content which was in connection with religion and reflected the desires and ideas of different social groups. This election could drive governmental legitimacy from charismatic and traditional authority to the legal context in the political arena and led the authoritarian system of government from imperative condition to a democratic one. From political - sociological perspective, the election of 2nd Khordad 1376 and the process of new political discourse formation in Iran, people demands aligned with a part of intellectual elites aimed to rationalize government's authority practices and creating a democratic society. During the reform period, a partial openness was emerged in Iran in the field of media, journalism, information and book publishing. The numerical and quantitative growth of publications in a short-run, while the dramatic changes in distribution, content, news, articles and reports was associated to more attention to the picture, caricature and layout. The newspapers across the country had become mostly four fold more till early 1379, and newspaper circulation figures increased to unprecedented numbers of 3,000,000 copies per day in Iranian history which was about four fold of newspaper circulation figure in 1375 (Fozi, 1384:1089). The growth of civil entities and non-state organizations was another change in this period, during the reform era, the outline of organizing the public participation has been provided in the field of specialized activities and public works in the frame of non-governmental organizations (NGO) and forums by demission of authority to establishment of these entities and supporting in different fields (Same, 1109). However, we have observed the occurrence of some events in

the reform era, such as the arrest and trial of Tehran's mayor, the murders event known as serial murders, university dormitory attack, Berlin Conference and sit of some representative in sixth parliament which were followed may political and oral conflicts.

Elections: there is no women presence in select ability during these two rounds of presidential elections (seventh and eighth). Only Mrs. Azam Taleghani attended in seventh round of presidential elections in 1376 and stated her aim of this symbolic act as the clarification the task of "men" in Article 115 of Constitution (See, Taleghani, 1376). Abdollah Ramezanzade, the government spokesman at the end of Khatami's presidency in 1384 the second round stated: "we believe that among the female managers of society there are capable people who are the true example of political men for candidacy in presidential elections, Ramezanzade added: this was a critique to Khatami that why he didn't apply women in his cabinet while prior to his presidency, no woman was assigned as the general director or deputy secretary and governor who Khatami tended to choose from them as a minister (RamezanZade, 1384:90).

Employment: According to Human Development Report 2004, the economic activities of Iranian women consists 30% of total economic activity which in comparison with other countries, Iranian women are ranked at 82nd position. Shojaee (the head of presidential center for women's participation) with above announced news stated: "at present women's capabilities for impressing the policies of country has confronted with tremendous limitations due to the inadequacy of women's presence in decision making structures and macro policy, a few number of women's presence in representation and managements and impossibility to access the required skills for operating in different levels have imposed them a double oppression." She added: "up to next 10 years we will face with the excessive phenomenon of single family headed by graduated girls regarding current traditional and gender structure in addition to the graduates' unemployment crisis, uncertainty of women's economic situation in the family and community. She accounted for the dependency of community total situation improvement to the progress of women's conditions and observed:" the rights of social support and development, the empowerment of women would not be achievable without the upheaval in the levels and entities of the society" (Shojaee, 1384:95). The men and women's participation rate have been respectively 62% and 12% in 1380, while women's unemployment rate has been 20% and men's unemployment rate 13%. The women's participation rate in labor market according to the predictions of Iran's fourth economic, social and cultural development plan would be increased



from 9/1 in 1375 to 15/2 in 1388. This would impose a huge pressure on labor market. In such case, there should be 232,000 job opportunities created for the reason of women's sufficient job opportunity which seems to be a hard task. Whereas the new job opportunities occupied by women have been 100,000 in the first plan and 71,000 in second plans. Although the achievement of fourth development plan's goals pertaining to women's employment appears to be difficult, but in assumption of achieving the plan's goals more than 700,000 women who are seeking the job would be employment-deprived. (Falihi, 1381:56) it seems that women's life in Iranian community is mostly affected by men's manner, idea and the attitudes, whether as the role of father who makes the control over his daughter's amount and type of education and marriage, or as her husband whose idea is determinative in further education, range of social activities and her employment or unemployment. The statistics pertaining to women's cultural and artistic participation in reform discourse like their economic participation statistics are not only disappointing but also shows a fantastic growth. The women publishers' growth rate between the years of 1376-1379 has been more than 56% and women writers' growth rate was more than 300 % (women's status report, 1384:192).

Higher Education: the gender distribution of volunteers during reformation years has displayed substantial changes, 42% of women in 1362 has been increased to 62% in 1380. This represents the mentioned change in favor of women, because the alleged ratio of men in 1362 was almost 58% which has been decreased to 38% in 1380. This prevailing ratio despite of the tangible reduction in men's ratio to the total higher education volunteers has been resisted till 1376 and this is used in the favor of women. It seems that the major increment in the number of candidates should be considered totally due to these factors: 1- higher marriage age 2- women's desire and tendency to further education 3- social changing attitudes toward women 4- increase choice (Karname Haghghi, 1384:92).

