

## **CONFRONTING THE WEST: SOCIAL MOVEMENT FRAMES IN 20TH CENTURY IRAN**

1.	INTRODUCTION.....	1
	1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	1
	1.2 Protest Cycles in Iran .....	2
	1.2.1 The Tobacco Movement and the Constitutional Revolution	
	1.2.2 Post World War II Nationalist Movements: The Tudeh (Masses) and National Front.	
	1.2.3 The 1963 Qom Protest and the Iranian Revolution (1978-79)	
	1.2.4 The 2 <sup>nd</sup> of Khordad Movement (1997-present)	
	1.2.5 Problems of Demarcating Protest Cycles	
	1.3 Overview.....	7
2.	FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY.....	9
	2.1 Introduction.....	9
	2.2 Structural and Social Psychological Considerations in Social Movement Theory .....	10
	2.2.1 Resource Mobilization Theory	
	2.2.2 Social Movement Frames	
	2.2.3 Political Opportunity and Frames	
	2.3 The Relationship Between Legitimacy and Framing .....	14
	2.3.1 Framing, Legitimacy and Structural Change	
	2.4 The Master Frame of Sovereignty in Iran.....	15
	2.4.1 Definitions of National and Individual Sovereignty	
	2.5 Summary of Individual and State Sovereignty as a Master Frame in Iran	19
	2.6 The Study of Culture in Social Movement Theory.....	20
	2.7 Utopia and Ideology in Movements.....	25
	2.8 Social Movements and Revolution.....	29
	2.9 Civilizational Clash.....	31
3.	METHODS AND DATA.....	35

3.1 Types of Historical Research.....	35
3.1.1 Criticism of Historical Sociology	
3.1.2 The Advantages of Historical Comparative Research	
3.2 Historical Comparative Research Methodology.....	38
3.2.1 Organization of Documents	
3.2.2 Historical Evidence and its Quality	
3.3 Conclusion.....	42
4. CULTURE AND ANCHORING SOCIAL MOVEMENT NARRATIVES IN ISLAMIC HISTORY .....	43
4.1 Symbolic Narratives and Iranian Social Movements.....	44
4.1.1 The General Narrative of the Life of the Prophet Mohammad	
4.1.2 The <i>Ka'ba</i>	
4.1.3 Reaction of the Meccans to Mohammad's Prophecy	
4.1.4 The Emigration to Medina (Hejra)	
4.1.5 The Battle of Badr (2A.H. /624 A.D.)	
4.1.6 Mohammad's Return to Mecca	
4.1.7 Mohammad's Life in the Modern Context.	
4.2 Articles of Belief in Islam.....	51
4.2.1 The Articles of Belief in the Modern Context	
4.3 Articles of Practice in Islam.....	55
4.3.1 Debate Over the Articles of Practice	
4.4 Shi'i Religious Narratives.....	58
4.4.1 The Succession Crisis following the Death of Mohammad	
4.4.2 The Martyrdom of Hossein	
4.4.3 The Martyrdom of Hossein in the Modern Context	
5. CULTURE AND TRADITIONAL FORMS OF SYMBOLIC PROTEST IN IRANIAN HISTORY.....	67
5.1 Symbolic Action Accompanying the <i>Moharam</i> Processions.....	67
5.1.1 Passion Plays ( <i>Ta'ziyeh</i> ) and Storytellers ( <i>Rawdah-khwan</i> )	
5.1.2 <i>Moharam</i> Symbols in Iranian Life	
5.2 Formal <i>Taqiyeh</i> .....	73
5.3 Popular <i>Taqiyeh</i> .....	75
5.3.1 <i>Taqiyeh</i> and Social Movements	
5.4 <i>Bast</i> : Seeking Sanctuary.....	77

5.5	Iranian Cultural Practices and Cultural Exchange.....	79
6.	SOCIAL STRUCTURE: RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RELIGIOUS ELITE, THE BAZAAR, THE STATE AND THE CROWD IN IRAN	
6.1	Historical Background.....	81
6.1.1	The Safavid Empire and the Development of a Clerical Elite	
6.2	Social Structure: Relations Between the Bazaar, the Islamic Elite, the Crowd and the Qajar State.....	84
6.2.1	Points of Tension Among the Clerical Elite	
6.2.2	Points of Tension in the Relationship between the <i>Bazaar</i> , Peasantry, Clerical Elite and State During the Twentieth Century	
6.2.3	Mobilizing “the Crowd” in twentieth Century Iran: The <i>Lutis</i> , <i>Tollabs</i> and <i>Bazaaris</i>	
6.3	Summary of Social Institutions in Iran.....	98
7.	SOCIAL STRUCTURE: BRITISH AND RUSSIAN INTERVENTION IN IRAN	100
7.1	The Anglo Russian Rivalry.....	101
7.1.1	Economic Expansion by the West	
7.1.2	British Expansion and Early Protest	
7.2	Summary of the Iranian Relationship with the Great Powers	106
8.	THE TOBACCO MOVEMENT (1890-92)	107
8.1	The Tobacco Concession (1890).....	107
8.2	Frames of Sovereignty Adopted During the Tobacco Protest (1890-92)	109
8.2.1	The Forged <i>Fatwa</i>	
8.2.2	Frames of the <i>Anjomans</i> (Secret Societies)	
8.3	Early Islamic Modernism in Iran: The Example of Seyyed Jamal al-Din “al- Afghani” (Asadabadi).....	119
8.3.1	Seyyed Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Modernist Moslem Thought	
8.3.2	Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and the Tobacco Movement	
8.4	The Framing of Assassination in Iranian Culture.....	125
8.5	Summary of Frames During the Tobacco Movement.....	127
9.	THE CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (1906-09).....	130
9.1	The Negotiation of Movement Frames.....	132

