THE EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPE OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF IRAN'S 1979 ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

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ABSTRACT

THE EMOTIONAL LANDSCAPE OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT: THE CASE OF IRAN'S 1979 ISLAMIC REVOLUTION

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The present study is concerned with investigating the course of Iranian Islamic Revolution from the viewpoint of collective emotion. The data was extracted from Iranian newspapers and magazines covering the events during the intensification of mass protests in November 1978 to the settling of clerical rule in September 1979. The study adopted a content analysis, specifically sentiment analysis of verbal and non-verbal data (photos, caricatures), in terms of their emotional content and transactions between various social groups. To this end, an emotion category set, comprising four subsets, was prepared to suit the description of social movements and the transactional analysis method, introduced by Eric Berne (2011) for interpersonal interaction, was extended to the interaction between social groups. These groups were identified to be six in number based on the results of the constitutional assembly election in August of 1979. The main conclusions of the study are; firstly, collective emotion underwent a shift from positively valenced 'Hope' before the victory of revolution to negatively valenced 'Anger' as the Islamist group succeeded in steering the society to the Islamization and establishing the clerical supremacy. Secondly, the emotional transaction between the Islamists and other groups was dominated with Parent-Child type and the adult-adult interaction, required for the establishment of democracy was insignificant.

Keywords: Emotion, Transactional Analysis, Social Movements, Area Studies, Emotion Labeling, Iranian Islamic Revolution 1979

SOSYAL HAREKETİN DUYGUSAL GÖRÜNÜMÜ: İRAN'IN 1979 İSLAM DEVRİMİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu çalışma, İran İslam Devrimi'nin seyrini kolektif duygu bakış açısıyla araştırmakla ilgilidir. Veriler, Kasım 1978'deki kitlesel protestoların yoğunlaştığı ve Eylül 1979'da dini yönetimin yerleşmesine kadar geçen olayları kapsayan İran gazete ve dergilerinden alınmıştır. Duygusal içerikleri ve çeşitli sosyal gruplar arasındaki işlemler açısından gruplar işleme alınmıştır. Bu amaçla, sosyal hareketlerin tanımına uygun olarak dört alt kümeden oluşan bir duygu kategori seti hazırlanmış ve Eric Berne (2011) tarafından kişilerarası etkileşim için tanıtılan transaksiyonel analiz yöntemi, sosyal gruplar arasındaki etkileşimi kapsayacak şekilde genişletilmiştir. 1979 Ağustos'unda yapılan anayasa meclisi seçim sonuçlarına göre bu grupların sayısı altı olarak belirlendi.

Çalışmanın iki ana sonucu vardı; ilk olarak, İslamcı grup toplumu İslamlaştırmaya yönlendirmeyi ve din adamlarının üstünlüğünü kurmayı başardıkça, kolektif duygu, devrimin zaferi öncesinde pozitif değerli "Umut"tan negatif değerli "Öfke"ye doğru bir değişim geçirdi. İkincisi, İslamcılar ve diğer gruplar arasındaki duygusal etkileşime Ebeveyn-Çocuk tipi hakimdi ve demokrasinin kurulması için gerekli olan yetişkin-yetişkin etkileşimi önemsizdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Duygu, Transaksiyonel Analiz, Sosyal Hareketler, Alan Çalışmaları, Duygu Etiketleme, 1979 İran İslam Devrimi

In dedication to dearest BEHROUZ, SAMAD and my family members who were most supportive of me throughout this thesis

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	vi
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS	xi
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF FIGURES	XV
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xviii
CHAPTERS	
1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. A Brief history of Iranian Islamic Revolution	7
1.2. Research questions	12
1.3. Research Method	13
1.4. The Significance of the Study	17
1.5. The Limitations of the Study	18
1.6. The Organization of the Thesis	18
2. LİTERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1. Classical approaches	26
2.2. Contemporary approaches	29
2.2.1. Resource mobilization theory	29
2.2.2. Political opportunity theory	31
2.2.3. New theories of social movements	33
2.3. The Psychological Dimension of Emotions	38
2.3.1. Collective emotions	44
2.3.2. Individual vs. collective emotions	45
2.4. Emotions and social movement	
3. DEVELOPING A MODEL FOR EMOTIONAL ANALYSIS	59
3.1. Research Type and Approach	59

3.2. Research Strategies	60
3.3. The researcher's role and flexibility	61
3.4. Data Sources and Sampling	62
3.5. Data Analysis	64
3.6. Transactional Analysis	86
3.6.1. Recognizing ego states	87
3.6.1.1. The Parent Ego	87
3.6.1.2. The Adult Ego	87
3.6.1.3. The Child Ego	87
3.6.2. Transaction Types	88
3.6.2.1. Complementary transactions	
3.6.2.2. Crossed transactions	89
3.7. A Review of Major Events of the Iranian 1979 Revolution	93
3.8. Assessing Reliability	100
3.9. Generalizability	104
3.10. Credibility	104
3.11. Limitations of the study	105
4. ANALYSIS"AND" DISCUSSION" OF RESULTS AND" FINDINGS	106
4.1. Analysis	106
4.2. Reliability Test	109
4.3. Emotions' Importance in the Analysis of Social Movements	125
4.3.1. Findings on Emotional Analysis	125
4.3.2. Findings on Transactional Analysis	
5. CONCLUSIONS: IRAN'S RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT FROM AN	
EMOTIONAL PERSPECTIVE	156
5.1. The Contributions of the Thesis	158
5.2. Implications and Recommendations for Future Research	159
5.3. The Limitations of the Present Study	160
REFERENCES	161

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2. 1. Classical and contemporary approaches in Social Movement	
Theories- Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009)	26
Table 2. 2. Edward's (2013: 119) fours dimensions of new social movement	33
Table 3. 1. The Progress in the Researcher's Ability to Perform Emotional	
Analysis of Narratives- Produced by the Author	62
Table 3. 2. A Summary of Entries Selected for Emotional Analysis-Produced	
by the Author	63
Table 3. 3. The share of different players from the popular vote for the	
assembly of the constitution-produced by the author	92
Table 3. 4. Timeline of 1979 Islamic Revolution- Produced by the Author	93

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3. 1. An Exemplary Item Labeled by an Expert
Figure 3. 2. Schematic Presentation of the Knowledge Structure of the
Emotion Logging and its Relation to the Subject's Memory in
the Course of Three Consecutive Stages of Emotional
Scaffolding- Produced by the Author
Figure 3. 3. List of Emotion Categories in (S, A, M, F) Set- Produced by the
Author69
Figure 3. 4. An Algorithmic Flowchart for an Exemplary Implementation for
Performing Emotion Contextualizing- Produced by the Author 71
Figure 3. 5. A Scheme Cased on the State of the Situational Feeling for
Labelling the Emotion Categories Belonging to the "F" Array-
Produced by the Author
Figure 3. 6. A Scheme Based on Outcome Fairness for Labelling the Emotion
Categories Belonging to the "M" Array- Produced by the Author 74
Figure 3. 7. A Scheme Based on Object's Attributes for Labelling the Emotion
Categories Belonging to "S" Array- Produced by the Author 75
Figure 3. 8. Schematically Illustration of an Example of a Multiply Graded
Time-line Used for Describing the Temporal Component of an
Emotional Event
Figure 3. 9. Schematical Illustration of an Interface for Conducting Stroke
Accounting- Produced by the Author
Figure 3. 10. Contemporary transaction- Adopted from Eric Berne's (2011)
Transactional Analysis
Figure 3. 11. Crossed transaction- Adopted from Eric Berne's (2011)
Transactional Analysis90
Figure 3. 12. Flogging for drinking alcohol in Tabriz Monajjem square in
Javanan-e-emrouz, 20 Feb. 1979
Figure 3. 13. Ahangar, 3 July, 1979

Figure 4. 1. Stop destroying trees retrieved from Ayandegan on 27 th of
November, 1978110
Figure 4. 2. Hayedeh denied any involvement with the regime in "Javanan-e-
emrouz", April 30, 1979112
Figure 4. 3. Plan to separate men and women at sea, published in "Javanan-e-
emruz" on July 16, 1979
Figure 4. 4. Arash's hair turned white overnight, "Javanan-e-emrouz", July 2,
1979115
Figure 4. 5. An Islamic court has sentenced a lover to marriage, "Javanan-e-
emrouz", Feb. 12, 1979116
Figure 4. 6. "Must be executed" published in "Ahangar" on May 22, 1979 120
Figure 4. 7. "Last time I voted eleven times, this time I am not allowed to
vote more than four times", published in "Ahangar" on July 31,
1979121
Figure 4. 8. Khalkhali in Ferdowsi on April 21, 1979
Figure 4. 9. Ahangar, June 22, 1979, Why are you drinking? 125
Figure 4. 10. The Dynamics of the Positive Social Emotions-Produced by the
Author
Figure 4. 11. The Dynamics of Negative Social Emotions-Produced by the
Author
Figure 4. 12. The Trend of Both Positive and Negative Social Emotions-
Produced by the Author
Figure 4. 13. The Dynamics of Positive Moral Emotions-Produced by the
Author
Figure 4. 14. The Dynamics of Negative Moral Emotions-Produced by the
Author
Figure 4. 15. The Trend of both Positive and Negative Moral Emotions-
Produced by the Author
Figure 4. 16. The Dynamics of Positive Fortune/Future Appraisal Emotions-
Produced by the Author
Figure 4. 17. The Dynamics of Negative Fortune/Future Appraisal Emotions-
Produced by the Author142

Figure 4. 18.	The Trend of Positive and Negative Future Appraisal/Fortune	
	Emotions- Produced by The Author	145
Figure 4. 19.	Positive and Negative Emotions Interacted Between Other	
	Political Parties vs. Islamists and Vice Versa Before and After	
	the 1979 Revolution- Produced by the Author	150
Figure 4. 20.	The Percentage of Negative and Positive Emotions Interacted	
	Between Different Political Parties Produced by the Author	151

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

M Moral

S Social

F Fortune/Future Appraisal

A Aesthetics

TA Transactional Analysis

SM Social Movement

SAVAK Sazman-e Etelaat Va Amniat Keshvar (Organization of

Intelligence and Security of the Country)

RD Relative Deprivation

LTM Long-Term Memory

P Perceiver

GEW Geneva Emotion Wheel

CP Child-Parent interaction

PC Parent-Child interaction

AA Adult-Adult interaction

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The uprising known as the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978-1979 (hitherto abbreviated as the IIR) started on 7 January 1978 in the religious city of Qum and led to the demise of the 2500-year-old monarchical regime on February 12, 1979. By late summer 1979, a full-fledged theocracy was established in the country, contrary to the wishful predictions of intellectuals and middle-class citizens. As this easy victory of the clerics ostensibly defied rational thinking, some conspiracy theories arose to find out an explanation. A famous case in this regard is an article entitled "The Mystery of the Gradual Retreat of the Americans" (Orphan, 1979), published in the newspaper "Ayandegan". The article was intended to answer the question: "How the most powerful military in the Middle East even didn't bother to defend the gun manufacturing factory against the onslaught of the population and surrendered in merely 36 hours?" The outright answer was, "America planned so." Obviously, the author justifies the above plot by imagining America as an extremely intelligent being that can accurately predict people's behavior. Although he did not provide any evidence for his claims, the article was so well received by Iranians that they rushed to buy the newspaper and the publisher had to reprint the issue to meet the demand. Interestingly, the subject of the article was attractive even to the IIR leadership; a month after their victory, a member of the Revolutionary Council had stated in an interview (Mofatteh, 1979) that the regime collapsed and suddenly they opened the doors of the armories. The fact that the police and the army remained neutral was a plot. They opened the doors of the prisons. The criminals were released. The plan was to make people fight each other.

For years, many activists had longed for the day of the uprising, but when it actually happened, everyone was surprised. Even the Shah had alluded to the role

of outsiders in the events that led to his downfall: "After I left Iran, General Huyser was back in Iran for a few days. What happened then? The only thing is that General Amir Hussein Rabii was asked about General Huyser's role before the trial that preceded his execution. He replied to the judge, "General Huyser threw the emperor out of the country like a dead mouse" (Pahlavi, 1980) In fact, there is no indication that Huyser's mission went beyond the safe and rapid evacuation of American military advisors from Iran. Yet people embraced the article because they needed something to rationalize an unexpected outcome and allude to it during discussions. Interestingly, this point of view was somewhat in line with prevailing scholars at the time, who tended to characterize social movements as rational, democratic, and political struggles (Yang, 2007).

Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution has been studied and analysed from different points of views. Halliday (1982), views Iranian revolution as original and explains the reason for its originality in serving two functions that at the same time that it prevents its assimilation to the schemata of Iranian history, it also prevents it thorough originality to the level that the available and historical explanations can't be applied. Halliday described Iranian revolution's novelty in the role that religion played in its outcome. He distinguished Iranian revolution as the first in history that could succeed to form organizations by using dominant religious ideologies. However, along with religious emphasis, Halliday identified other ideological factors including; first, Iranians' rejection of progress because Khomeini defined his guidelines as regression to earlier political and social models and that he is against modernity, the second ideological factor is Khomeini's attempt to encourage austerity and religious devotion against economic and material factors in spite of the fact that economic factors had a role in the revolution, the third is putting little emphasis on national identity, the fourth is the rejection of history. Halliday discusses that Khomeini disregarded all previous oppositional leaders and considered them as obstacles foor his legitimact, and the last ideological factor according to Halliday is the lack of democracy due to the fact that Khomeini declared the whole power is in the hands of faqih and other religious authorities, not the people. However, apart from the religious aspect of the revolution,

Halliday believes that the revolution was made with alliance of different social groups ranging from traders to urban poor section of the society and the reason for their mobilization was fighting against dictatorship under a charismatic leader. That is the reason Halliday considers Iranian revolution as a populist movement.

Misagh Parsa (2009) has a similar idea in the ideologic aspect of the Iranian revolution. However, Misagh also emohasized on some other variables including the state and its relationship with the political economy as one of the key factors that led to the vulnerability of the state and ultimately the Shah's downfall. Misagh argues that Bazaaris were the most affected class by the economy and thus they established SMGATB which is the society of merchants, Guilds, and Artisans of Tehran Bazaar and stood at the forefront of the mobilizations for decades. Bazaaris' protests were mainly political and against the dictatorship. Later, they supported secula, liberal, secular, and national groups as well. Misagh Parsa explained that the clergy were silent at the initial stages of the protests against the government, but after pro-Khomeini clergy invited others to attend the Ashura rallies, they could absorb thousands of other clergies. Misagh Parsa argues that different repertoires and different social classes and groups with different demands were engaged in the movement however none of them wanted the establishment of theocracy.

Assef Bayat (2017) believes that political Islam and Ali Shariati's thoughts backed Iran's 1979 revolution and there was a coalition between Islamists nd the leftists at the beginning of the movement. However, Bayat explains that this revolution was later hijacked by the Islamists.

It is obvious that ideologies and Shia rituals and Islamic ideologies had an important role in the revolution. "It is by the grace of Muharram and Safar that Islam survives. We must keep the months of Muharram and Safar alive by recitation of the calamities that befell the household of the Prophet. It is by such recitation and mourning that this Religion has lived to this date" (Khomeini, 1969:8), thus said Khomeini, the founder of the Islamic revolution. This and

similar declarations, which he uttered using his characteristically unpolished and archaic language, were genuinely factual. Only few years earlier, in tenth day of Islamic lunar month of Muharram that commemorates the death of Hussain, the grandson of Islam's prophet (October 10, 680 CE), two million demonstrators had poured into the streets of Tehran and for the first time muffled the voice of leftist demonstrators by shouting, 'Party only Hezbullah (party of Allah), Leader only Ruhullah (Khomeini)'.

Until the middle of the 20th century, the story of Imam Hussain's 7th century martyrdom was one of defeat and despair. However, Khomeini urged his followers to not only mourn his death like before, but also to follow his example in order to change their societies. Thus, to fight like Hussain was the rallying cry for the Islamic revolution in Iran. For example, on Eid al Fetr, 4th September 1978, five months before the culmination of the Islamic revolution in Iran, 100,000 Iranians marched in Iran against the Shah. They did so by shrouding themselves in plain white which, symbolized their readiness to die for the revolution. During this event, marchers shouted radical slogans like: "Death to the Shah" thus the demonstrators have moved one step ahead of the government by demanding revolution instead of the government's announced reform. (Parsa, 1989). Retrospectively speaking, the event is significant in terms of intertwining the uprising with Shia rituals.

Regarding the importance of rituals, Steven Pfaff and Yang consider political commemorations as ritual practices and explain the reason why, under specific circumstances, these practices can be used to mobilize protest in authoritarian regimes. Their argument is developed through a theoretical discussion of the double-edged character of social rituals, the use of rituals for staging protest and also political commemorations as symbolic resources in collective action (Pfaff and Yang, 2001).

Kamran Aghaie, on the other hand, analyzed various adaptations of Karbala paradigm in social, political, and religious discourses. He stated that since the

political environment of 1960 and 70s led to an increase in open hostility towards the Shah's regime and since the Pahlavi regime was unable to use religious symbolism of Karbala effectively, this symbolism became an oppositional resource. According to his findings, Karbala narrative has been a flexible set of symbols which are capable of evolving in response to changing political trends' (Aghaie, 1993).

One of the essays that are mainly analytical are those written by by Hamid Dabashi (Ta'ziyeh as a Theater of Protest) and the other is written by Janet Afary, who discusses Michel Foucault and the 1979 Iranian Revolution culture. These essays remind us that theater is a tool that can affect spectators in their own historical context. Dabashi argues, "The crucial aspect of ta'ziyeh is its destabilizing dramatics, which explores the emerging charismatic moment of Shiism [the death of the Iman] . . kept thematically alive through mimetic representation and symbolic allusions" (Dabashi, 2005:181). He basically defines ta'ziyeh as a theater of protest that is useful in destabilizing unjust regimes but refuses to fully support a political party once it is installed. His reading is, of course, related to the extensive use of images of the Shah or later Jimmy Carter as the evil Yazid and Khomeini's identification before coming to power with the persecuted Hussein: rhetorical devices of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Dabashi assumes that Hussein represents a "permanent revolutionary" (Dabashi, 2005:182). Afary (2005) deconstructs cultural critic Michel Foucault's enthusiastic support of the Iranian Revolution, linking his fascination with Christian penitential mortifications to his interest in the revolutionaries' appropriation of ta'ziyeh and flagellations in the rites of the month of Muharram to commemorate Hussein. Afary (2005) shows how these powerful images, appropriated by the religious establishment, eventually took control of a revolution that had begun as an amalgamation of religious leaders, leftists, and other partiesall hoping to bring about a change in government. Afary shows that Foucault's simplistic reading of the politics involved overlooked elements that placed "jihad and martyrdom above community care and tolerance of non-Muslims" (Afary, 2005:224). She argues, "It did not matter to him in which direction the great

avalanche of revolution was moving; it mattered to be part of the journey" (Afary, 2005:225).

Chelkowski (1984) shows that although the rites have moved quite far from their Iranian origins, which are more characterized by breast beating, flagellation, and deep mourning. The ritual breast-beating, for example, marking the anniversary of Hussain's martyrdom, Ashura, was transformed into a political ritual signifying resilience. Chest beating invoked Hussain's courage and prepared Iranian soldiers to walk his path in the battle.

Thus, rituals can be considered as the main force with which Khomeini could achieve success in the 1979 Iranian Revolution. As he quoted in one of his speeches: "For as long as we are conscious of Imam Hussain's martyrdom, we will never know again subjugation".

In sum, while some intellectuals had labelled the phenomenal success of clerics as 'hijacking the revolution", actually the liberal-minded Islamist intellectuals had a prominent role in this success by reconciling ritualistic aspects of Shi'ism with the symbols of the contemporary leftist movements. Thus, at midway through the revolution, members from lower ranks of society also joined the revolutionaries, mainly through the appeal of ritualistic elements, and metamorphosed the ideals of the movement to a quest for establishing Sharia rule.

It is obvious that the Iranian 1979 revolution' protests were mainly not organized and based on people's dissatisfaction of the economic conditions. However, social movement theories and scholars used to consider such movements as irrational that had to be suppressed.

The reason that mass mobilizations were seen as irrational was that they were based on emotionality, which was either ignored or analyzed as a kind of hysteria panic in theories of social movements. Le Bon (2002), for example, described crowd emotions as irritable, impulsive, and unconscious. Freud (2014) argued that

when individuals join together, all their inner dormant brutal instincts are stirred up to find free satisfaction. In the 1970s, the focus in social movements shifted from finding the why of the movement to the how. However, after the 1980s, changes in theoretical explanations were made to fill this gap. Accordingly, modern theorists developed schemes to assess the rationality of desires and emotions, including Taylor (1995), Groves (1997), Goodwin (1997), Jasper (1997), etc. Similarly, scholars interested in studying the 1979 Iranian Revolution have examined the reasons for the success of the protests. However, the question of whether emotions played a driving role in the 1979 Iranian Revolution needs further study. And, that is one of the goals of my research work which will be addressed in this research.

1.1. A Brief history of Iranian Islamic Revolution

According to Abrahamian (1982), the roots of the Iranian Revolution can be traced back to the time when the Shah attempted to establish an autocratic state by beginning to suppress opposition groups. This occurred in 1949, when an assailant attempted to shoot the shah and the shah blamed the opposition group and subsequently declared martial law, banned newspapers, and arrested politicians, including Mosaddegh¹; he also outlawed the Tudeh Party² and murdered its organizers.

As a result, Ayatollah Kashani, who represented the middle-class merchants, and secular, nationalist, and social democratic parties united under the leadership of Mosaddegh and formed a National Front that demanded, above all, honest elections, free press, nationalization of oil, and an end to martial law. This National Front brought two different forces together; one was secular intelligentsia and the other was petit bourgeoisie (Fischer, 1982).

¹ Mohammad Mosaddegh served as the Prime Minister of Iran in 1950s. He implemented a legislation and could successfully nationalize oil industry. However, American CIA and British MI6 orchestrated a coup and overthrew his government.

² An Iranian communist party formed in 1941. For further detail refer to appendix.

The Shah was frightened by mass demonstrations and appointed Mohammad Mosaddegh as prime minister in 1951. Having seen that the wealth needed for building Iran was in the hands of the Anglo-Iranian Company, which later became British Petroleum, Mosaddegh nationalized the oil industry on March 20; he became hugely popular at home but quite unpopular for the British government. When U.S. President Eisenhower took office in 1953, Britain was able to convince him, under the pretext of the Cold War, that Mosaddegh supported the Communist Tudeh Party. Consequently, the newly formed CIA was dispatched to carry out a coup, codenamed The Operation Ajax. The operation succeeded; and the Shah returned to power. During the upcoming 25 years of his rule, the Shah became increasingly autocratic, and his secret service (SAVAK), which was created by the Americans CIA and the Israeli MOSSAD, instilled fear in the population by imprisoning and torturing those who dared to oppose. He crushed all political opposition. At the same time, Shah devised a reform program, known as the White Revolution, as a step toward modernization (Ansari, 2001).

One of the Shah's modernization programs before 1963 was granting women the right to vote. However, the clerics deemed this against Islam and Khomeini and other senior clerics called for the repeal of this law. They claimed that the Shah's new policies would jeopardize Islam and threatened the Shah with mobilizion of masses against him. The White Revolution did not help the Shah consolidate his power base, but led to the emergence of a counterrevolutionary movement led and inspired by Ruhollah Khomeini. The three cornerstones of this cleric-led movement were as follows:

- 1. Anti-Americanism: Denouncing the Shah's association with the American government and his pro-western policies.
- 2. Iranian nationalism: Celebrating a unique national identity that transcended Cold War ties and aspired to a postcolonial future; and

3. Religiosity: Demanding major role for Islam in society and government.

These three points were at the heart of Khomeini's famous speech at the Feyziyeh Seminary on June 3, 1963, during which he compared the shah with the Umayyad Caliph, Yazid I. In doing so, Khomeini laid the foundation for a movement that virtually paralleled Imam Hossein's uprising thirteen centuries earlier. He referred to the shah as a wretched and unhappy man and warned that the day would come when people would oust him if he did not change his views and behavior. Subsequently, Khomeini's supporters marched past the Shah's palace during the holy month of Moharram, chanting "Death to the Dictator." Two days later, security forces arrested Khomeini at his home in Qom and imprisoned him in Qasr Prison. News of his arrest spread throughout the city of Qom and later to other cities such as Varamin, Tehran, Mashhad, and Shiraz. Thousands of angry protesters attacked police stations, government buildings, and SAVAK offices.

