## PUBLICATIONS

**Books**

1. *Globalization, Religion, and Gender: the Politics of Women’s Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts*, co-editor and contributor with Jane Bayes (New York: Palgrave, 2001).
2. *Women in Muslim Societies: Diversity within Unity,* co-editor and contributor with Herbert Bodman (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1998).
3. *Feminism, Demokrasy ve Islamgarayi dar Iran* (Feminism, Democracy and Islamism in Iran) [in Persian] (Los Angeles: Ketabsara Inc., 1996, reprinted in Iran, 1998).

**Book Chapters: (**Chronologically Ordered**):**

1. Tohidi, N. (2010). The Women’s Movement and Feminism in Iran: A Glocal Perspective. In Amrita Basu (Ed.), *Women’s Movements in the Global Era* (375-414). Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). Ethnic and Religious Minority Politics in Contemporary Iran. In Ali Gheissari (Ed.), *Contemporary Iran* (299-323). London & NY: Oxford University Press.
2. Tohidi, N. (2007). Muslim Feminism and Islamic Reformation. In Rosemary Radford Ruether (Ed.), *Feminist Theologies: Legacy and Prospect* (93-116+161-164).Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=lOFBColkprkC&pg=PA93&lpg=PA93&dq=nayereh+tohidi&source=web&ots=LdsPnqvFJ0&sig=hRclHvAqGPJr26igFXnwqlZ7qsw>

1. Tohidi, N. (2006). “Islamic Feminism”: Women Negotiating Modernity and Patriarchy in Iran. In Ibrahim Abu-Rabi (Ed.), *The Blackwell Companion of Contemporary Islamic Thought* (624-643). Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing.
2. Tohidi, N. (2004). Women, Building Civil Society, and Democratization in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan. In Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias (Eds.), *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition* (149-171). Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and the John Hopkins University Press.
3. Tohidi, N. (2004). Iranian Women and Gender Relations among the Iranian Immigrants in Los Angeles. In Jack Solomon and Sonia Maasik (Eds.), *California Dreams and Realities,* 3rd Edition (149-159). New York: Bedford/St. Martin’s Books.
4. Tohidi, N. (2002). The International Connections of the Women’s Movement in Iran: 1979-2000. In Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee (Eds.), *Iran and the Surrounding World: Interaction in Culture and Cultural Politics* (205-231). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
5. Tohidi, N. & Bayes, J. (2001). Introduction. In Jane Bayes and Nayereh Tohidi (Eds.), *Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women’s Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts* (1-16). New York: Palgrave.
6. Tohidi, N. & Bayes, J. (2001). Women Redefining Modernity and Religion in the Globalized Context. In Jane Bayes & Nayereh Tohidi (Eds.), *Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women’s Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts* (17-60). New York: Palgrave.
7. Tohidi, N. (2000). Gender and National Identity in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan: A Regional Perspective. In Feride Acar & Ayse Gunes-Ayata (Eds.), *Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey* (249-292). Boston: Brill.
8. Tohidi. N. (1999). Gendering the Nation: Reconfiguring National and Self-Identities in Azerbaijan. In Asma Afasaruddin (Ed.), *Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female “Public” Space in Islamic/ate Societies* (89-115). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
9. Tohidi, N. (1998). Guardians of the Nation: Women, Islam and the Soviet Legacy of Modernization in Azerbaijan. In Herbert Bodman and Nayereh Tohidi (Eds.), *Women in Muslim Societies: Diversity within Unity* (137-161). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
10. Tohidi, N. (1998). The Issues at Hand. In Herbert Bodman and Nayereh Tohidi (Eds.), *Women in Muslim Societies: Diversity within Unity*  (277-294). Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
11. Tohidi, N. (1994). Modernization, Islamization, and Gender in Iran. In Valentine Moghadam (Ed.), *Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies* (110-147). London & Karachi: Zed Books & Oxford University Press.