Family: Women's Participation Center was established during the eight-year reforms period. The foundation and programs of such center which have been implemented and followed in Khatami's two-term presidency indicates the women's place within the reforms discourse. In reforms discourse the boundary between the public and private areas has faded and women's definition was not aligned with mere wife or motherhood tasks, but it has been more emphasized on the significance of social, political, economical... presence of country's women and ladies. Although some fundamentalism discourse critics claimed that this discourse was followed by shaking the foundation of family. In this era the most

important procedure done by the center of women's participation about the female situation in family was, the implementation of national plan in surveying the domestic violence against women in 29 provinces of the country which has been done by the cooperation of social affairs of interior ministry. This national plan statistics show that 66% of Iranian women since their common life are being at least once abused. However, the amount and types of domestic violence has a significant, diversity and verity in different provinces of Iran. (Ezazi, 1385:65)

Fundamentalism discourse (1384 till now)

The fundamentalism discourse is a kind of discourse which we are currently living in its speech and deed atmosphere and many of our functions are affected by the indications ruling this discourse. Those who once have been the executive arm of conservatives, in ninth presidential elections succeeded in winning their candidate without the support of any party and only in the last few days. Some called this flow as radical right though with a high desires in state economy. Some also called it authoritarian or fundamentalist, but they themselves preferred to be addressed as conservative and social construction, he was the only candidate who never applied democratic slogans in campaign and relied on a revolution in economical and managerial structure. (Mehdizade, 1386) Mahmud Ahmadinejad, in tenth presidential election flow caused a great resentment among some dignified individual and elites. In presidential debates, the moderate and fundamentalist figures like Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani and Ali Akbar Nategh Nouri wouldn't be deprived from Ahmadi Nejad penetrating criticism blade. And in the campaign they have been condemned of deviation from the fundamentalist through different literature of all critics of Ahmadinejad's fundamentalist. In this current section it seems that Iran's political geography cannot be analyzed regarding the traditional classification of past two decades. Due to the recent developments, though a part of traditional right flow would confirm Ahmadinejad all actions to survive in political arena, and somehow has become as the follower of new left-wing faction, but much of the traditional right-wing along with precedent flows of system namely modern left and right have found a common unwritten point around a few issues, the understandings with the themes as adopting a non-invasive and participatory approach toward the globe, reducing government policies in the current affairs particularly in economy section, avoiding economical shock therapy, attaining a kind of understanding and unity between the faithful flows of revolution and...

We must wait and see that new left-wing can span its domination on executive affairs in this new figure or in the confrontation with this great alliance

would have to reformulate its own performance. This is a question which the future will reply it. (Mehdzade, 1386)

There are several diversities between this period and the former elections which will highlight ninth and tenth presidential elections here. The diversities which reveal the difference of new-born discourse with the former discourses, such as: 1- wide speculations in order to identify the individuals who participate as the candidates. 2- lack of general aligned consensus on a single candidate among political groups. 3- The numbers of registered and disqualified volunteers. 4- Initial disqualification of candidates and their approval by leader's decree. 5- Organizing candidates' supporters according to social stratifications and fractures. 6- the association of considerable directors in making propaganda movies. 7- vast use of national and new reportage media. 8- Transparency in candidates' programs and providing economical, political and cultural codified plans. 9- Lack of predictability in elections even in the second round and emerging of lesser known figures. 10- Negative positioning and personality destruction of candidates. 11- The serious alloy of electoral fraud. 12- political classification around social gaps in second stage. (See, Mirvahabi, 1388)

According to the survey entitled, the analysis of electoral behaviors case study of ninth presidential elections about the reasons of selecting Mahmud Ahmadinejad by the people in Political Studies Association's site could be represented based on these features: popularity, serving, simple living, challenger contradiction, variety-seeking, fighting corruption, religion-oriented, justice, advertising, non-theocracy and effectiveness. The features which caused the fundamentalism discourse being changed to people's accessible discourse by its own founder.

Elections: Islamic revolution has embraced ten presidential elections, as prior to our discussion women have been deprived in participating presidential campaign during past 30 years, and Guardian Council with its own unilateral interpretation of Constitution Article 115 has denied women from their most self-evident right for presidential candidature. Since 1376, that Mrs. Azam Taleghani who announced her participation in 7th presidential elections until 8th elections who nearly 50 women have announced their candidature to this arena and till the 9th presidential election more than 100 women have volunteered for presidential post, despite of numerous efforts by women activists, the task of "men" has not yet been clarified. Mehr News Agency in 1383, quoted the alleged news by Gholam Hussain Elham, the spokesman for Guardian Council: "so far there has not been any formal interpretation about this issue by Guardian Council, but it may have had a

gender concept (political men) and in Guardian's negotiations the main concern has been focused on the gender, namely male gender (Mehr News Agency 08/08/1388). He in his last comments in case of enrolling the women and Council's view added: The Council comment about women's candidature in presidential elections has several times been announced and about these volunteers it would be notified at the appropriate time. (IRNA 2/24/1384). Due to these available interpretations which are somehow contradicted, women activists are least concerned about the withdrawal of any practical opportunity from them by completely tightened interpretation and the dominant idea ruling over Guardian Council. Thus two of women in 7th parliament tried their best in 9th presidential candidature that were defeated. Mehrangiz Morovati and Rafat Bayat enrolled in presidential elections who their approval were rejected by Guardian Council. Anyway the presence of women in 9th presidential elections did not terminated to these comments but a group of socio-political women activists aggregated in front of Presidential office in Tehran to protest their disqualification of presidency candidature.