The following day, demonstrators began marching from Varamin to Tehran, chanting "[Release] Khomeini or kill us." Soldiers opened fire with machine guns on the demonstrators, who refused to disperse. The uprising was brutally put down, and some 200-300 demonstrators, many of whom were from the ranks of apprentices and lackeys working in the bazaar, were killed (Ashraf, 1988).

Khomeini was exiled to Turkey in 1964. He eventually moved to Najaf in Iraq. During his exile, Khomeini carried out his political activities primarily by encouraging the active participation of clerics in political affairs and by disseminating his anti-Shah views through the distribution of leaflets and tapes. Meanwhile, there was great dissatisfaction with the Shah's government policies. The Shah's attempts to implement Western-style reforms, clearly influenced by his relations with the United States, stirred discontent among traditional religious populations in Iran, which encouraged and prepared the 1979 Islamic Revolution (Summitt, 2004)

In sum, People's discontent against the Shah's failure in implementing bureaucratic and rational modern reform strategies created a vacuum which led people to form diverse and dispersed local communities each having their own guidelines. However, as Abrahamian (1983) mentions, Khomeini, during his exile, used this vacuum and attempted to systematically centralize different groups by giving them a shared identity based on religion and Islamic rules. He even gradually purged those local committees who were not pro-Khomeini and thus setting the ground for shifting small groups into a mass group characterized by shared emotions, solidarity, and shared religious identity that has the potency to overthrow the Shah's regime (Foran, 1992).

Having read this scenario, one can infer how shared identity causes solidarity and emotional ties between group members and how the level of intensity of shared emotions could trigger a successful outcome in a social movement. As such, studying emotions and their appraisals within social groups can better depict different stages of movements.

Emotions are felt by people when they perceive a significant actual or imagined change in their personal situation, the situation of their social referents, or the environment with which they are associated (e.g., weather change, beautiful scenes). Although each person has his or her own intuitive understanding of emotions, there are at least some words, such as happiness and anger, that few people would leave outside the emotion categories. Moreover, most people attribute three properties to the phenomena they choose to call emotions. (1) Emotions are recognized as intentional states. This means that emotions involve an "emotion object" toward which mental states are directed during the unfolding of an emotion episode (Goldie, 2000). A typical emotion object is a specific actual or fictional agent, which may be another person, another living being, a landscape, an art object, a social group, the person experiencing the emotion (the self), or another emotion. Often, a particular attribute of the emotion object triggers a particular emotion. For example, anger is often elicited by the "action" of "someone", where "someone" is the emotion object and "action" is the "attribute"

of the object. (2) The relationship between the subject and the emotion object is evaluative. The subject feels good or bad, approving or disapproving, relieved or disappointed about a state of affairs. (3) The evaluative attitude is more or less transient and short-lived. The typical temporal structure of an emotional response includes a rapid rise, lasting less than half a minute in most cases, followed by a relatively slow decay, typically lasting less than an hour. In summary, although it is difficult to find a precise definition for the phenomena that people refer to as emotions, it is still possible to identify key defining characteristics of emotions. For example, emotions can be distinguished from other affective phenomena such as moods, which also have an evaluative component. For example, unlike emotions, moods are typically free-floating or objectless, i.e., they are not directed toward a specific object. In addition, moods typically last longer than an hour and fade into the background of consciousness. In some cases, mood has a deterministic influence on the occurrence of certain emotions. An exemplary list of mood categories might include happy, cheerful, relaxed, content, sad, "blue," and gloomy (Russell, 1980).

Contemporary appraisal theories, e.g., the iterative reprocessing model (Cunningham & Zelazo, 2007), view emotions as processes rather than static entities. From this perspective, the term emotion is used as shorthand for an "emotional episode." An emotional episode typically begins with an affective change due to the "appraisal" of a particular situation. The term "appraisal" used here includes not only judgment, but also evaluating, value impression, value feeling, etc. (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). The goal of the mind is to establish a stable and predictable internal representation of the environment through reappraisal processes (changing the affective meaning of an outcome) or behavioral actions aimed at changing the situation. The "emotion categories" are thus a way of naming and differentiating the ongoing dynamics of the perceiver's affective experience during the duration of an emotional episode. The appraisal component, which includes initial appraisal and subsequent reappraisal during the unfolding of the emotional episode, is the most reliable means of distinguishing

between different emotion categories. However, this component is usually not fully completed until after the emotion has subsided.

Without emotional incentives and a hopeful vision of the future, it can be difficult to motivate activists to engage in the necessary day-to-day and sometimes grueling work. Without a target to blame, negative emotions can turn into fear rather than being more constructive and purposeful outlet for action. Taken together, as Van Ness and Summers-Effler argues, leaders who are not charismatic, hopeful, or effective are likely to undermine rather than fire-up a movement (Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2018).

In re-evaluating the social movement theories at the contemporary level, theories of Jasper, Goodwin, Kurzman, McAdam, Zald are more prominent in providing models with which one can study social movements. Their main argument revolves around new social movement theories whose emphasis is more on culture and identity that affects individuals' participation, commitment, and demobilization stages in a movement. Although Kurzman believes that the outcome of a revolution cannot be predictable, Jasper, Goodwin and other new social movement scholars attempt to find factors with the help of which, they can predict the outcome of the revolution. Some others, on the other hand prefer to study the organization of movements as being more important than other factors such as the participation or outcome of the movements. In spite of the fact that there is a collective consensus on emotions playing a key role in social movement theories, there are serious methodological problems in studying emotions due to difficulties in their identification and their vagueness in the text (Jasper and Goodwin, 2000).

1.2. Research questions

In order to fill the methodological gap for the emotional analysis of a movement, the present research attempts to explain the role of emotions in social movements context by proposing a model which classified emotions according to whether they are experienced by the self or in communication with other social actors. In order to study the model's applicability, Iran's 1979 revolution was taken as a case study and the goal is to extract an emotional map and interactional pattern of different actors of a social movement specifically in Iran's Revolution shortly before, and after the 1979 Revolution. Thus, this research aims to find answers answers to the following questions:

- 1. How collective emotions underwent a shift in Iran's 1979 Revolution?
- 2. What was the dominant transactional interaction between different political groups?

Finding answers to these questions can contribute to Area Studies in expanding the scope of interdisciplinarity by adding psychology to the disciplines already analyzed in this field. Within the scope of Area Studies, a major part of the research is studying a specific region from different dimensions including political science, international relationship, culture, history, and sociology. However, studying region from psychological point of view or conducting an emotional analysis in studying a specific region is missing in area studies and adding psychology to regional studies can expand the scope of analysis in Area studies. Indeed, Iran has a prominent role in the Middle East both in IR and Politics and Iran's revolution has been analyzed from different political aspects in social movement theories, however, analyzing the psychological aspect of the movement is a subject that hasn't been discussed neither in sociology nor in Area Studies. As such, the present study attempts to fill this gap in Area Studies.

1.3. Research Method

The psychology of the collective behavior in society is the main focus of this research, especially the way it affects individuals' decisions and actions in social movements and conflicts. This study's primary goal is to understand social movements with their reflections through simulations of emotions.

In order to answer the research questions, a model was proposed to intermingle social psychology with social movement. To this end, an emotional analysis of the social movements is conducted to track the trajectory of the Islamic Revolution during the crucial period of 1978-1979 in Iran.

A critical task is the determination of the emotion category. Roughly 100 English emotion words encompass nearly the entire domain of affective meanings (Smith & Schneider, 2009). Inclusion of all these emotions in a list may compromise the emotional analysis tasks by baffling the analyzer with too much similarity of emotional terms. Accordingly, the researcher selected 52 emotions that are more likely to occur in everyday social life. The selection includes the {S, A, M, F} set in which the abbreviations represent social, aesthetic, moral, and situational (fortune) themes. Each of these arrays consists of two ordered subarrays, respectively including negative and positive emotion categories. The arrays are the following: S=(S+:(Nostalgia, Delight, Gratitude, Respect, Elevation, Appreciation, Trust, Happy for, Sexual desire, Love, Pride, Arrogance), S-:(Loneliness, Disgust, Pity, Embarrassment, Anger, Guilt, Regret, Hostility, Hate, Envy, Jealousy, Shame)), A=(A+:(Awe, Harmony, Wonder, Touching), A-:()), M=(M+:(Modesty, Admiration, Pleasure in, Triumph), M-:(Sympathy, Resentment, Contempt, Humiliation, Indignation)), and F=(F+:(Surprise, Interest, Hope, Relief, Amusement, Happiness, Pleasure, Delight), F-:(Surprise, Boredom, Anxiety, Fear, Sadness, Grief, Disappointment, Desperation)). The order of the categories in each subarray is from low to high relative valances. There is no solid basis for determining the relative valence. Therefore, we have inferred approximate orders of some categories from the location of emotional categories on Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW) that has been introduced by Scherer (2005). Graded color tones in the background of the icons have been used to show the magnitude of the valence relatively.

Qualitative research was required for this study as it aimed to gain insight into the actual evolution of the emotions. The research design provides a highly accurate

description of the findings, creates a set of categories in order to summarize the findings, and reports on the background or context of a situation.

Coding is used as the main technique of content analysis. Saldana (2015: 8) defines codes as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data".

An emotional coding of a verbal or pictorial narrative is a prerequisite for this research. The researcher was trained by using a reference containing a statistically significant number of entries with emotional labeling, and contextualization performed by the author. The author was trained by a Canadian researcher who is an expert in emotions and inventing devices for controlling emotions. Through the training procedure, the expert sent different text for the author to label. This was done in three stages: at first the emotionally loaded part of the text, called cues were shown to the trainee and the emotion part was removed; the level of concordance was estimated after the trainee labelled the text. In the second stage, the trainer kept the emotion and the trainee had to find the part of the cues with which the emotion can be found. Finally, the trainer removed both the cues and the labels and the trainee had to find both. At the end of each stage of training, there were discussions between the trainer and trainee on the reasons of the labelling. Finally, the level of the concordance was calculated. The training was done before the data analysis started by the researcher.

The analysis was carried out on the case study of Iran's 1979 revolution as an example of a social movement and the method of the research includes the following steps:

- a) Categorize the main players in the social movement,
- b) Train yourself for emotion labeling skills and emotion coding,

- c) Prepare a relevant library of emotionally charged verbal or pictorial narratives from an inclusive range of publications contemporary to the social movement,
- d) Subject the data to emotional coding:
- e) Identify the context through recognizing cues,
- f) Indicate the prominent emotion(s) categories.
- g) Identify the strokes exchanged between the players.
- h) Perform the dynamic stroke accounting over the timeline of the movement
- i) Plot the stroke accounts of each player versus time.

An extensive body of data retrieved from the University of Manchester website³ has been analyzed firsthand in the original language, and almost all newspapers and magazines have been studied for the preparation of the relevant archive. The Manchester university has archived almost twenty-one newspapers and magazines and provided the most comprehensive data archival source. Twelve newspapers and magazines were retrieved from this website and three newspapers of Kar, Inqilab-e-Islami, and Nameh-e-Mardom were found from Iran's national library to complete the data source in terms of their representativeness of political viewpoints. The details of will be demonstrated in the methodology chapter.

³ https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/using-the-library/staff/digitisation-services/projects/nashriyah-digital-iranian-history/iran-and-the-1979-revolution/

1.4. The Significance of the Study

Through this research's comprehensive examination of the connection between emotions and social movement narratives, the influence of emotions, their transitions, and their interactions on political insight in the history of social movements will be uncovered, highlighted, and examined. An important contribution that this research can make is that it offers an in-depth descriptive look at the emotional evolution of political mobilization. It will demonstrate how emotion analysis can enrich the current literature on social movements and especially area studies. Although some scholars studying social movements, such as Zald, Jasper, and Goodwin, have focused their theories on the role of emotions in social movements, they have not been able to support their arguments with methodological tools. This study makes an important contribution to social movement theories by proposing a model of emotion categories and method. For example, the 1979 Iranian Revolution has been studied by various scholars such as Keddie, Foran, Halliday, Dabashi, etc., from different perspectives such as anthropology, sociology, political science, international relations, and so on. The novelty of the present study is that it takes a different angle on the same events and provides deeper psychological explanations for some of the similar findings that use historical or sociological tools to support their arguments. In area studies, psychology is not represented despite its main feature, interdisciplinarity, and very few psychologists are involved in area studies (Szanton, 2002). This study illustrates how psychological, and particularly emotional, awareness of context can improve the accuracy of Area Studies scholars in analyzing the region they study. Accordingly, the overview presented in this study will advance new paradigms that will be useful for future discussions and lead to deeper analysis of the region.

1.5. The Limitations of the Study

Like other social sciences, there is a level of subjectivity in this research particularly in coding and labelling emotions. Assigning a numerical value to different emotions is not feasible. Even for the same emotions the assigned label does not include the intensity of emotions and even if we could assign the emotional level again depending on the state of the labeler the assigned intensity level will be different. As a result, using emotions as an indicator for judging the state of a policy of social movement will always be qualitative or at best semi-quantitative in nature and this is well in accordance with the nature of social sciences.

1.6. The Organization of the Thesis

The outline of the dissertation is as follows: Chapter 2 explains the background on social movements, emotions, and the role of emotions in social movement theories. Chapter 3 introduces the proposed model for data analysis and presents the results of in terms of emotion transition through time. The model includes emotion categorization based on three subclassification of social, moral, fortune/ future appraisal, and aesthetic emotions and how to label a text or narrative based on contextual clues. The next step after labelling emotions is finding the transactional analysis and patterns that emotions are interacted between different contemporary political parties; emotional patterns are taken from Eric Berne (2011) who developed the paradigm of transactional analysis in 1950s. The model was applied to the case of Iranian 1979 emotions and how the emotions shifted through a time period before and after the revolution. According to the results negative emotions increased after emotions and despite hope, pride, and triumph which were more dominant before revolution, emotions like anger and anxiety witnessed a striking increase after the revolution. Chapter 4 provides discussions on research findings and the existing literature. The absence of aesthetic emotions and social emotions like "love" and "lust" were among the surprising results of the data analysis results. Chapter 5 addresses conclusions and implications for future work. The results of the present research can be used for finding their link with religious fundamentalism as a concept in political science and Iran's revolution as well. The model itself can be applied to other social movements to track the emotional transition in other movements as well. The same procedure can be followed for future or ongoing social movements to predict the tentative outcome of the movement.

CHAPTER 2

LİTERATURE REVIEW

There is a recognition that although the perspectives developed by "social movement theory" can be useful in addressing aspects of the Islamist movements, studying them from sociopolitical and socio-psychological aspects need to be further developed. The Iranian Revolution is a special case in the Middle East that could successfully intermingle culture and politics and achieve its aims. According to Abrahamian (1988: 13), "Iranian national identity is expressed in secular linguistic, political, and territorial terms, but these secular aspects coincide with the Shi'a religious realm". Thus, the main concern is not creating a new organizational entity, but to define the prevailing norms and symbols of the already existent national society. The 1979 Islamic Revolution can thus be considered as a struggle agaisnt Westernized culture in favor of Islamic identity. This was supported by Keddie who conducted a comprehensive analysis examining the links between Iran's ideologies and politics. She noted that Iran's political structure was weak and decentralized before the revolution, which prepared the ground for the Ulama to ally with the bazaar merchants and oppose the Iranian regime and foreign influence. Keddie cited circumstances like Khomeini's leadership and tactical imperatives against Westernization as intrinsic to the revolution's victory.

Although Bayat (2006) agreed on the role of Khomeini's leadership in a similar way, he stated that there were diverse social groups such as women, minorities, workers, and secular middle class and these heterogeneous actors could unite by forging "imagined solidarity". He added that Khomeini could successfully establish solidarity by spiritual management and by relying on spiritual norms and principles. Likewise, Halliday emphasized on the role of "Islamic religion" as one

of the most important elements that could lead to the success of 1979 Iran revolution (1982).

Halliday (1982), considered Iranian revolution as a religious movement that is a product of contradictions between modernity and traditions. The society's rapid transformation to industrialization on the one hand and the dominant religious ideology of the society on the other, caused a paradox that along with three dimensions of political, international, and economic problems provided the context for the overthrow of the Shah's regime and the victory of revolution.

Skocpol (1982: 275) presented a different interpretation of the 1979 revolution. She explained that: "the revolution was straightforwardly the product of societal disruption, social disorientation, and universal frustration with the pace of change." She eventually emphasized that Shi'a Islam was crucial to the successful outcome of the revolution and toppling the Shah's regime both organizationally and culturally.

Arjomand (2009) finds the roots for the success of 1979 Iranian Revolution in Khomeini's adoption of Shari'a against constitutionalism of the Shah which was believed to belong to the West.

Hamid Dabashi (2005) was more specific by choosing ta'ziyeh as one of the rituals that resemble Islamic and Shi'i ideologies. He argues, "The defining aspect of ta'ziyeh is its destabilizing dramatics, which keep the nascent charismatic moment of Shiism [the death of the Iman] . . . thematically alive through mimetic representation and symbolic suggestions" (Dabashi, 2005:181). Ta'ziyeh is a theater of protest for Dabashi; this theater has the ability to destabilize unjust regimes. His reading, of course, is linked to the use of the imagery of the shah or Jimmy Carter as the evil Yazid, and the identification of Khomeini before he gained power with the persecuted Hussein: rhetorical devices of the 1979 Iranian Revolution. Dabashi theorizes that Hussein represents a "permanent revolutionary" (Dabashi, 2005:182). Afary (2005) shows how this powerful

imagery could eventually hijack a revolution that had begun as an amalgamation of religious leaders, leftists, and other parties—all hoping to implement governmental change.

Abrahamian (1988) portrayed Shari'ati as the archetypal antithesis in Iranian revolution since Shari'ati emphasized the need for dual national and social revolution, the first of which was for the revival of national identity, and the second for ending exploitation and creating a classless society. He viewed Shiism as both an expression of an Iranian identity and an intrinsically radical religion of struggle against injustice. Algar (2001), on the other hand, believed in the existence of a charismatic leader, Khomeini, as having a key role in is the success of the revolution.

It is obvious that all scholars unanimously agreed on the religiosity of the Iran 1979 revolution and the role of Shi'a rules in the success of this movement. However, the psychological analysis and studying how and which emotions are triggered by Islamic or religious beliefs in general is a subject that needs to be studied both in Iran's context of revolution and other movements in Middle East. Accordingly, integrating new perspective and frameworks can fill the methodological gap in the existing literature on social movement theories.

Social movement theories comprise an essential part of the social sciences. Different scholars have presented different definitions of social movements. McCarthy and Zald (1977) define a social movement as peoples' belief and preferences for changing a society. Melucci (1996) believes that movements occur when there is conflict and participants have non-negotiable goals that challenge the legitimacy of power. Rucht (1999) has a more optimistic view of social movements. According to Rucht's arguments, social movements include groups or organizations whose main aim is to promote social change through collective protest. Tarrow (1994:3-4) describes a social movement as "collective challenges by people pursuing common goals and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents, and authorities". Tilly (1978) argues that social movements are

an important means for protesters to engage in politics. Accordingly, he defines social movements as performances by which ordinary people make demands on others. Zirakzadeh (1997) argues that a group of people consciously attempts to build a radical new order in a social movement. Gamson (1992) believes that social injustice is at the heart of all mobilizations and plays an indispensable role in the emergence of movements. Diani (2013) defines a social movement as a continuous collective action that is not similar to a short-lived crowd. Gould (1993) developed a mathematical model that describes the relationship between individual contributions to a collective good and those links that make them inter-dependent. Gould's assumption is based on efficacy considerations and norms of fairness, which are derived from predictions about the effects of network structure. The density of networks and size affect the outcomes of movements in different ways which are dependent on the structural position of contributors. According to Diani, movements develop a structural basis during their lifespan. It is assumed that Diani's term "structure" presents a degree of regularity by which he implies the existence of hierarchy, regular meetings, a decision-making mode, regular rules, and different ideological directions in a group. Della Porta and Diani (2006) refers to social movements as "conflicted collective action" with "distinctive social process" whose actors have a distinctive collective identity and instruments with which they involve in conflictual common opponents. Conflicted collective action refers to those actors who support social change or oppose it. Meanwhile, the term "dense informal networks" implies their coordination in collective action by organizations in pursuing their common goals. The "collective identity" is defined by recognizing oneself in a group that has a clear goal and a common cooperation.

There is little consensus on presenting a clear-cut definition for social movement. Morris and Herring (1984) classify the major schools and conceptualizations of social movements into: Marxian, Weberian, collective behavior, mass society, and resource mobilization theories.

Marx (1974) defines social movements in the context of class struggle and the capitalistic system of the society. According to Marx, the dynamics of revolutionary movements arise from the contradictions between workers and

capitalists. In such a context, social movements arise due to social and economic relations in which workers are the main movement who act against the bourgeoisie. Marx (1975) asserts that improvement and more just organization of society can only be achieved through comprehensive change. He introduced his theory of alienation or estrangement (1977) that describes man's alienation from aspects of his generic being as a result of the division of labor and life in a society with stratified social classes. Alienation from the self is a result of mechanistic membership in a social class whose condition alienates man from his humanity.

Marx received criticisms for ignoring factors such as gender and ethnicity and focusing too much on social class. His theory was criticized for marginalization of those social movements whose origins are not related to working class (Chowdhury, 2014)

Max Weber introduced four ideal types of social actions: goal rational social action, value rational social action, affective social action and traditional social action. What Weber meant by the ideal types of social action may not occur similarly in real world as it is explained, however, it may exist and occur in the real world as, a mixture or contaminated form of social action. He explained the types of actions in the context of ideal world or as ideas.

a) Goal Rational Social Action

This type of social action is goal oriented and the motive of the goal is derived from the desires of actor. However, the goal should be realistic and actor should have means which are required to achieve the goal. In goal rational action; individuals set a goal and use the efficient ways or means to achieve it. Moreover, the goal and the means should be rational or justifiable.

b) Value Rational Social Action

In value rational social action, the goal and means of achieving it is derived and determined by values. This type of social action is also considered to be rational however, the rationality of that action is justified by the actor from his set of beliefs, which may be aesthetic, religious, constitutional, and based on profession policy.

c) Affective Social Action

Such social action is motivated by the emotions of individual. This type of social action is considered to be the most irrational action.

d) Traditional Social Action

Traditional social action is derived from the customs of society. Weber (1947) claims that social movements are charismatic movements through which protestors attempt to change values and traditional norms. The most important goal in Weber's definition is struggling to gain power and make changes. Such movements arise in societies that are dissatisfied with the current system, and participants think that their needs are not met and that they are under great stress. In these movements there have always been charismatic leaders who have such outstanding character traits that they can attract many people.

Weber and Marx defined social movements politically by focusing on concepts such as power struggle; however, there are other issues that can lead to social movements that should not be overlooked.

Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009) divided social movement theories according to their past and present. They considered different paradigms that emphasize different aspects of social movements and their actions. They try to provide answers to questions like: Why do people protest? Who protests?"; "What

forms of protest do protesters participate in?". The following table overviews the answers given to the above-mentioned questions by using two main classical and contemporary approaches.

