



How to cite this article:

Korayi, Z., Amini, Y., Hesabi, A. A., & Dorosti, A. A. (2026). Transformation of Sub-Discourses of Women's Socio-Political Activism after the Islamic Revolution: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Activists. *Journal of Historical Research, Law and Policy*, 4(6), 1-10. <https://doi.org/10.61838/jhrhp.299>



Article history:
Original Research

Dates:

Submission Date: 10 February 2026

Revision Date: 07 April 2026

Acceptance Date: 15 April 2026

First Publication Date: 14 September 2026

Final Publication Date: 01 November 2026

Transformation of Sub-Discourses of Women's Socio-Political Activism after the Islamic Revolution: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Selected Activists

1. Zahra. Korayi¹ : PhD Student, Department of Political Sociology, Sho.C., Islamic Azad University, Shoushtar, Iran
2. Yousef. Amini^{2*}: Department of Political Sociology, Sho.C., Islamic Azad University, Shoushtar, Iran
3. Ahmad Ali. Hesabi³: Department of Political Sociology, Sho.C., Islamic Azad University, Shoushtar, Iran
4. Amir Ali. Dorosti⁴: Department of Political Sociology, Sho.C., Islamic Azad University, Shoushtar, Iran

*corresponding author's email: Yousef.amini@iau.ac.ir

ABSTRACT

This study, grounded in the framework of critical discourse analysis and employing a hybrid model of Norman Fairclough alongside the discourse theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, examines the transformation of sub-discourses of women's socio-political activism in Iran following the Islamic Revolution. The research data consist of a corpus of spoken and written texts from six prominent female activists, including Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani, Nasrin Sotoudeh, Narges Mohammadi, Masoumeh Ebtekar, Sedigheh Vasmaghi, and Azar Mansouri, collected through their interviews, speeches, articles, statements, and public interventions. At the micro and meso levels, Fairclough's three-dimensional model is used to analyze linguistic, syntactic, and rhetorical patterns, as well as strategies for representing women's activism, the body, power, and law. At the macro and structural levels, drawing on Laclau and Mouffe, the study examines the logic of constructing the identity of the "woman activist," the articulation of central signifiers, the demarcation of dominant and competing discourses, and the configuration of discursive shifts in relation to prevailing political-ideological hegemony. The findings indicate that women's activism after the Islamic Revolution has shifted from a predominantly institutional and top-down discourse toward a plurality of sub-discourses, including: a reformist and participatory sub-discourse, a legalistic and justice-oriented sub-discourse, a civil resistance sub-discourse that exposes structures of power, and a religious critique sub-discourse involving reinterpretation of jurisprudence. Despite their internal tensions, these sub-discourses are interconnected at a deeper level through a shared logic of "recognition of women's agency" and "the right to the body and presence in the public sphere," thereby challenging the hegemony of the revolutionary patriarchal discourse. It can be concluded that the transformation of women's socio-political activism in Iran can be understood as a multi-layered process of subject formation, everyday resistance, and the redefinition of the boundaries of political legitimacy, in which women activists not only seek to influence formal policies but also, through the rearticulation of discourses, reshape the field of power and expand new possibilities for female agency.

Keywords: Women's socio-political activism, critical discourse analysis, sub-discourse, hegemony and resistance, post-revolutionary Iran.



Introduction

Women's socio-political activism has, in recent decades, become a central topic in gender studies, political science, and sociology. Many scholars argue that women in different societies contribute to shaping social transformations through diverse forms of formal and informal participation, ranging from institutional and party-based activities to civil, cultural, and protest actions (1, 2). In contemporary gender studies literature, women's activism is understood not merely as participation in formal power structures, but as a set of everyday strategies for redefining women's identity, rights, and social position (3-5). This perspective demonstrates that women in many societies utilize available cultural, legal, and social resources to renegotiate the boundaries of political and social participation.

In recent years, scholarly attention has also increasingly focused on the discursive dimensions of women's activism. Within these studies, language and discourse are examined as key arenas for the formation of women's political and social identities. From a discourse-analytic perspective, women's activism occurs not only at the level of social practice but also at the level of meaning production and representation, where concepts such as rights, justice, freedom, and equality are articulated within different discourses (6-8). This approach suggests that competition among different discourses about women constitutes part of the broader process of hegemony formation in political and cultural arenas.