Employment: the relative distribution of employed women at the age of 11 and above to the total employees' population in 1385 has been estimated 13/1359% which this has been increased 1/49% considering year of 1375. While, the women's distribution rate, namely the relative distribution of employees' women at the age of 10 and above to the total active women in 1385 has been reported 76/65%. (Naghash, 1386:8). The percentage of high educated women to the total population has been increased from 33% in 1375 to 41/78 in 1385 while the share of admitted girls in the universities have been enhanced considering recent years, therefore it is expected that the share of high educated women to the total population would still be increasing in coming years, and at the end of 4th development plan would be reached to 45/6%. Followed by the active population it would also have faced with a fundamental change in 4th development plan and the share of active high educated population to the total active population may have reached from 8/9% in 1375 to 13/82 in 1383. The share of active high educated women to the total active women has been increased from 17/3% in 1375 to 64/40 in 1383. The share of highly educated women employees to the total women in 1383 has been estimated 30/7% (Haghverdi, 1384:17). The comparison of women's employment pattern in three categories of agriculture, industry and services in 1385 all over the country suggests that, during this decade the relative frequency of female employment in agriculture sector is low, in industry sector is high and in services sector has remained fixed. It can be

concluded based on statistical data that the women's employment tendency in different sections of economic activity in urban areas has shifted from service to industry sector and in rural areas from agriculture to industry sector. Population distribution of country's female employees during 1385 in economical section, services section (especially, health and education services) industries and mines (especially handicrafts and homemade) and agricultural has been respectively as 44/1, 33/5, 25/4 percent. (Same, 18) The current statistics indicate this fact that women's employment situation due to the past periods particularly during 9th government's policies has been developed, but the statements and performances of some scholars, statesmen and women active in community's decision making positions regarding the available data and figures show a different approach. As Fereshte Sassani the consultant secretary and the general manager of women affairs of ministry of interior observed: "if there are any job opportunities it should be submitted to men, because if they enter the market they can make a family. Anyway an employed woman will never marry with an unemployed man. The community should have a moderate look at women. In administrative field we are not allowed to respect the equality, because the physical ability of men and women are different." Sassani stating that propose of issues pertaining to women's rights has not resolved the problems declared: "proposing women's legal problems is regarded as the ground of more issues, when people become familiar with their own rights would make more problems in the society by requesting individual demands. (Sassani, 1385:89). Representing the plans by parliamentary women like, reduction of working hours, reducing the retirement age, sick permissions may cause women to be satisfied, but seems these proposed plans would have a direct impact on reduction of women's employment chance. The employers would prefer to hire men who are not entitled to receive those benefits, even if any employers are satisfied to hire women, these so called legal benefits would probably be compensated by the reduction of other job benefits, bonus and ... Moreover, 9th government has considered women's benefits in returning to family, and performing the sacred and credited job of housekeeping. Mojtaba samare Hashemi, presidential adviser, in the introduction ceremony of Zohre Teyyebzade Nouri, the new head of women's affairs has stated: "the most sacred and prestigious jobs is housekeeping, while its social status is affected and if a woman spend all her time in nursery and housekeeping, some may criticize." (Same: 36).

Higher education: the most important and controversial action which has been occurred in 9th

government was the state's gender categorizing bill to the parliament. Since the most important indicators of academic growth in our country is to being admitted to the entrance examination in recent years we have observed the dramatic increase in girls and women's presence in the universities. So that in 1388 from the total 524,769 admitted people in the entrance exam, there are 328,729 women and 195,977 men, it means that from the admitted people there were 62/7% female and 37/3% male. The increased number of girls in the universities has become the statesmen's concerns which resulted in gender-based rationing bill which restricted the girls' entrance to the universities, this bill aroused many theoretical discussions between parliamentarians and scholars, but women's issues would not confined to this level in higher education of fundamentalist discourse and the other following plan which has been promulgated was gender-based indigenous categorization in the entrance examination, these plans would certainly impact on the reduction of education quality. Women's right activists in Iran have considered gender-based indigenous categorization as the resumption of women's oppression and stay-at-home project. (See, Rahmani, 1387)

