REFERENCES


Asr Iran (2007), ‘Rake‘i Proposed the Formation of a Large Coalition among Women (In Persian)’, Asr Iran News, 26 September 2007, http://www.asriran.com/fa/news/26051/%D8%B1%D8%A7%DA%A9%D8%B9%DB%8C-%D8%AE%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D8%AA%D8%B4%DA%A9%DB%8C%D9%84-%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%81-%D8%A8%D8%B2%D8%B1%DA%AF-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B4%D8%AF.

—— (2016), ‘Complete List of Reformist Candidates across the Country’, Asr Iran News, 24 February 2016, http://www.asriran.com/fa/news/453349/%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D9%86%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%8A%D9%8A-%DA%A9%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%DB%8C%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B5%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AD-%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%AF%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%B3%D8%B1%DA%AF-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B4%D8%AF.


Bani-Etemad, Rakhshan (2009), *We are Half of Iran’s Population* [film], http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL324C7549DCFD1551.


—— (2010b), ‘Turkey’s Sixth Report on its Compliance with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women’, Istanbul: The Coalition for the Partial Preliminary Evaluation Report by 71 NGOs,
http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/docs/ngos/CPRER_Turkey46.pdf.


Deutsche Welle Persian (2015), ‘New Support for 30% Quotas for Women in the Parliament (In Persian)’, Deutsche Welle Persian, 14 December 2015, http://www.dw.com/fa-ir/%D8%AD%D9%85%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%AA%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D8%A7%D8%B2%D9%87-%D8%A7%DB%8B-%D8%B7%D8%B1%D8%AD-%D8%B3%D9%87-%D9%85%DB%8C%D9%87-%DB%B3%DB%B0-%D8%AF%D8%B1%D8%B5%D8%AF%DB%8C-%D8%B2%D9%86%DB%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%85%D8%AC%D9%84%D8%B3/a-189167.

32.


Didban (2013), ‘Women in the Eleventh Cabinet: Presidential Candidates’ Thoughts on Women’s Presence in the Cabinet (In Persian)’, Didban News, http://didban.ir/fa/news/4403/%D8%B6%D8%A7-%D9%86-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%DA%A9%D8%A8-%DB%8C-%D9%86-%DB%8C-%D8%A7%DB%82%D9%87-%DB%8C%DB%A7%DB%82%D9%87%.


Dokouhaki, Parastoo (2000), ‘Political Groups are to Blame for the Decrease in the Number of Parliamentary Women! (In Persian)’, Zanan Magazine 64.


Gol, Nuray (2009), ‘Women’s Participation Issue and Analysis of Woman Organization Structure in Turkey: A Comparison of KA.DER (Association for Supporting and Training Women Candidates) and Türk Kadınlar Birligi (Turkish Women Union)’, Thinking Gender Papers, UCLA Center for the Study of Women, http://escholarship.org/uc/item/2jc4v0hs.


Haghighatjoo, Fatemeh (2004), ‘Full Text of Fatemeh Haghighatjoo’s Resignation Letter, Reformist Member of the Sixth Parliament (In Persian)’, Gahar, https://gahar.ir/%D8%A8%DB%8C%D9%88%DA%AF%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%81%DB%8C-%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%B7%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%AD%D9%82%DB%8C%D9%82%D8%AA-%D8%AC%D9%88/.


ICANA (2017), ‘Zolghard: Meritocracy is not in Contradiction with Using Women for Senior Leadership Posts (In Persian)’, *Islamic Consultative Assembly News Agency (ICANA)*, 11 September, http://www.icana.ir/Fa/News/347771/%D8%B4%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%87-%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%B1%DB%8C-%D8%AA%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%82%D8%B6%DB%8C-%D8%A8%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%87-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D9%BE%D8%B3%D8%AA%E2%80%8C%D9%87%D8%A7%DB%8C

ILNA News Agency (2015), ‘Motalefeh’s Central Executive Board have been Elected (In Persian)’, *Iranian Labour News Agency*, 18 October, http://www.ilna.ir/بخش-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C-3/314534-%D8%A7%D8%B9%D8%B6%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%B4%D9%88%D8%B1%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D9%85%D8%B1%DA%A9%D8%B2%DB%8C-%D8%AD%D8%B2%D8%A8-%D9%85%D8%A4%D8%AA%D9%84%D9%81%D9%87-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%B4%DB%AF%D9%86%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C.


Kamali, Fatemeh (2017), ‘Gender Quotas are in Conflict with Meritocracy (In Persian)’, *Setareh Sobh Newspaper*, 19 April.


—— (1989), ‘Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns?’,


—— (2009a), ‘How Islamic was the Revolution?’, *Middle East Research and Information Project* 39 (250): 12.


Khaleghi, Minoo (2016), ‘Statement of Minoo Khalegi (In Persian)’, *Tabnak News*, 23 March, http://www.tabnaksesfahan.ir/fa/news/201446/%D9%85%D9%86%D8%AA%D8%AE%D8%A8-%D8%B3%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B1%D8%AF-%D8%B5%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AD%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%B4%D8%AF%D9%86%D8%B4-%D8%B1%D8%A7-%D9%82%D8%AA%D9%88%D9%84-%D9%86%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AF-%D8%AE%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%82%DB%8C-%D8%AE...
women’s political representation


—— (2009), Quotas for Women in Politics: Gender and Candidate Selection Reform Worldwide, Oxford: Oxford University Press.