<http://books.google.com/books?id=MYCVkaM1alQC&pg=PA110&lpg=PA110&dq=nayereh+tohidi&source=web&ots=bxFfX4f0R3&sig=LSRwwOjXmUhq4GPT37fploaPm9Q>

1. Tohidi, N. (1993). Immigrant Iranians and Gender Relations in Los Angeles. In Ron Kelly, Jonathan Friedlander, and Anita Colby (Eds.), *Irangeles: Iranians in Los Angeles*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. Tohidi, N. (1991). Gender, Fundamentalism and Feminist Politics in Iran. In Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Eds.), *Third World Women and Politics of Feminism* (251-267).Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

**Refereed Journal Articles (**Peer Reviewed**):**

1. Tohidi, N. (2015/1394). Women’s Studies in Iran’s Universities: A Display of the Paradox of Islamic Republic [Reshteh Motaleat-e Zanan dar Iran: Nemoodi digar az Paradox-e Jomhuri-ye Eslami]. *Azadi-ye Andishe* (A Persian Journal in Social Sciences and the Humanities), Vol. 1, Khordad/June, 165-234.
2. Tohidi, N. (2013/1392). The Ethnic Dimensions of Constitutionalism and Democracy in Iran [*Abaad qowmi mashroutiyat va democracy dar Iran*]. *Rahavard* (A Persian/English Journal of Iranian Studies), 103 (Summer), 84-99: <http://www.rahavard.com/103.cfm>
3. Tohidi, N. (2003). Women’s Rights in the Muslim World: The Universal-Particular Interplay. *Hawwa Journal on Women in the Middle East and Islamic World,* 1 (2), 152-188.
4. Tohidi, N. (2002). The Global-Local Intersection of Feminism in Muslim Societies: The Cases of Iran and Azerbaijan. *Journal of Social Research* (An International Quarterly of the Social Sciences), 69 (3), 851-887:

<http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_69/ai_94227144>

1. Tohidi, N. (2001 & 2002). “Islamic Feminism”: Perils and Promises. *Middle East Women’s Studies Review,* 16 (3 & 4), 13-15 & 27: <http://www.amews.org/review/reviewarticles/tohidi.htm>
2. Tohidi, N. (1997). The Intersection of Gender, Ethnicity and Islam in Azerbaijan. *Journal of Nationalities Papers*, 25 (1), 147-167.
3. Tohidi, N. (1996). “Fundamentalist” Backlash and Muslim Women in the Beijing Conference. *Canadian Women Studies,* 16 (3),
4. Tohidi, N. (1996). Soviet in Public, Azeri in Private: Gender, Islam and Ethnicity in Soviet and Post-Soviet Azerbaijan" in Women's Studies International Forum, 19, nos. 1-2 (1996): 111-123.
5. Tohidi, N. (1984). Sex Differences in Achievement/Career Motivation of Boys and Girls. *Journal of Sex Roles*, 11(5-6), 467‑484.
6. Tohidi, N. and Farmer, H. (1982). Study of the Factors Influencing Sex Differences in the Career Motivation of Iranian High School Students. *International Journal of Inter-cultural Relations,* 6, 17-39.

**Invited Articles and Essays:**

1. Tohidi, N. (2015). Beijing plus 20 and Its Impact on Women’s Political Participation/Representation. In Haleh Esfandiari (Ed.) *Beijing plus 20 and the Barriers against Political Participation of Women*, Washington, DC: the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, forthcoming.
2. Tohidi, N. (2014). Guest Editor of Gender, Nationality and Ethnicity, special issue of the Journal *Zannegaar*, No. 22: <http://zannegaar.net/index/441>
3. Tohidi, N. (2014). National Territories and Sexual Borders. In Gender, Nationality and Ethnicity, *Zannegaar*, No. 22: <http://zannegaar.net/content/450>
4. Tohidi, N. (2011). “A Critical Assessment of Iranian Women’s Movement in the Context of the Green Movement for Democracy,” Article presented at the 21st Annual Conference of the Iranian Women’s Studies Foundation, Paris, July 2010: <https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=10150315806087356>
5. Tohidi, N. (2010). Beyond Islamic Feminism: Women and Representation in Iran’s Democracy Movement. In *Islamic Feminism and Beyond: The New Frontier* (18-23), Occasional Papers by Woodrow Wilson Center, Fall.

