

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, Demokrasi ve Islamgarayi dar Iran* (Feminism, Democracy and Islamism in Iran) [in Persian] (Los Angeles: Ketabsara Inc., 1996, reprinted in Iran, 1998).

Books in Progress:

The Women's Movement, Islamism and Democracy in Iran: A Glocal Perspective

Book Chapters: (Chronologically Ordered):

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

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

- 3) "'Islamic Feminism': Women Negotiating Modernity and Patriarchy in Iran" in *The Blackwell Companion of Contemporary Islamic Thought*, edited by Ibrahim Abu-Rabi, (Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 624-643.
- 4) "Women, Building Civil Society, and Democratization in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan" in *Post-Soviet Women Encountering Transition*, edited by Kathleen Kuehnast and Carol Nechemias (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press and the John Hopkins University Press, 2004), 149-171.
- 5) "Iranian Women and Gender Relations among the Iranian Immigrants in Los Angeles" in *California Dreams and Realities*, 3rd Edition, Jack Solomon and Sonia Maasik (Eds.)

(New York: Bedford/St. Martin's Books, 2004), 149-159.

- 6) "The International Connections of the Women's Movement in Iran: 1979-2000" in Iran and the Surrounding World: Interaction in Culture and Cultural Politics, edited by Nikki Keddie and Rudi Matthee (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2002), 205-231.
 - 7) "Introduction" coauthored with Jane Bayes, in Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts, Jane Bayes and Nayereh Tohidi, Eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 1-16.
 - 8) "Women Redefining Modernity and Religion in the Globalized Context" coauthored with Jane Bayes, in Globalization, Gender, and Religion: The Politics of Women's Rights in Catholic and Muslim Contexts, Jane Bayes and Nayereh Tohidi, Eds. (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 17-60.
 - 9) "Gender and National Identity in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan: A Regional Perspective" in Gender and Identity Construction: Women of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Turkey edited by Feride Acar & Ayse Gunes-Ayata (Boston: Brill, 2000), 249-292.
 - 10) "Gendering the Nation: Reconfiguring National and Self-Identities in Azerbaijan" in Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female "Public" Space in Islamic/ate Societies edited by Asma Afasaruddin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 89-115.
 - 11) "Guardians of the Nation: Women, Islam and the Soviet Legacy of Modernization in Azerbaijan" in Women in Muslim Societies: Diversity within Unity edited by Herbert Bodman and Nayereh Tohidi (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), 137-161.
 - 12) "The Issues at Hand" in Women in Muslim Societies: Diversity within Unity edited by Herbert Bodman and Nayereh Tohidi (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1998), 277-294.
 - 13) "Modernization, Islamization, and Gender in Iran" in Gender and National Identity: Women and Politics in Muslim Societies, edited by Val Moghadam, (London & Karachi: Zed Books & Oxford University Press, 1994), 110-147.
- <http://books.google.com/books?id=MYCVkaM1alQC&pg=PA110&lpg=PA110&dq=nayereh+tohidi&source=web&ots=bxFfX4f0R3&sig=LSRwwOjXmUhq4GPT37fploaPm9Q>
- 14) "Immigrant Iranians and Gender Relations in Los Angeles" in Iranegles:

Iranians in Los Angeles edited by Ron Kelly, Jonathan Friedlander, and Anita Colby (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

- 15) "Gender, Fundamentalism and Feminist Politics in Iran" in Third World Women and Politics of Feminism, edited by Chandra Mohanty, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 251-267.

Refereed Journal Articles:

- 1) "Women's Rights in the Muslim World: The Universal-Particular Interplay" in the Hawwa Journal on Women in the Middle East and Islamic World, Vol.1, No. 2 (2003): 152-188.
- 2) "The Global-Local Intersection of Feminism in Muslim Societies: The Cases of Iran and Azerbaijan" in the Journal of Social Research (An International Quarterly of the Social Sciences), 69:3 (Fall 2002): 851-887.
http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2267/is_3_69/ai_94227144
- 3) "Islamic Feminism: Perils and Promises" in the Middle East Women's Studies Review, Vol. 16, No. 3&4 (Fall 2001/Winter 2002): 13-15 & 27
<http://www.amews.org/review/reviewarticles/tohidi.htm>
- 4) "The Intersection of Gender, Ethnicity and Islam in Azerbaijan" in the Journal of Nationalities Papers, 25:1 (1997): 147-167.
- 5) "'Fundamentalist' Backlash and Muslim Women in the Beijing Conference" in the Canadian Women Studies, 16: 3, (Summer 1996).
- 6) "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.
- 7) "Sex Differences in Achievement/Career Motivation of Boys and Girls," in Sex Roles, 11, nos. 5-6 (1984): 467-484.
- 8) "Study of the Factors Influencing Sex Differences in the Career Motivation of Iranian High School Students" co-authored with Helen Farmer in the International Journal of Inter-cultural Relations, 6 (1982): 17-39.

Invited Articles and Essays:

- 1) "Iran's Women's Rights Activists Are Being Smeared"
<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>

- 2) "Change in the 'Family Law,' the Last Stage of Secularization?"
In The Feminist School, June 17, 2008 (28 Khordad 1387), Pp.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>
- 4) "Ethnic and Minority Politics in Iran"
[La politica sobre minorias etnicas religiosas] in VANGURDIA Dossier: Iran por dentro, Numero 24, Julio/Septembre 2007: 90-95 (in Spanish language, Barcelona, Spain).
- 5) "Ta'amol Mahali-Jahani Feminism dar Jonbesh-e Zanan-e Iran" [The Local-Global Intersection of Feminism in the Women's Movement in Iran] in *Arash: A Persian Monthly of Culture and Social Affairs*, No. 100, October 2007: 163-168
www.arashmag.com
- 6) "One Million Sisters: US Feminists Rally in Support of Women's Rights in Iran,"
In Ms. Magazine, Fall 2007, P. 18.
- 7) "Iran's Women's Rights Movement and the One Million Signatures Campaign," in
(November & December 2006) issues of:

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>

In Persian/Farsi:

<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/>

- 8) "Iran: Regionalism, Ethnicity and Democracy," in the openDemocracy (June 29, 2006):

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- 9) "Women at the Forefront of the Democracy Movement in Iran" The International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, Vol. 7, Issue 3 (June 2005):
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)]

- 10) "In Memoriam: On Parvin Paidar" in the Middle East Studies Association Bulletin, 39:2, (December 2005):
[Longer version printed in six Internet and Print Journals: iranian.com; Iran-emrooz.net; Iranokht.com; womeniniran.com; iftribune.com; Rahavard]
- 11) "Revolution? What's in it for them? Globalized Iranian American women are nudging their homeland toward democracy," in the Los Angeles Times (July 31, 2005):
<http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/sunday/commentary/la-op-iranwomen31jul31,0,7192154.story?coll=la-home-sunday-opinion>
- 12) "Women, Civil Society, and NGOs in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan," in the International Journal of Not-for-Profit Law, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Nov. 2004):
http://www.icnl.org/journal/vol7iss1/ar_tohidi.htm
[A translated version in Azeri Turkic language is published in III Sektor: Demokratiya Jurnalı (Third Sector: Journal of Democracy) Vo.1, No. 16 (2005): 90-93, Baku, Azerbaijan; and also on the Internet Journal www.achiq.org
- 13) "No to Forced Veiling and No to Forced Unveiling: An Analysis of the French Law Banning the Headscarf" in Iranian Feminists Tribune,
<http://www.iftribune.com/news.asp?id=5&pass=17>, (December 31, 2003). [Reprinted in Iran-Emrooz; Women in Iran; and a few other Internet journals in Persian].
- 14) "The Iranian Feminist Movement's Global Connections" [Peyvand-e jahani-ye Jonbesh-e Zanan Iran] in the Journal of Goft-O-Gu (Dialogue on Culture and Society) No. 38, Azar 1382 (December 2003), Tehran: 25-49. [Translated from the book chapter # 4 above]
- 15) "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] in Iran-Emrooz, 25 Shahrivar 1382, in Persian (September 2003):
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, Vol. 19, No. 59 (Winter 2003), Berlin
- 16) "'Zanan' Has Come to Bridge, Not to Separate" in Zanan (monthly journal in Persian published in Iran), Vo. 12, No. 100, Khordad 1382 (June 2003).
- 17) "Student Movement: The Harbinger of a New Era in Iran" in the ISIM Newsletter (International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World), No. 4 (1999).