Table 2. 1. Classical and contemporary approaches in Social Movement Theories- Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2009)

Classical approaches		Contemporary approaches		
	Mass society Coll. Behavior	Resource mobilization	Political process Approach	Social constructivistic approaches
Why people protest	Grievances, discontent, anomie Class conflict	Resources, opportunities, social networks efficacy	Political opportunities (Cognitive Liberation)	Social construction of reality: (Meaning)construction Identity Motivation
Who protests?	Alienated, frustrated, disintegrated, manipulated Marginalized	Well-organized, social networks, professional, resourceful Embeddedness	Coalitions between challengers /political elites Embeddedness	Countercultural groups, identity groups Embeddedness
Forms of protest	Spontaneous, irrational, expressive, violent (Panics, fashions, mobs, crime)	Rational, planned, instrumental (Institutional politics, lobbying, interest groups)	Rational, instrumental, polity- oriented (Elite contention lobbying, Indigenous minority disruption i.e. sit ins strikes)	ideological, expressive, identity-oriented (cultural and organizations, self-help groups, alternative lifestyles)

2.1. Classical approaches

Collective Behavior Theory, Mass society Theory, and Relative Deprivation Theory

Mancur Olson (1965) was first in introducing the theory of collective behavior. He held that collective action without personal gain or interest is not possible and everyone is trying to greedily gain profit from the public. Morris (1999) argues that in the mid-20th century, collective behavior theory and other relevant theories were dominant in social movement studies. Their main argument was that collective behavior occurs in social movements because of significant social and cultural fractures. Collective behaviors are generally considered disorganized,

non-routine and spontaneous actions with the aim of creating social change (Morris, 1999). Therefore, participants in these movements may be viewed as irrational and emotional. Scholars of collective behavior theory assumed a direct link between emotions and irrationality. For example, Neil J. Smelser (1963) related the crowds' three forms to three basic emotions, according to Smelser (1963) the crowd's panic is related to "fear", the crowd's craze was linked to their "joy", and their hostile outburst is related to the expression of "anger". Beyerlein and Andrews (2008) also emphasized on the role of "anger" in the field of civil rights and stated that this emotion is the outcome of violent and non-violent actions. Similarly, Lofland (1981: 411) argues that collective behavior includes emergent forms of behavior, with "panicked, riotous, and ecstatic crowds being among the most dramatic of their many expressions". For these theorists, social movements are unconventional forms of collective action for social change. McAdam (1982) asserts that collective behavior theorists share the notion that movements arise from social problems that cause discomfort and strong emotions that can lead to irrational behavior. According to Gamson (1990), people join movements to gain a sense of empowerment and strengthen a sense of belonging. Social movements are thus a response to social tensions and people's unpredictable reactions to situations that are out of control. Lofland (1981) believes that collective behavior is "emergent and extra-institutional social forms and behaviors- panicked, rioting, and ecstatic crowds are among the most dramatic of their many expressions". Smelser (1962) summarizes his theory of collective behavior in the context of his value-added theory as follows:

- 1. collective behavior is not caused by mysterious forces. Clearly identifiable determinants derive a collective episode.
- 2. collective behavior is caused by conditions within the social structure, organization, or specific environment not by participants' psychology.
- 3. collective behavior is caused by the stress that is experienced by the participants within a social environment. The unusual behavior acts as a relief to the

participants, reducing their tension. It is not normative, institutionalized, or ceremonial behavior.

4. There are determinants that must be present for some form of collective behavior to occur. These determinants are: structural inducement, structural burden, general belief, triggering factors, mobilization of participants, and social control. If one of the determinants is absent, an outburst does not occur. When all determinants are present, collective behavior is imminent.

Turner and Killian (1987) describe collective action as "those forms of social behavior in which customary conventions no longer guide action and people collectively transgress, circumvent, or subvert established institutional patterns and structures". According to Morris & Herring (1984), the following aspects should be considered in these movements: movements' origin, their processes, dynamics, and life cycles of movements. They view social movements as reactions to social stress which have psychological root rather than political (Buechler, 2000). The movements' psychological roots have mainly traced back in finding the role of emotions in the emergence, continuation, and the decline of movements. The absence or presence of emotions and their intensities is a condition that underpins every stage of a movement and tracking the changes of the movements can present important clues with which social movement experts or scholar can predict the outcome that a movement might go through or analyze different phases from their emergence to their decline in a more precise manner. However, studying emotions separately without finding the way they are interacted between members of a society was untenable and as Oberschall (1973) argues, social links are of paramount importance for collective actions. For example, through preexisting social links, participants in social movement organizations are usually recruited and as a result of those ties, mobilizations can be more likely. The same social networks were emphasized by Ekland-Olson (1980); however, they argued on the role of emotions as the main driving factors that can lead individuals to be engaged in a collective action.

Relative deprivation (RD) was introduced by Samuel Stouffer in 1949. Proponents of this theory suggest that social movements occur when individuals are deprived of a particular good, service, or resource (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988; Opp, 1988). Deprivation theory is an umbrella term comprising two sub-branches: absolute deprivation and relative deprivation. Proponents of absolute deprivation separate the grievances of affected groups from the group's position in society. In contrast, proponents of relative deprivation viewed a group affected by deprivation as a unit in society (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988).

Although deprivation theory can provide reasons for social movements, it has one major drawback: it cannot provide explanations for movements that are not triggered by deprivation. This gave rise to the idea that while deprivation is a precondition for a social movement, it is not a sufficient cause of it, and that other factors besides deprivation must be considered.

2.2. Contemporary approaches

Contemporary approaches in social movement theories include: Resource mobilization, political process, new social movement approaches (social constructivist approaches) which will be addressed separately in the following sections.

2.2.1. Resource mobilization theory

To compensate for the drawbacks of relative deprivation theory, scholars have proposed new approaches. One of the most dominant of these approaches is resource mobilization theory, which became prominent in the 1970s. According to supporters of resource mobilization theory, actors must not only have grievances but also have access to the means to act collectively. Thus, this theory emphasizes resources such as expertise or money as important factors that can mobilize protesters. Similarly, McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1217-18) focus more on

external than internal motivators, explaining that social movements are: "a set of opinions and beliefs in a population that represent preferences for changing some elements of social structure and/or the distribution of rewards in a society". According to Buechler (2000: 35), resource mobilization theory views social movements as "normal, rational, and institutionally based". Tarrow (1998) takes a similar viewpoint: in contrast to collective behavior theory, which focuses on the reasons for collective action, resource mobilization theory looks at the social movements' organization. McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1213) call attention to the accessibility to resources and structural conditions are essential to understanding social movements. They explain the theory of resource mobilization as: "The resource mobilization approach emphasizes both social support and constraint for social movement phenomena. It examines the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements on external support to succeed, and the tactics used by authorities to control or integrate movements.".

McCarthy and Zald were criticized for placing more emphasis on the internal processes of social movements and not considering factors that may influence the outcome of movements. Later scholars attempted to examine different units of analysis to fill the gap in explaining mobilizations and their outcomes. As Rootes (1990) notes, interest turned to studying the interaction between resource mobilization theorists, social movements, and political systems, focused more on the organization of resources for action and the ways that movements succeed.

As cited by Tarrow (1995), theorists such as Evans and Boyte (1992); Piven and Cloward (1995), and Jenkins (1983) contend that the reason social movement theories fall short is that scholars overemphasize the formal organization of movements without examining the conditions under which informal movements with minimal access to resources can succeed. Furthermore, Buechler (2000) argues that grievances and the role of emotions, symbols, and cultural identity in movement success have also been underestimated in resource mobilization theory. Although some scholars mentioned the role of emotions in movements, they only

mentioned some emotions that they found important in their theories without using psychological methods to prove their claims. For instance, Touraine (2007), mentioned the existence of two emotions of "hope" and "anger" in mobilizations, Morris & Herring (1984) related mass movements to anxiety, Rogers, T., Goldstein, N. J., & Fox, C. R. (2018) found the reason for people's willingness in engaging in a movement in their moral emotions or self-conscious emotions such as "shame" and "pride". As such, linking social movement phases to psychological models and explanations can contribute both to psychology by expanding the scope of analysis and to social movement theories by filling the methodological gap for explaining the emotional dimesion of movements.

2.2.2. Political opportunity theory

This theory, also known as political process theory, was an alternative thesis to resource mobilization theory. This theory was first introduced by Eisinger (1972) with the goal of explaining the reasons for the successful outcome of political protests in the 1960s. According to Eisinger (1972), the conventional political contributions offered by urban governments pave the way for citizens to experience protests. Tilly (1978) further developed Eisinger's (1972) theory and by listing five elements of interests, opportunity, organization, mobilization, and collective action made a fundamental contribution to the political opportunity theory conceptualization. Tilly (1978: 55) explained opportunities as "the relationship between the interests of the population and the current state of the world around them". McAdam (1982) studied the civil rights movement of the United States and found three factors that could lead to the rise and fall of a social movement. These factors are: political opportunity, cognitive liberation, and indigenous organizational strength. According to McAdam (1982: 41), "political opportunity can come from any event or broad-based social process that serves to undermine the calculations and assumptions on which the political establishment is built". The power of indigenous organizations could also enhance mobilization in social movements. These organizations provide members, networks, and leadership for a social movement. Regarding McAdam's third component,

cognitive liberation, participants must conclude that the legitimacy of the current political system is lost and that their social movement will be able to change the political system. Tarrow (1998) added that the successful outcome of social movements depends on political opportunities and social, political, and economic dynamics. This can enable movement participants to change the current political structure.

Caren (2007) introduces five key factors in the theory of political opportunity that can lead to success: The first is political opportunity, which occurs when there are weaknesses in the existing system; the second factor is the mobilization structure, which refers to any political or other organization whose goal is making differences; the third is the framing process, which McAdam (1996) describes as people's conscious efforts to form a shared understanding of the world. The fourth factor is cycles of protest, which refers to the ways in which the demands of mobilizing structures can be expressed. The last factor of Caren's theory is the contentious repertoire that includes protests, demonstrations, and movements of the second half of the 19th century.

Political process theory has been criticized by scholars such as Goodwin and Jasper (2004) for its overemphasis on structures and external factors. They argue that examining factors to explain the emergence of social movements is not necessary. Moreover, they believe that the framing process ignores emotions, and morality. Although rationality can explain or analyze social movements, the absence of psychological explanations has made the social movement theories incomplete. Since there is a level of emotionality in any narrative that human beings experience and social movement context is not an exception, the need for integrating psychology into social movement theories can undeniably improve the in-depth analysis of movements.

2.2.3. New theories of social movements

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the focus and forms of protest changed significantly. The shift was primarily from industrial to post-industrial forms of movements. Theorists tried to analyze other motivating factors in addition to economic perspectives. Therefore, they referred to the new period as theories of "new social movements." In this era, emphasis was placed on including factors such as ethnicity, sexuality, gender, etc., so that scholars could find causes for collective action (Buechler, 1995). Eder (1985: 119) argues that new social movements should be "not centralized, but decentralized; not legal, but legitimate; not formal, but informal; not strategic, but expressive action". Clearly, the new social movement proponents emphasize the cultural and expressive aspects of movements. Edwards (2013) identified four dimensions for the new social movements.

Since the 1960s, many scholars considered and developed different dimensions in new social movement theories. Castell's (1977) main focus is on capitalist dynamics and how they can affect urban space. The aim of these movements is to defend people's interests and identity. For Castells, factors such as political self-governance, community culture, and collective assumptions are key issues that shape social movements.

Table 2. 2. Edward's (2013: 119) fours dimensions of new social movement

New Politics	Defending identity or attempting to gain recognition	
	Challenging the definition of "How we live" or "Who we are"	
	Having post material concern	
New Site of Struggle	Culture and everyday life rather than the workplace	
	Seek to create cultural alternatives, i.e. new values, identities, and ways of	
	living	
New Composition	Cut across classes and include groups previously marginal to the labor movement, like women, young people, ethnic minorities	
	Not based in the working class, but led by middle class radicals (higher educated middle class)	
New Organizational	Decentralized, participatory and democratic networks rather than formal	
Form	bureaucratic social movement organizations	
	"submerged" in everyday life, less publicly visible	

To contextualize new social movements, Habermas (1989) uses his theory of the "the colonization of the lifeworld" by which he distinguishes between two concepts; one is system which is a general macro-sociological term used to refer to family, education, economy, government, etc. or society in general and the other is the lifeworld. The first one which is controlled by the media is political-economic system, and the other one, the lifeworld, is determined by normative consensus. Habermas puts new social movements between the aforementioned two systems. By system he means bureaucratic power and the economy, while by lifeworld he means everyday life with communities, their relationships, identities, and values.

According to Buechler (1995), for the purpose of maximizing money, information, and power, social movements are placed in a system and contextualized to expand their individuality. These movements are "organized by rebellious subjects who reject prevailing meanings and labels and who vacillate between anger and hope" (Touraine, 2007: 101), and new values are formulated as alternatives to existing ones (Edwards, 2013).

Touraine (1981) regards social movements at the core of history because in any society, the actors of that society play an essential role in social and historical processes. The term "historicity" used by Touraine refers to the collective production of processes by society. Thus, new social movements seek individual freedom in a society and this is mainly conducted through historicity. Technocrats and consumers are the two sides of this struggle in which the technocrats are the dominant class and the consumers are exposed to the dominant class's effect. The main aim of the new social movement is to stop the technocracy of the dominant class from trying to shape the culture of the society. Touraine (1981) proposes a new method of analysis for the new social movements. This method is called sociological intervention. In this method, researchers attempt to analyze the meanings of the movements and their relationship with the struggle for historicity. Touraine believes that sociological intervention is essential for social action to

understand the central conflicts of society because there are many layers of meaning in social movements.

Melucci's theory, on the other hand, does not fully support Touraine's method. However, he is still close to Touraine's idea. The difference is that Melucci considers the actor and the researcher as an "exchange" between researchers and activists. Touraine, conversely, emphasizes the knowledge of the social relations of actors in movements as the main driving force for social change.

With the aim of complementing Touraine's methodology, Melucci (1996) developed a new theory of social movements and brought the cultural aspect of new social actions into the fore.

Melucci (1996) argues that collective identities emerge from relationships between individuals through shared meanings that are constructed and negotiated in social actions. Jasper and Poulsen (1995), criticized Edwards (2013) mentions Melucci's conceptualization of new social movements as political action and considers cultural struggles as political. He considers Melucci's work valuable because no physical presence is required, but people can participate in collective action by taking action in their everyday lives.

Apart from the European perspective on social movements, social constructionist theorists also focus on the role of cultural processes in social activism. As Tarrow (1998) argues, social constructivism was indicative of the shift from structural to cultural perspectives in analyzing collective action.

The main focus of structural approaches in the U.S. is on the question of "how," while social constructivist approaches focus on "why" people want to engage in social action (Klandermas, Kresi & Tarrow, 1988). Buechler (2000) believes that the social constructivist approach views social movements as "an interactive, symbolically defined, and negotiated process between participants, opponents, and spectators".

This approach was explained using the concept of framing. Frames are beliefs that can inspire and legitimize social movements (Benford & Snow, 2000). The concept of "frame" was originally used by Goffman (1974) in social movement theory. Framing focuses on symbolic resources and shows how movements construct collective identities. As Sogge & Duetting (2010) argue, by constructing new realities and making them part of collective action, frames can identify identities. Hunt et al. (1994) introduced the concept of framing grievances and discuss them in three ways: The first is diagnostic framing, which identifies a problem and establishes a goal for action. The second is prognostic framing, which suggests solutions and strategies, and finally the motivational framing, which encourages and provides a rationale for collective action.

As Milberry (2003) writes, the concept of framing provides an analytical perspective to analyze collective action in more detail, however, its context is not explored in depth. Buechler (2000) also believes that both resource mobilization theory and social constructivist theory ignore context in their analysis and therefore cannot theorize collective action.

McAdam, Tilly, and Tarrow (2001) believe that theorists should strive for a more interactive and dynamic approach, referred to as " contentious politics," that covers a broader spectrum of political contestation by linking social movement studies with other disciplines rather than finding the right approach or combining all approaches. McAdam and colleagues (2001) argue that this theory should examine processes and mechanisms that shape social movements. The "contentious politics" introduced by McAdam, Tilly, and Tarrow, was later replaced by "passionate politics" by Jasper (2001), which bridges a link between emotions and social movements. This came to the fore three decades after the recession of emotions in social movement theories for the reason of their irrationality and thus having no place in the social movement theories. Once emotions' role was accepted by different scholars, they began to study their role in different stages of a collective action, i.e. their role in participation,

commitment, and demobilization of movements (Ness, 2018). For individuals' participation, Jasper (1995) and Smith (1996) introduced moral shock, Gupta (2009) referred to small victories in protests that could increase their hope to make a more fundamental change in their society are among the main theories who studies emotions' role in increasing the participants' motivation to be involved in a movement. For commitment, Taylor (1989), Pekrun and Stephans (2010), and Leach (2006) believe in the existence of people's anger against authorities as the main factor that cause individuals to stay in a movement. The reason for stimulation of this emotion was defined as the non-attainment of the goals from the public. Coser (2004), believes in the absence of family bonds or sexual promiscuity as a requisite to increase individuals' loyalty to the movement and as a consequence their commitment in movements. Shuman (2016) divided individuals' activities to two stages of "normative actions" and "non-normative or incremental actions". According to Shuman (2016), anger in protests leads individuals to participate in a collective action and attempt to change the existent condition dominant in the society, however, in case they lose their hope contempt replace anger and this leads to non-normative actions which happens in case the participants experience despair and as a result they do not want to continue their participation or in other words become demobilized. Wiliam and Desteno (2008), found a positive emotion "pride" and Drury and Reicher (2005), emphasized on the role of "joy" as emotions that act as a driving force encouraging people to continue social action. Other scholars studied emotions whose stimulation can lead to people's demobilization. Shuman (2016) mentioned emotions such as contempt and despair as emotions that can lead to non-normative actions that can lead to people's disengagement. Ganz and McKenna (2019), related demobilization to leaders and their inability in attracting or directing participants' emotions. Summers-Effler (2010) argue that the absence of positive emotions such as Hope and joy as leading to fatigues and as a result demobilization.

As can be seen, scholars introduced different emotions as influencing the movements stages, however emotions might change through time and studying their transition by having a look at contextual clues can present a more detailed

analysis of emotion shift in movements. What exactly are the distinguishing features of emotions, their interactions, collective emotions, and their effects on social movements are subjects that will be explained in the following sections.

2.3. The Psychological Dimension of Emotions

Emotions are fundamental to human life, and thus the main focus of in research has been on how emotions are produced, with the constructivist and naturalist traditions taking center stage. According to the naturalists, emotions are somatic reactions brought about by the person's internal psychoanalytic framework. The physical symptoms elicited by these somatic reactions, such as adrenaline. Psychologists like James-Lang, Cannon-Bard, and Schachter are among the most well-known proponents of constructivist approach of emotions. James-Lang theory was proposed by William James and Carl Lang in 1880s. This theory implies that emotion is an awareness of our physical response to events. These physical responses are caused by stimulus or bodily sensations and any physical changes in the body give rise to specific emotions that an individual might experience. This theory received criticism regarding the physical symptoms. Since some emotions have similar physical symptoms, deciding on the exact emotion would be difficult. Cannon-Bard theory, is another historic model of emotions which was replaced for James-Lang theory. The model was put forward by Walter Cannon and Philip Bard in the 1920s and early 1930s. Cannon and Bard suspected that emotions can't work in a way that James-Lang implies, in part because physical response and subjective experience can occur simultaneously to cause the physiological reaction and at the same time they are separate processes. They based their theory on this fact and stated that the part of the brain that is responsible for emotion experience is the thalamus that is located at the lower part of the brain. The upper part of the brain, on the other hand, is the context which controls emotion expression. They believe that both parts react simultaneously and one does not cause the other. This process is also referred as fight or flight response. A more modern theory compared to the last two that carries more weight in the emotion research which is known as two-factor theory is proposed by Schachter and Singer in 1962. The theory is called two-factor theory because emotions have two parts and the physiological arousal is parts of. So, when one encounters a stimulus, it may cause some physiological arousals like heart rate increase, but there is a need to interpret them in a cognitive way and one a decision was made by the perceiver, the emotional experience would be created. This theory explains well when two individuals encounter the same event and even the same physiological activities but walk away with different emotional experiences. The reason lies behind the individuals' different interpretations. In a different research conducted by Halfman and Young (2010), the impact of "grotesque imagery", which evoke strong emotions such as confusion ambiguity, in the antislavery and anti-abortion movements were emphasized. However, Halfman and Young argue that these images can be counterproductive and their impact is likely to vary depending on the social context and skills of the activists who use them.

Unlike natural or traditional approaches, culturalists claim that emotions are shaped by culturally specific beliefs, norms, and languages. For example, certain expressions may be common throughout the world but evoke different emotions in certain cultures. According to Averill (1980), emotions are "a socially prescribed set of responses that a person must follow in a given situation ... social norms or shared expectations regarding appropriate behavior."

According to Harre (1986: 6), "the study of emotions requires ... careful attention to the details of local systems of rights and duties, of value criteria, and so on. In short, these emotions cannot be seriously studied without considering the local moral order". This view clearly shows that structures and events influence emotions along with internal psychological processes.

Similarly, Lazarus and Folkman (1984) believe that emotions, along with cognition, help us understand other people and define their relationship to the environment. Accordingly, emotions can be conceptualized as psychological

processes that include expressive, emotion-specific motivational behaviors, physiological processes, and cognition. These conceptualizations lead scholars to present different classification of emotions based on different criteria.

To classify emotions, some studies have been conducted to determine which emotions are basic. A well-known example is the "cross-cultural study" by Paul Ekman and his colleagues, who concluded that there are six basic emotions, including "anger", "disgust", "fear", "Happiness", "sadness", and "surprise". As Ekman (1992) explains, each of these emotions has their own specific characteristics that can be expressed to varying degrees. Each emotion functions as a distinct category rather than an individual emotional state. Because some emotions are easy to recognize compared to other types of emotions, some researchers concluded that a number of emotions are universal to all people. Therefore, experts began to question what exactly emotions are and how they can be classified.

Many theories of basic emotions assume that there are functional signatures which distinguish different emotions from each other. In other words, one should be able to tell what emotion a person is experiencing by having looked at the physiology and activity of brain. Barret (2006) has a "constructivist" view by arguing that any emotion that an individual experience, in response to a stimulus, is "constructed" from basic biological and psychological components. Two of the assumed components are "core affect" (e.g., characterized by hedonic valence) and the conceptual knowledge that is knowing the semantic meaning of the emotions that they label.

Constructivists claim that there is no specific location or physiological signatures, for different emotions, in the nervous system, and it is the context that is central to the emotions a person feels because different concepts are accessible in different contexts. Scholars' different conceptualizations of emotions led them to present different models and classifications, the major models are as follows.

The first one is called the "dimensional model" which defines and classifies emotions according to different dimensions with an attempt to conceptualize emotions and place them in two or three dimensions. Dimensional models are presented in contrast to basic emotions which are believed to arise from distinct neural systems. The proponents of "dimensional model", theoretically and practically, assume the interconnected neurophysiological system as responsible for affective states. Wilhelm Max Wundt (1897), suggested three dimensions with which emotions could be described. Those dimesions were: "pleasant or unpleasant," "exciting or dampening," and "tension or relaxation." Harold Schlosberg (1954), on the other hand, named three dimensions of: "pleasant-unpleasant," "attention-rejection," and "degree of activation". Most dimensional models include the dimensions of valence and arousal or intensity. Although several dimensional models have been developed, only a few are currently accepted by most.

The second model is the one developed by Russel (1980) and is called the "Circumplex model". Russell (1980) introduced circular space dimensions of "arousal" and "valence" as two dimensions that emotions can be distributed. While at the center of the circle lies neutral valence and the intermediate-level arousal, the vertical axis indicates "Arousal" and the horizontal axis shows "Valence". Therefore, emotional states of any valence and arousal, even their neutral level, can be represented by this model. Russell (1991) modified their Circumplex model by including the core affect, or basic feelings. So, different emotions or emotional episodes can be explained on the Circumplex depending on their level of arousal and pleasure.

The vector model of emotions is the third model which was introduced in 1992. The vector model is two-dimensional consisting of a "boomerang" shape vectors pointing in two directions. The model is based on the assumption that there is an arousal dimension and it is the valence that determines the direction of a particular emotion. For example, positive valence would move the emotion up the upper vector and negative valence would move it down the lower vector. In this model,

states of high arousal are distinguished by their valence, while states of low arousal are more neutral and are located near the intersection of vectors. This model is more commonly used in testing word and picture stimuli.

The fourth model was originally developed by Watson and Tellegen in 1985. The PANA (positive activation-negative activation) model assumes that positive and negative effects are two distinct systems. The similarity between PANA and the vector model is that in both models states higher arousal is defined by their valence, whereas the lower arousal is neutral. The vertical axis shows low to high positive affect and the horizontal axis depicts low to high negative affect in PANA model.

Despite the above-mentioned models which were all two-dimensional, Robert Plutchik's model offers a three-dimensional model that is a blend of the complex base categories and the dimensional theories. The emotions have been arranged in concentric circles, with the inner circles more basic and the outer circles more complex. It is noteworthy that the outer circles are formed by mixing the emotions of the inner circle. Plutchik's model, like Russell's, assumes a Circumplex representation in which emotional words are plotted depending on their similarities. There are numerous emotions that occur in different intensities and can be combined differently to form emotional "dyads."