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Islamic%20Feminism%20and%20Beyond.pdf>

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). Iran: les femmes dans la politique. A*fkar/idées*: *Revue trimestrielle pour le dialogue entre le Maghreb, ľ Espagne et ľ Europe,* No. 23 (Automne), 42-46.
2. Tohidi, N. (2009). Women and the Presidential Elections: Iran’s New Political Culture. *Informed Comment*, (September 3):

<http://www.juancole.com/2009/09/tohidi-women-and-presidential-elections.html>

1. Tohidi, N. (2008). Iran's Women's Rights Activists Are Being Smeared. *Women’s e NEWS*, accessed on 9/17/2008:

<http://www.womensenews.org/article.cfm/dyn/aid/3743>

Reprinted in:  
<http://www.femschool.org/english/spip.php?article149>

<http://www.forequality.info/english/spip.php?article358>

8) Tohidi, N. (2008/1387). Change in the ‘Family Law,’ the Last Stage of Secularization?

*The Feminist School*, June 17/28 Khordad, 1-22:

<http://feministschool.net/spip.php?article804>

Reprinted in:

<http://www.iran-emrooz.net/index.php?/zanan/more/16189/>

<http://www.advarnews.us/idea/7386.aspx>

<http://www.irwomen.info/spip.php?article5777>

9) Tohidi, N. (2007). Ethnic and Minority Politics in Iran.

[La politica sobre minorias ethnicas religiosas] *VANGURDIA Dossier: Iran por dentro*, Numero 24, Julio/Septembre, 90-95 (in Spanish language, Barcelona, Spain).

1. Tohidi, N. (2007). Ta`amol Mahali-Jahani Feminism dar Jonbesh-e Zanan-e Iran [The Local-Global Interplay of Feminism in the Women’s Movement in Iran]. *Arash: A Persian Monthly of Culture and Social Affairs*, No. 100 (October), 163-168 [www.arashmag.com](http://www.arashmag.com)
2. Tohidi, N. (2007). One Million Sisters: US Feminists Rally in Support of Women’s Rights in Iran. *Ms. Magazine* (Fall), 18.

1. Tohidi, N. (2006). Iran’s Women’s Rights Movement and the One Million Signatures Campaign. (November & December):

**In English:**

<http://www.we-change.org/spip.php?article208>   
<http://www.payvand.com/news/06/dec/1174.html> <http://www.iranian.com/BTW/2006/December/Women110/index.html>

1. **In Persian:**<http://www.herlandmag.net/weblog/>; <http://www.we-change.org/spip.php?article137>**;** <http://www.kanoonezanan.com/first.php?id=236>; <http://www.iran-emrooz.net/index.php?/politic2/more/10966/>
2. Tohidi, N. (2006). Iran: Regionalism, Ethnicity and Democracy. openDemocracy (June 29):

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-irandemocracy/regionalism_3695.jsp>

1. Tohidi, N. (2005). Women at the Forefront of the Democracy Movement in Iran. *The International Journal of Not- for-Profit Law*, Vol. 7, Issue 3 (June): <http://www.icnl.org/JOURNAL/vol7iss3/ar_tohidi.htm>

[Reprinted in five Internet journals: OpenDemocracy.net; Tharwa.project.com; Irandokht.com, womeniniran.com; Feminist Tribune (www.iftribune.com)]

1. Tohidi, N. (2005). In Memoriam: On Parvin Paidar. *The Middle East Studies Association Bulletin*, 39 (2), December.

[Longer version printed in six Internet and Print Journals: iranian.com; Iran-emrooz.net; Iranokht.com; womeniniran.com; iftribune.com; Rahavard]

1. Tohidi, N. (2005). Revolution? What's in it for them? Globalized Iranian American women are nudging their homeland toward democracy.