9.2 Social Structure: The Clerical Elite in Tehran.....	134
9.3 The Development of the Movement Frame of Constitutionalism	135
9.3.1 The Protest of 1905-1906	
9.3.2 Introduction of the Frame of “Nationalism”	
9.3.3 The Third <i>Bast</i> and the Great Exodus	
9.3.4 The <i>Bast</i> in the British Embassy	
9.3.5 Points of Tensions Among the Merchants During the <i>Bast</i>	
9.3.6 A “National” Assembly or an “Islamic” Assembly? Points of Tension Among the Bastis and the Islamic Elite	
9.3.7 Counter Movement Frames: The Paradox of the <i>Bast</i> in the British Embassy	
9.3.8 The Establishment of the National Assembly	
9.4 Counter Movements and the Debate Over Constitutionalism ( <i>Mashruta</i> )	153
9.4.1 Fazlollah Nuri’s Bast and Counter Frames of the anti-Constitutionalists	
9.5 Political Assassination and Threats of Violence During the Constitutional Revolution.....	166
9.5.1 Framing the Assassination: The Press and <i>Anjomans</i>	
9.6 Frames of Foreign Domination: The 1907 Anglo-Russian Partition Agreement.....	171
9.7 The <i>Anjoman</i> Defense of the <i>Majles</i> .....	175
9.7.1 The 1908-09 Civil War	
9.8 Summary of Frames Negotiated During the Constitutional Revolution	177
9.8.1 Frames of Individual Sovereignty in the Constitutional Revolution: Equality, Free-Will and Religious Faith	
9.8.2 Frames of National Sovereignty	
10 POST WORLD WAR II (1944-53) NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS: THE TUDEH AND THE NATIONAL FRONT.....	183
10.1 The Tudeh (Masses) and the National Front.....	183
10.1.1. Cycles of Protest and the Development of Master Frames	
10.2 Master Frames of Sovereignty: Individual Equality and Independence from the West.....	186
10.3 Frames of Nationalism.....	188
10.4.1 The Religious Elite and Post-War Nationalist Movements	
10.4.2 Regional Movements in Iran During the Post War Period	
10.4 The Inter-War Period and the Rise of Reza Khan “Pahlavi” Shah	197

10.4.1	Continued Intervention by the British and Russians: The Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919	
10.4.2	Reza Khan Shah (1924-41) and the Development of “Persian” Nationalism	
10.4.3	The Deposal of Reza Khan Shah	
10.5	Cycles of Repression and Iranian Movements.....	203
10.6	Framing Opportunity: Social Class and The Rise and Fall of the Tudeh (Masses) Party.....	204
10.6.2	Re-framing Communism: Khalel Maleki and the Third Force ( <i>Niru-ye Sevvum</i> )	
10.7	Resonance of the Frame of Social Class.....	216
10.7.1	Frame Resonance of Social Class Among the Nationalist Right and Communist Left	
10.7.2	Resonant Counter Frames of Adherents of the Nationalist Right	
10.7.3	Anti-Imperial Frames of the Left and Right	
10.7.4	Frame Awareness: Competing Newspaper Messages among Movement Groups	
10.8	The National Front Movement (1949-53).....	226
10.8.1	Mohammad Mosaddeq	
10.8.2	Electoral Reform: Mosaddeq’s <i>Bast</i> and the Formation of the National Front	
10.8.3	Confronting the West: Mosaddeq’s Frame of Negative Equilibrium	
10.8.4	Religiosity and the Nationalist Movement	
10.8.5	The Assassination of Prime Minister Razmara	
10.8.6	Prime Minister Mosaddeq and the Crowd	
10.8.7	The Decline of the National Front	
10.9	Frames in the United States and Britain Concerning the Leadership of Mosaddeq.....	239
10.9.1	The Coup Against Mossadeq	
10.10	Culture, Ideology, Framing and Counter-framing Among Nationalist Groups.....	242
10.11	Frames of Sovereignty Introduced by the Tudeh and National Front	245
10.11.1	Frames of Individual Sovereignty in the Post-War Debate	
10.11.2	Frames of National Sovereignty	
11.	IDEOLOGY AND MOVEMENT FRAMES OF THE IRANIAN RELIGIOUS REVIVAL (1962-1978).....	249
11.1	Islam as an Ideology.....	249