In studies related to Middle Eastern societies, particularly Iran, the issue of women's activism has also received considerable attention. Some scholars have emphasized the role of women in social movements and legal demands, demonstrating how women, even within structural constraints, have created new forms of participation and claim-making (9-11). Persian-language scholarship has likewise examined women's political participation, women's movements, and discursive transformations related to women's rights, showing that women's activism in Iran has consistently developed in interaction with political, cultural, and religious structures (12-14).

The issue of women's socio-political activism in post-Islamic Revolution Iran represents a domain that has undergone profound transformations both at the level of formal policymaking and in everyday practices and micro-resistances. On the one hand, the Islamic Revolution, through slogans such as "women's presence in the public sphere" and "return to authentic religious identity," facilitated the emergence of a new discourse on the Muslim woman; on the other hand, it was accompanied in practice by a set of legal, cultural, and structural constraints that have complexly shaped the possibilities and limits of women's activism.

Numerous domestic and international studies have shown that Iranian women over the past four decades have not merely been represented as "subordinate subjects" within a religious patriarchal order; rather, as active agents, they have sought to redefine knowledge and power through both formal and informal spaces. However, most of these studies have focused on a single analytical level. For instance, Beiranvand et al. concluded that women's political participation is primarily manifested in formal and electoral forms, such as voting and limited party involvement, with individual attitudes and socio-economic variables serving as the main explanatory factors; this study paid less attention to discursive levels and non-institutional forms of activism (15). Similarly, many analyses have explained women's political participation in Iran primarily through macro-structural factors (laws, institutions, power structures) and micro-level individual factors (personal characteristics and motivations), while the intermediate level of discourse and meaning structures mediating between structure and agency has often been neglected. Other research indicates that most studies on women's socio-political activism in Iran have been

conducted at local or small-city scales, resulting in a fragmented and non-integrated understanding of discursive transformations at the national level (15). A systematic review of scientific literature in this field further reveals that the dominant body of research relies on survey and descriptive methods, focusing mainly on measuring levels of participation and their determinants, while discourse-analytic and longitudinal approaches remain largely absent (16). Comparative research also demonstrates that women's political participation across countries is shaped by a combination of institutional structures, gendered cultural norms, and political opportunity structures, and that symbolic and discursive barriers often persist even with increased education and public presence (17). Moreover, improving women's economic and educational status, although necessary, is insufficient on its own; without transformations in institutional structures and dominant gender discourses, gains in political participation and activism remain limited and unsustainable (18).

The significance of this study can be articulated at two levels. First, at the theoretical level, it seeks to integrate Fairclough's critical discourse analysis with Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory, thereby simultaneously addressing linguistic-textual and structural-hegemonic dimensions (19). Second, at the empirical level, by focusing on the discourses of six prominent Iranian female activists, it provides a multilayered representation of the diversity and transformation of women's activism, moving beyond simplistic dichotomies such as "traditional/modern woman" or "state-affiliated/oppositional woman."

The present study adopts an integrative perspective to examine the transformation of sub-discourses of women's activism in post-revolutionary Iran. Its central question is: what are the dominant and competing sub-discourses in women's socio-political activism after the Islamic Revolution, and how do they construct and transform the identity of the "woman activist" in relation to structures of power and official ideology?

Conceptual Framework

Socio-Political Activism: From Bourdieu to Arendt

According to sociological theory, the political field is a structured arena in which various forms of capital—economic, cultural, social, and symbolic—are distributed and redistributed, and actors compete within the framework of historically constituted dispositions (20). From this perspective, women's activism is not only constrained by structural limitations but also involves efforts to accumulate capital and shift the boundaries of the field.

In the thought of Hannah Arendt, political action is fundamentally linked to appearing in the public sphere, engaging in dialogue with others, and initiating new beginnings (21). In this sense, women activists are subjects who, through narration, testimony, protest, and participation, move beyond the purely private realm and become "visible" in the public sphere, although such visibility is always accompanied by risks and costs.

Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis and Laclau and Mouffe's Discourse Theory

The primary analytical framework of this article is Fairclough's three-dimensional model, which situates text, discursive practices, and social structures in a dialectical relationship (19). At the textual level, attention is given to lexical choices, metaphors, syntactic structures, and stylistic features; at the level of discursive practices, the focus is on how texts are produced, distributed, and consumed; and at the structural level, the analysis addresses the ideologies and power relations that are reproduced or contested within discourse.

At the macro level, discourse theory enables the analysis of hegemonic processes, articulation, and subject construction. Within this framework, discourses are networks of signifiers organized around central nodal points (such as “Muslim woman,” “freedom,” “justice,” and “human dignity”) and define boundaries between “self” and “other” through chains of equivalence and difference.