Family: The Women's Participation Center was renamed to Presidential Women & Family's Affair during the presidency of Mahmud Ahmadinejad. The main motto of this center was the consolidation of family foundation. Such slogan and title reveal the fundamentalist discourse's change of speech atmosphere. It means that the position, dignity and character of an ideal woman within family and its existence have been redefined. Many of plans, bills and circulars of this period resemble such a process. The Presidential Women & Family's Affairs Center may follow specific goals for this set of series regarding the constitutions, visions and supreme leader's guidance which these goals are as the follows: increasing women's participation rate in family and society fields, improvement of attitudes, representing a Muslim woman model as a symbol of nobility, chastity, and eventually understanding women's problems and issues in society, family, workplace and following the modification of related laws. Another major pivots which Women & Family's Affair Center has placed on its agenda in 1384, is the revision of current rules in the family and women areas. But besides of various and somehow useful laws aligned with family's foundation consolidation which has been ratified in the Nation's Home, since the summer of 1386 by offering the family support bill, there occurred many discussions and debates regarding women and family laws in the society and publications were filled with criticism of this bill and led to women's change of attitude toward the

fundamentalist state, also a group of women's rights activists met the members of parliament in protest of drafting the anti-family bill. Prior to this meeting there have been frequent sessions by Shirin Ebadi and the review of different proposals from women's spectrum. The variety of different spectra in this meeting was the homogenous voice of protest to women's discriminatory laws (feminist school site- another kind of women's presence in parliament courtyard). It is obvious that restricting women's rights within the family has no result except decrease the sense of security; shake the family foundation and justice mitigation, while protection and observance of women's rights would strengthen family basis, more confidence and affection between the couples and ultimately led to a healthy family and healthier society.

#### 4. The reality of gender

Imam Khomeini as the supreme leader of movement with a specific subtle sense took into consideration the massive force of women in the revolution process and necessitated their participation in the motion and anti-regime movements. Islamic discourse started from Islamic revolution's victory and terminated by the end of war, the period of stabilizing the religious values and indeed revival of religious identity in the society especially about the women, therefore the Islamic revolution aligned the women of middle and lower- class who had fewer fields for emerging and opened for them the realm of socio-political activities. But women's presence and role in the revolution process was interpretable within the frame of the same metaphorical space of discourse analysis. As the result they lacked organization, plans and operational prospect for achieving their goals, though the leader regarded them as the nation's pillar and the backing of revolution. The reality of woman in Islamic discourse was a subdominant one which has been created by its indications as, power relations, events like Islamic revolution's victory and the imposed war. The significance of woman's role in the society was based on the need in crisis situations like war and... aligned with public interests and national profits. In this period it is more emphasized than before on women's supportive roles. As the result the required knowledge for women's personality growth, creating of mental request in drawing their requests and pursuit of revolution and state would not be formulated and their participation can be investigated in the frame of mass participations. At the end of war and delicately balance of revolutionary ideological traits, we enter a new discourse in which country's economic well-being has relied on the global free economic relations. In this period, suddenly woman changes the position from revolutionary stronghold to a manpower that must develop. If the public sphere

belonged to men and woman preferably worked at home and essentially outside in the first discourse, but within the new discourse, the current women's obstacles in entering the public sphere have been removed. If in the former discourse, the Islamic veil was unique model and incompatible in mixing with men, in the recent discourse it came to the point and this was derived from the public sphere which had been opened wide for women rather than the second decade of revolution. The truth which had been drawn from Iranian woman in construction discourse was different than Islamic discourse, because Iranian community, in this era, had left behind the transformative developments such as revolution and war looking for alteration and stabilization of the issues. In this period it was a institutional and organizational approach toward women's problem, actually, we know the mid of 1370s and Hashemi Rafsanjani's first presidential term as the period of women's identification, the period of making hardware and infrastructures for requesting women demands and the first step in this case was taken from the political power and the state arenas, but the establishment of these identification and administrative, judicial and legal organizations in Hashemi Rafsanjani's second presidential term could afford the cause of self-consciousness in women and moved them from the margin toward the core of society. In fact the essence of women in this period according to the previous mentioned stages was a semi-peripheral and that dependent creature now overflowed to the stage of self-consciousness who endeavored in achieving divergent way and her demands from those social structure planners, and here the fading conventional and traditional boundaries between public and private space flourished. The essence of woman in construction discourse is a drawn of participative woman who has entered the society equipped with self-realization for stating and obtaining her demands and without any concern and apprehension has taken the steps toward the path of public arena. In fundamentalist discourse, women appears to be upper paradoxical and bilinear, because in one hand there is a struggle in returning her to the private stage and family consolidation area and on the other hand the statesmen run with speech on women's passionate social, economic and cultural presence, and would promote them to the vice president operations and ministry positions. In this discourse the fact which we have identically touched was the social presence of woman in the shadow of private arena and again the motherhood and particularly the role as a spouse could dominate her other various and effective roles. In fact, the scale of private arena weighed more and what is seen in the

public scale brings to the mind a just dramatic presence.