Lastly, the PAD model was developed by Mehrabian (1980) to describe emotional states. There are three dimensions for representing emotions: pleasure, arousal, and dominance. The pleasure-unpleasure scale measures how pleasurable an emotion can be. The arousal-non-arousal scale measures how aroused or sleepy one feels. It is not about the intensity- e.g. sadness and depression can be intense emotions with low arousal. The scale of dominance-submissiveness shows the controlling and dominating nature of the emotion. For example, fear and anger are both unpleasant, however anger is dominant emotion whereas fear is submissive.

Although these models have had important contributions, they received criticism from some anthropologists whose main focus was the cultural aspect of emotions. Since emotion differ from one culture to another, many anthropologists question the idea of a universal classification of emotions altogether. It has been observed that cultural differences cause emotions to be regulated, expressed or appraised differently. For example, showing anger is encouraged by some, but condemned by others. The greatest evidence that challenges emotions' universality is the language. The differences between languages lead to different emotion taxonomy because languages categorize emotions according to different components. Some categorize based on the type of event, while others categorize based on readiness to act. In addition, taxonomies of emotions vary due to the different meanings that emotions have in different languages. However, Ben-Ze'ev (2000) has provided a detailed description of emotions and their distinguishing features, going so far as to allow one to arrive at an approximate emotion label for a text or narrative based on contextual clues. As a result, one can come to a better analysis through the possibility of emotion labelling, and as a consequence of this analysis, a more scientific approach can enable a researcher to study emotions in the context of a social movement.

Therefore, sociology of emotions emerged to fill the gap between culture and emotion psychology. The sociology of emotions seeks to establish a link between reason and emotion and to show that emotions are not disruptive and have their roots in social norms. Another goal of contemporary sociology of emotion has been to show that emotion is not merely an adjunct but an integral part of action. As Scherer (1999) and Dahlgren and Starrin (2004) argue, the study of emotions requires considerations from both psychological and social science perspectives. Hochschild (1990: 119), a sociologist of emotion, identified four elements for emotion: a) appraisal of the situation, b) changes in bodily sensations, c) free or inhibited display of expressive gestures, and d) a cultural label for the previous three elements.

Scholars of a newly emergent Sociology of Emotions, has developed new models and introduced new terminologies. For example, instead of emotion categories, Collins (2004) prefers the term "emotional energy" as the result of interaction rituals. Combining the theories of Goffman, Durkheim, and Garfinkel, Collins (2004) posits that all social interactions involve two or more individuals sharing common rituals, and that the resulting "collective effervescence" leads to group solidarity and emotional energy. Collins defines emotional energy as: "a sense of confidence, of courage to act, of boldness to take the initiative. Collins (2004: 39) states that "It is a morally infused energy that makes the individual feel not only good but exalted, with a sense of doing what is most important and valuable".

What determines an individual's emotional energy are social power mechanisms because emotional energy is not evenly distributed. As Barbalet (1998: 180-6) argues, emotions are not only inherent in social relationships, but they also have the power to change social relationships and produce new emotions (pp.180-6). In Barbalet's view, emotions are located in the person as a whole and are not separate from the physical or psychological aspect of the person.

Hochschild (1990: 120) developed the "interactional model" and emphasized emotions as social constructions. This model integrates psychobiological aspects and considers them as socially formed components. Hochschild objects to the notion that emotions are there to be expressed or suppressed, but that they occur as part of a social interaction. This interaction occurs within a group with common cultures and therefore they have common emotional energy which is referred to as "collective emotions" which is discussed below.

2.3.1. Collective emotions

Understanding emotions and their responses is essential at both individual and collective level. The interaction of people causes macro-level affective processes which cannot be captured by studying them individually. Such macro-level affective processes appear to contribute to the unfolding collective processes that are driven by both negative and positive emotions.

Psychological processes of affective reactions at the collective level, have long interested scholars. Hegel called them "folk spirits" (Taylor, 1975). LeBon (1896) and Durkheim (1912) found these emotional responses in religious gatherings, Lofland and Stark (1965) emphasized on the role of emotion as central for religious movement in a similar way, Lewin (1947) argues studying collective emotions is important in leading social change. Although in the first half of the twentieth century, the initial interest was in psychological phenomena at the collective level, this focus shifted to individual-level phenomena in the second half. However, interaction between individuals led to a renewed interest in different areas of collective psychology including collective memory and collective action.

2.3.2. Individual vs. collective emotions

Individual emotions are activated in situations that have important challenges or opportunities (Tooby & Cosmides, 1990). These emotions are often associated with an abrupt peak that later decays, a pattern that distinguishes emotions from other affective processes (Gross, 2015).

Zomeren (2016) and Smith (2016) argues that group-based emotions, on the other hand, stems from individuals' self-categorization which are evoked in response to the situations that are perceived to be relevant to the group. The only difference between group-based emotions and other individual emotions is that group-based emotions are experienced by individuals as a result of their group membership.

Unlike individual and group-based emotions, which are based on individual- or micro-level processes, collective emotions are experienced at a macro-level basis that arise from emotional dynamics that are experienced between individuals in response to the same situation. Smith and Mackie (2016) highlights two features. The first is emotional dynamics, defined as all processes of influence between people's emotions, including emotional contagion, polarization, or even change in individuals' emotions that occur when they recognize that other people are feeling

similar or different emotions and the second one is the apparent properties that arise from emotional dynamics.

Emotional engagement is particularly important in mobilizing social movements (Goodwin, Jasper, & Polletta, 2001). Jasper (2011: 292) argues that activists seek to elicit emotional responses from those they are trying to mobilize to achieve participation or shift of perceptions, often by exploiting or creating a "moral shock". Recent studies have examined the specific role of "collective emotions" in mobilization, particularly the emotions shared by members of a group.

2.4. Emotions and social movement

Emotions accompany social movements. The absence or presence of emotions and their intensities, lay the foundation of each phase of social movements from their emergence to outcome. In modern sociology, however, emotions have long been ignored as the opposite of rational action. The collective action and social movement scholars had the same viewpoints.

Prior to the 1960s, emotions were used to explain crowd behavior. The theory was based on the idea that crowd behavior was irrational, and so were the emotions driving the crowd behavior. Scholars of the 1970s rejected this line of thinking and the categories associated with it. They preferred to use "collective action" instead of using the concept of "mass behavior".

Studying the complex structures of cultures and the way members of social movements are recruited became the main concern of contemporary scholars. However, scholars must also examine movement cultures as (sub)cultures of emotions and networks of affective ties, which are themselves a part of larger emotion cultures and try to answer questions of: How do emotion cultures promote or inhibit movements? Or can emotional bonds mobilize other members of a social group? It is assumed that cultural group share common ideologies and identities through which they can establish solidarity among themselves (Colins, 2004).

In order to answer the above-mentioned questions, scholars reintroduced emotions into the study of social movements in the late 1980s and this new trend renewed attention to the centrality of human agency and networking and emotional ties into sociological explanations. Taylor (1989) emphasized on the role of emotional ties and networks in participants' persistence and commitment in movements. For dynamic purposes, scholars also examined the influence of emotions from different dimensions, one of which is studying the relationship between emotions and framing processes. According to Goodwin and Jasper (2000), frames generally work when there is an emotional impact on people. Therefore, scholars need to study not only the reasons that some people agree with specific frames, they also need to examine reasons that frames inspire action. In some movements, emotions are explicitly framed in certain ways, and their expression is sanctioned as positive or negative emotions in general. Goodwin (1997), considers emotional ties between individuals or their emotional commitment to family members as factors that can hinder individuals from continuing their participation in a collective action. Thus, scholars also need to identify the time and reasons that emotions become the subject of framing processes and what the consequences are. Nepstad and Smith (2001), for instance, conducted a research in Central and North America and concluded that actions such as torture, harrassments, and killing can trigger social outrage and mobilizations as well. They added other negative emotions of contempt, hatred, and anger in case there is a clear target to blame (Nepstad, 2004). Oliver (1984) introduced "pessimism" as another negative emotion that can lead to individuals' participation in a collective action since they experience a feeling of frustration when they try to involve others in a movement.

Another dimension in the realm of emotions is identity formation. Identities are important to people and sometimes provide the ground to start a collective action, in part because of the strong feelings associated with belonging to particular groups. Group identity is usually defined in terms of distinction from one or more outgroups-the "others"-who evoke negative feelings, including hatred. Scholars who focus on identity formation must therefore be explicit about both the emotions

and beliefs associated with particular identities. Jasper (1997: 98) asserts that "the kind of culture that has been rediscovered so far is highly cognitive and pays little attention to emotions or moral visions." Similarly, Benford (1997: 419) states that: "Those working with the framing/constructivist perspective have not done much better than their structuralist predecessors in teasing out the role of emotions in collective action. Instead, we continue to write as if our movement actors (when we actually acknowledge humans in our texts) are Spock-like beings, devoid of passion and other human emotions".

The cognitive bias reveals the underlying assumption that emotions and thought are two separate functions. To this, Jasper (2014: 25) counters that "emotions are not the opposite of thinking, but are forms of thinking and as such are a part of culture, intermingled with cognitive propositions, moral principles, and intuitions." Williams (1977: 132) highlights this intertwining of thinking and feeling, bypassing the harsh opposition often constructed between the two: "not feeling versus thinking, but thinking as feeling and feeling as thinking." Alexander (2006: 53) also puts emphasis on the role of feeling and thinking in political engagement, arguing for an analysis of the "crucial role of solidarity."

At the heart of any theory of social movements and identity formation is what Durkheim (1995) called "collective effervescence," or what Durkheim called "moral density" and Polletta and Amenta (2001) called "high ritual density." The components of high ritual density are, first, the physical presence or gathering of people and the joint attention that later becomes mutual attention, which brings about unity with other members and is essential because it creates what Durkheim called "collective conscience," which unites both cognitive and moral unity. According to Poletta and Amenta, the consequences of this unity and shared attentional focus are the sense of group solidarity, the emotional energy (EE) of the participants, the symbols of the group that are touchstones for loyalty, and the sense of morality, as emotionally solidary groups have their own standards of what is right and wrong.

Similarly, Hochschild (1983) and Guenther (2009) propose the term "emotion culture" or as Fineman (2008) suggests "emotionology" of a society, which refers to the established norms about how one feels. The main feature of emotion cultures is longstanding "moral emotions." Indeed, Durkheim (2002: 85) emphasizes the social aspect of morality as a key factor that strengthens groups internally, suggesting that the social and morality always go together. Crucially, such a focus does not abolish rationality, but overcomes the archaic dichotomy of reason and emotion, instead advocating the idea that "emotions underpin rather than contradict the rationality of action, and that emotions are an integral and sometimes explicit part of social movement activities" (Wettergren 2009: 1).

Della Porta (2013) points out that despite the current importance of cultural approaches to the study of social movements, researchers are still reluctant to focus on emotions. Indeed, Calhoun (2001) argues that we need to overcome this "pervasive dualism" rather than reproduce it by integrating emotions into various aspects of sociological theory, including social movements. Moreover, he notes that "one of the benefits of taking emotions seriously is that one can better see how moral norms and imperatives are enacted," reflecting the interconnectedness of emotions and morality and how they interact to produce action.

Indeed, Jasper (2014) points to the need to view the moral dimension of protest as intertwined with the emotional dimension. Jacobsson and Lindblom (2012: 41) claim that "social movements can in many cases be conceptualized as moral movements. Typically, the activists involved in them seek to confront and change not only the political opinions of their addressees, but also the moral beliefs that underlie those opinions." Many of the emotions that result in protests are inextricably linked to moral emotions. Yet, Goodwin and Jasper (2007: 629) note that "the moral dimension of protest is often acknowledged but rarely associated with the emotions that constitute such a dynamic part of a protest." Thus, there is a need to pay more attention to this moral dimension and its interaction with the emotional in social movements.

There is one particular emotion that can help us understand the connection between emotion, morality, and action – empathy in a clearer way. Todd (2004: 339) notes that "empathy is thought to embody both moral force and political possibility". Despite other emotions, empathy is not viewed as simply one affective response, but is assumed to be ethically legitimate in a way that other emotions are not. Empathy combines thinking and feeling by translating an idea into a feeling through the use of imagination. It is a relatively new Western term, based on the traditional meaning of the Greek word "sympathy," which means to feel or suffer with someone.

Goodwin and Jasper point out that "feelings such as apathy and fear could be seen as destructive to movement activism, political resistance, and social movement organization" (Goodwin and Jasper 2006: 626). This is because they have a "demobilizing" impact that reduces activists' belief in the prospects of desired social change, causing them to lose hope and their sense of agency" (Goodwin and Jasper 2006: 626).

Scholars who have studied protest repertoires have neglected the emotional aspects. However, certain protest tactics are usually associated with (and sometimes effective precisely because of) certain forms of emotional display (Young 1999). Movements may hold on to certain tactics because of their emotional resonance, even when they have become relatively ineffective, and they may adopt new tactics dynamic same reason.

Jasper (1997) refers to this as the "tactical preferences" of the protesters. As a complement and corrective to purely instrumental analyses of movement tactics, scholars studying protest repertoires must also consider their emotional and symbolic dimensions. They should also examine how broad emotional cultures shape activists' understandings of efficacy and appropriateness. Similarly, Rogers and Fox (2018) suggest that tactics used in social mobilization are based on causes that persuade people. People's tendency to participate in these behaviors can be moderated by moral emotions such as moral outrage or guilt, goal-directed

emotions such as anger, or self-conscious emotions such as pride and shame. They assume that most social movement principles operate through emotions they elicit. The first principle is that the more personal an interaction is; the more influence it has on behaviors. This means that personal interactions can be effective in social mobilizations. People may feel uncomfortable exerting personal social influence on others because they might feel selfish. However, when personal exertions serve other purposes, people become more willing to join movements.

In sum, although the growing dynamics on emotions and movements vary widely in terms of theoretical and methodological approaches, there are two clear trends. First, there are many efforts to incorporate emotional dynamics into all aspects of collective action and social movements including recruitment processes, movement emergence, the movement dynamics, and the movement dynamism. Second, attempts are being made to incorporate emotions into existing theories of social movement. For example, there is a growing recognition that studies of collective identity emphasize the cognitive dimension of identity at the expense of its emotional dimension.

These two lines of research have significantly enriched social movement and collective action theories. However, many challenges remain dynamic in study of emotions and movements (Polletta & Amenta 2001). One of these challenges is methodological. One reason for the neglect of emotions is that unlike somatic signs, they are not directly observable and fleeting and as such they leave no concrete record. Of course, many movements have left narratives of various kinds, which have been a primary source for data analysis. But the dynamics of emotion in narratives cannot be fully captured. Second, in attempting to incorporate emotions into social movement theories, many analysts treat emotions tacitly or explicitly in an instrumental manner. As Craig Calhoun (2001) cautions, some scholars have viewed emotions as simply one more thing for movement organizers to manage or one more resource to use against opponents. Thus, emotions are turned into another kind of rational preference thus falling into the same trap that other theories without emotional components did. This tendency has its roots in

the dichotomization of mind/body and reason/emotion that fundamentally structures modern Western thought. Calhoun (2006: 52) suggests that "to put emotions in their place, is to study emotions in a way that transcends rather than reproduces this pervasive dualism.". Some of the theories in which emotions are studied within social movement context are as follows.

Jasper (2014) who believes that in the last 20 years there has been a paradigm shift in sociology from macro-level structures, such as economic inequality or state formation, to micro-level structures, including identity and cultural frameworks, and therefore led to reentrance of emotions into sociological domain, places more emphasis on emotions such as anger and outrage, a morally based form of rage. He believes that these emotions can both motivate protesters and assign blame for social dilemmas, leading protesters to make a strategic decision.

Swan and Bosson (2010), attempted to improve social movement theories by linking emotions to identities and taking advantage of the close connection between people's identities and their behavior. People have many competing identities. A person can be a U.S. citizen, a father, a son, a husband, etc., each of which entails different behavioral responses.

Broadly speaking, there are two types of identities: social identities and self-identities. Social identities encompass people's perceptions of social groups with which they are emotionally identified. Tajfel and Turner (1979), argue that the self-concept of individuals is strongly influenced by the social groups that they belong to. The influence depends on the strength of the individual's emotional ties within a social group and how important is the social group they are in. When the role and emphasis on social identity is more outstanding, individuals tend to act the prototypical group behavior or in ways they believe are consistent with the group's interests. Zomeren (2008) believes that whenever individuals feel that the status of the dominant group is illegitimately different from the identity group, they are more likely to start a mobilization.

This same social identity was discussed differently by Jasper and Poulsen (1995). They criticized the overemphasis on the importance of social network and the absence of cognition and culture. They argue that when it comes to strangers there is no social networks and, in such circumstances, they suggested moral shocks as a motivating factor for strangers to be engaged in a movement. They later connected moral shocks along with others to emotion. According to Jasper, the study of emotions has helped us understand how people are moved to act. They may be in a good mood or motivated to continue by moral shock, outrage, and anger. Jasper believes that emotions can bind us to our internal groups and repel us from external groups (or create external groups) through trust, admiration, sympathy, love, respect, and their opposites. Most importantly, when emotions draw individuals to act in an admiring way or avoid those that they are ashamed of, their emotions take a moral form. Much of morality includes a combination of positive and negative emotions like shame, outrage, pride, or shame which is essential to collective actions. Chong (1991), uses the term "reputational pressures" and the existence of two emotions of "Pride" and "Shame" in cases the subjects experience when they remain aloof from the main reasons for the individuals to engage in a collective action.

Gamson (1992) identifies injustice as one of the most common motivations for engaging individuals in a collective action. As work from psychology, sociology, and political science has shown, explaining political behavior through cognitive mechanisms alone overlooks the extremely important affective dimension of social action.

Klandermans (2010: 183) alternatively suggests that emotions may serve as accelerators – translating willingness more quickly into actual collective action. Ideology provides a final unique pathway through which individuals engage in movements. Despite instrumental approaches that put more emphasis on the role of rationality, identity approaches' main focus is on group identification and its strength, emotion approaches perceive injustices that evoke action-oriented

emotions, and ideology approaches put collective values as a driving factor that increases individuals' willingness to participate in a social action.

Goodwin and Jasper (2004) hold the opinion that, emotion approaches consider collective or group-based emotions as having a crucial and motivational role in collective actions and as a consequence, their role in sociology and social psychology became more apparent. He relates these collective emotions to The Band-of-Brothers Dilemma and mentions how essential can emotions play in increasing affective loyalties to a group.

It is definitely obvious that the 'self', the subject experiencing emotion, is the axis around which emotions turn. However, emotions have a relational dynamism and the subject's concrete emotion depends on interactions with others and the consequences perceived by an individual.

Walder (2009: 407) states that "It may be undeniably true that there are emotional dimensions to recruitment and commitment, and that emotional responses are important mechanisms in explaining political mobilization". He argues that it is essential to find conditions within which emotions are evoked. So far, the sociology of emotions has considered emotions in a more structural framework and macrosociology of emotions and studying their role in broader contexts still needs to be developed in more detail.

As Goodwin (2000), Flam and King (2005) wrote, the study of emotions and their effect on social movements reached the mainstream theories of social movements only in the late 1990s). Jasper (1998: 398) stated that 'Emotions pervade all social life, social movements included', or as Lambooks (2016: 129) puts, 'emotional energy makes movements move'. Emotions such as fear or anger have been considered as key for social movements (Jasper 1998). Brown and Pickerill (2009) believe that studying the 'emotions of protest' is a new approach for analyzing social movements.

Emotions condition and accompany collective action. Their absence, presence, types, and intensities underpin every phase of a social movement from emergence to demise. Pre-existing social networks of friends and neighbors are crucial for mobilization – they are networks of trust and loyalty. Events of social injustice may provoke moral shocks, indignation, and anger and thus encouraging citizens to be engaged in an action.

Once the initial protests begin, the dynamics of collective action become complex emotionally. Those who involve in movement and their opponents engage in emotional labor to shape movement outcomes. The activists' main goal is to gain emotional solidarity and collective identity. Opponents typically seek to incite fear to prevent collective action. In such circumstance, movement participants employ "encouragement mechanisms."

Incorporating emotions into the existing categories have greatly enriched the understanding of collective action and social movements. But many challenges remain for students of emotions and movements (Polletta & Amenta 2001). One is methodological. One reason dynamic neglect of emotions in the study of social movements and sociology more broadly has to do with the fact that emotions, despite somatic signs, are not directly observable. The texture of emotional events consists of fleeting and ephemeral details such as gestures, voices, and smiles, yet these details do not often leave concrete records. Of course, many movements have left behind narratives of various kinds, and so far, these have provided a main source of data analysis. But these narratives cannot fully capture the fluid dynamics of emotions. A possible corrective is to rely more on ethnography and visual sociology. Secondly, in attempting to incorporate emotions into the study of social movements, many analysts tacitly or explicitly treat emotions in an instrumental manner. As Craig Calhoun (2001) cautions, some scholars have simply considered emotions as just another thing for movement organizers to manage or another resource to use against the opponents. In effect, then, emotions are turned into another kind of rational preference. Such an approach falls into the same trap as theories devoid of emotional components. This tendency is rooted in the dichotomizing of mind/body and reason/emotion that fundamentally structures modern western thinking. "Putting emotions in their place," as Calhoun (2001:353) puts it, is to study emotions in such a way as to transcend, not reproduce, this pervasive dualism. Bericat (2016:1) believes that "the emotions that human beings experience plays a fundamental role in all social phenomena."

Consequently, sociology must include the analysis of affective structures and dynamics of emotions in its study objects. The amalgamation of feelings, emotional states, and moods into sociological research must continue to progress until emotions are thoroughly integrated into sociology. This can specifically contribute to the field of Area Studies by changing the field scholars' viewpoints from political, economic, or international relations to psychology and emotion analysis. Although these fields are not contradictory, they can add a different dimension to the findings of individual disciplines.

The "self," the feeling that subjects experience, is undoubtedly the central reference point to which emotions are related. According to Denzin (2009), the link between emotion and self is essentially a matter of definition. However, it is evident that the dynamics of emotion are relational. The specific emotional experience of an individual depends on how the results of interactions with others dynamize the survival, well-being, needs, and goals of the self.

In short, the sociology of emotions faces two fundamental tasks: studying the social dynamics of emotions and emotional dynamics of social reality.

Emotions are not specific substances, but rather, patterns of relationship which link the self with its environment, fundamentally with others in the social world. The system of social control is effective owing to the compelling force key emotions of: fear, anger, shame and pride. However, many emotions still need to be analyzed. Social scientists have contributed to the understanding of some, such as, for example, confidence and trust, empathy and sympathy, grief and sadness, boredom, love, horror and disgust.

Sociology has incorporated, and must continue incorporating in its different areas of study, the analysis of three types of social emotions: (a) interactional emotions, that is, the affective dispositions, emotional states and emotional processes related to the different positions that actors occupy in the social structure; (b) group and collective emotions, that is, those that subjects experience by being a member of a group or forming part of a collective in a specific social situation; and (c) emotional climates and cultures, that is, the transient emotional states or the general and lasting moods rooted in the essential characteristics of a specific society or social unit.

The sociology of social movements has been an area in which the analysis of group and collective emotions has made an important contribution, deepening knowledge of specific social movements as well as leading to theoretical renewal in the fields of public opinion and political action.

For example, although many emotions have been studies and analyzed, it is evident that subjects do not experience emotions in isolation and independently. The emotions we experience are part of complex structures in which many emotions are involved. Moreover, these experiences occur over time as sequences or chains of emotions that exhibit particular dynamics. Thus, sociologists should analyze the affective structures and emotional dynamics of social phenomena.

Walder (2009) refers to the role of emotions in the participation, recruitment, and engagement stages of a social movement but he goes on to say that in such circumstances it is necessary to figure out when and under what social conditions a particular emotion is simulated.

It can be inferred that Walder believes in the development of emotional models to cover conditions along with participation, recruitment, and engagement stages in collective action. The aim of this study is precisely seeking answer to Walder's question and find the contextual clues that leads specific emotion stimulation.

Since there aren't any methods to find emotional transition, the researcher proposed a model adopted from different psychological models, classified emotions into four subcategories, and labelled texts and narratives according to the model.

The model, its application, and detailed steps needed to follow for emotion labelling will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPING A MODEL FOR EMOTIONAL ANALYSIS

This chapter discloses methods of logging actual or imagined emotional episodes together with information about their spatiotemporal and environmental circumstances. The record is optionally linked to those autobiographical memories of the revolutionary period in Iran that are activated by some parallels between the current triggering conditions and past experiences. An attempt is made to find the best method to answer the research questions on tracking how emotions changed shortly before and after the 1979 revolution and how emotions interact between different actors. Accordingly, this chapter summarizes the research design, procedure, sampling methods, data collection, data processing, and quality assurance.