Foucault, Biopolitics and Resistance; Critical and Postcolonial Feminisms

In analyzing the transformation of sub-discourses of women’s socio-political activism after the Islamic Revolution, Michel Foucault’s thought provides a crucial framework for understanding the relationship between power, knowledge, and the formation of social subjects. From a Foucauldian perspective, discourse is not merely a collection of statements or texts but a system of rules that determines what can be said, who is authorized to speak, and what forms of knowledge are recognized. In other words, discourses organize specific ways of thinking and speaking, thereby constructing social reality and social identities (22). Within this framework, women’s activism is understood not simply as individual action but as a discursive construct embedded within networks of power relations.

Foucault conceptualizes power not as a centralized and unidirectional force but as a dispersed network of relations that circulates throughout society and operates through discourse. Power is intrinsically linked to the production of knowledge, and what is accepted as “truth” in a society is the result of complex interactions between mechanisms of power and regimes of knowledge (23). Accordingly, discourses surrounding “women,” “women’s social roles,” and “women’s activism” are formed within power relations and are simultaneously open to contestation and redefinition. From this perspective, the transformation of sub-discourses of women’s activism can be understood as a process in which dominant meanings regarding women’s roles and positions in the public sphere are continuously reproduced or transformed.

Furthermore, in Foucault’s view, discourses not only describe social reality but also produce subjects. Individuals are constituted as subjects with specific identities and positions within particular discursive frameworks (24). In this sense, women activists in political and social arenas experience and redefine different subject positions through interaction with various discourses, including official, religious, reformist, and justice-oriented discourses. Therefore, examining sub-discourses of women’s activism can reveal how women, through language, narratives, and discursive arguments, redefine their identities and demands and shift the boundaries of political and social participation.

From this perspective, discourse analysis of women activists’ narratives can illuminate the processes through which these sub-discourses are formed and transformed, as traces of discursive struggles, power relations, and efforts to redefine social identities are embedded in their speech. Such an approach enables the study of women’s activism not merely at the level of political behavior but at the deeper level of semantic and discursive transformations, where concepts such as “women’s rights,” “gender justice,” “social participation,” and “human dignity” are rearticulated within evolving historical and social contexts.

Methodology

The present study is qualitative and situated within an interpretive-critical paradigm. It employs critical discourse analysis to examine how women’s demands are represented and how language, power, and ideology are interconnected in the discourse of female activists. The research population consists of written and spoken texts

produced by Iranian women activists after the Islamic Revolution who have been active in political, civil, legal, and intellectual arenas. The textual corpus was selected from speeches, interviews, notes, statements, and published letters by six female activists: Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani, Nasrin Sotoudeh, Narges Mohammadi, Masoumeh Ebtekar, Sedigheh Vasmaghi, and Azar Mansouri.

Sampling was conducted purposively and theoretically. The criteria for selecting the activists included prominence in the public sphere, representation of different sub-discourses of women's activism, access to discursively rich texts, and presence across different post-revolutionary periods. Data analysis was conducted based on Norman Fairclough's three-level model. First, the linguistic features of the texts and key vocabulary were examined. Second, the conditions of discourse production and circulation in different contexts, such as interviews, courtrooms, media, and party activities, were analyzed. Finally, the findings were interpreted within the framework of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory in order to identify central signifiers, chains of equivalence, and modes of reproducing or resisting hegemony. To enhance the credibility of the findings, strategies such as diversity of data sources, continuous alignment with the theoretical framework, and analytical review were employed.

Findings

In this study, discourse analysis of Iranian women activists after the Islamic Revolution shows that their discourse has taken shape in the form of diverse sub-discourses; sub-discourses that each reflect a particular position of the activists within the field of power, a specific strategy of socio-political action, and a distinct interpretation of the concepts of "justice," "freedom," and "participation." These discourses can be understood as different formations of meaning articulated around women's activism, power relations, and the possibility of social transformation. Within the theoretical framework of Bourdieu, Fairclough, and Foucault, these sub-discourses are not merely reflections of social reality but also instruments for producing and regulating it, because through language and representation they organize the Iranian woman as a subject within diverse identity positions and forms of activism.