### 5. Intellectuals and Feminism

Feminism has been a major issue in intellectual circles during past few years. Many people either woman or man have done the surveys in this scope and following these explorations there have been various classifications based on feminism's different intellectual principles. The most major of classifications in feminism discourse has been diverged into religious and secular divisions. The current article is looking into other aspect of what is called feminism in Iran and has done the survey based on theoretical and practical dimensions

#### 1-Theoretic feminism (Theoretical)

In IRI many individuals (means the enlightened) have argued and debated about feminism and women's movements from the first beginning of revolution's victory. By the investigations done most of these people have attempted from the academic or governmental scope in commenting, decision making and somehow legislation affairs and their major discussions have been mostly focused on theories and theorization and practically have not entered the society general / objective arena and putting the effort into reclaiming rights. These theoretical scope enlighteners have participated in four IRI discourses. Islamic republic carries a vast system of speeches, concepts and symbols in its hasty caravan. The intellectuals, consciously or unconsciously, due to the dispersed and partial power have produced the knowledge in the shadow of this conceptual system and what they have represented as the feminism is diverse and somehow paradoxical in each knowledge and discourse formulation. So in order to distinguish the notions, theoretical feminism is branched into reformist and conservatism divisions that the theoretical feminism reformist-scope consist two construction and reform discourses and theoretical feminism conservative-scope would oversee the Islamic and fundamentalist discourses.

Theoretical feminism reformist-scope: Since 1367 the construction discourse by the premier indicator of economic development has provided a different speech and deed space. The construction would not be restricted to economic area but encircled all crucial aspects of society and nation. In this procedure, the opportunities were prepared for Iranian women and perhaps they have more seriously focused about this issue. Construction period, as previously referred, was an identification era for women which it's most important sign was the establishment of women's affair office in presidential entity. These entity establishments and macro-level organizations in association with micro structure of power in the society laid the ground for women's self-

conscientiousness and participation. The impressive factors which we can refer to are as the follows: the number of female representatives in 4th and 5th parliament who have been increased from 4 people in Islamic discourse to 14 in 5th parliament, but there is no trace of women presence in presidential elections, population growth rate decline, employed women growth rate to 12/1 in 1375, housewives rate decline from 69% in 1365 to 59% in 1375, the increased number of girls in the competition of entrance examination, the higher legal marriage age from 9 to 14. The women's self-awareness in this discourse and the absence of a reply from the power structures to the major part of society demands, led the women and youths to a new discourse which have been withdrawn by construction discourse and this new space of discourse has been created on the eve of 2 Khordad 1376 elections. Indication of republican and political development which have been neglected for the reasons of dominant conditions on the country now has attracted the attentions and this leading indication resulted to articulation of indications like, law, freedom, civil society, religious democracy and ...

Indeed, it is in the late of construction and mid of reformist discourse which a notion as feminism and a phenomenon titled women's movement have been raised in academic circles and among the intellectuals. The main reason of arousal these issues return to the creation of appropriate mental spheres, because in reformist period the main part of theoreticians were those who have been relegated in previous discourses and these othering and marginalization resulted in leading them to universities for training and teaching purposes. Therefore the speech space of this discourse was filled with concepts which would be discussed in the university level and among the students and academic sector and the cultural prestige of Mohammad Khatami reinforced this process. According to the alleged, we would understand that what is considered as feminism is the result of the enlightener's intellectual efforts in this period. From the dimension of theoretical feminism reformist-scope and the survey of intellectual opinions such as Hamid Reza Jalae pur (sociologist and journalist), Jaleh Shaditalab (professor and the director of women's studies center, Tehran University faculty of social sciences) Alireza Alavitabar (Ph.D. in public management bias investment policy and professor in institute of higher education and research of management and planning), Shahla Ezazi (sociologist and professor in Tehran University), Nasser Fakuhi (sociologist and university professor) Elahe Koulaee (PhD in international relations and professor of Tehran University), Ayatollah Seyed Mohammad Mousavi Bojnurdi (university professor, the member of central council of Assembly of Combatant

Clergymen), Soheila Jolodarzade (the member of 6th parliament term) and Mohammad Khatami (president of Iran) (for more detail information see Jalae Pur, 1381, 1381, 1383, 1383, 1385, Shaditalab 1381, 1385, 1387, 1387, Ezazi 1385, 1388, Fakuhi 1389, Koulaee 1387, 1387, 1388, Mousavi Bojnurdi 1388, Jolodarzade 1388, Khatami 1376, 1379, 1379).

Now we have come to the point which can reply the initial question. From Michel Foucault's theory of discourse perspective, Iranian intellectuals have perceived feminism in the light of power relations (political-social structures) and gently speaking, in constitutive discourses of Islamic Republic of Iran each hegemonic power framework would have created its own appropriate knowledge and the intellectuals who are the pioneers and the converter channel of this power (either its confirmative or critical aspect) are considered as the interpreter and the planner of knowledge. The reformist feminism oversees the construction and reforms discourses and the indicative aspect of this kind of feminism (more precisely) the knowledge of produced feminism is its theoretic aspect, the intellectual notions in which the reformist feminist which is the subset of theoretic feminism, monitoring the endeavors of these intellectuals in the articulation of ideas and concept generated with the signs of these discourses (construction and mainly reformist) and their intellectual products would be comprehensive in the same positional fiber and in the light of the dominant power framework. Regarding political-social structures (power framework) in construction and reform discourses and the reality formed of woman (gender) within them we would more discuss about the features of reformist feminism. The main part of what we believe as the feminism knowledge which has been created during 1368-1384 is related to reform period. In reality, the construction discourse has provided the designation of many new problems and requests; the reform movement in achieving the goals and in strengthening democracy required the various sectors of society. Women were one of the most significant classes and this prepared space has been very effective in formation and request of their demands. The academic people were the leading spectrum which in this discourse has proposed their ideas about women, the individuals who, from the scope of age and revolution experience had sensed war and construction and some had become reform theoreticians. So the creation of feminism knowledge in this discourse was through the sociological scope and in conformity with theories of sociology. Due to this reason, the knowledge has had purely theoretic and academic and sometimes an ideal aspect because it has been proposed by the bodies of elites and upper middle class. Of course all these people about this issue didn't have common views and surly there have