*The* Los Angeles Times (July, 31):   
<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/sunday/commentary/la-op-iranwomen31jul31,0,7192154.story?coll=la-home-sunday-opinion>

1. Tohidi, N. (2005). Post-Soveit Azerbaijande Qadinler ve Madani Groum (A translated version of the following article in Azeri Turkic language). *III Sektor: Demokratiya Jurnali* (Third Sector: Journal of Democracy) 1(16), 90-9. Baku, Azerbaijan; and also on the Internet Journal [www.achiq.org](http://www.achiq.org)
2. Tohidi, N. (2004). Women, Civil Society, and NGOs in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan,” in the International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, 7 (1): <http://www.icnl.org/journal/vol7iss1/ar_tohidi.htm>
3. Tohidi, N. (2003). No to Forced Veiling and No to Forced Unveiling: An Analysis of the French Law Banning the Headscarf. *Iranian Feminists Tribune,* <http://www.iftribune.com/news.asp?id=5&pass=17>, (December 31). [Reprinted in Iran-Emrooz*;* Women in Iran*;* and a few other Internet journals in Persian].
4. Tohidi, N. (2003/1382). The Iranian Feminist Movement’s Global Connections. [Peyvand-e jahani-ye Jonbesh-e Zanane Iran] in the Journal of *Goft-O-Gu (Dialogue on Culture and Society)* No. 38 (December/Azar), 25-49, Tehran. [Translated from the book chapters # 7 above]
5. Tohidi, N. (2003/1382). Women’s Rising Self-Consciousness and Empowerment versus Recent Cases of Misogyny in Iran. [Roshd agahi ve tavanmandi zanan ve nemoodha-ye tazeh az zan-setizi]. *Iran-Emrooz,* 25 (September/Shahrivar), in Persian:

<http://www.zanan.iran-emrooz.de/more.php?id=186_0_10_0_M>

Republished in the *Journal of Human Rights Droits de l’Homme Menschenrechte*, 19 (59) winter, Berlin.