Overall, the findings indicate that women activists, within different discursive contexts, oscillate among three principal strategies: intra-structural reform, civil and critical resistance, and reinterpretation of religious and cultural norms. These differences result from tensions among power structures, symbolic capital, and the semantic possibilities available to each activist in the socio-political field. The "institutional and reformist" sub-discourse represents an attempt to bring about change from within; the "legal and justice-oriented" sub-discourse reflects a search for equality through the lens of legal structures; and the "civil resistance" sub-discourse represents resistance against biopolitics and structural repression. In addition, the "religious critique" and "intermediate" sub-discourses seek to maintain a balance between tradition and modernity, and between official and protest discourses.

From this perspective, examining these sub-discourses is not merely a study of differences in expression and vocabulary, but an analysis of power relations and of the production of meaning in the discourse of Iranian women. Despite their distinctions, these sub-discourses exist within a shared discursive field and affect one another dialectically. Thus, the transformation of the discourse of women's activism after the Islamic Revolution can be understood not as a uniform trajectory, but as a multilayered process of discursive negotiation, symbolic resistance, and redefinition of the boundaries of women's subjectivity in Iranian society.

Institutional and Reformist Sub-Discourse: Participation within the Official Framework

In the discourse of Masoumeh Ebtekar and Azar Mansouri, women's activism is primarily defined through participation in formal structures of power and existing institutions. The central signifiers of this sub-discourse are "participation," "development," "gradual democracy," "expansion of women's presence in management," and "reform from within."

At the textual level, the use of moderate language, avoidance of sharp polarization, and reliance on technocratic and bureaucratic vocabulary such as "program," "policy-making," and "development plans" are prominent.

At the level of discursive practice, these texts are generally produced in formal contexts, such as government reports, official speeches, and international meetings.

At the hegemonic level, this sub-discourse seeks to articulate women's demands within a framework compatible with the official discourse of the political system; that is, on the one hand, it calls for greater female presence, and on the other hand, it does not fundamentally challenge the overall legitimacy of the system.

This sub-discourse has created real possibilities for enhancing women's presence in management and decision-making institutions, but at the same time it faces limitations such as dependence on the balance of power within the ruling structure and fear of crossing red lines.

Institutional Participation and Reformist Sub-Discourse

This sub-discourse is observed most clearly in the discourse of Masoumeh Ebtekar and Azar Mansouri and emphasizes the strategy of "gradual reform within official structures." In this discourse, women's activism means increasing women's presence in decision-making institutions, expanding civil participation, and improving women's position in political and social management.

From the perspective of critical discourse analysis, the language used in this sub-discourse reflects a kind of discursive moderation. Terms such as "participation," "development," "empowerment," "expansion of opportunities," and "reform of structures" function as central signifiers. The syntactic structure of the sentences is generally neutral and non-confrontational, and there is an avoidance of sharp polarization between "us" and "them." This indicates that activists in this sphere attempt to frame women's demands in a manner compatible with official discourse in order to increase the likelihood of acceptance and implementation.

From the perspective of Bourdieu's field theory, this sub-discourse occupies a position in which its actors have relatively high access to symbolic and institutional capital and therefore prefer to pursue change through the internal mechanisms of the political system.

Table 1. Discursive Indicators of the Institutional Participation Sub-Discourse

Level of Analysis	Discursive Indicators
Key vocabulary	Participation, development, empowerment, women's management
Discursive strategy	Gradual reform, cooperation with the official structure
Central signifier	Women's participation in management
Type of activism	Institutional and policy-oriented
Relation to power	Interaction and intra-structural reform

Legal and Justice-Oriented Sub-Discourse

This sub-discourse is especially prominent in the discourse of Nasrin Sotoudeh and frames women's activism within the discourse of human rights and judicial justice. In this discourse, the main issue is not merely women's

presence in the structure of power, but the removal of legal discrimination and the guarantee of equality before the law.

At the textual level, the language used displays the characteristics of legal discourse. Reference to concepts such as “citizens’ rights,” “justice,” “fundamental freedoms,” and “the rule of law” shows that this discourse seeks legitimacy through legal frameworks. The use of legal reasoning and reference to human rights documents also gives the text a kind of legal authority.

At the hegemonic level, this sub-discourse creates a discursive challenge to the existing legal structure by raising legal demands. In effect, by emphasizing the principle of equality before the law, it highlights the gap between proclaimed principles and actual implementation. This sub-discourse links women’s activism to legal issues and judicial justice and, through specific cases such as compulsory hijab, political prisoners, and civil activists, creates new possibilities for the emergence of the “legal woman activist.”