been differences about women's cases between the leaders of reform movement and the perspective of academic bodies. What has been important in first step for the reform theoretician was the stability of democracy and transition from traditional to religious democracy. They addressed women's issues and responding their demands through the reform movement growth and would not allow it an independent identity and this led to continuous discussions in this case. It was basically in this discourse which women affairs were regarded in the frame of women movement which was the fruit of the same scientific and sociological theory. In this era, the major debate has been about the presence or absence of women movement in Iran and for responding they resorted to classical theories and sometimes in case of movements features which has been the result of western notion. What seems to be significant in this study, is the lack of unity in the case of an existence namely women's movement among the elites of reform discourse. Some emphasized on the existence of women movement and believed that it has been rooted in Constitutional Revolution, and considered this movement as the outcome of inequality between men and women in Iran and had no belief in the entry of western perspectives to this issue, and some would totally reject it and more narrowly defined two concepts of feminism and women's movement entitled Iranian women motion and some took a leadership role and discussed about women's movement minimal conditions. It is not strange due to the growth of women in cultural structure of higher education the main considered discussions encircle the theoretic and macro topics. Feminism knowledge in this discourse has a legal look, because considers the inequality of women and men in rights aspect, a critical look at traditions and regulations using the value of rationality, would set the law against the assignment, an infra-ideological approach to the religion and would stress more on pluralistic participation of women in restructuring and priority on women's benefits rather than nation profits. But the procedure of this knowledge production has not been free of deficiency and leakage and we can refer to its weaknesses as the follows: reformist feminism was elitist and academic oriented and merely opened the gate for discussing about women's affairs and unsuccessful in formulation and coming along with the women's requests, for in objective concern what have been demanded were not the majority of women's request and did not cover the different women's groups and bodies, in fact what was into consideration was the request of upper middle-class of urban community. At last the reformist feminism formed out of intellectuals of construction and reform discourses were merely the interpreter of self-

realization of women. Women actually conceived that their rights have been violated, but they were yet unable to separate their issues than reform movements and other society structures and in this juncture of IRI history the changes resulted in women status have been designated and implemented by – men- and in case of any women participation it has been the result of their own individual efforts. theoretical feminism conservative-scope theoretical feminism conservative-scope: Islamic revolution led by Imam Khomeini provided the ground for women presence particularly those traditional women in the public and society arena who had not the opportunity to emergence due to the values and ruling western dramatic culture of Pahlavi's regime and this opportunity became more spacious by war outburst. Their inevitable entry to this arena was unpredicted and for the reason of emergency. We can conclude according to the analysis of what has been done in Islamic discourse about the women in elections, employment, higher education and family that in this period and discourse it has not been a conscious and demand-oriented presence, so in revolution process none of the women's groups with different intellectual tendencies did not attempt to determine their requests and even yet after the victory of revolution there hasn't been no request for power by any women movements and what reinforced them was the preservation and administration of Islamic values in the society, war outburst and its calamities over the families and the damages remained psychologically, physically, economically and ... deprived the opportunity of thinking about the promotion in the society and advancing their group goals.

Conservative feminism monitors two meaning and concepts of Islamic and fundamentalist discourse, two discourse of having time interval, the first hegemonic discourse formed with premier indication in IRI and fundamentalist discourse, the current situation which after reforms breaking rules by the dominant indication of justice and kindness entered to the state's speech and deed sphere. The collection of meanings and concepts which fundamentalist discourse would convey in its own caravan having the most similarities with Islamic discourse and in one word it is the readout of revolution ideals. In the shadow of Islamic discourse indications and signs, there have been qualified characteristics and features for revolutionary women that due to some moderation have been uncovered till now. The features which will arrange them in conservative fraction, in fundamentalist discourse we would find them mostly in public offices and interpreter of women affairs and even this group constitutes the intellectuals of fundamentalist feminist, by examination of these thoughts and opinions we would conceive that