Krook, Mona Lena, and Sarah Childs. 2010. “Women, Gender, and Politics: An


Mahoney, James, and Richard Snyder (1999), ‘Rethinking Agency and Structure in...


Mansoury, Azar (2017), ‘Azar Mansoury: Deputy of Society of New Religious Thinking Muslim Women (In Persian)’, *Hamshahri*, 2 March, [http://shoaresal.ir/fa/news/102476/%D8%A2%D8%B0%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%B1%DB%8C-%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85%E2%80%8C%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%AC%D9%85%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%DB%8C%D8%B4](http://shoaresal.ir/fa/news/102476/%D8%A2%D8%B0%D8%B1-%D9%85%D9%86%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%B1%DB%8C-%D9%82%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%85%E2%80%8C%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%85-%D8%AC%D9%85%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%85%D9%85%D8%B3%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%AF%DB%8C%D8%B4).


Mir-Hosseini, Ziba (1996), ‘Stretching the Limits: A Feminist Reading of the Shari’a


Molaverdi, Shahindokht (2003), ‘The Law’s Role in Preventing or Reserving Violence against Women (In Persian)’, *Hoghooghe Zanan Magazine*.


Najmabadi, Afsaneh (2000), ‘(Un)Veiling Feminism’, *Social Text* 18 (3) [64]: 29–45.


Rouhani, Hassan (2021), ‘President’s Speech in Meeting with Women and Family Activists (In Persian)’, Islamic Republic News Agency, 17 April, https://www.irna.ir/news/84298688/%D8%B3%D8%AE%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B1%D8%A6%DB%8C%D8%B3-%D8%AC%D9%85%D9%87%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%AF%D8%B1-%D8%AF%DB%8C%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%B1-%D9%81%D8%B9%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%AD%D9%88%D8%B2%D9%87-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D9%88-%D8%AE%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%87.


Shahrokni, Nazanin (2009), ‘All the President’s Women’, MERIP (Middle East Research and Information Project) 253, https://merip.org/2009/12/all-the-presidents-women/.


Shojaee, Zahra (2005), For Tomorrow’s Women: Selection of Zahra Shojaee’s Speeches and Articles (In Persian), Tehran: Soor-e Mehr Publications.


Simmons, Beth (2009), Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.


—— (2010), ‘Polygamy and Remarriage: Main Challenges of the Family Protection Bill (In Persian)’, *Tabnak News*, 26 August, http://www.tabnak.ir/fa/news/116560/%D8%A7%D8%B2%D8%AF%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AC-%D9%85%D8%AC%D8%AF%D8%AF-%D9%88-%DA%86%D9%86%D8%AF-%D9%87%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%B1%D9%8A-%DA%86%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B4-%D9%87%D8%A7%D9%8A-%DA%87%D8%B5%D9%84%D9%8A-%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%AD%D9%87-%D8%A9%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%88%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%87.


—— (2015b), ‘Islamic Women’s Groups and the Quest for Political Representation


—— (forthcoming), “Gender Justice” versus “Gender Equality”: Elite Women’s Framing for Political Representation in Iran and Turkey*, *Journal of Middle East Women’s Studies*.


Tasnim (2017), ‘Full Text of the Law on the Sixth Development Plan’, *Tasnim News*, 18 March, /fa/news/1395/12/28/1360457/%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%86-%DA%A9%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%84-%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%86%D9%84-%D8%A8%B1%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%B4%D8%B4%D9%85-%D8%AA%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%99%D9%87.

Tavernise, Sabrina (2008), ‘Under a Scarf, a Turkish Lawyer Fighting to Wear It’,


Valimorad, Touran (2013), ‘A Letter to Ayatollah Yazdi from the Islamic Women’s Coalition (In Persian)’, Khabaronline, 17 May, https://www.khabaronline.ir/news/293508.%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%85%D9%87-%D8%A7%DB%8C-%D8%A8%D9%87-%D8%82%DB%8C%D8%AA-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%84%D9%87-%DB%8C%D8%B2%DB%AF%DB%8C-%D8%A7%D8%B2-%D8%B7%D8%B1%D9%81-%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%AA%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%81-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%D8%A3-%D9%85%DB%8C-%D8%B2%D9%86%D8%A7%D9%86-%D8%B1%D9%88%D8%B3%D8%AA%D8%A7-%D9%88-%DA%A9%D8%AF%D8%AE%D8%AF%D8%A7.


Yavuz, Hakan (2009), Secularism and Muslim Democracy in Turkey, New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.


Zandi, Mohammad Ali (2014), ‘Islamic Society of Engineers’, Baqir Al-Ulum Research Center, 14 November, http://pajoohe.ir/%D9%85%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%87%D9%86%DA%AF-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C-%D9%88-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%DB%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B6%D9%88%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%B9%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%87%D9%86%DA%AF-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C-%D9%88-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%DB%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B6%D9%88%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%B9%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%87%D9%86%DA%AF-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C-%D9%88-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%DB%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B6%D9%88%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%B9%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B3%DB%8C%D8%A7%D8%B3%DB%8C%D9%85%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%81%D8%B1%D9%87%D9%86%DA%AF-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%A7%D9%86%D8%B3%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C-%D9%88-%D8%A7%D8%B3%D9%84%DB%A7%D9%85%DB%8C-%D9%85%D9%88%D8%B6%D9%88%D8%B9%DB%8C%D8%B9%D9%88%D9%85-%D8%B3%DB%8C.