1. Tohidi, N. (2003/1382). “*Zanan*” Has Come to Bridge, Not to Separate. *Zanan* (monthly journal in Persian published in Iran), 12 (100), June/Khordad.
2. Tohidi, N. (2000). Kelishe-Zedayi az Zanan-e Gharbi: Moarrefi-ye yek chehreh (Shattering Stereotypes of Western Women: Introducing a Figure). Jens-e Dovvom (*The Second Sex*: *A Collection of Articles on Women’s Studies)* [In Persian, Tehran, Iran], Vol. 6 & 7, 4-22.
3. Tohidi, N. (2000). Jensiyyat, Moderniyyat, ve Demokracy, Bakhsh II (Gender, Modernity, and Democracy, Part II). *Jens-e Dovvom (The Second Sex: A Collection of Articles on Women’s Studies)* [In Persian, Tehran, Iran], Vol. 4, 26-42.
4. Tohidi, N. (1999). Jensiyyat, Moderniyyat, ve Demokracy, Bakhsh I (Gender, Modernity, and Democracy, Part I). *Jens-e Dovvom (The Second Sex: A Collection of Articles on Women’s Studies)* [In Persian, Tehran, Iran], Vol. 3, 10-21.
5. Tohidi, N. (1999). Women and Rights in Central Asia*. CIRA Bulletin* (Center for Iranian Research and Analysis), 15 (1), April.
6. Tohidi, N. (1999). Student Movement: The Harbinger of a New Era in Iran. *The ISIM Newsletter* (International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World), No. 4.
7. Tohidi, N. (1999). Citizenship, Democracy and Women’s Rights in Azerbaijan and Central Asia. *Journal of Azerbaijanian Studies,* 2 (2), (In English and Azeri Turkic).
8. Tohidi, N. (1999). Negahi be jonbesh-e daneshjoyi konooni dar Iran (A Reflecting on the Present Student Movement in Iran). *Negin Magazine,* Los Angeles, No. 8 (July), In Persian.
9. Tohidi, N. (1999). Gender, Modernity and Democracy. *Mehregan: An Iranian Journal of Culture and Politics,* 8 (2-3), (Summer/Fall 1999), Washington, [A modified version of the item #25].
10. Tohidi, N. (1997). “Feminizm-e Islami: chaleshi demokratik ya charkheshi teokratik? ("Islamic Feminism”: A Democratic Challenge or a Theocratic Shift?). *KANKASH: A Persian Journal of History, Culture, and Politics,* No. 13 (Fall), Washington, DC., 96-150.
11. Tohidi, N. (1997). A Re-View of Gender Roles and Gender Stereotypes. *Zanan* Monthly Magazine (Tehran: Iran), 6:34.
12. Tohidi, N. (1997). Modernity, Islam and Women in Iran. *Women in Action,* ISIS International, Manila, the Philippines), No. 1.
13. Tohidi, N. (1996). Azeri Women: Shifting Identities in a Changing World. *Surviving Together* (Washington, DC) 14:4.
14. Tohidi, N. (1994-95). Cultural and Political Dimensions of Development in Azerbaijan: the Quest for Identity. *The Iranian Journal of International Affairs*, 6 (3 & 4), 261-276.
15. Tohidi, N. (1995). More Action, Less Division: the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. *The AMEWS Review* (Association for Middle East Women's Studies Review), 10 (3), November.
16. Tohidi, N. (1995/1374). The Fourth World Conference of Women in Beijing and the Iranian Delegation. *Zanan* (Tehran, Iran, in Persian), 4 (25), 2-9.
17. Tohidi, N. (1994). Women, Nationalism and the Quest for Identity in Azerbaijan. *Central Asia and Caucasian Review,* 2 (4).
18. Tohidi, N. (1994). Oral History: Interview with the leaders of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan *(‘Ferqeh Demokrat’*). *KANKASH: A Persian Journal of History, Culture, and Politics*. Washington, D.C. No. 11, 138-168.
19. Tohidi, N. (1993). Memoirs of Baku: A Portrait of a Woman Writer; Azize Jafarzade. *Iran Nameh.* Bethesda, MD: XI (3), 537-547.
20. Tohidi, N. (1990/1368). Intellectuals and the ‘Woman Question’ in the Recent Decades” [Rowshanfekran ve ‘masaleh zan’ der dahe-haye akhir]. *Nime-ye Digar (A Persian Language Journal of Feminist Studies),* 1(10), Boston, USA, 21-65.

Republished by *Feminist School* in 2012 and reprinted in several sites, including:

<http://www.iran-emrooz.net/index.php?/social/more/32820>

**Book Reviews; Book Blurbs; Film/Conference Reviews:**

1. Tohidi, N. (2014). Book Blurb for *Zanan dar Sayeh Rowshan*, a novel by Mahdokht Sanati (Berlin: Gardoon Publishers, 2014).
2. Tohidi, N. (2006). "Defending Iran's Women," a review on the book by Shirin Ebadi (with Azadeh Moaveni), *Iran Awakening: A Memoir of Revolution and Hope* (New York: Random House, 2006), *Ms. Magazine*, Xvi (3), 43.
3. Tohidi, N. (2005). Book Blurb for *Shifting Ground: Muslim Women in the Global Era*, Edited by Fereshteh Nouraie-Simone (NY: The Feminist Press at the City University of New York: 2005).
4. Tohidi, N. (2005). Book Blurb for *Islam and Human Rights: Advancing a US-Muslim Dialogue*, Edited by Shireen Hunter with Huma Malik (Washington: Center for Strategic & International Studies, 2005).
5. Tohidi, N. (2003). Book Blurb for *Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution,* by Nikki Keddie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
6. Tohidi, N. (2003). “Islam and Gender,” a review essay on the book *Islam and Gender: The Religious* *Debate in Contemporary Iran* by Ziba Mir-Hosseini, in *Farzaneh Journal of Women Studies in Iran*, 6 (11), (In Persian, Tehran), 69-74.
7. Tohidi, N. (2002). Book Review on Ziba Mir-Hosseini *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), *International Journal of Middle East Studies.* 34, 170-171.
8. Tohidi, N. (2000). Book Review on Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad & John L. Esposito (Eds.) *Islam, Gender, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), *Journal of the American Academy of Religion.* 68 (1), 178-182.
9. Tohidi, N. (2000). Panel Review on “Perspectives on Revolutionary Iran: A Critical Appraisal after Twenty Years,” MESA panel chaired by Mark Gasirowski, Washington (November 1999), in *AMEWS Review* (March).
10. Tohidi, N. (1996). Book Review on Touraj Atabaki. *Azerbaijan: Ethnicity and Autonomy in Twentieth-Century Iran.* (London: British Academic Press, 1993), *International Journal of Middle East Studies,* 28 (2).
11. Tohidi, N. (1994). Review of Events in the Field: International Seminar on Central Asia and the Caucasus in Tehran, *Central Asia Monitor,* No. 4.
12. Tohidi, N. (1994). Book Review on Afsaneh Najmabadi (Ed). *Bibi Khanum Astarabadi's Ma'ayib al-Rijal: Vices of Men.* (Chicago: Midland Printers, 1992), and Hasan Javadi, Manijeh Marashi, and Simin Shekarloo (Eds). *Ta'dib al-Nisvan va* *Ma'ayib al-Rijal [Disciplining of Women and Vices of Men].* (MD: Jahan Books, 1992). Both books reviewed in *Iran Nameh* (a bilingual Journal of Iranian studies), Bethesda: MD, XI (5).
13. Tohidi, N. (1991). Film Review on *Not Without My Daughter*, the movie based on Betty Mahmoodi and William Hoffer’s book under the same title (New York: St. Martin's Paperbacks, 1990), *Los Angeles Times,* Jan. 21 (1991): F3:

<http://articles.latimes.com/1991-01-21/entertainment/ca-583_1_iranian-women>

**Encyclopedic Contributions:**

1. Encyclopedia of the Islamic World (Oxford University Press, 2008).
2. Iran Today: Encyclopedia, edited by Mehran Kamrava and Manochehr Dorraj (Greenwood Publishers, Volumes One, 2008), 131-141.
3. Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East, Editor-in-Chief Michael R. Fishbach (Thomson Gale, 2007).
4. The Encyclopedia of Women and Islamic Cultures, Edited by Suad Joseph (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 4 volumes, 2004-2006).
5. Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa, 2nd Edition, edited by Philip Matter (Detroit: MI: Macmillan Reference USA, 2004).

Policy Papers, Consultancy & Publications with the United Nations and others:

1. Tohidi, N. (2010). Women’s Rights in Iran. In Sanja Kelly and Julia Breslin, Eds., *Women’s Rights in the Middle East and North Africa* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield & Freedom House, Lanham, MD): <https://www.scribd.com/book/80751231/Women-s-Rights-in-the-Middle-East-and-North-Africa-Progress-Amid-Resistance>

Available in paperback, as a CD-ROM, and online in 3 languages at: http://www.freedomhouse.org

* 1. **Persian**: <http://www.gozaar.org/template1.php?id=1343&language=persian>
  2. **English**: <http://www.gozaar.org/template1.php?id=1343&language=english>
  3. **Arabic**: <http://www.nayerehtohidi.com/wp-content/uploads/docs/tohidi-article-iran-freedomhouse-arabic.pdf>

1. Tohidi, N. (2002). Women, Democratization and Islam in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan. Policy Papers Series, Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, summer 2002.
2. Tohidi, N. (1998). Time for Reconciliation: Normalization of Iran-U.S. relations can help normalize Iran's foreign and domestic policies, January 8, 1998:

<http://www.iranian.com/Opinion/Jan98/Tohidi/>

1. Tohidi, N. (1995). Gender and National Human Development in the Republic of Azerbaijan, written for and published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in Human Development: Azerbaijan Republic, Baku, 1995.
2. Tohidi, N. (1994). The Impact of Transition on the Situation of Women in Azerbaijan, written for and published by UNICEF, Baku.
3. Tohidi, N. (1994). Situatsionniy Analiz Polozheniia Zhenshchin v Azerbaidzhane, [translated into Russian from its original in English] published by UNICEF, Baku, September.
4. Tohidi, N. (1993). Azerbaijan in Transition: A Socio-Economic Profile (co-authored with Val Moghadam), International Labor Office (ILO), May 1993 (available at UCLA Research Library and Harvard Widener Library).