3.1. Research Type and Approach

A qualitative longitudinal research type was required for this study, as it aims to gain insight into the content analysis of the actual evolution of emotions, and as it aims to look at the emotional change of the same political parties within a certain period of time, it can also be considered a longitudinal study.

Furthermore, this study adopts a pragmatist interpretive framework because, as Cresswell (2013) argues, the ontological and epistemological beliefs behind this framework are consistent with the assumptions of this research. According to Cresswell (2013), the ontological belief of pragmatism is that reality is found using many tools that can reflect both deductive and inductive evidence. In terms of epistemological beliefs, Cresswell believes that values are discussed according to knowledge that reflects both the views of the subjects and the researcher.

This research is a descriptive study that attempts to emotionally analyze documents by providing an in-depth understanding of the emotional development of the 1979 Iranian Revolution as a case study of a social movement. Case study research involves examining a case in a real contemporary context or setting (Yin, 2009). Although Stake (2005) states that case study research is not a methodology but a choice of what to study (i.e., a case within a bounded system bounded by time and place), it is presented by others as a research strategy, a methodology, or a comprehensive research strategy (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 2009). The descriptive nature of this study is consistent with Sandelowski's definition that descriptive research is categorical as opposed to non-categorical and does not require a conceptual or highly abstract rendering of the data compared to other qualitative designs. Similar to other descriptive qualitative studies, the present research attempts to present a detailed and highly accurate description of the findings, create a set of categories to summarize the findings, and report on the background or context of a situation. The summary results of this case study analysis are later presented through drawings, tables, diagrams, etc.

3.2. Research Strategies

In order to meet the research objectives, this study analyzed a huge set of data and adopted content analysis as a systematic method to summarize the qualitative data in quantitative form. The goal in choosing content analysis was to transform a large amount of text into a well-organized and concise summary of the main findings.

The most important technique used in content analysis is coding. Saldana (2015:4) defines codes as "a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data". Richards (2015) note that coding is not simply labeling, but a linkage that takes a researcher from the data to the pattern.

Emotional coding of a verbal or pictorial narrative is a prerequisite for work at hand. The researcher was trained by using a reference containing a statistically

significant number of entries with emotional labeling, and contextualization performed by the author. Such a reference was obtained from an expert in psychology.

3.3. The researcher's role and flexibility

In order to be able to do emotion labeling on items belonging to 1979 Iran's revolution, the researcher underwent a training by a group of psycologists in a Canadian research center. They had incorporated the item in a document an example of which is presented in figure 3.1. As it is noticed, the document has three characteristic properties, including cues, highlights, and a label. The cues comprise indicative pictures, italic explanatory texts, and a title. The hightlight is typically a selected part of the text which contains the bulk part of emotional content. Finally, the label, in blue or red respectively indicating the negative or positive valence of the emotion, is typed in bold at the end of the document.

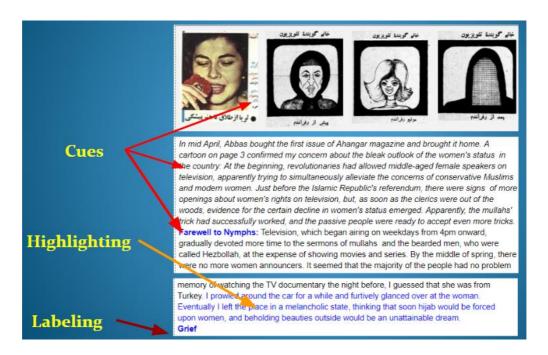


Figure 3. 1. An Exemplary Item Labeled by an Expert

The training was performed in three steps, respectively hiding the label, the label plus the highlight, the label plus the highlight plus the italized cues. At each step,

the author was asked to perform labeling. At the end, the level of the researchers' analysis results' concordance with the author was calculated, as presented in table 3.1.

Table 3. 1. The Progress in the Researcher's Ability to Perform Emotional Analysis of Narratives- Produced by the Author

Case	Degree Concordant	Degree discordant
Highlighted, Not labeled	85	15
Translation bias	91	9
Not highlighted, Labeled	89	11
Finding the context; Trial 1 Not highlighted, Not labelled	54	46
Finding the context; Trial 2 Not highlighted, Not labelled	91	9

3.4. Data Sources and Sampling

Since the 1979 revolution in Iran was chosen as the case study, a secondary data source was required for the analysis. Purposeful sampling strategy has been adopted for sampling. Thus, the data was gathered from an inclusive range of publications contemporary to 1978-9 social movement, except for Kar, Inqilab-e-Islami, and Nameh-e-Mardom, were retrieved from Manchester library archives. The remaining 3 were consulted for the sake of completeness, as the Manchester library did not include entry for mainstream leftist parties of Iran. Most journals and magazines cover November 1978 through August 1979, as the journalists were on strike over the months of October and November 1978. The researcher skimmed the publications and selected emotionally charged entries, the selection is presented in table 3.2.

Table 3. 2. A Summary of Entries Selected for Emotional Analysis- Produced by the Author

Source	Source Brief Description	
		entries
Enghelab-e-Eslami	Belonged to Abolhassan Banisadr, who later	6
(Islamic Republic)	became the first president of Iran and later fled to	
	Paris after clashing with the radical Islamists	
Kar (Labor)	The official bulletin of Fadaiyan Khalq guerilla	4
	organization	
Nameh-ye-Mardom	The official bulletin of the Tudeh (communist)	19
(People's letter)	party, which was ironically aligned with radical	
	Islamists.	
Parkhash (Quarrel)	Affiliated with the National Front, with ultra-	31
	nationalist tendencies	
Sogand	The official bulletin of the "Democratic union of	9
	Iranians", which was a sister organization of the	
	Tudeh party	
Ummat	The Organ of the religious-nationalist group,	20
(Nation)	Ummat	
Sepid va Siyah	A popular magazine published by Ali-Behzadi	12
(White and Black)		
Tehran-e-Mossavar	Editor: Masood Behnood, with liberal views on	42
weekly	human rights, Iranian seasoned photojournalist,	
(Tehran in pictures)	Kaveh Golestan, collaborated with the magazine	
Ayandegan	Ayandegan was one of the most influential and	33
(Future generation)	popular daily newspapers in Iran during	
	Mohammad Reza Pahlavi's rule, and the first year	
	of the Islamic Republic. Its closure in the summer	
	of 1979 is considered as a landmark event in the	
	establishment of theocracy in Iran	

Table 3.2. (continued)

Kayhan	Published by Kayhan publishing corporation. The	30
(The Universe)	newspaper was managed by leftist journalists for a	
	few months following the fleeing of its owner, then	
	was confiscated by radical Islamists and since has	
	been the mouthpiece of hardliners in Iran	
Peygham-e-Emrooz	An independent daily published by leftist veteran	21
(Today's massage)	journalist, Reza Marzban. It was openly critical of	
	theocracy and accordingly was among the first	
	journals banned by the revolutionary government	
Ahangar	A weekly with radical leftist and socialist views	18
(Ironsmith)		
Javanan Emrooz	A popular magazine published by Ettelaat	19
(Contemporary	publishing company over 60 years	
youth)		
Ferdowsi	A weekly, published by Abbas Pahlevan, published	40
	the poems and writings of intellectuals during	
	Shah's era	
Jonbesh	onbesh Published by Ali-Asghar Sadr Haj Seyyed Javadi,	
(The Movement)	ent) Iranian Committee for the Defense of Freedom and	
	Human Rights (ICDFHR)	
15		312

3.5. Data Analysis

The data analysis of qualitative descriptive research is purely data-based, as the codes are generated from the data during the course of study. The presentation of the data involves a straight-forward descriptive summary of the informational content of the data that is organized in a logical manner.

The researcher prepared a PDF file for each source, read the entries, and contextualized it with a string of characteristic information generated for the source. This string includes the following items: Strokes (+, -), Emotions

(categories specified in figure 3.), Timeline (November 1978-August 1979), and players (Grassroot Islamists, Modern Islamists, Socialists, Liberals and nationalists, Apolitical observers).

The first step was emotion labeling. Emotions are felt by people while perceiving a significant actual or imaginary change in their personal situations, situations of those socially related to them, or the environment they are connected to (e.g. weather changes, beautiful scenes).

Although people have their own intuitive understanding of emotion, there are at least some words, such as happiness and anger that few people would leave outside the category of emotion names. In addition, most people attribute three features to the phenomena that they want to call emotions. (1) People see emotions as intentional states. This means that emotions involve an "emotional object" which brought into the subject's attention during an emotion episode (Russel, 2003). A typical emotional object is a certain actual or fictional agent who may be another person, another living creature, a landscape, an object of art, a social group, or the person experiencing the emotion. (2) The relation between subject and the emotional object is evaluative. The subject feels good or bad, approving or disapproving, relieved or disappointed about some state of affairs. (3) The evaluative attitude is more or less transient and short-lived. The typical temporal structure of an emotional response involves a swift rise-time, taking less than half a minute in most cases, followed by a relatively slow decay. To summarize, though it is difficult to come up with a concise definition which include the phenomena people call emotion, it is still possible to identify central defining characteristics of emotions. This allows differentiation of emotions from other affective phenomena, such moods, which also have an evaluative component. For instance, unlike emotions, moods do not usually take a definite emotional object and are typically free-floating or objectless. In addition, moods are more longlasting, and occupy the background of consciousness. In some cases, the mood has a deterministic effect on the occurrence of some emotions. Therefore, all embodiments provide the means for recording the mood state of the user, just prior

to the emotional episode, as a component of emotion log. An exemplary list of mood category may include joyous, cheerful, relaxed, satisfied, sad, blue, and gloomy.

Contemporary appraisal theories, e.g. the iterative reprocessing model (Cunningham, 2013: 344–355), consider emotions as processes, rather than as static entities. From this point of view, the term emotion is used as shorthand for an "emotional episode". An emotional episode typically begins with any affective change due to the "appraisal" of a particular situation. As used here, the word appraisal subsumes not just evaluation, but also valuing, impressions of value, value feelings, and so on (Mulligan and Scherer, 2012: 345–357). The goal of the mind is to settle into a stable and predictive internal representation of the environment through reappraisal processes (changing the affective meaning of an outcome) or behavioral actions intended for changing the situation. The "emotion categories" are thus a way to label and differentiate the ongoing dynamics of the perceiver's affective experience throughout the period of an emotional episode. The appraisal component, comprising the initial appraisal and subsequent reappraisal during the unfolding of the emotional episode, is the most reliable means to distinguish between different categories of emotion. However, this component is typically fully finalized after emotion fades. This feature justifies performing emotion logging in two stages, as discussed below.

The basis for the implementation of emotion scaffolding in the current study is provided by the knowledge structure of autobiographical memory as suggested by Conway (2005: 594-628.) and Linton (1986) which describe personal memories as organized hierarchically. When a personal memory is recalled, the highest levels of the hierarchy are accessed first before recalling the lower levels. In the phenomenological description of human memory, another critical concept is the "header" (Howes and O'shea, 2014: 96); when an individual learns something, the memory function will include what could be termed a "summary" or "descriptive header" that is coded during learning into Long-Term Memory (LTM) and subsumes the target memory. In the context of the present study, the term header

is constructed as a summary description that corresponds to a target emotional episode. The header, thus formed, can be used as retrieval cues at the subsequent instances of memory recall. A particular cue, once provided, will increase the activation of its corresponding element in the memory. This process can lead to the entire target recollection in which the said element is embedded, being recalled. A question of particular importance is, "which set of cues is better selection in the context?" To answer the question, three observations are needed for consideration: First, in Hasher and Zacks's view (Hasher, and Zacks, 1984: 39, 1372–1388.), people are endowed with the ability to encode spatial information, frequency information (how often something occurs), and temporal information (the order in time in which events occur). Second, there is evidence that people may maintain hundreds or thousands of cognitive maps (Stankiewicz and Kalia 2007: 33, 378-390.) which can be looked upon as mental representations that are functionally isomorphic to a building, or a familiar neighbourhood, or even a city. Third, in the foretold Linton's model, at the top of the hierarchy is "mood tone", which involves a certain feeling or mood concerning the material subsumed under it. Therefore, it is suggested that spatio-temporal coordinates and emotional valence (hedonic value) are the main members of the cue set and the corresponding header.

One implementation of this research model is described by referring to Figure 3.2., which schematically presents the evolving structure of data, during the construction of the emotion scaffold, and its virtual link to the corresponding knowledge structure. The data blocks are depicted by solid and dashed rectangles. The scaffolding procedure is performed in three stages; "emotion logging", "emotion contextualizing", and "emotion scaffolding".

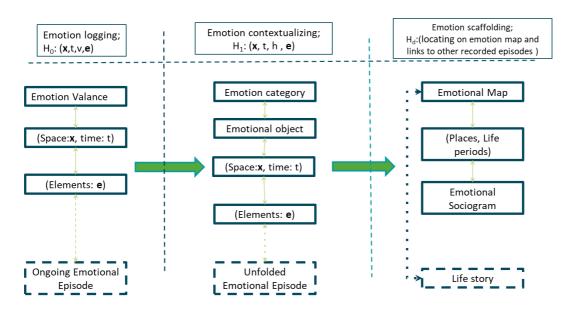


Figure 3. 2. Schematic Presentation of the Knowledge Structure of the Emotion Logging and its Relation to the Subject's Memory in the Course of Three Consecutive Stages of Emotional Scaffolding- Produced by the Author

In the first stage, which is called "emotion logging", the Perceiver; hereafter denoted by P) performs emotional log by actuating a spatio-temporal coordinates and environmental information. This may include logging two sub-dimensions, for the positive/negative valance of the emotional episode. Emotion logging may be also performed by voice command or visual data. Alternatively, some environmental information can be accessed from third parties that provide local information. The outcome of the emotion logging stage is the generation of a header, denoted by H0 (x, t, v, e), where x, t, v, and e, respectively, denote spatial coordinates, time, valence, and any information that contains some "elements" peripherally related to the emotional episode such as environmental information, physiological data, and links to audio-visual files.

The second stage of the emotional scaffolding, which is called "emotion contextualizing", is performed at leisure time of P, when the emotional episodes, after passing their peak intensities have settled via iterative reappraisals. Then, the location of the episode is presented on a map with a symbol that may, optionally, have blue/red color depending on negative/positive valence of the emotional

episode. The outcome is an updated header, including emotion category, emotion object and other components.

A critical task in performing the emotion contextualizing step is the determination of emotion category in the sub-header. Roughly 100 English emotion words encompass nearly the entire domain of affective meanings, once we discount cognitive equivalents for emotions such as anger (Smith and A. Schneider, 2009: 560-589). Inclusion of all these emotions in a list may compromise the utility of the current study by baffling the user with too much similarity of emotional terms. Accordingly, based on the nature of the intended sociological application, a subset of the known emotional terms will be included in the emotion list. The selection includes 52 emotions that are likely to occur in everyday life. The selection includes the {S, A, M, F} set, which is schematically represented in figure 3.3. The set includes four arrays S, A, M, and F, respectively representing emotion categories with social, aesthetic, moral, and Future appraisal (fortune) themes.

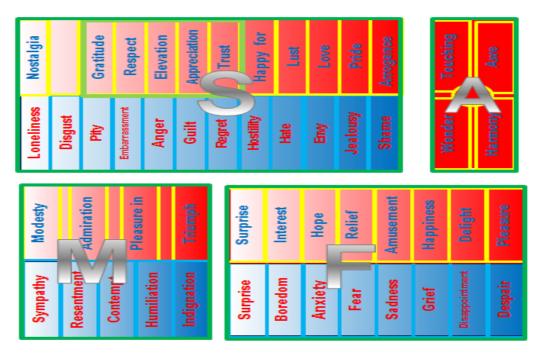


Figure 3. 3. List of Emotion Categories in (S, A, M, F) Set- Produced by the Author

 Nostalgia, Delight, Gratitude, Respect, Elevation, Appreciation, Trust, Happy for, Sexual desire, Love, Pride, Arrogance), S-:(Loneliness, Disgust, Pity, Embarrassment, Anger, Guilt, Regret, Hostility, Hate, Envy, Jealousy, Shame)), A=(A+:(Awe, Harmony, Wonder, Touching), A-:()), M=(M+:(Modesty, Admiration, Pleasure in, Triumph), M :(Sympathy, Resentment, Contempt, Humiliation, Indignation)), and F=(F+:(Surprise, Interest, Hope, Relief, Amusement, Happiness, Pleasure, Delight), F-:(Surprise, Boredom, Anxiety, Fear, Sadness, Grief, Disappointment, Desperation)). The order of the categories in each subarray is from low to high relative valences. There is no solid basis for determining the relative valence. Therefore, the researcher inferred the approximate orders of some categories from the location of emotional categories on Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW) that has been introduced by Scherer (Scherer, 2005: 695-729). In the preferred embodiment, a graded color tone in the background of the icons is used to indicate the relative magnitude (intensity) of the valence.

There are concerns that finding the nature of emotional states in not possible due to inadequacy of emotion knowledge. This issue is alleviated by employing a hierarchical emotion contextualizing scheme based on the emotional valence, types of emotional objects, emotional episode context, and the attributes of the emotional object. One useful by-product of this exercise is what termed as "affect labeling", a process which refers to verbalization of the emotional experience. There are evidences suggesting that affect labeling constitutes a viable form of incidental emotion regulation (Burklund, 2014). A plausible explanation for this useful outcome is provided by Ellsworth (2013: 125-131), "Another reason for people's reliance on categorical verbal labels may be that it is unsettling to feel emotional in a way that cannot be defined. Having a word for an emotional state also makes the experience of the emotion more available. The words of a language may act as magnets in the multidimensional universe of appraisals, so that a person who has some of the appraisals characteristic of a labeled emotion will be drawn towards the word and likely to use it to define the ambiguous feeling." One exemplary flowchart for performing the emotional contextualizing is schematically presented in Figure 3.4, according to which the user (P) is taken through multiple steps to conceptualize the emotional episode.

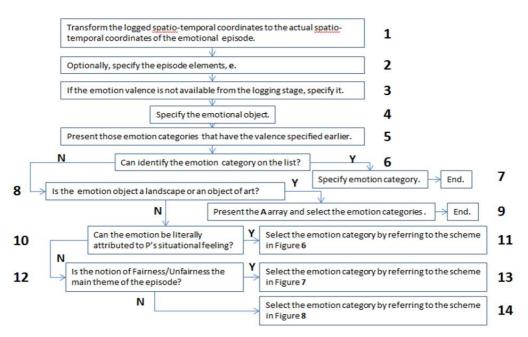


Figure 3. 4. An Algorithmic Flowchart for an Exemplary Implementation for Performing Emotion Contextualizing- Produced by the Author

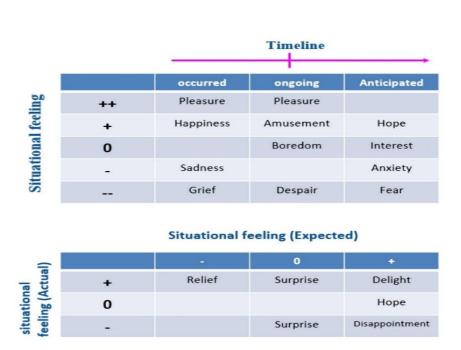
In step 1, the spatio-temporal coordinates may be shifted to better indicate the episode. For instance, suppose that the emotional episode has been unfolded in an office and P has logged while driving back. During emotion contextualizing the spatio-temporal coordinates corresponding to the road should be transformed to the spatio-temporal coordinates of the unfolding of the emotional episode at the office. Optionally, P may supply a name for the location. Further detail about the naming of locations will be provided later.

In step 2, components are reviewed to ensure that they correspond to the actual circumstances of the emotional episode. The P can enter the appropriate environmental information. It should be mentioned that in the model of 'memory as palace', the environment acts as a 'repository' for memory that is evoked in part through touch (Dixon, 2010).

In Step 3, the emotion valence should be selected. It is important to differentiate between positive and negative appraisal of an experienced emotion, with "positive" here meaning something like "the feeling we wish to achieve and sustain" and "negative" meaning something like, "the feeling we wish to end and avoid." In order to keep a visual consistency, the positive and negative valences are preferably indicted by the red-blue color contrast. The specification of the emotional valence decreases the number of the candidate emotion categories by about half.

In step 4 of the emotion contextualizing stage the emotion object is specified. The lebeler may be helped by cognition priming statements such as, "emotions are characterized in terms of being about certain things, or in terms of being directed at things that constitute their objects".

In step 5, the lebeler is presented by the emotional categories having the selected valence. An experienced one may readily recognize the target emotion category and finalize the emotion contextualization procedure by selecting the emotion category in step 7. Otherwise, the s/he is taken to the next steps. In step 8, the lebeler is asked if the emotion object is a landscape or an object of art. In the case of an affirmative response all emotion categories belonging to "A" are presented on the interface. Thus, in step 9, the lebeler selects among the presented items and finalizes the emotion contextualization procedure. A negative response to the question in step 8 takes the user to another question in step 10 to determine if the emotion can be literally attributed to P's "situational feeling" regarding his/her goals and fortunes. An affirmative response takes the user to step 11, where the lebeler determines the emotion category by referring to a scheme presented in Figure 3.3.



		Timeline		
		occurred	ongoing	Anticipated
ling	++	Pleasure	Pleasure	
Situational feeling	+	Happiness	Amusement	Норе
	0		Boredom	Interest
	-	Sadness		Anxiety
		Grief	Despair	Fear

		Situational feeling (Expected)			
al)			0	+	
situational feeling (Actua	+	Relief	Surprise	Delight	
	0			Норе	
	-		Surprise	Disappointment	

Figure 3. 5. A Scheme Cased on the State of the Situational Feeling for Labelling the Emotion Categories Belonging to the "F" Array- Produced by the Author

The figure 3.5 locates some emotion categories in a two-dimensional space comprising situational feeling (ranging from the most negative to most positive) and the timeline. The lower table locates the remaining emotion categories in a two-dimensional space comprising the actual and the situational feelings. A negative response to question in step 10 takes the lebeler to another question in step 12 to determine if the notion of Fairness/Unfairness is the main component

of the episode. An affirmative response takes the user to step 13, where the user determines the emotion category among moral emotions. The task is accomplished by referring to a scheme presented in Figure 3.6.

	Success (P)	Failure (P)	Success (CO)	Failure (CO)
Fair	Triumph	Humiliation	Admiration	Contempt/ Pleasure in
Unfair	Modesty	Indignation	Resentment	Sympathy

Figure 3. 6. A Scheme Based on Outcome Fairness for Labelling the Emotion Categories Belonging to the "M" Array- Produced by the Author

This scheme is based on the observation that Moral emotions are based on ecologically fundamental combinations of interpersonal contingencies experienced by the self (P) versus the comparison other (CO). These emotions involve relative comparisons of positive and negative outcomes that are seen to be fair or unfair (Buck, 2014). A negative response to question in step 12 takes the lebeler to step 14 where the s/he determines the emotion category among social emotions. These emotions naturally emerge from social interaction and involve relative comparisons of positive and negative outcomes of being loved/meeting expectations. An emotion categorization scheme is presented in figure 3.7.

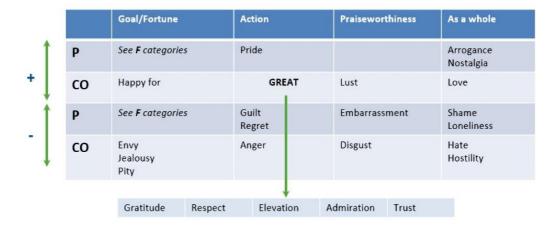


Figure 3. 7. A Scheme Based on Object's Attributes for Labelling the Emotion Categories Belonging to "S" Array- Produced by the Author

The basis for the emotion classification is that emotions can be directed at different attributes of the emotional object. These include (1) the subject's goals or the fortunes of agents, (2) actions of agents, (3) praiseworthiness of the agent's specific actions, and (4) appealingness of the agent as a whole.