feminism knowledge has a specific figure in their perspective: Imam Khomeini (Supreme leader), martyr Motahhari (Islamic thinker), Mohammad Fuladi (Thinker), Hojjat Islam Zibae nejad (Thinker and professor), Dr. Bijan Abdulkarimi (professor), Zohre Elahian (representative of 8th Iranian Parliament), Ibrahim Shafiee Sarvestani (Professor), {for more detail information about these intellectuals opinions see, Khomeini 1370, 1375, 1378, Motahhari 1383, 1378, 1388, Fuladi, 1385, Zibae nejad 1381, Abdulkarimi 1385, Tabatabaee 1385}. Nonetheless, they criticize the traditions and regulations but resume the emotional action and privilege the task over the right, for example, in subject matters like divorce, child custody, wergild, obedience to husband and ... a task-oriented criticism necessitates the juridical order should be extracted in accordance with time and space and then what the Muslim jurisconsult renders, it would be considered as the task. They believe religion in the context of ideology and this led to ideological needs and requests which its result would be the sacred ideals and requests and doctrinal opposition to critics and opponents and the tendency toward the conspiracy theory. On the other end the characteristic of ideological view is that women have always preferred other requests to their own real needs, and have privileged the needs of metropolitan government over basic and fundamental own desires and eventually by idealistic and ideological interpretation of so long as "the society wouldn't change to a religious one women's heaven wouldn't be achieved on the earth", put their efforts on transcendence of government's political authority to their own needs. The intellectuals of fundamentalist acquire a denial and at the best critical approach to the feminism theory and women movements. They consider feminism development and its pertaining issues as the colonialism purposes and cultural invasion which deteriorate the woman's dignity and have triggered subversion of family. This group of intellectuals consider these cultural and social problems due to the penetration of feminism notion to Iranian women thoughts by documentation to higher divorce rate, higher marriage age, the increase in woman jobseekers rate, increment of female volunteers in entrance exam and ...

Thus their produced feminism, though the applicable use of feminism word for some of them flourishes as alien and unappealing use, is somehow suffixed with Islamic, Iranian and indigenous. This knowledge put the emphasis on preserving women dignity and expressed that there is no difference between men and women in human rights perspective and set for division between legal and natural personality of women and has more emphasis on women's motherhood and the role of wife. They

prioritize these roles over any other social, economical, political and ...roles and they assume that woman presence within the household is the sense of family members comfort and link many of cultural and value anomalies rooted in women presence in public arena, and at the best of situation they consent to women's preserve chastity and observance of Islamic affairs in case of their attendance in public and community spheres. These intellectuals and their produced knowledge lack the tendency to plan the discussion of exclusively theoretic and academic and basically have no debates over women movements and its history. In fundamentalist discourse the majority regulations ratified by women standing in public office and some of statesmen for the women's welfare have led to the private sector and fading women presence in public sphere. Finally, in this discourse the generated feminism is in apparent contrast with western feminism and its origin, believes that feminism has resulted in hostility between man and woman and Iranian woman in this transition from tradition to modernity has become bewildered, its slogan is individualistic and profit-oriented and Iranian feminists are pursuant of western origin and suffer from the lack of their own plan and program.

Practice Feminism: (Practical): this type of feminism is monitoring the speech and deed of those practically and objectively attempting to acquire women's rights and requests. Their identity and speech are excessively interrelated to the structure of political power. So that it can be predicted that once the political power and hegemonic discourse has been concluded, what class of enlightener would be emerged. This type of feminists who are pragmatic and or from the view point of belief are known as secular would apply concept or symbols in expressing their notion and requests which from the diversity of discourses, the discourses like reforms and overflowed fundamentalist and due to the lack of articulation with privilege indication would be marginalized. Whatsoever, the more vast diversity of discourses, speech, concepts, and the applied symbols by each discourse the less debates in using such intellectuals there would be. Nevertheless, they would make the position in criticizing the current relations. They demonstrate, protest against the lack of adjudication, hold the seminars, do the research and recently have organized different campaigns and sign gathering. In case of a spectrum look at feminism in Iran, in one end there is reformist feminism and on the other end there would be conservative feminism and pragmatic feminism would be outside of this division, though in the hegemonic period of reforms discourse was in a close position to reform feminism. In fact we have witnessed a type of convergence between reform feminism and pragmatic feminism due to that

discourse's socio-political structures and the frame of its ruling power and the most othering pertaining to women affairs would be occurred in fundamentalist discourse. By the study of the theories of intellectuals such as Nushin Ahmadi Khorasani (Journalist and women's rights activist), Mahbube Abbasgholizade (journalist and women's rights activist), Fateme Sadeghi (professor), Parvin Paydar (researcher of women's issues), Marziye Mortazi Langrudi (journalist and women's rights activist), Manjje Najm Iraqi (writer and translator), Nasrin Jazi (Professor), Mehrangiz Kar (researcher and women's rights activist), Faride Mashini (journalist and women's rights activist), Fariba Davudi Mohajer (women's rights activist) {for more detail information about these intellectuals theories see, Ahmadi Khroasani 1385, 1387, Abbasgholizade 1379, 1383, 1385, 1379, Sadeghi 1384, Paydar 1387, Mortazi Langrudi 1385, Najm Iraqi 1382, Jazani 1382, Kar 1377, DAvudi Mohajer 1384} we found that practice feminism would consist both theoretical and practical aspects of feminism, though its pragmatism aspect has been always weighed more. As it was mentioned, this type of feminism in reforms discourse have the common points with reformist feminism, from the standpoint of feminism knowledge, this group of women who participated in the state during the reforms discourse played the converter and interface role between the state and the civil society. This knowledge in assigning the solutions to women movement considers the western theories as well and believes that they have induced the knowledge and has provided the better motion; the significant point in this knowledge of women movement would be certainly granted which has a long record dating back to constitutional history. Considering the structures of reforms discourse, its framework of power and the stress which is imposed on vast and grassroots participation in any arenas this knowledge expressed that the creation of women movement is a popular, democratic and lack of leadership because its leadership is diverse and the characteristics of being democratic is the growth of women's N.G.O which play an effective role in achieving their goals. They completely define the goal in challenging with patriarchy and or patriarchal and the difference between men and women are resulted from distinct sociability and formation of gender issue. This will propose the other issues in reaction to fundamentalist discourse. Since the most challenging pertained to women's issue in this discourse is about family protection bill their major stress would be put on changing law and taking legal action, target-setting in challenge with patriarchal and this induce the fundamentalist feminism to label them as anti-family stigma. Their generated feminism knowledge lacks in certain,