**Published Creative Works, Essays, Lectures, and Interviews** (Partial List)

1. Tohidi, N. (2014). “No Way Out for Street Children in Iran?” in *JARAS* online Journal, September 27: [http://www.rahesabz.net/story/86368/](https://urldefense.proofpoint.com/v2/url?u=http-3A__www.rahesabz.net_story_86368_&d=AAMBaQ&c=Oo8bPJf7k7r_cPTz1JF7vEiFxvFRfQtp-j14fFwh71U&r=AdFWOo2HEJb6Bx60Eb0IsFaKyXhs9zVofYMqNX8doNo&m=Ic8Bmw5EqWSpEYvtNpnqUZcqeXNXj1D_lNes2lI5yUE&s=_qCSWFDCzJObCN58_cSUWSyScbDINcdJxgGkUpJ8mpQ&e=)
2. Tohidi, N. (2014). “Vigilante Actions on the Streets and the ‘Moderate’ Government in Iran” *in Khodnevis* online journal, September 19, 2014: <https://khodnevis.org/article/60551#.VEHF9fnF98H>
3. Tohidi, N. (2014). Conversation about the controversies in the 25th Annual International Conference of the Iranian Women’s Studies Foundation, published in *Shahrvand*, September 4, 2014: <http://www.shahrvand.com/archives/53287>
4. Tohidi, N. (2014). Commentary on a panel about the current challenges for the women’s movement in Iran, The 25th Annual International Conference of Iranian Women’s Studies Foundation, San Diego, USA, July 11-13, 2014: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pwW1lNTOOF4&feature=youtu.be>

1. Tohidi, N. (2014). Lecture on the Significance of the International Women’s Day, March 8, 2014, Irvine Community Center: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=IZzt1xalPdU>
2. Tohidi, N. (2014). Lecture on “A Review on Iranian Women’s Struggles for Civil Rights,” Toronto Book Club, Toronto, Canada, March 14:

<http://www.shahrvand.com/archives/48970>

1. Tohidi, N. (2012). Gender Aspects of Democracy Movements in the Middle East and North Africa, Lecture at Fresno Community Center, CA, June 15, 2012:

<https://dl.dropboxusercontent.com/u/23578854/20120715%20155422.m4a>

1. Tohidi, N. (2011). “On the Necessity of Feminist Interventions in Iran’s Green Movement” June:

<http://zamaaneh.com/special/2010/06/post_1232.html>

1. Tohidi, N. (2010). “To build democracy in Iran, we need to promote a feminist discourse and strengthen the women’s movement” September:

<http://fairfamilylaw.info/spip.php?article1501>

<http://feministschool.org/spip.php?article5763>

1. Tohidi, N. (2010). “Freedom for Nasrin Sotoudeh and the Geneva Sit-In” December:

<http://www.iranianfemschool.info/spip.php?article6435>

1. Tohidi, N. (2010). “Mossadeq’s Significance for the Current Women’s Movement and Pro-Democracy Movement in Iran” June: <http://www.iranianfeministschool.org/spip.php?page=print&id_article=5302>
2. Tohidi, N. (2010). “From Sherif Hatata to Javad Tavassolian: Misogynists want to disintegrate families” May: <http://feministschool.com/spip.php?article5074>
3. Tohidi, N. (2010). “The Women’s Movement as a response to the disparity between the state policies and new social realities in Iran” March: in *JARAS:*