- 18) "Women and Rights in Central Asia" in CIRA Bulletin (Center for Iranian Research and Analysis), Vol. 15, No. 1 (April 1999).
- 19) "Jensiyyat, Moderniyyat, ve Demokracy, Part II" (Modernity, Tradition and Democracy) in Jens-e Dovvom (The Second Sex: Quarterly on Women's Studies) [in Persian, Tehran, Iran] Vol. 4 (January 2000): 26-42.
- 20) "Jensiyyat, Moderniyyat, ve Demokracy, Part I" (Modernity, Tradition and Democracy) in Jens-e Dovvom (The Second Sex: Quarterly on Women's Studies) [in Persian, Tehran, Iran] Vol. 3 (October 1999):10-21.
- 21) "Citizenship, Democracy and Women's Rights in Azerbaijan and Central Asia" in the Journal of Azerbaijanian Studies, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999) (in English and Azeri Turkic).
- 22) "Reflecting on the Present Student Movement in Iran" Negin, Los Angeles, No. 8 (July 1999) (in Persian).
- 23) "Gender, Modernity and Democracy" in Mehregan: An Iranian Journal of Culture and Politics (Washington, Vol. 8, No. 2-3 (Summer/Fall 1999) [modified version of the item #16].
- 24) "Islamic Feminism: A Democratic Challenge or a Theocratic Shift?" (Feminizm-e Islami: chaleshi demokratik ya charkheshi teokratik?) KANKASH, Washington, DC, 13 (Fall 1997):
- 25) "A Re-View of Gender Roles and Gender Stereotypes" in Zanan (Tehran: Iran), 6:34 (1997).
- 26) "Modernity, Islam and Women in Iran" in Women in Action (ISIS International-Manila, the Philippines), No. 1 (1997).
- 27) "Azeri Women: Shifting Identities in a Changing World," Surviving Together (Washington, DC) 14:4 (1996).
- 28) "Cultural and Political Dimensions of Development in Azerbaijan: the Quest for Identity" in the Iranian Journal of International Affairs, 6: 3 & 4 (1994-95): 261-276.
- 29) "More Action, Less Division: the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing" in the AMEWS Review (Association for Middle East Women's Studies Review), 10: 3, Nov. 1995.
- 30) "The Fourth World Conference of Women in Beijing and the Iranian Delegation" in Zanan (Tehran, Iran, in Persian), No. 25 (September 1995).

- 31) "Women, Nationalism and the Quest for Identity in Azerbaijan" in Central Asia and Caucasian Review 2: 4 (1994).
- 32) "Oral History: Interview with the leaders of the Democratic Party of Azerbaijan ('Ferqeh Demokrat')" in KANKASH, Washington, D.C. No. 11 (Spring 1994): 138-168.
- 33) "Memoirs of Baku: A Portrait of a Woman Writer, Azize Jafarzadeh" in Iran Nameh Bethesda, MD: XI: 3 (Summer 1993): 537-547.
- 34) "Intellectuals and the 'Woman Question' in the Recent Decades" [Rowshanfekran ve 'masaleh zan' der dahe-haye akhir] in Nime-ye Digar [The Other Half], No. 10, 1368, Boston, USA (1990): 21-65.

Book Reviews; Book Blurbs; Film/Conference Reviews:

- 1) with Azadeh)a review on the book by Shirin Ebadi ",s Women'Defending Iran" Random :New York) *A Memoir of Revolution and Hope :Iran Awakening* ,(Moaveni .43 :(2006Summer) 3 .No ,Xvi .Vol ,Magazine .Ms in ,(2006 ,House
- 2) Book Blurb for On 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).
- 3) Book Blurb for Modern Iran: Roots and Results of Revolution, by Nikki Keddie (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
- 4) 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) "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, Vol. 6, No. 11 (Tehran: 2003): 69-74.
- 6) Ziba Mir-Hosseini *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1999), in International Journal of Middle East Studies, 34 (2002): 170-171.
- 7) Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad & John L. Esposito (Eds.) *Islam, Gender, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), in The Journal of the American Academy of Religion 68: 1, (Spring 2000): 178-182.
- 8) Perspectives on Revolutionary Iran: A Critical Appraisal after Twenty Years, MESA panel chaired by Mark Gasirowski, Washington (November 1999), in AMEWS Review (March 2000).
- 9) Touraj Atabaki. *Azerbaijan: Ethnicity and Autonomy in Twentieth-Century Iran*. London: British Academic Press, 1993, in International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 28, No. 2 (May 1996).

- 10) Review of Events in the Field: International Seminar on Central Asia and the Caucasus in Tehran, in Central Asia Monitor, No. 4 (1994).
- 11) 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, Vol. XI, No. 5 (Winter 1994).
- 12) *Not Without My Daughter*, the movie based on Betty Mahmoodi and William Hoffer's book under the same name (New York: St. Martin's Paperbacks, 1990), Reviewed in Los Angeles Times, Jan. 21 (1991): F3.

Encyclopedic Contributions:

- 1) Encyclopedia of the Islamic World (Oxford University Press, 2008).
- 2) Encyclopedia of Iran Today, edited by Mehran Kamrava and Manochehr Dorraj (Greenwood Publishers, 2 volumes, 2008).
- 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) Women, Democratization and Islam in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan, Policy Papers Series, Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Summer 2002.
- 2) 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/>
- 3) Gender and National Human Development in the Republic of Azerbaijan, written for and published by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Baku, 1995.
- 4) The Impact of Transition on the Situation of Women in Azerbaijan, written for and published by UNICEF, Baku, 1994.
- 5) 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).

- 6) Situatsionniy Analiz Polozheniia Zhenshchin v Azerbaidzhane, [translation of the item #54 into Russian] published by UNICEF, Baku, September 1994.

Published Lectures & Interviews (Partial List):

- 1) "The trajectory of the Iranian women's movement in the 30th anniversary of the Revolution," January 2009: <http://www.foroneiran.com/index.php/interview/more/2577/>
- 2) A March 8th Message: "Let's Not Channel the Hardship toward Ourselves", March, 2009: <http://www.femschool.info/spip.php?article2238>
- 3) "Playing Four Roles: A Conversation with Nayereh Tohidi on the Coalition Against the Family Bill"
<http://www.meydaan.net/Showarticle.aspx?arid=674>
- 4) "The Women's Movement in Iran Facing a Double Blackmail," [Grogan-giri-ye doganeh harekat-e zanan], August 6, 2007:
<http://www.roozonline.com/archives/2007/08/006680.php>
- 5) "The Government gets nervous" [Die Regierung wird nervos], In derStandard, Vienna, Austria, (in German), July 3, 2007: <http://derstandard.at/?url=/?id=2944221>
- 6) "The prohibition of the veil in schools may benefit fundamentalism" [Prohibir el vel a les escoles afavoreix el fondamentalisme] In Islamisme-Societat, El Temps, Catalina, Spain, De Novembre Del 2006: pp 57-58.
- 7) "Hopelessness can run the women's movement underground", Radio Zamaneh, July 7, 2007:
http://www.radiozamaneh.org/morenews/2007/07/post_308.html
- 8) "Feminism: A Term with Different Interpretations" [Feminism: Vazheyi ba ta`abir motefavet], Deutsche Welle, Germany, March 9, 2005:
<http://www2.dw-world.de/persian/frauen/1.128034.1.html>
- 9) On Islamic Feminism: A Radio Discussion, NPR: "Talk of the Nation," 11-22-03
<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=1474694>
- 10) "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/>
- 11) "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, 2004: <http://jomhuri.com/a/02eve/001557.php>.

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

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

13) Women, Human Rights and Islam, United States Institute of Peace, June 17, 2002, **can listen at:**

<http://www.usip.org/peacewatch/2002/8/women.html>

14) Linking up with Women's Struggles in Iran [Zarourat Paivand be Mobarezat Zanan der Iran], (Shahr-e Ketab: Los Angeles, March 1999) (in Persian).