11.2	Cycles of Repression and the Religious Revival.....	254
11.3	The Creation of “the West”.....	252
11.3.1	Modernization, Development and the West	
11.3.2	Lay-Religious Leaders and the Rhetorical “Return” to Iranian Islamic Traditions	
11.3.3	Plagued By The West ( <i>Gharbzadegi</i> )	
11.3.4	The Call for Clerical Activism	
11.3.5	Jalel Al-e Ahmad and the Constitutional Revolution	
11.4	The Creation of an Islamic Ideology.....	261
11.4.1	A Brief Sketch of Ali Shariati’s Life	
11.4.2	A Modern Anjoman: The Hosseiniyeh Ershad	
11.4.3	The Creation of the Revolutionary Ideal	
11.4.4	Tawhid as the Moslem Ideal	
11.4.5	The Tawhidi Ideal of the People’s Mojahedin ( <i>Sazman-e Mojahedin-e Khalq-e Iran</i> )	
11.4.6	A Return to the “True” Religion	
11.4.7	The Ideal Society: The Omma	
11.4.8	The Ideal Man: The Vice-Regent of God	
11.4.9	The Ideal Woman: Fatima is Fatima	
11.4.10	Iranian Women’s Identities	
11.4.11	The Revolutionary Leadership: The role of the “free-thinker” in Iranian society.	
11.4.12	Confronting the West	
11.4.13	The Inevitable Decline of the West	
11.5	Confronting the West: The Clerical Response.....	293
11.5.1	Ayatollah Khomeini: The Call for Clerical Activism	
11.5.2	The 1962-3 Qom Protests	
11.5.3	Anti-Imperial Frames: The Speech Against Extra-Legal Status of American Military Personnel	
11.5.4	In Exile: A Combination of Anti-imperial and Religious Frames	
11.5.5	Khomeini and Cultural Defense Against Westoxification	
11.6	When Did the Revolution Start? Who Started It? When Will It Be Over? .....	312
11.7	The Symbolic Protest of 1977-78 .....	317
11.7.1	<i>Moharam</i> and the Cycle of Forty Days During 1977-78	
11.7.2	Black Friday ( <i>Ramadan</i> ) 1978	
11.7.3	<i>Moharam</i> 1978	
11.8	The Interaction of Culture, Ideology and Frames of Sovereignty During the Islamic Revival.....	324
11.9	Looking to the Future: The Current Discourse on Islam as Ideology	329

12. POST REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS IN IRAN (1997-present) IN MODERN IRAN.....	336
12.1 Authority in the Iranian Constitution.....	338
12.1.1 Religious Oversight: <i>Velayat-e Faqih</i>	
12.1.2 Debate Over the Constitutional Authority of the Leader ( <i>Rahbar</i> )	
12.1.3 The Modern Leader: A Source of Emulation and a Man Who Understands the Times.	
12.2 The 2nd of Khordad Movement.....	352
12.2.1 The Iranian Constitution as the Basis for a Civil Society	
12.2.2 National Sovereignty and The Dialogue Among Civilizations	
12.2.3 Iran and the United States	
12.2.4 The Decline of the West	
12.2.5 Reformist Struggles in the Courts and Press Freedom	
12.2.6 Political Assassination and the Trial of Iranian Security Forces	
12.2.7 Demonstrating Lawfulness: Passive Resistance and the Strategy of “Dynamic Calm”	
12.3 The Women’s Movement in Iran.....	376
12.3.1 Women’s Participation in Past Movements in Iran	
12.3.2 Westoxification and Women	
12.3.3 Enabling and Constraining Aspects of the Revolutionary Framework	
12.3.4 Policy and Employment Trends For Women Following the Revolution	
12.3.5 Exploiting the “Women in the Family Frame” (1982-87)	
12.3.6 Counter Framing Women’s Activism: Feminism as “Western”	
12.3.7 Political and Press Activism	
12.3.8 Women’s Struggle in the Courts	
12.4 The Student Movement.....	395
12.4.1 The 1999 July Student Protest	
12.4.2 <i>Entrance Exam and the Time Of Resurrection</i>	
12.4.3 The November 2002 Protests	
12.5 Culture Ideology and Frames of Post Revolutionary Movement.....	404
13. CONCLUSION: A CENTURY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN IRAN.....	411
13.1 Cycles of Protest and the Master Frame of Iranian Sovereignty.....	411
13.2 Frames of Individual Sovereignty During a Century of Social Movements .....	412

13.2.1 Enabling and Constraining Elements of Master Frames  
Negotiated Over Time

13.3 Frames of National Sovereignty During a Century of Social Movements in Iran.....	415
13.4 The Usefulness of Investigating Cycles of Protest .....	416
13.5 Questions for the Future .....	417