<http://www.nayerehtohidi.com/wp-content/uploads/news/tohidi-interview-2010-hashemi.pdf>

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). “To Know that we are not alone,” Reflections on the Nobel Women Initiative Conference on Redefining Democracy, Guatemala, May 21-23: *Open Democracy*:

<http://www.opendemocracy.net/audio/jane-gabriel/to-know-that-we-are-not-alone/podcast-transcript>

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). “Women’s Prominence in Green Movement and Post-Islamist Iran,” August:

<http://www.feministschool.com/spip.php?article2954>

<http://www.asre-nou.net/php/view.php?objnr=5030>

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). “Policy Implications of the 10th Presidency: Women against Women?” September:

<http://www.radiofarda.com/content/f2_Dastjerdi_woman_minister_Ahmadinejad_campaign/1837963.html>

1. Tohidi, N. (2009). “The trajectory of the Iranian women’s movement in the 30th anniversary of the Revolution,” January: <http://www.foroneiran.com/index.php/interview/more/2577/>
2. Tohidi, N. (2009). A March 8th Message: “Let’s Not Channel the Hardship toward Ourselves,” March: <http://www.femschool.info/spip.php?article2238>
3. Tohidi, N. (2009). “One Year of Efforts for Equal Rights in Iran, 1387-88,” March 9:

<http://www.radiofarda.com/content/F7_Viewpoints_8March/1506072.html>

1. Tohidi, N. ((2008). “Playing Four Roles: A Conversation with Nayereh Tohidi on the Coalition Against the Family Bill,” September:

<http://www.meydaan.net/Showarticle.aspx?arid=674>

1. Tohidi, N. (2007). “The Women’s Movement in Iran Facing a Double Blackmail,”[Grogan-giri-ye doganeh harekat-e zanan], August 6:

<http://www.roozonline.com/archives/2007/08/006680.php>

1. Tohidi, N. (2007). “Die Regierung wird nervos” [The Government gets nervous], In *derStandard*, Vienna, Austria, (in German), July 3: <http://derstandard.at/?url=/?id=2944221>
2. Tohidi, N. (2007). “Hopelessness can run the women’s movement underground,” Radio Zamaneh, July 7: <http://www.radiozamaneh.org/morenews/2007/07/post_308.html>
3. Tohidi, N. (2006). “Prohibir el vel a les escoles afavoreix el fondamentalisme” [The prohibition of the veil in schools may benefit fundamentalism]. In *Islamisme-Societat, El Temps*, Catalina, Spain, De Novembre: 57-58.
4. Tohidi, N. (2005). “Feminism: A Term with Different Interpretations” [Feminism: Vazheyi ba ta`abir motefavet], Deutsche Welle, Germany, March 9:

<http://www2.dw-world.de/persian/frauen/1.128034.1.html>

1. Tohidi, N. (2004). "On Some Current Women Issues in Iran: An Interview," in Women Without Borders, April 1, 2004, Vienna, Austria (available in English and German):

<http://www.women-without-borders.org/news/archive/13/>

1. Tohidi, N. (2004). "The Current Challenges for the Women's Movement in Iran"

[Chalesh-haye jonbesh-e zanan  der jameh`ye Iran] in "Etehad Jomhourikhahan Iran," September 25: <http://jomhouri.com/a/02eve/001557.php>.

1. Tohidi, N. (2004). “Globalization and the First Online Seminar on the International Women's Day,” March 8: (see the report by Radio Farda, March 10, 2004) in:

<http://jomhouri.com/a/04int/001096.php>

1. Tohidi, N. (2003). On Islamic Feminism: A Radio Discussion, NPR: *Talk of the Nation*, November 22:

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1474694>

1. Tohidi, N. (2002). Women, Human Rights and Islam, United States Institute of Peace, June 17: Can be listened at: <http://www.usip.org/peacewatch/2002/8/women.html>
2. Tohidi, N. (1999). Linking up with Women’s Struggles in Iran [Zarourat Paivand be Mobarezat Zanan der Iran], Shahr-e Ketab: Los Angeles.