An exemplary list of emotion categories includes the following:

Admiration: Involves the judgment that someone's success is deserved. It is an emotion that is felt by observing other individuals' talent, competence, and skill exceeding standards (Algoe and Haidt, 2009: 105-127). It is a social emotion that increases self-improvement through learning from role-models (Smith, 2000). Susan Fiske and others studied this emotion in intergroup context and proposed that admiration is normally felt towards those soocial groups that are competent, have high status, warm, friendly, and cooperative. According to Fiske, admiration is linked to intentions to cooperate with others who are admired (Fiske, 2007). Ben-Ze'ev states that in admiration the emotional object is superior to us and this superiority is a positive one. (Ben-Ze'ev 2001).

Amusement: Creates urges to share a laugh and find creative ways to continue the joviality. It is an emotion that has a positive valence and triggers in humorous

situations. This emotion occurs when there is a cognitive shift from one knowledge

structure to another such as heaing a joke (Shoita, 2006).

Anger: This emotion is aroused "in response to a specific, undeserved offense"

and the object of anger is usually a person or object that is quite well-known to us

(Ben Ze'ev, 2001). It is a reaction to peceived deliberate harm or unfair treatment

by others. This form of anger is episodic. Alia-Klein et al (2020) believe that

Anger is a kind of intense emotion which involves strong uncomfortable and non-

cooperative response to a perceived provocation, hurt, or threat. Ben Ze'ev argues

that the threat in anger is more concrete and materialized (2001).

Anxiety: As Ben Ze'ev argues this emotion denotes apprehensive anticipation of

future danger or misfortune. Anxiety is future-focused, is long-acting, and focused

towards a potential threat (Ben Ze'ev, 2001). Anxiety's main characteristic is

unpleasant state of inner turmoil which is accompanied by a nervous behavior.

The American Psychiatric Association (2013) defined Anxiety as expectation of

future threat and dread (2013).

Appreciation: Is the "recognition and enjoyment of the good qualities of

someone". Adler defined appreciation as "acknowledging the value and meaning

of something- an event, a person, a behavior, an object- and feeling a positive

emotional connection to it". Moreover, Alder and Fagley argue that apprecian is a

key factor in managing and maitaining social bonds (Adler & Fagley, 2005).

Arrogance: Results from the belief that one is a good person. It may or may not

rest on a comparison with others.

Awe, Harmony, Wonder, Touching: Emerge when people encounter something

strikingly vast or goodness on a grand scale.

Boredom: An unpleasant feeling which signals low level of emotional arousal.

Contempt: Expresses the subject's superiority over the emotional object.

Delight: Meeting or exceeding hedonic expectations may evoke the feeling of

excitement and finally leads to delight.

Despair: To lose all hope.

Disappointment: Is evoked when a situation, in disconfirmation of a previous

belief, has materialized. Disappointment follows the failure of expectations or

hopes to manifest.

Disgust: A strong sense of aversion to someone or some object

Embarrassment: Awareness of being in the center of attention and being judged

Envy: For something one does not have and wishes to obtain

Fear: Desire for a certain situation, and a belief that the undesired situation may

materialize. Fear is short-lived, present-focused, and geared towards a specific

threat, and attempts to facilitate escape from threat

Gratitude: Attribute one's personal success to someone or when receiveing from

other people a gift in the form of an action or object

Grief: Expresses the irrevocable loss of someone very close and of great value to

us

Guilt: Is due to doing something which was forbidden

Happiness: A state of pleasure or satisfaction as a result of a specific (real or

imaginary) positive change

77

Happy for: Enjoying someone's good fortune; typically high degree of closeness required

Hate: To feel irritated by someone's mere existence

Hope: Desire for a certain situation, and a belief that the desired situation is probable.

Hostility: Signifies the phenomenon known as pseudospeciation (Munz, 1985), according to which members of other groups are often treated as if they were, in effect, members of other species

Humiliation: the judgment that one has failed and that failure is deserved

Jealousy: For something one fears losing to others

Indignation: the perception that someone's victory broke the rules, or blaming social conditions in the case of oppression

Interest: Motivates learning and exploration

Loneliness: Is a type of sadness which stems from the absence of desired social relationships

Modesty: One succeeds but does not perceive the success to be deserved

Nostalgia: A sentimental longing for one's past

Love: A profound attitude directed at attractive and praiseworthy traits of someone whom we see as being a suitable partner to live with

Lust: A basically spontaneous desire directed at others' bodily or physical appealingness

Pity: Sympathetic sorrow for someone's substantial misfortune while unwilling to offer substantial help

Pleasure: The experience of a change from either too much or too little arousal back to a level of optimal comfort

Pleasure in: Enjoying someone's misfortune

Pride: Considering oneself as somehow connected to a positive thing or action.

Regret: A sorrow over a past opportunity which was available to us, but which we missed.

Relief: Is experienced following the completion of an unpleasant experience or the avoidance of an unpleasant experience.

Resentment: The emotion toward less severe moral offenses.

Sadness: When a specific negative event is significant and the sorrow is intense.

Shame: Results from the belief that oneself is a bad person. It involves viewing one's self in light of certain norms.

Sympathy: Sorrow for someone's substantial misfortune while obliged to offer substantial help.

Triumph: Celebrating a significant or conclusive victory over a difficult challenge.

Trust: Is defined as a "reliance on the integrity, ability, or character of a person." In the third stage, the emotion database is processed and the stored headers are organized in a form suitable for presentation on emotional map and emotional

socigram. The procedure is dynamic. An exemplary list of operations is the following: (1) Preparing spatial and temporal map of the logged emotions to help the lebeler for making sense of the emotional database, (2) generating inter-header links, i.e. relating the current emotion episodes to the past emotion episodes remembered via autobiographical data, (3) accessing summary report of the lebeler's emotional history. Before describing embodiments related to these aspects, the background information is provided below.

Under the influence of scientific approaches, people may have the impression that ordinary (Euclidean) space and chronological time represent the actual psychological point of view. However, research results indicate a different scenario. Time and space are fundamental to our emotional relation to the world. Over time, people associate memories and meanings and become emotionally attached to some of their physical possessions. According to one model, the relationship between the experience of time and the temporal structure of events in the real physical world is neither linear nor does it follow a fixed rhythm or pulse (Schäfer et al, 2013:4). For instance, doing something interesting or new will cause the impression that time flies because attention is only occasionally directed toward the passage of time (prospective time). This leaves the impression that time has jumped from one point in time to another point minutes or hours later. In retrospect, however, there will be some memories about this period of time, which will lead to the conclusion that much more time has elapsed than actually did. Thus, depending on the situation, time is perceived as decelerated or accelerated, and the concept of personal time is much closer to what people really experience than is the concept of a constant physical, chronological time.

Emotions are intimately tied into place. People's impression of place differs from an abstract Cartesian space that is defined by various geometric coordinates. Emotionally toned place attachment is formed through the bonding that occurs between individuals and their meaningful environments. An important function of place attachment is that it provides a stable sense of self, or an awareness of the

self as continuous, such that past and future behaviors are linked. Residential time plays a significant role in the course of constructing a place-related identity, meaning that extending one's stay at a place incorporates that place as a part of oneself. One of the concepts that stands-out among the multiple discussions of place is "home". Home and the roots that lie there are at the core of our personal identity, even if we are separated from them in time or space. Similarly, places such as work place, other frequently attended places, and the paths along which people go about their day-to-day business may be considered as significant in relation to the emotional life of an individual.

The third stage of the emotional scaffolding is implemented according to the preceding discussions. As the emotional database receives more cases, spatial distribution of episodes sharply peak around few points and locations where most of the emotional places have emerged. The geographical map, thus overplayed with the symbols indicating the occurrence of emotional events, is not sufficiently intuitive for providing a rapid qualitative idea to the lebeler in terms of spatial distribution of emotional events. In this regard "Emotional-Map" is a preferable alternative. The Emotional-Map is a visual image to highlight the physical world as a metaphorical space for the portrayal of emotions.

As the number of logged emotions increases, it will become likely that the name of an individual (object of some logged emotion) appear more than once. This occurrence triggers the question about the affinity community which the said individual shares with the user. According to Farte (2012), an affinity community has the following characteristics. (1) It is governed by the regulatory mechanism of tradition, (2) its systemic resources are social norms, (3) its code of conduct is enforced by inducing positive emotions (joy, pride, love, admiration, sympathy, gratitude, etc.) or by inflicting negative emotions (guilt, shame, sadness, worry, contempt, hatred, indignation, etc.), (4) the interaction between members consists of involvement (integration) or ostracism (isolation), and (5) the ultimate goals of its members are affiliation, belonging, and solidarity. Family, activist associations, school and workplace are examples of affinity communities. The said third characteristic is well in line with the studies that have confirmed the role of

emotions in reciprocal exchanges occurring in the complex networks of social relationships. This implies that an emotion log, prepared over sufficiently long period of time, is a meaningful description of social interactions. Thus, one implementation of the present study is intended to utilize the emotion log for preparing an "Emotional Sociogram".

One significant aspect of the present study is the ability of recording voluntarily or involuntarily recalled past emotional episodes, fantasy related emotions, imaginary emotions evoked by a third-party narration, or factual knowledge extracted from different kind of media, like books, data, news, etc. Similar to a work of art, nostalgia is an affective process that can accompany autobiographical memories, and may be defined as a desire to return to an earlier state or idealized past projection onto the future. The most common objects of nostalgia are momentous events (e.g., birthdays, anniversaries, vacations). Some current emotional events, music and subject-specific environmental conditions may also evoke nostalgia. For labelling Nostalgia, the P need to answer the following questions. (1) Elicitor? (2) Where? (3) When? (4) Emotional object? (5) The category of the recalled emotion? and (6) Potential emotional anchor? Question (1) may have selectable pre-designed answers such as, (1a) the current emotion, (1b) music, (1c) environment, and (1d) scent. In answering question 2 one may enter the spatial coordinates by referring to a geographical map. Alternatively, the user may prepare a pre-set map by labeling selected places on a map. These places may include the user's previous homes, neighbourhoods, schools, and so on. The answer to question 3 requires some background. As it was mentioned, place and time are basic organizing categories for personal memory. The basic view is that these dimensions position one's reminiscence by forming psychological personplace ties. Related to the awareness of the past is the specificity in terms of location of an event in time and space. This implies that past events can only be located within a particular time frame, the length of which corresponds to a particular period along the user's "life story". Each frame may enclose one or more shorter frames that are more appropriate for expressing events in the context of finer time granularity. Thus, past events may be presented along a time-line with multiple graduations. An example of such a time-line is presented in Figure 3.8.

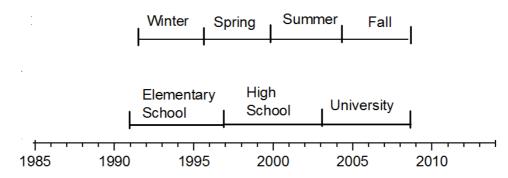


Figure 3. 8. Schematically Illustration of an Example of a Multiply Graded Timeline Used for Describing the Temporal Component of an Emotional Event

Alongside the year frames, a set of life duration frames is also presented. These two sets are linked. Another type of frame set, such as the season frame, is called free-floating. This type is typically employed when the information on the season is more important than the year to which the season belongs. The temporal representation discussed so far can be used for generating a construct known as "Emotional Timeline" for reviewing the chronicle trends of emotional episodes associated with places and emotionally close individuals.

The scaling of the time axis may change from linear to logarithmic depending on the density of the emotion logs in the desired interval. While answering questions 4 and 5 are easy, some background is needed to answer question 6. An emotional anchor is typically an intense and outstanding event or experience so memorable that one can return to it and relive it anew. If the recalls are recurring, the emotional state is mentally recorded with even greater strength. The outcome is a phenomenon which is commonly known as conditioning. People often link "anchors" to intense emotional episodes. An anchor can be a picture, sound, video, taste, smell, or feeling. In one embodiment, while logging a nostalgic episode, if the response to the said question 6 is affirmative, the user is prompted to look for

relevant picture, audio, or video files in his/her disposal. A utility of these traces is to help lebellers with regaining emotional context when experiencing extremely intense emotions.

The ability to record contagious and empathetic emotions is a major aspect of the current study. In the preferred embodiment, a selection is suggested during the emotion contextualizing stage to specify if the emotion is contagious/empathetic (empathic mode). Contagious emotions are elicited via emotional contagion, a phenomenon through which people catch the emotions of others while mimicking their physical behavior. Empathy, on the other hand, is a complex imaginative process in which an observer simulates another person's situated psychological states while maintaining clear self-other differentiation. It involves the representation of a target's states that are activated by, but not directly accessible through, the observer's perception. In the lexicon of folk psychology, the ability to empathize is sometimes referred to as 'mindreading'. This aspect of empathy highlights the importance of recording empathic emotions for the purpose of emotion regulation and emotion intelligence. An important aspect of empathy is that our experiences of literary emotions and those elicited by movie watching are almost entirely empathic. By selecting empathic mode, the P is prompted to specify the "emotional subject".

Scaffolding emotional experiences may help analyzing life events in a more productive light; it also allows them to identify patterns in emotional experiences. Accordingly, they may find practical ways to break negative patterns and reinforce positive ones. This addresses the notion of emotional intelligence, which is defined as a complex of inclinations and skills that bear on one's ability to understand and respond appropriately to emotional states, both one's own and those of others, with the aim of guiding one's thinking and actions.

The methods described above for enhancing emotional intelligence, are equally applicable for emotion regulation. The term emotion regulation refers to any initiative people take to influence which emotions to have, when to have them, and how to experience and express these emotions. Emotion regulation serves

multiple functions, including the satisfaction of hedonic needs, facilitation of specific goals and tasks, and optimization of personality functioning. It has been linked to such important outcomes as mental health, physical health, relationship satisfaction, and work performance. Emotion regulation skills include the following components. (a) Enhancing self-awareness, (b) Appraising the situation objectively, (c) Selfmonitoring, (d) To demonstrate empathy. All these strategies are covered in the context of emotional intelligence through the steps listed in the Figure 3.4.

In Emotion regulation and well-being, Kumnig et al (2015) documented the fact that following an emotional episode, the person who experienced it, talks with others about this episode in 80–95% of the cases. Some three-quarters of episodes personally confided to someone were then shared by the latter with new targets. Episodes heard in a secondary sharing were shared again with several new listeners for one third of participants and with one new listener for another third. The tendency for propagating emotional information has a functional value in terms of constructing emotional intimacy and drives the expansion of virtual social networks. People who share similar aspects of their significant emotional experiences are likely to establish virtual relationships. The most important among these aspects are spatial and temporal attributes of emotional events.

One particular application of the emotion labeling is in Transactional analysis (TA). This aspect enables performing "stroke accounting", by which an individual track the number of strokes he/she receives or gives over time. A stroke is source of stimulation or verbal and nonverbal signs of acceptance and recognition. Positive strokes that express warmth, affection, or appreciation verbally or with a look, smile, touch, or gesture are necessary for the development of psychologically healthy people. Negative strokes are a way to give feedback to people about their behavior. Stroke economy is based on five rules (Corey, 2011:327): 1) Give positive strokes when you have them to give, 2) Ask for strokes when you need them, 3) accept strokes when you want them (and they are offered), 4) reject (negative) strokes when you don't want them, and 5) give yourself strokes. Stroke

accounting is performed by logging the emotional episode. In emotion contextualizing stage, selecting "Stroke" option will take the user to an interface, an example of which is presented in Figure 3.9. The lebeler selects among received/given positive/negative strokes can prepare reports on stroke transactions.

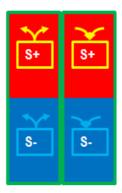


Figure 3. 9. Schematical Illustration of an Interface for Conducting Stroke Accounting-Produced by the Author

3.6. Transactional Analysis

The next step after labelling the emotion, is to find how the specified emotion was interacted between different ego states. This was done by using Eric Berne's (2011) Transactional Analysis (TA) model. Transactional Analysis (TA) conceptualizes personality in terms of five functional ego states: Critical Parent (CP), Nurturing Parent (NP), Adult (A), Free Child (FC), and Adapted Child (AC). And the interaction pattern considered in this study included: Child-Parent, Parent-Child, and Adult-Adult.

Eric Berne (2011) is the founder of TA and he proposed individuals have three distinct personality parts known as Parent, Adult, and Child. These three parts are called ego states and each ego state consists of a set of behaviors, thoughts, feelings and reflects a different way we interact with the world and individuals.

3.6.1. Recognizing ego states

There are many ways to understand the ego state including tone of voice, gestures, body posture, word choice, and emotional state. For example, harsh, critical or threatening voice is a sign of critical parent ego state, clear tone of voice indicates the adult state of ego. Being aware of the ego states can maximize individuals' chances of making new connections.

3.6.1.1. The Parent Ego

The parent ego state is a set of behaviors, beliefs, or thoughts that are learned or borrowed from parents or other caretakers. This state of ego can be divided into two functions; one part is "Nurturing" parent ego that can be loving, soft, and permission giving. This state of ego sets healthy limits.

The other part of the Parent ego state is the "Critical" or "prejudiced" parent that carries prejudiced thoughts, beliefs, and feelings that are aimed to be imposed on others. This state is of ego is not a healthy one.

3.6.1.2. The Adult Ego

Eric Berne (2011) introduces this state of ego as the center that does data-processing. This part of personality processes the data in an accurate way, a part that thinks and come up with reasonable solutions based on facts and not on prejudged or prejudiced thoughts and emotions.

3.6.1.3 . The Child Ego

This state of ego is the seat of emotions that individuals have from childhood. All experiences are carried in individuals' grown up lives. This can be fun when the situation is safe to enjoy. However, this can be problematic if it distorts facts and prevents "adult" ego state to see things accurately. Berne divided this state into

two parts: the first one is the "Free" or "Natural" child state ego which carries all spontaneous actions, feelings, and behaviors. This side of state experiences the world in a more direct and immediate way, can be emotional, authentic, and playful. It also contains creativity similar to Adult state. The "Free" child state ego is linked to the level of intimacy. In other words, in less intimate relationships, the amount of this state is decreased.

The second part of the personality is the "Adapted" child ego state that learned to follow or comply with parental messages that the individuals received growing up. In cases that the parental messages are imposing or restricting, we might rebel against this instead of showing compliance. In such cases, this state turns into "Rebellious" child ego state which can be seen as an alternative to the complying aspect of this ego state. Since this aspect is also a response to the parental messages, it is an adaptation in its own.

Understanding these ego states is fundamental for understanding the theory of transactional Analysis. In the following section we will study how we can identify which ego state an individual is using since people can switch from one state of go to another.

3.6.2. Transaction Types

After gaining awareness on one's own state of ego, the second and more important in social relations is the concept of transactional analysis which revolves around different ways that people can interact with each other. In other words, "which ego state in me is talking to which ego state in you". sometimes the interaction is quite straight and sometimes it becomes complicated. Understanding these transactions can help you recognize your communication with others as clear as possible. Berne explains two transaction types:

3.6.2.1. Complementary transactions

According to Eric Berne (2011), complementary transaction is "Appropriate and expected and follows the natural order of healthy human relationship". This kind of transaction is the straightest and easily recognizable type. Complementary transaction type has two different patterns as shown below. In both of these patterns' communication continues in the expected stream. The communication comes to a halt when the communication becomes crossed.

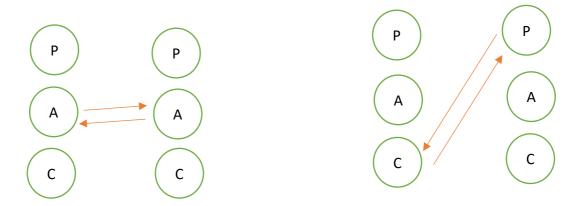


Figure 3. 10. Contemporary transaction- Adopted from Eric Berne's (2011) Transactional Analysis

3.6.2.2. Crossed transactions

In this transaction type, communication breaks down due to unexpected response by any one of the communication parties. In the first figure shown above, the respondent comes from a child ego while successful communication was expected to be the adult ego state. Thereby, the communication was crossed. The speaker has two alternatives in such situations; s/he can either continue the same adult state ego and give the responder to hook back into the adult state, or s/he can move to parent ego state and respond to the other part of the communication in that way. In the second example the respondent comes from a critical parent ego state to cross the transaction and as such communication breaks down.

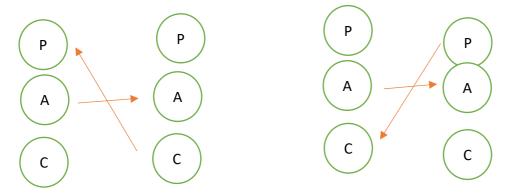


Figure 3. 11. Crossed transaction- Adopted from Eric Berne's (2011) Transactional Analysis

Understanding and recognizing both complementary and crossed transactions can increase the individuals' ability to have clear communications with others. However, recognizing these transactions requires time and close attention to the context and all hidden and not literal dimensions of the communications along with what is really expressed and interacted literally.

Berne (2011) defined strokes as a "unit of human recognition" which can be either positive or negative. They can also be unconditional or conditional. Unconditional strokes are rich kind of strokes. Babies who get lots of positive, unconditional strokes really thrive. And adults who have a good base of positive unconditional stroking thrive as well. Conditional strokes, on the other hand, are given for what we do or for a particular trait that we possess. Thus, they are based on conditions. Conditional strokes can fill important needs. For example, if someone gets a good grade, or do a good deed, and someone recognizes him or her for that, they are giving that person a positive conditional stroke. These strokes can fill us up with positive emotions in different ways than do positive unconditional strokes.

Understanding these interactions and communication patterns can provide us tools with the help of which we can recognize our own ego state and decide on the kind of state we would like to have with others. The same procedure can be followed in a broader dimension and can be extended to different contexts. The present

study focuses on the study of social movement and the case of Iran's 1979 revolution. During revolutionary days there were some political parties who had different aims and guideline. They had their own newspapers and magazine that acted as a bridge by which they used to send their emotions, messages, agreements or disagreements on a specific issue, or comment on other parties' acts. In this study each political party has been considered as an entry or subject that attempts to interact with other parties. To this end prominent players or actors in the 1979 Islamic Revolution were identified and labeled as the following:

1. Grassroot Islamists

- Fada'iyan-e Islam: The group had the assassination of 4 prime ministers in their CV. (P1)
- Heyat-e-motalefeh: The association of religious clubs dedicated to mourning rituals. (P1)
- Rohaniyate-mobarez (militant clerics): Clerics who blindly followed Khomeini. (P1)

2. Modern Islamists

- Nehzate-e-Azadi (Freedom movement): Islamist intellectuals, attempting to reconcile religion with modernity. (P2)
- Mojahedin-e-Khalq: Islamist marxists (P3)

3. Socialists

• Tudeh party: Non-militant veteran communist party of Iran. Aligned with Khomeini for his anti-western stances. (P4)

• Cherikhay-e Fadaii-e Khalq: Militant communists, popular among the younger generation. (P5)

4. Liberals and Nationalists

• Nationalist groups, among which Jebhe-melli (nationalist front, followers of the late prime minister Mossadeq), was the most prominent. (P6)

5. Apolitical observers. (P0)

Though the popular support for the political players were not known at the time, at the end of period, i.e September 1979, the figure could be estimated by the share of each group from the popular votes of their leading candidates for the Constitutional Assembly in Tehran which has been summarized in table 3.5.

Table 3. 3. The share of different players from the popular vote for the assembly of the constitution-produced by the author

Player	Candidate's Names	Percent of Popular
		Vote
P1	Seyyed Mohammad Beheshti	63
P2	Azam Taleghani	6.3
P3	Masoud Rajavi	13
P4	Noureddin Kiyanouri	1.3
P5	Roghayyeh Daneshgari	5
P6	Aliasghar Hai Seyyed Javadi	13

Finding the right emotion and the relevant transactions depends on factors such as considering the context, timeline, and setting in which the narrative accurred.

Since time can be experienced emotionally and is a prerequisite in finding the appropriate labelling, a chronological account of the milestone events in the context of the Iranian Islamic Revolution of 1978-1979 which are relevant for the subject matter of the present research has been presented below.