Table 2. Discursive Indicators of the Legal Sub-Discourse

Level of Analysis	Indicators
Key vocabulary	Human rights, justice, equality, law
Discursive strategy	Legal reference and legal critique
Central signifier	Justice and legal equality
Type of activism	Legal and civil
Relation to power	Critique of the legal structure

Civil Resistance Sub-Discourse

In the discourse of Narges Mohammadi, a sub-discourse emerges whose core is the exposure of structural violence and the defense of fundamental human rights. In this discourse, the lived experience of prison, repression, and political restrictions becomes the central element.

From a discourse-analytic perspective, the texts of this sub-discourse often carry a strong emotional and ethical charge. The use of personal narratives, testimonial forms, and experiential descriptions of prison conditions or political violence creates a moral discourse that places the audience in a position of empathy.

At the level of Foucauldian theory, this type of discourse can be analyzed as a form of resistance against biopolitics, in which the imprisoned body and the experience of repression become tools for exposing the mechanisms of power.

Table 3. Indicators of the Civil Resistance Sub-Discourse

Level of Analysis	Indicators
Key vocabulary	Repression, prison, resistance, freedom
Discursive strategy	Experiential narration and testimony
Central signifier	Resistance against repression
Type of activism	Protest-oriented and civil
Relation to power	Direct confrontation

Religious Critique Sub-Discourse

In the discourse of Sedigheh Vasmaghi, a discourse of religious reform can be observed that seeks to provide a foundation for gender justice through reinterpretation of religious sources. This discourse is based on the assumption that many restrictions imposed on women stem from historical interpretations of religion rather than from the essence of religion itself.

At the discursive level, this approach simultaneously employs religious and rational language in an effort to create religious legitimacy for women's demands. Reference to the Qur'an, *ijtihad*, and the principles of Islamic justice shows that women's activism can also be possible within the religious tradition itself.

Table 4. Indicators of the Religious Critique Sub-Discourse

Level of Analysis	Indicators
Key vocabulary	Ijtihad, Islamic justice, religious interpretation
Discursive strategy	Jurisprudential reinterpretation
Central signifier	Gender justice in religion
Type of activism	Intellectual and religious
Relation to power	Ideological critique

Intermediate Sub-Discourse

In the discourse of Faezeh Hashemi Rafsanjani, a hybrid discourse can be observed that simultaneously contains elements of institutional, reformist, and critical discourse. This position stems from her particular location within the field of Iranian politics.

From the perspective of discourse analysis, this sub-discourse displays a type of discursive flexibility; that is, depending on the political situation, it sometimes emphasizes institutional participation and at other times articulates more explicit critiques of the structure of power.

Table 5. Indicators of the Intermediate Sub-Discourse

Level of Analysis	Indicators
Key vocabulary	Reform, freedom, participation
Discursive strategy	Combination of critique and participation
Central signifier	Structural reform
Type of activism	Political and media-oriented
Relation to power	Intermediate position

Discussion and Conclusion

Drawing on the framework of critical discourse analysis and discourse theory, this study showed that women's socio-political activism in Iran after the Islamic Revolution has been articulated through multiple sub-discourses, each of which adopts a distinct strategy in relation to power at the levels of language, practice, and structure. The findings show that the institutional and reformist sub-discourse emphasizes reform from within the structure and the expansion of women's presence in official institutions. The legal and justice-oriented sub-discourse, by using the language of human rights and law, seeks to challenge discriminatory legal structures. The civil resistance sub-discourse exposes structural violence and repression and, through testimony and narration, calls the moral legitimacy of power into question. The religious critique sub-discourse critiques official interpretations from within the religious tradition and opens up new possibilities for gender justice within a religious framework. Intermediate positions such as that of Faezeh Hashemi show that the boundaries between inside and outside the system are more fluid than simple binaries suggest.

These findings indicate that women's socio-political activism after the Islamic Revolution cannot be reduced to a single model. Instead, we are confronted with a set of different sub-discourses, each of which adopts its own strategies for engaging with power, law, religion, and society.

At a deeper level, however, a shared logic can be identified among these sub-discourses: the logic of recognizing women's agency and striving to expand the horizon of their presence in the public sphere, whether through participation in the official structure, civil resistance, human rights discourse, or religious reinterpretation.

From the perspective of discourse theory, this situation can be seen as a hegemonic scene in which women's discourses seek to remove central signifiers such as "Muslim woman," "justice," "dignity," "freedom," and "law" from the complete possession of official discourse and to offer alternative or broader meanings for them.