defined purposes and plans and they believe that their goals are determined in the process of movement and when the opportunities are made the different factions would become united and the best occasion is prior to election atmosphere and the theories are rooted in this social action. They have no positive attitude toward statesmen for they believe the politicians have misused women in achieving the power and political goals. This has caused the women movements gain a political function, while this movement is endeavoring in making social changes in the favor of women and not getting fair share of political power. The fundamentalist government's performance pertaining to women movement and marginalizing them have led to some restrictions in public sphere for them (such as the detention of women activists, disruption of women communities, banning women's periodicals, sealing women's grassroots organizations and..) this has driven them to cyberspace, though there have not been left safe due to the filtering. Nowadays, what we witness from the viewpoint of this intellectual faction as women movement is the shift from mass to individual motions in women opposition. While we are moving far beyond the revolution, people pay more attention to their own daily life policies, tired population of policy and politics would keep the distance from collective action. At the end, what we conceive about feminism in Iran has the resultant of theoretic and practice feminism's views and performances in the system of Islamic Republic of Iran. Considering the initial definition which we have represented in this article, it is a social and intellectuals movement which in its broadest meaning is trying to promote women's status as a faction of the society. Feminism knowledge has been derived from the power frame of IRI, this knowledge has attained specific features and characteristics which would distinct it from western feminism model, but the obvious features of Iranian feminism due to ruling socio-political structures are as the follows:

- 1- stress on women's formal employment as the sole way of liberation
- 2- emphasis of confrontation and opposition between men and women
- 3- irrespective to diversity and plurality of women's factions in Iran
- 4- promotion and confirmation a full similarity between men and women
- 5- disagreement on feminism among some factions

Regarding the overall features which were counted for Iranian feminism knowledge we would understand that in junctures of Islamic Republic of Iran's history the dominant power has been more active in case of cultural structures like publishing books, translation of foreign literature, licensing

women's professional periodicals and due to its generative power this cultural force has been very impressive on women's intellectual encounter to a massive amount of literature. So that Iranian women became acquainted with three great flows of feminism and hadn't any opportunity or chance for a successive and distinct learning, understanding and reviewing of western feminism and its effects were an amalgam of these flow's attitudes in emerging Iranian feminism knowledge. So we can not specify Iranian feminism exactly in one motion and different aspect would be observed in review of intellectuals' notion and the performance of activists, but by the study of power frame in Iran and the intellectuals' ideas, the generated feminism knowledge is mainly revisable in the first flow of global feminism, a kind of feminism which stressed on the equality of men and women's rights. After more discussion and extensive revision mentioned in advance, finally we concluded that feminism and women's affairs in Iran have been strictly affected by the power frames in different discourses of Islamic Republic of Iran and since the wisdom would be generated from within the power relations and would be exerted to human subject for converting it to different forms of knowledge. Knowledge and wisdom are the most significant ways and tools of hiding the power. In modern era the power owners would become hidden behind the exerting power system and this is ordinary people who are observable. According to Foucault's theory the enlighteners in theoretic feminism arena and in two dimensions of reformist and fundamentalist, particularly in public offices would launch theory processing and decision making, would be hidden in stabilization of exerting power system mostly flourished in custom and law, and these are practical and pragmatic feminism who are visible and would pay this visibility cost by being arrested, going to jail, deprivation of the social rights and ... and this secretion in stabilizing the power exerting system from the university to the parliament and this visibility of women in the community have led to the deep gaps among the women. While Iranian women after three decades since Islamic revolution's victory have not yet been able to come on consensus for their requests, though in some cross sections there would be convergence between reformist and conservative women, but ultimately this generated power and the resistance against has produced a kind of knowledge in Iran which has turned women's issues to a political problem. So feminism in its Iranian form, in my opinion, is the feminist struggles based upon the gender awareness, the realization which couldn't yield the identity among women, and hadn't established the correlated power of its feminism knowledge and articulating the indications in the form of hegemonic

discourse which has any sing of Iranian and or Islamic feminism.

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