Table 3. 4. Timeline of 1979 Islamic Revolution- Produced by the Author

Timeline	Description
08.11.1978	Ashura Rally
16.01.1979	Shah fled Iran
01.02.1979	Khomeini returned
12.02.1979	Army surrendered
08.03.1979	Women's rally
30.03.1979	Referendum
03.08.1979-04.08.1979	Banning of newspapers
07.08.1979-11.08.1979	Election for Constitutional Assembly
16.08.1979	Khomeini ordered crackdown

3.7. A Review of Major Events of the Iranian 1979 Revolution

The roots of the Islamic revolution can be traced to Islamists' uprising on 5th June 1963, when protests erupted in Tehran against the arrest of Ayatollah Khomeini after his denouncement of the Shah and Israel. This was crushed within days by the police and military, still the importance (Shia) religious opposition to the Shah was manifested and Khomeini came into limelight as a major political and religious leader. In the ensuing years the opposition to Shah's rule was spearheaded by leftist and nationalist intellectuals and Islamists were absent from the forefront of Iranian politics. Then, Khomeini's elder son, Mustafa, passed away of natural causes, but he implicated Shah's intelligence service (SAVAK) for the incident. Shah became outraged and ordered the publication of a derogatory article titled 'Iran and Red and Black Colonization' in Ettela'at daily,

which described Khomeini as an Indian Sayyed and put his acts to the same level as the actions of communists. This ignited a protest by seminary students in the holy city of Qom on 7 January 1978. The security forces used live ammunition and some students were killed. Thus, the chain reaction of the fortieth day commemoration was started in stark parallel with the time honored main ritualistic aspect of Shia Islam, which dated back to the events during the first century of Islam, when Hossein, the grandson of Islam's prophet, had been killed in the 10th day of Muharram by the forces of Caliph Yazid in the present-day Karbala city of Iraq.

On 19 February 1978, riots broke out in Tabriz, in commemoration of the 40th day of the uprisings in Qom. The government quelled the two-days long unrest with heavy hand and many people were killed. In this protest, for the first time after the events of June 6, 1963, the army was brought out to directly control the situation. Also, the slogan "Death to the Shah" was chanted for the first-time during demonstrations. Forty days after this event, on April 1, 1978, demonstrations were held in Isfahan, Jahrom, Yazd, Shiraz, and Ahvaz on the occasion of the 40th day of the deaths of those killed in Tabriz. Thus, the Shia ritual of Ashura-Arbaeen (10th of lunar month Muharram and day of Imam Hossein's martyrdom- 20th of the lunar month Safar and mourning gathering by Imam Hossein's sister, Zeynab, commemorating the fortieth day of his martyrdom) was repeated in chain.

The uprising in Qom, was, to some extent, the result of Shah's attempts to alleviate people's discontent. Assuming that people's grievances had economic roots, he had replaced his long serving prime minister, Amir-Abbas Hoveyda, in 6 November 1978 with a seemingly reformist technocrat, Jamshid Amouzegar. The riots surprised Shah; a fact that was reflected in his Nowruz (21th March 1978) message: ... with this freedom that now exists in our country, the possibility of abusing it, by anonymous agents, is predictable. However, the strength of our social order and our national unity is to the level that any such attempt is doomed to failure (Tehran-e-Mosavvar, 1979).

The prime minister not only did not take the issue seriously, but also limited it to the level of a show that the shah himself had orchestrated, "Iran has arrived 'the gate of great civilization'. Earning this honor depends on deep national unity and solidarity. Fortunately, the groundwork for this social unity has been laid by 'The Resurrection Party'". Other government officials had views similar to the prime ministers. Behnoud quotes Shah's secretary, who lately was heading the meetings of the imperial commission for countering corruption, as saying, "why do you take the unrest seriously? His majesty is directing the shows, whenever he wants, he will stop it." This wishful thinking was the influence of Shah's illusion with the course of events following the sharp rise in oil revenues after the oil crisis, which began in October 1973 when the members of the Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries proclaimed an oil embargo. Thus, even after the onset of turmoil in the country Shah was preoccupied with publishing his third book, "Towards Great Civilization". Shah's minister of court, Hoveyda, who has taken the job after being removed from prime ministership, comments on the book as the greatest writing of the century across all languages of the world. Ironically, the book was published in limited editions and the project was halted for the lack of interest and funds. In contrast, at the same time the banned books by Ali Shariati, Jalal Al-Ahmad, Ahmad Shamlou, etc., were printed underground and distributed in large copies.

The summer was hard for Shah. All the reform measures taken by Amuzegar's cabinet had not gone beyond stabilizing the land price. In the mid-summer, China's communist party leader visited the country and Shah, taking this as a mocking gesture to his leftist opponents, tried to exploit the event. However, he had to postpone his planned trip to eastern Europe with the pretext of illness. There were rumors in Tehran that shah would reappoint Amini as prime minister, but this was never realized because shah was not ready to agree to concessions such as allowing the free activity of the National Front. Still, the news was an indication for Shah's uneasiness for the state of the country. Amini, a founding member of the Democratic Party of Iran, had served as a minister in the cabinet of Mohammad Mosaddegh, but broke away from Mosaddegh in July 1952. He had been

appointed prime minister in 1961 and initiated reforms, such as the freedom of political parties, including the National Front, land reform and the fighting corruption. However, his efforts to reduce Shah's role in running the country had soon met with resistance, and he had been forced to step down in July 1962, less than one year before the uprising of Islamists in June 1963, which seeded the Islamic revolution.

Finally, Shah revealed his supposedly winning card by appointing Jafar Sharif Emami as the prime minister on 27 August 1978 the newspapers wrote that this appointment was due to Sharif Emami's clerical lineage. This was a sign that Shah was gradually realizing that his true opponents were Islamists and not communists, whom he had heavy-handedly suppressed over the last decade of his ruling. On his first day in the office, Sharif Emami dissolved the Rastakhiz Party (Resurgence Party), which Shah had founded on 2 March 1975 as the single legal political party in Iran. In addition, Sharif Emami abolished the imperial calendar, and reintroduced Islamic calendar. These acts, while undermining the main ideological pillars of Shah's totalitarian rule, had been taken to appease the religious masses. But, they did not achieve their intended goal. Instead, the first large scale demonstrations were held across the country and the wave of revolution arrived in earnest. Government declared martial law in 11 cities for 6 months on 8th September. The same day, people defied the measure and many demonstrators were massacred in Jaleh Square of Tehran. While Government officials reported 86 deaths, the opposition claimed much larger numbers. For instance, French social theorist Michel Foucault first reported that 2,000 to 3,000 people had died but later raised that number to 4,000. This provided the Islamists with enough ammunition, i.e. martyrs, for advancing their cause and spreading the movement among the ritual-thirsty masses.

The Islamic holiday of Eid al-Fitr on 30 September 1978 became a turning point in the Iranian revolution. Nearly 500,000 people marched in the streets of Tehran, and during the demonstration, which the Shah watched from a helicopter, people shouted, "Long live Khomeini"; thus, bringing Khomeini's name to forefront of

Iranian politics after he had been sent to exile 16 years earlier following the Islamists' uprising on 5th June 1963. The situation of the regime continued to deteriorate and Sharif Emami's two-month tenure came to a bitter end. It was evident that the veteran politician's mission regarding appearing people through his flattery with the clerics was a failure.

The martial law did not help and Shah decided to appoint a military government headed by the army's chief of staff. Ironically, Shah undermined this effort by appearing on TV and reading from a text: "I have heard the voice of your revolution ...". During the speech Shah pleaded "the majestic Iranians" to give him an opportunity for the sake of the country. He promised the formation of a national coalition government after the return to normalcy, and withholding a free election. But, it was too late. The military government was defied by demonstrators and did not succeed in quelling the unrest: During days, the demonstrators mocked the army and during nights, they shouted Allahu-akbar from the roofs. Moreover, the strikes that had started since early October intensified. On the 9th and 10th of December 1978, which coincided with Tasua and Ashura days, people on the pretext of traditional mourning commemorations for the martyrdom of Imam Hossein, held the largest political rallies across the country. At this point it was already clear that the clerics were at the forefront of the movements and did not shy away from explicitly sidelining nationalists and leftists, which were trying to participate in the demonstrations as a gesture of keeping a unified front against monarchy.

Thus, Shah realized the severity of the situation and looked for more drastic actions. He proposed the post of prime ministership to Dr. Sanjabi, the head of the national front, but Sanjabi refused. On the other hand, ayatollah Taleghani and Montazeri were freed from jail to diffuse Khomeini's uncompromising leadership. Then, Shah reached Bakhtiar, for forming a government, but this veteran Nationalist and former political prisoner put forward some hard conditions, including the obligation for the Shah to leave the country, dissolution of SAVAK (intelligence service), and leaving the command of the army to him. Shah yielded

to the demands. Thus, at the end of 1978, while Shah's power was crumbling, Bakhtiar was appointed as the prime minister. The national front expelled him, but he went along with his decision arguing that the revolution steered by communists and mullahs would take over the country and ruin Iran.

In his 36 days as premier of Iran, Bakhtiar ordered all political prisoners to be freed, lifted censorship of newspapers (whose staff had until then been on strike), relaxe martial law, ordered the dissolution of SAVAK and requested for the opposition to give him three months to hold elections for a constituent assembly that would decide the fate of the monarchy and form determine the future of government for Iran. Despite these conciliatory gestures, Khomeini refused to collaborate with Bakhtiar, denouncing the premier as traitor for siding with the Shah, "illegitimate" labeling his government and "illegal" and calling for the overthrow of the monarchy. Bakhtiar was accused by some of making mistakes during his premiership such as allowing Khomeini to re-enter Iran. In the end, he failed to rally even his own former colleagues from the National Front. So, his government was overwhelmingly rejected by the masses, who mocked him by chanting "Bakhtiar, the hapless servant." (Tehran-e-Mosavvar, 1979).

At the end of December, "Shah Left" was the headline of the newspapers. Shah's departure was greeted by public celebrations. On 12 February 1979, which is known as the 'Day of Victory of the Islamic republic', the army surrendered to the new leader and his appointed prime minister, Bazargan. The brief execution of Shah's supporters and military chiefs was started shortly, thus setting ground for the Sharia rule and Islamic jurists in the social and political life of the country. In this regard, the second wave of victims were liberal minded and westernized women, who held demonstrations against the obligatory dress code on the 8th March.

The referendum for the Islamic Republic was held on 30 March, during which people had been asked to choose between monarchy and 'Islamic Republic', but no other form of government. This was not well received with liberals and leftists, who had started to sense the totalitarian intentions of clerics. The protests did not go beyond the grudgings in newspapers and magazines, which still were enjoying an unprecedented freedom in Iranian recent history. But, this did not last for long; as clerics, who were steadily establishing upper hand in the country's politics, in particular by taking the full control of judiciary with the full support of religious masses, finally banned independent publications in July 1979. This was a crucial move, as the opponents lost venues for promoting their candidates for the assembly of the constitution. Thus, through the combination of Khomeini's charisma, implied religious duties, and manipulations by the de facto 'Islamic Republic' ruling party, the overwhelming majority of the seats were taken by clerics. They wrote a constitution which put absolute power in the hand of Valiye-Faqih (Jurist ruler) and demolished the aspiration of liberals and leftists for establishing democratic values. On 16 August 1979, Khomeini ordered a bloody crackdown of his opponents: "... crush these pens; And I repent that I did not erect hanging posts and, unlike Imam Ali's just rules, did so).

Psychologically speaking, the perception of time is neither a steady-paced flow, nor isomorphic to physical time. As such, the subjective passage of time and estimates of duration vary considerably. In unpleasant situations, such as when nervously waiting for something to happen, we experience a slower passage of time and overestimate its duration. By contrast, if we are entertained and focus on rewarding activities, pass more quickly and duration is more likely to be underestimated. These examples of time judgements are inherently emotional. In most cases, the influence of emotions (often leading to longer time estimate) is explained by standard cognitive model of prospective time perception in which emotions affect the degree of attention to time or increased physio-logical arousal levels lead'to a higher pacemaker rate (Droit - Volet & Meck 2007; Wittmann & Paulus 2008). Both increased attention to time and a

higher pace-maker rate of an assumed internal clock would lead to the accumulation of more temporal units during a given timespan.

To be more precise, however, paradoxical effects can occur in the way that emotional stimuli can cause over—as well as under-estimations of time. For example, in one study (Angrilliet al. 1997), low-arousing and emotionally negative pictures led to an underestimation of duration (inter-preted as resulting from the subjects' distraction from time and attention to the emotional content of the stimuli), whereas high-arousing emotional pictures led to an over-estimation of duration (interpreted as resulting from an increased pacemaker).

Similarly, Schafer (2013) provided pscychological explanation for the importance of the concept of time lines. According to Schafer, the temporal structure of events in the real physical world is neither linear nor follows a fixed rhythm or pulse and depending on the situation, time is perceived as decelerated or accelerated.

3.8. Assessing Reliability

In order to find out whether the findings of the present research are reliable or not, an investigation was carried out by an associate professor in social psychology to examine the degree of concordance.

Some examples of the evaluated texts by an expert social psychologist has been presented below:



Figure 3. 12. Flogging for drinking alcohol in Tabriz Monajjem square in Javanan-e-emrouz, 20 Feb. 1979

Translation: The verdict was passed by an Islamic court. The Islamic court of Tabriz sentenced a young man to eight lashes for drinking alcohol. For the first time after the revolution, the court hearing was held in the presence of Imam Khomeini's elected committee, with Ayatollah Vaezi and other clerics in attendance. The defendant Kahf Jalil Agha Jani confessed that he climbed over the wall of a building, found a bottle of wine and drank it, and also stole the building's electricity switch. Jalil, who was arrested by agents of Imam Khomeini's committee, was sentenced to eight lashes by the order of Ayatollah Vaezi in accordance with the holy Sharia of Islam, and the sentence of the Islamic court was carried out in Tabriz's Astronomical Square in the presence of hundreds of witnesses.

The context of this narrative is that before the revolution there was not any restrictions on the consumption of alcoholic drinks. However, after the revolution it was banned due to Islamic rules. This was the first time that large crowd gathering in Monajjem Square, watched a young man being whipped for drinking wine.

Emotion Labelling: The emotion "surprise" is experienced when there is an unexpected event happens. The emotion valence for "surprise" can be both

negative and positive depending on the context. In the above-mentioned narrative, people experience punishment for drinking alcohol for the first time. So, the dominant emotion in this context is "negative surprise". The object of emotion is "the act of punishment". In terms of the timetable, this narrative was published on February 20, 1979 which is shortly after the victory of the revolution and the rules started changing in accordance with Islamic principles.

The newspaper in which the narrative was published was "Javanane Emruz" that served liberal views. So, in terms of transactional analysis, the negative surprise was interacted between liberals and Islamists (P6-P1), and the interaction pattern is child-parent. The researcher aims to label the emotion that the author of the text was having while writing the text. Having looked at the cues, including the photograph that the author chose, the participants' postures, their facial expressions, setting, the researcher labelled this narrative as "negative surprise", since the reader was experiencing an event for the first time and since the event is not a satisfying one, this surprise carries a negative valence. This is in line with Paul Ekman's definition for "Surprise". According to Ekman, surprise is one of the primary emotions which arises when we encounter sudden and unexpected sounds or movements. Paul Ekman explains facial expressions in "Surprise" as when eyebrows are raised but not drawn together, upper eyelids are raised while lower eyelids are neutral, and the jaws are dropped down.

In order to improve the internal validity of the study, the social psychologist labelled the text blindly and she couldn't see the researcher's labelling after she finished labelling; the researcher was there to answer the expert's question when there were cultural barriers.

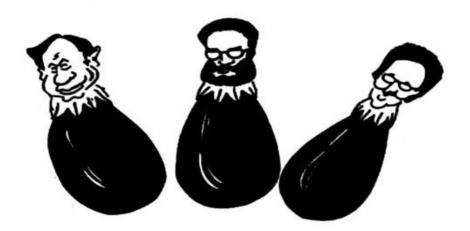


Figure 3. 13. Ahangar, 3 July, 1979

Emotion labeling: This photo was a visual news without any text. The photo belongs to three most well-known revolutionary figures: Ghotbzadeh, BaniSadr, and Yazdi resembling an Aubergine which is a sign of uselessness. The author in this news wants to indicate how useless these people are.

The caricature was published in a liberal newspaper "Ahangar" on July 3, 1979. The object of emotion is three most well-known revolutionary figures: Ghotbzadeh, Bani-Sadr, and Yazdi. Ghotbzadeh was Khomeini's aide while he was in France, Bani-Sadr was Iran's first president after the 1979 revolution, and Yazdi was one of the Assembly of Experts constitution's members in 1979. The researcher labelled this image as "Contempt" because deciding to show someone as useless proves the subject's feeling of superiority over the object of emotion. Paul Ekman defined the notion of contempt as: "I'm better than you and you are lesser than me." This emotion, despite being a standalone emotion, is often accompanied by anger, usually in a mild form such as annoyance.

Although the figures in this photo are well known and superior to those people who drew this picture, people in "subordinate" positions may feel contempt towards those who have a higher social, political or legal ranking. Ekman used the term "upward contempt" which is common among political actors, the reverse can

also be true in which someone with a higher ranking may feel contempt towards those with a lower ranking. This feeling of power and superiority may be a pleasurable experience for some people, whereas for others it can feel embarrassing and/or shameful.

Following the same procedure, the social psychologist labelled accidentally chosen narrative and the level of concordance was calculated accordingly.

3.9. Generalizability

For the purpose of improving the external validity of the study, the researcher adopted meta-analysis or replicate strategy. In other words, the data was analysed twice, the second analysis was done two months after the first one. The second analysis was done without having looked at the first one. The results were then compared in terms of concordance and 85% of the results were concordant.

3.10. Credibility

Credibility is the first aspect, or criterion, that must be established. It is seen as the most important aspect or criterion in establishing trustworthiness. This is because credibility essentially asks the researcher to clearly link the research study's findings with reality in order to demonstrate the truth of the research study's findings. Credibility also has the most techniques available to establish it, compared to the other three aspects of trustworthiness. Triangulation involves using multiple methods, data sources, observers, or theories in order to gain a more complete understanding of the phenomenon being studied. It is used to make sure that the research findings are robust, rich, comprehensive, and well-developed. There are four types of triangulation that researchers can employ. The present study used "Analyst triangulation" as a technique for proving trustworthiness. In analyst triangulation, another analyst from Canada reviewed the findings of the research. This was helpful in illuminating blind spots in the analysis process.

3.11. Limitations of the study

Similar to other qualitative studies, the present study has a level of subjectivity and in order to decrease the level of subjectivity in terms of the analysis, the researcher did the analysis twice within a specific period of time.

The documents needed for the analysis might also be subject to accessibility.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND FINDINGS

This chapter sets out the results of the data analysis and provides supporting critical discussion of the respective results. The attempt was to answer questions on how emotions affect the course of revolution by finding their shifts through specific period of time and how those emotions were interacted by different political parties. In the following sections of the chapter, an overview of the analysis procedure, demographic data of the sampling, reliability test of the data analysed, descriptive statistics and inferences have been presented.

4.1. Analysis

The present study attempted to conduct an emotional and transactional analysis on social movement theories by choosing the Iran's 1979 Islamic revolution. The goal is to find the emotional landscape of the revolution between November 1978 to August 1979. The reasons for the selection of this period were the accessibility to the contemporary newspapers and magazines and the freedom that different political parties had to express their viewpoints during that time period. In August 1979, Khomeini ordered a crackdown and closed many newspapers and as such, the emotional interaction between different political actors of a time became restricted.

Having studied different categorizations of emotions based on different criteria, the researcher proposed a specific categorization in which emotions are classified into four subcategories of social, moral, fortune (future appraisal), and aesthetic emotions. The emotions are either related to the self or they are emotions towards others.

In order to label the narratives of Iranian 1979 Islamic revolution, a three-step unfolding is performed. Ongoing emotional episodes are caused by different factors such as space and time and other environmental factors can lead to either positive emotion whose appraisal comprise the emotional logging of the emotional episode. This phase is known as "emotion logging".

The second step is contextualizing the emotion. For this purpose, finding the dominant emotion category is a prerequisite. Accordingly, based on the nature of the intended application a subset of 52 known emotional terms from among more than a hundred number of emotions was included in the emotion list. These emotions are likely to occur in everyday life. The selection includes, but may not be limited to, the {S, A, M, F} set, respectively representing emotion categories with social, aesthetic, moral, and situational (fortune) themes. A detailed distinguishing characteristic of each emotion is provided in chapter 3. Based upon the assigned distinguishing features of each emotion, the researcher was able to find the approximate emotion category of the narrative. Indeed, understanding the emotion objects affects emotions categorizing and specifically finding the interaction of emotions. If the emotion can be identified at this stage, we can continue with the scaffolding stage. However, if the emotion category couldn't be identified, we need to determine if the emotion object is a piece of art. If the emotion object was a piece of art, we can refer to "A" category to find the category. If the emotion object was not a piece of art, there is a need to find if the emotion is related to the notion of the fairness or unfairness of the situation. The affirmative answer to this question can lead us to the "M" category, otherwise the interpersonal interaction needs to be considered. In this situation, we need to refer to "S" category. If any of the abovementioned contexts couldn't lead us to the right emotion category, we need to find an answer to the question whether the situation refers to subject's own situational feeling regarding his/her goals and future goals. In this case "F" will be the right category that we need to refer for labelling. At the end of this phase the emotional episode unfolds and the subject moves to scaffolding stage in which the unfolded episode is located on an emotional map and is linked to other recorded events in an emotional sociogram.

In the case study of Iran's 1979 Islamic revolution, since the events are already scaffolded, a reverse path needs to be followed by the researcher to come to the emotion category/logging. In other words, the researcher's main aim in the present study in finding the contextual knowledge and getting familiarity with the emotional map to track the sequence of events and actors needed to find the correct valence and category of emotions.

After the emotion category is determined, the interaction of emotions is uncovered within the emotional episodes. For this purpose, Eric Berne's (2011) states of ego (child, parent, and adult) and patterns of interactions including parent-child, child-parent, and adult-adult were used. A detailed description of Eric Bern's states can be found in part 3.7. under the title of transactional analysis.

The results were analyzed in two sections: the first section studies different emotions and their abundance before and after the revolution. The evolution of the same emotions over the specified period was then presented. Since there are 52 emotion categories in the proposed model and for the purpose of avoiding verbosity, the data was explained under four subsections of Social, Moral, Fortune/future appraisal, and Aesthetic heading. The second section of the analysis was extracting the interaction patterns between different political parties of the revolutionary period. Similar to emotion analysis section, the abundance of interaction patterns in transactional analysis and their change over the same time period is shown in this section.

As discussed in chapter three (3.5.), the data was gathered from an inclusive range of publications contemporary to 1978-9 social movement, except for Kar⁴,

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⁴ The official bulletin of Fadaiyan Khalq guerilla organization

Inqilab-e-Islami⁵, and Nameh-e-Mardom⁶, were retrieved from Manchester library⁷ archives. The remaining three were consulted for the sake of completeness, as the Manchester library did not include entry for mainstream lefist parties of Iran. Most journals and magazines cover December 1978 through August 1979, as the journalists were on strike over the months of October and November. The researcher skimmed the publications and selected emotionally charged entries, the selection is presented below:

In order to assess the representativeness of the sample and in order to better assess the emotional interaction, the researcher attempted to choose at least one newspaper for each active political party of the time. This can improve the level of the generalisability of the results as well.

4.2. Reliability Test

A social psychologist controlled the reliability of the proposed method and classification as well as the labelling results. At the end, the degree of concordance was calculated. More than three thousand narratives, and texts along with visuals were read, from which almost 350 emotionally-charged narratives and visuals were chosen. The original texts in Persian can be accessible from Manchester website. The narratives and visuals that were analysed by the social psychologist were randomly selected and translated into English. The researcher accompanied the social psychologist in order to obviate the cultural barrier in case needed. Some parts of the translated text have been written in italics to shod the clues by which the labeler can find the dominant emotion. The selected texts and narratives have been presented below:

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⁵ Belonged to Abolhassan Banisadr, who later became the first president of Iran and later fled to Paris after clashing with the radical Islamists

⁶ The official bulletin of the Tudeh (communist) party, which was ironically aligned with radical Islamists.

 $^{^7}$ https://www.library.manchester.ac.uk/using-the-library/staff/digitisation-services/projects/nashriyah-digital-iranian-history/iran-and-the-1979-revolution/



Figure 4. 1. Stop destroying trees retrieved from Ayandegan on 27th of November, 1978

Translation: One of the anti-national and anti-crime aspects of recent weeks has been the *cutting down of forest trees*. There was *strong opposition* from political leaders, and Ayatollah Shariatmadari issued a statement on the matter. The truth is that as soon as the revolution was victorious and the police stations in the towns and villages were closed, *an opportunistic group* rushed into the forests and cut down thousands of large deciduous trees, apparently under the pretext of obtaining firewood and charcoal, but in reality to *make a profit by selling wood and boards*. At the same time, the *forest is one of the national treasures and trees are the most important sources* for freshening the air and creating oxygen for living creatures to breathe, as well as the beauty of the landscapes. After Shah, the Iranian nation must make every effort to preserve and expand it without intentionally or unknowingly tampering with the root of this national wealth and destroying what remains of the oppressive regime of the past. In the photos taken by Mostafa Kaviani, the photojournalist, we can see the scenes of the destruction of this national wealth, scenes that I hope we will never see again.