In addition, using a Foucauldian framework, it can be argued that women's activism occurs not only at the level of institutions and laws but also at the level of the body, lived experience, and personal narratives; as seen in the discourse of Narges Mohammadi and others, the imprisoned body, the body under the pressure of compulsory hijab, and the body exposed to violence are all drawn into the sphere of politics.

Ultimately, in interaction and conflict with one another, these sub-discourses have produced a kind of "gender turn" in Iranian political discourse; a turn that may be interpreted as a transition from "woman as the object of politics" to "woman as the subject of politics."

Accordingly, explaining the transformation of women's activism in Iran requires a multilayered and interdisciplinary approach that simultaneously takes into account language, the body, religion, law, and politics through the combined perspectives of Bourdieu, Arendt, Fairclough, Laclau and Mouffe, Foucault, and critical feminisms.

It is suggested that policymakers pay attention to the diversity of women's sub-discourses and avoid reducing women to a single subject position, while creating real spaces for participation and critical dialogue.

It is also suggested that women activists become more aware of differences and of the possibilities for discursive alliances among sub-discourses, and work toward building chains of equivalence among different demands, whether legal, religious, civil, or institutional.

For future research, it is recommended to conduct discourse analysis of younger generations of women, analyze social networks and new media, and focus on women's activism in more peripheral contexts, such as small cities and ethnic and religious minorities.

Acknowledgments

We would like to express our appreciation and gratitude to all those who helped us carrying out this study.

Authors' Contributions

All authors equally contributed to this study.

Declaration of Interest

The authors of this article declared no conflict of interest.

Ethical Considerations

All ethical principles were adhered in conducting and writing this article.

Transparency of Data

In accordance with the principles of transparency and open research, we declare that all data and materials used in this study are available upon request.

Funding

This research was carried out independently with personal funding and without the financial support of any governmental or private institution or organization.

References

1. Waylen G. *Gender and Informal Institutions*. London: Rowman & Littlefield; 2021.
2. Evans E, Kenny M. *Feminism and Politics*. 2nd ed. London: Routledge; 2022.
3. Moghadam VM. *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press; 2013.
4. Waylen G. Informal institutions, institutional change, and gender equality. *Political Research Quarterly*. 2014;67(1):212-23.
5. Beckwith K. *Political Women and American Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2019.
6. Lazar MM. *Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis: Gender, Power and Ideology in Discourse*. London: Palgrave Macmillan; 2005.
7. Lombardo E, Meier P. *The Symbolic Representation of Gender: A Discursive Approach*. London: Routledge; 2016.
8. Ferree MM. *Varieties of Feminism: German Gender Politics in Global Perspective*. Stanford: Stanford University Press; 2012.
9. Moghadam VM. *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner; 2003.
10. Afshar H. *Women and Politics in the Third World*. London: Routledge; 2012.
11. Paidar P. *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth Century Iran*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; 2016.
12. Moshirzadeh H. *From Movement to Social Theory: History of Two Centuries of Feminism*. Tehran: Shirazeh Publishing; 2013.
13. Ahmadi Khorasani N. *The Women's Movement in Iran*. Tehran: Tose'e Publishing; 2016.
14. Sadeghi F. *Gender, Politics and Society in Contemporary Iran*. Tehran: Negah-e Moaser Publishing; 2019.
15. Beiranvand P, Kavand R, Sharifi Houlasou E. Grounded theory analysis and socio-political activism of women [Master's Thesis]: Ayatollah Borujerdi University - Faculty of Humanities; 2024.
16. Ketabi EA, Menati A, Taha A. Identifying effective patterns on women's political participation after the Islamic Revolution of Iran. *Islamic Revolution Research Quarterly*. 2025;14(2):227-49.
17. Fraile M, Gomez R. Why does Alejandro know more about politics than Catalina? Explaining the Latin American gender gap in political knowledge. *British Journal of Political Science*. 2017;47(1):91-112.
18. Duflo E. Women empowerment and economic development. *Journal of Economic Literature*. 2012;50(4):1051-79.
19. Fairclough N. *Critical Discourse Analysis*. Shayesteh-Piran F, editor. Tehran: Ney Publishing; 2010.
20. Ritzer G. *Sociological Theory*. Nayebi H, editor. Tehran: Ney Publishing; 2014.
21. Arendt H. *The Human Condition*. Olya M, editor. Tehran: Qoqnoos; 2011.
22. Foucault M. *The Archaeology of Knowledge*. London: Routledge; 1972.
23. Foucault M. *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. New York: Pantheon; 1980.
24. Foucault M. *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*. New York: Pantheon; 1978.