Since people about whom the text is written, are out of access and it is impossible to understand their own personal emotion about specific issues, the author's emotion while writing of the narratives are considered not those about whom the author is writing about.

Emotion Labelling: The first step is labelling the emotion and for this purpose there is a need to be aware of the context. This narrative happened before the victory of the revolution when the protected forests were the most prominent symbol of the Shah's regime. Among these, the forest on the slopes overlooking the villages had a special status, as the trees were marked by red paint at a height of one and a half meters. No one imagined a reason for this action other than to provoke the anger of the villagers who were deprived of alternative fuel to replace the banned firewood.

According to Ben Ze'ev, "Anger" is aroused in response to a specific, undeserved offense and the object of anger is usually a person or object that is quite well-known to us. Having looked at the context, the author finds cutting the trees an undeserved offense because according to the author those who cut trees for are opportunists who disregard the fact that forests are national treasures and cutting trees would destroy landscape.

The emotion object is the tree and spatio-temporal setting of the narrative has been presented in the context. The time is before the victory of the revolution when the protected forests were the most prominent symbol of the Shah's regime, however, after the revolution cutting forest trees and selling wood became so frequent which provoked the villagers' anger.

The author of this text is a nationalist one who is interacting a negative valence to Islamists and a parent-child interaction happens from P6 against P1. The time that this narrative was written is shortly after the revolution and the author is angry since Islamists didn't take any action to solve this issue. The interaction pattern here is one-way interaction parent-child interaction. Since the author acts like a critical parent criticizing the child state of ego. The second text was taken from Javanan-e-emrooz on April 30, 1979.



Figure 4. 2. Hayedeh denied any involvement with the regime in "Javanan-e-emrouz", April 30, 1979

Translation: After reprinting photos of Hoveida⁸, Hayedeh⁹ and others, it was rumored in the press that Hayedeh was a supporter of the former regime, "My enemies have started the rumor that I supported the regime in the past, and have tried to destroy the reputation I have earned over the years," Ms. Hayedeh told Henry. Hayedeh added that she had been against Shah's regime since her childhood.

Emotion Labeling: After the victory of the revolution, new constitutional law and new Islamic rules, the supporters of the revolution, in an effort to demonstrate the revolution's tangible achievement, mentioned cleansing of society from corruption, which often meant restricting women. Hayedeh was one of the well-

⁸ Hayedeh, was an Iranian singer and has been widely described as one of the most popular and influential musicians of Iran.

⁹ Amir-Abbas Hoveyda was an Iranian economist and politician who served as Prime Minister of Iran from 27 January 1965 to 7 August 1977.

known singers during the Shah's ruling period. On specific occasions or celebrations, the Shah used to invite her as a singer and she was one of the musicians who were close to the Shah. However, after the revolution everything changed to the level that they had no way but to deny because otherwise the Islamic court could punish them.

This narrative was published on April 30, 1979 in "Javanane emruz". The author refers to those who had an ideal life during the Shah's period and did not care the poor class; however, after the revolution the condition changed and now they are in dire situation.

The dominant emotion is "pleasure in somebody else's misfortune". The object of emotion is a "Hayedeh and her fear of being arrested by the Islamic government". Since the object of emotion is not a piece of art, the emotion does not belong to "A" category. The dominant emotion in this narrative doesn't have any relationship with one's future goal, so it does not belong to "F" category either. It can be seen that it is a kind of social emotion however those ones that involve communicating moral judgment and decision. So, it belongs to "M" category. The valence is positive and the interaction is child-child between liberals and Islamists (P6-P1). The next narrative was chosen from the "Javanan-e-emrouz" on July 16, 1979.



Figure 4. 3. Plan to separate men and women at sea, published in "Javanan-e-emruz" on July 16, 1979

Translation: Families going to sea this year *are undecided and do not know how and where to go into the water* without problems or where to follow the rules and regulations for men and women in the sea.

During our travels and inquiries in the northern regions, we concluded that in some places, women are forcibly separated from men, but with the beginning of the holy month of Ramadan, it is predicted that the influx of travelers to the beaches of Darsa will largely come to a halt.

Emotion Labeling: Revolutionary Anti-womanism: The narrative was published in "Javanane emruz" on July 16, 1979. The object of motion is "the segregation of men and women for swimming" and the context is that before the revolution swimming in the sea was free for both men and women and there wasn't any specific part for each gender. This changed after the revolution and since the corruption was mainly attributed to women, imposing restriction was something

that was performed by the Islamic regime. Mollahs were waiting for Ramazan to issue these new rules by relating their decision to Islamic beliefs. The author is attempting to express his/her negative valence emotion in the narrative. The situation implies undeserved offence from Islamists, the dominant can be construed as "anger" and the transaction pattern interacted accordingly is that of child-parent states of ego against Islamists. (P6-P1).

The next narrative was taken from "Javanan-e-emrouz" which was published on July 2, 1979. The original text can be found in the appendix. The translation of a text is presented below.



Figure 4. 4. Arash's hair turned white overnight, "Javanan-e-emrouz", July 2, 1979

Translation: Describing the incident last night - the last meeting between the two men and their families - a person responsible for firing at Tehrani and Arash, two members of the SAVAK apparatus, said, "Tehrani was shot six times, but he was still breathing and asked me to finish it soon.

When the forensic doctors came to the dissection room, they found that Arash's hair had turned incredibly white on his forehead and on both sides behind his ears,

whereas in previous sessions we had seen that his hair was straight black. The doctor said that when there is sudden fear and panic, the hair turns white overnight or the face becomes wrinkled.

Emotion Labeling: the date of the publishing is July 2, 1979 and the newspaper in which this narrative was published is the "Javanan-e-emruz". The object of emotion is the act of "Punishing those who served the Shah". The valence is negative and the emotion dominant is "pity". Ben Ze'en defined this emotion as a feeling of "Sympathetic sorrow for someone's substantial misfortune while the agent experiencing this emotion is unwilling or unable to offer substantial help. The interaction is between liberals and apolitical observes and the nature of the emotion is "social". The transaction pattern is adult-adult between P6-P0.

Another example was from the "Javanan-e-emrouz" which was published on February 12, 1979. The translation of the narrative is as follows:



Figure 4. 5. An Islamic court has sentenced a lover to marriage, "Javanan-e-emrouz", Feb. 12, 1979

Translation: The man had deceived an 18-year-old girl despite having a wife and children and the Islamic court in Tabriz has sentenced a young man and woman arrested for lovemaking to marriage.

Last week, for the first time in the history of our country, an Islamic court was convened in the house of Ayatollah Vaezi, one of the famous clerics of Tabriz. This court heard the case of a young man and woman who had been caught by people, and the two were sentenced to marry each other but had to remain in custody until the date of the marriage was set.

Emotion Labeling: The narrative published in "Javanane Emruz" on February 12, 1979 which is immediately after the victory of the revolution. Therefore, this news can be considered as one of the early achievements of the revolution. Before the revolution there was monogamy and men couldn't legally marry a second wife, however after the revolution the Islamic court forced a married man to marry another woman only because they were walking together outside. Since this was the first event after the revolution, the author's dominant emotion is "Surprise" with a negative valence. The emotion object is the act of "Islamists forcing a married into a second marriage". The transactional pattern a negative emotional interaction from liberals against Islamists and the pattern is parent-child (P6-P1).

The next example was chosen from the "Mardom" newspaper. The text was published on June 22, 1979 and didn't have visual clues. The translation of the text was:

Translation: Imam Khomeini's initation for people to participate in the March of Unity was welcomed by all political parties and groups. Iran's Tudeh Party was the first political party that immediately responded to the Imam's invitation, calling on all the party's supporters and friends to participate in the election.

However, the Radio and Television of the Islamic Republic of Iran repeatedly mentioned in their news the organizations participating in the march, but ignored the Tudeh Party of Iran. This was intentionally exacerbated when the newscaster deleted the name of the Tudeh Party when reading out the list of participants.

It should be clearly stated that this act, which is common in Iranian radio and television, is not in line with the policy of the revolutionary leadership. Imam invites, the Tudeh Party sincerely accepts, but it is clear that this closeness of forces is not pleasant for those inside the institution. They should be asked: you who see yourselves under the Imam's leadership, why are you breaking unity against the Imam's opinion?

Everyone must know that the Tudeh Party of Iran cannot be ignored by any means or force.

Emotion Labeling: It is obvious that there is an undeserved offense in the narrative above. In spite of the fact that Khomeini invited the Tudeh party, the name of this party was not mentioned in the invitation list in a television program and Tudeh party members were angry for being ignored by the media. This piece of news was published in "Mardom" newspaper on June 22, 1979. The emotion object is "the program presenters" of the television for not including their name in the invitation list. The valence of the emotion is negative and the transaction is from Tudeh against some of the grassroot Islamic members who had the control over the media (P4-P1) and the interaction pattern is child-parent.

Another text was entitled as "The revolutionary passion of the Iranian people at the peak of consciousness". The text was published on Feb. 21, 1979 and there is not a visual clue for this narrative. The translation of the text is given below.

Translation: The *great revolution* of the Iranian people, which has risen from the depths of society with *its remarkable courage and greatness*, has found its main line for months and is advancing.

Now, in the continuation of the unstoppable revolution, we are facing a government whose positive point is that it has been away from the pollution of the government and the struggle against colonialism for more than 2 years.

We hope that *the revolutionary passion of our people* in a struggle whose legitimacy has been registered with the blood of the Iranian people can erase all traces of oppression, corruption and destruction from the face of our country and thwart the plots of the colonialists and cut off the destiny of our nation forever.

Emotion Labeling: this narrative was published in "Ferdowsi" magazine which has liberal inclinations on Feb. 22, 1979. This was the time when people's revolutionary passion was at its peak and the author hopes that with such struggle, will achieve their goals in overthrowing the regime. The object of emotion is "people and their passion" and the dominant emotion in this narrative is "hope" which is being interacted by adult-adult transaction pattern between P6-P0.

Another example was chosen from "Ferdowsi" magazine with the title of "A revolution that shook history" published on Feb. 21, 1979. Similar to the previous example, the text is not accompanied with visual clue and its translation is as follows.

Translation: With the great efforts of the Iranian people and the mass uprising of millions of Iranians, *the last base of tyranny and exploitation collapsed*, and after centuries the Iranian nation believed in freedom and celebrated its national sovereignty.

The broad movement of the Iranian nation, led by Imam Khomeini, very quickly proved its legitimacy and smashed the entire authoritarian system with all its formidable foundations.

Our revolution is a great lesson in history, and a review of its course can be instructive and enlightening for all those who claim to serve the people in the future.

Emotion Labeling: This narrative was published in "Ferdowsi" magazine on February 12, 1979 which is a day after the victory of the revolution. The emotional object is "the result of the great efforts of Iranians" and the valence is positive. The dominant emotion in this context is "Pride" since people attained their goal and it has been approved by the victory of 1979 Iranian revolution.

Next narrative was chosen from "Ahangar" published on May 22, 1979. The text inside the picture is translated as "Must be executed"



Figure 4. 6. "Must be executed" published in "Ahangar" on May 22, 1979

Emotion Labeling: In this case: 1) Khomeini had banned broadcasting the music by a decree, and, 2) Islamist groups, known as bat-holders, had started harassing opposition groups.

At this time period, people didn't expect that Mollahs would ban music. Leftists, on the other hand, had a belief that nothing would happen to music and it will remain intact. Opposite to everyone's expectation, Motahhari was executed. Music was divided into two types: one type deceives people off from the right track and the other type has a fun aspect. This situation shocked everyone. This

piece of news belongs to period shortly after Islamists published their classification on music.

The emotion object is "music" and the valence is negative. The photo belongs to "Ahangar" newspaper and was published on May 22, 1979. The transaction pattern is child-parent from leftists against Islamists. (P5-P1).

The next narrative was chosen from "Ahangar" showing media's depiction of women's hijab before, during, and after referendum. This was published on May 22, 1979. The picture can be seen in part 3.1. of Chapter Three.

Emotion Labeling: Immediately after the revolution, there was a referendum on changing the constitutional law according to Islamic rules. In order to win people's votes, the media that used to encourage Hijab started broadcasting women who didn't have Hijab as if there was going to be freedom however after referendum the condition even changed compared to the period shortly before the referendum. The news was written in a reformist's newspaper. This photo was published in "Ahangar" on May 22, 1979. The object of emotion is "Hijab" and the emotion valence is negative. The author is angry because of Islamists' hypocrisy and the interaction is a child-parent interaction from Leftists against Islamists (P5-P1).



Figure 4. 7. "Last time I voted eleven times, this time I am not allowed to vote more than four times", published in "Ahangar" on July 31, 1979

Emotion Labeling: This caricature was published in a liberal newspaper of the "Ahangar" on July 31, 1979. Normally one person has the right to vote once, however after the revolution this was not the case. In this photo it is written: "Last time I voted eleven times, this time I am not allowed to vote more than four times." The author indicates that the election system is meaningless for Islamic republic of Iran and people vote only because Khomeini asked them. The author is interaction a negative valence emotion of anger against Islamists and the object of emotion is "voting after the revolution". The interaction is child-parent between P5-P1.

The next example is from the "Ferdowsi" newspaper, published on April 21, 1979.



Figure 4. 8. Khalkhali in Ferdowsi on April 21, 1979

Translation: Women are also corrupting on earth

After months of "ambiguity" about the revolutionary courts, the head of the revolutionary courts was finally introduced last week, and Ayatollah Sheikh Sadegh Khalkhali¹⁰, in his interview under this title, sentenced Shah, his wife, his

¹⁰ An Iranian Shia cleric who was appointed as the Chief Justice of the revolutionary courts

sister, his brother, and several other supporters of the regime to death. There are two points in this interview: First, the aforementioned people were sentenced to "death". Second, women are also condemned and executed as corrupters on earth. The religious judge of the court emphasized that the verses of the Koran are not merely for men and are based on retribution.

Emotion Labeling: The narrative was published in "Ferdowsi" newspaper on April 21, 1979, approximately three months after the victory of the revolution, when Islamic rules were being replaced with the old ones. The object of emotion in this narrative is "the interpretation of the concept of "equality" between men and women" among Islamists. The emotion valence is negative targeted against Islamists. The interaction is between socialists and Islamists. (P4-P1) and the author labelled this narrative as "Anger" according to Alia-Klein et al (2020) belief that Anger is a kind of intense emotion which involves strong uncomfortable and non-cooperative response to a perceived provocation, hurt, or threat.

The next narrative was entitled as "The stadium is not a place to flog". It was published in "Ayandegan" on July 17, 1979. There was no visual clue for this narrative.

Translation: The place and the environment of sports have always been sacred, and this sacredness manifests itself in the soul and body of athletes and heroes. But in today's situation, despite the progress and development of civilizations, sports venues are used for political purposes and social punishment. In a stadium with 5,000 spectators, where young people have to watch the performance of heroes, they see the torture and lamentation of those who used alcoholic drinks or perhaps blamed the supporters of the regime. With this action, we will make 20,000 floggers and make thousands of hateful teenagers. We hope not to see people being whipped in the stadium anymore.

Emotion Labeling: The narrative was published in "Ayandegan" and the time that it was published was July 17, 1979. The narrative and its content clearly

depicts the context. The object of emotion is the act of "flogging in stadium". The author reacts against the undeserved offense that Islamists started using stadium for other purposes and as a result the dominant emotion is "Anger". The interaction is parent-child between P6 and P1.

Another example from the data which does not have any visual clue is related to the 'Ayandegan' newspaper and was published on February 20, 1979. The headline of this narrative was translated to: "The communists must also want the Islamic Republic".

Translation: In a speech to thousands of teachers and students in Qom, Grand Ayatollah Khomeini stressed that the Communists must also want the Islamic Republic. If they want to do something for this nation, they must want the Islamic Republic. "Break pens and take refuge in Islam, we should not have a pen in our hand and sit at home and write whatever we want", Khomeini declared.

Emotion Labeling: The narrative was published on February 20, 1979 in the "Ayandegan" newspaper that serves liberal thoughts. Before the revolution Khomeini had promised to respect all different political parties and their thoughts, however soon after the victory, Khomeini started dictating or humiliating other political parties despite their first promises. The emotion object is the act of "Khomeini and his imposition of Islamic thoughts on other parties". The valence is obviously negative. In terms of labelling two different scenarios are possible. One is the undeserved offense that communist experience which elicits the author's anger. The second scenario is that since Khomeini had promised to set other political parties' freedom for expressing their thoughts and give freedom for the platforms they want to publish their views; other parties expected a different reaction from Khomeini and as a result "Disappointment" can be chosen as the dominant emotion as well. The interaction is between liberals and Islamists and the pattern is parent-child.

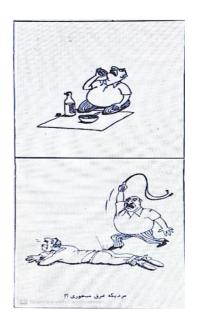


Figure 4. 9. Ahangar, June 22, 1979, Why are you drinking?

Emotion Labeling: Islamists themselves do everything that they ban normal public. In this photo an Islamists drinks alcohol in his home where no one sees and in public tortures those who were arrested due to drinking alcohol. The newspaper belongs to a leftists (P5), the time that this photo was published was after referendum on June 22, 1979 when Islamic restrictions were at their peak. It is clear that the negative valence on emotion object that is "drinking alcohol" is being sent against Islamists. So, the interaction is child-parent between P5-P1. Since there is a kind of undeserved action going on in this picture, it is estimated that the author is experiencing "anger" against Islamists. Anger is a subcategory of "S" or social emotion.

4.3. Emotions' Importance in the Analysis of Social Movements

4.3.1. Findings on Emotional Analysis

The same analysis procedure was conducted for all data and the results were presented as: From among 52 emotions studies in the text, 23 emotions were social

emotions. Social emotions are related to one's appraisal of another individual's thoughts or feelings. This category is essential in evaluating the interactions between individuals and since in Iran 1979 revolution, there were different political parties the emotion they experience and the way they interact significantly affected the process from the engagement phase to the movement outcome. The research findings for social emotions categories has been presented in separate figures of negative and positive valences.

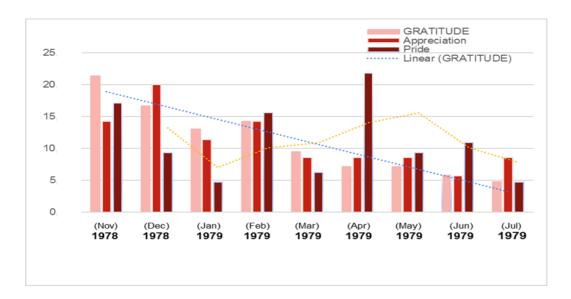


Figure 4. 10. The Dynamics of the Positive Social Emotions-Produced by the Author

From among 23 social emotions; 12 emotions are positive and 11 of them are negative. The twelve positive emotions included emotions: Nostalgia, Gratitude, Respect, Elevation, Appreciation, Trust, Happy for, Lust, Love, Pride, Arrogance. The emotions have been ordered in terms of the level of intensity and since there is no solid basis for determining the relative intensity or valence of emotions, the researcher has inferred approximate orders of some categories from the location of emotional categories on Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW) that has been introduced by Scherer (2005).

The first bar graph (Figure 4.10.) provides information on the emotional shift between months of Nov 1978 to July 1979. Three emotions of Gratitude, Appreciation, and Pride were noted to be three most dominant emotions from among 12 positive emotions. Having looked at the graph, one can see how these emotions shifted during November 1978 to July 1979.

As can be seen, the data presented for aforementioned three emotions for nine months had an overall fluctuating trend with peaks in months November and February and between months of July and March. However, the variation is minimal.

Looking at the details, it is clear that the positively valenced emotion "Gratitude" peaked in months November after which it followed a downward trend. The considerable drop in this emotion was seen to start in March until July in which it reached to the lowest. The emotion "Pride", on the other hand, followed a more fluctuated pattern compare to others. "Pride" peaked in April was slightly less in months November and February and dropped to the lowest in months January and July. Another Emotion in the bar chart is "Appreciation" which is most dominant in December. It went down in January and remained the same level until June. The only exception was in February that was slightly more.

Altogether, Months April, 1979, and November 1978 witnessed peaks of the positively valence social emotions and January, June, and July saw the least.

Looking back at events happened in these months, it can be said that the dominance of "Appreciation" and "Gratitude" in November synchronized with the time people, under the leadership of Khomeini, started protests and demonstrations escalated to the level that during the Shah's visit to Washington, his reception was disrupted by Iranian students' disruption. Students started demonstrations to show their acknowledgements of the value of Khomeini and his ideologies by shouting "Long Life Khomeini" and "Allahu Akbar", even the

Shah's promises to change the situation did not work. In December, particularly on the 9th and 10th of December, people held rallies all over the country under the pretext of Imam Hossein's martyrdom.

Leaders' role has been emphasized by some scholars of social movements. Ganz and McKenna (2019) believe that charismatic performances offer emotional appeals that can attract potential followers. A skilled leader can get a crowd into a rhythm that creates a sense of community and emotional intensity. In this way, they can charge participants with feelings of righteousness, which helps mobilize them. Without charisma, however, a movement lacks the emotional incentives that sustain engagement and also has difficulty attracting new supporters. Without emotional incentives and a hopeful vision of the future, it can be difficult to motivate activists to engage in the necessary daily and sometimes grueling work.

From February to April 1979 the emotion "Pride" gained prominence. In April 1979, Islamists experience this emotion more than other political parties.

"Pride" was considered in a different context by Chong (1991). He argues that some engage for "reputational reasons," although Chong refers to the existence of two emotions of "Pride" and "Shame" in collective actions, he does not fully address the extent to which these two emotions are inherent about one's social standing.

Although other emotions such as respect, happy for, and Arrogance were found in the findings as well however they weren't substantial.

Another interesting result from this category was the absence of two emotions of "Love" and "Lust" in the data analyzed. This is in line with the revolutions' religious ideologies and religious movements in which leaders often invite people to abstain from sexual desires or suspend their group ties to prevent this type of disengagement (Coser 1974).

that forbids people from sexual pleasures. Scholars of social movement theories, have studied the role of emotions in terminating a social movement and found factors that could affect this phase; Goodwin (1997) mentioned the role of emotional commitments to partners, family, or even self in hindering movement solidarity. Jasper (2004) describes the "Band of Brothers Dilemma," in which affective ties that draw one into participation can lead to broken sources of solidarity. In this case, divisions occur within the group and this can jeopardize a movement through the development of competing factions that can lead to emotional tensions, and undermined shared collective identity (Collins 2004). Thus, emotions pertaining to sexual attractions like "Love" and "Lust" and those belonging to the social category were absent in Iran's 1979 revolution.

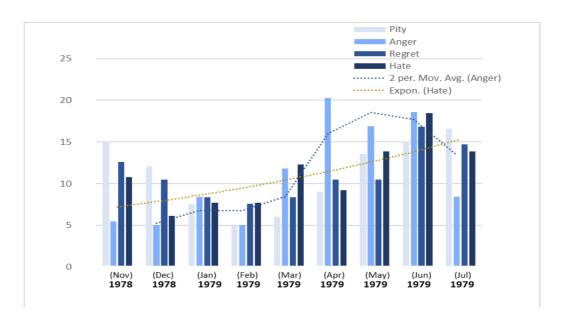


Figure 4. 11. The Dynamics of Negative Social Emotions-Produced by the Author

The given bar graph (Figure 4.11.) in blue shows a comparative data on four dominant emotions of Pity, Anger, Regret, and Hate from among eleven emotions in negative social emotion category including: Loneliness, Disgust, Pity, Embarrassment, Anger, Guilt, Regret, Hostility, Hate, Envy, Jealousy, and Shame respectively in terms of their level of intensities.

At the onset, it is clear that the density and intensity of this negative social category peaks in the last four months of April, May, June, and July and drops in January and February.

Getting to the details, it can be noticed that the emotion "Pity" reaches to its peak in months November and July. After November a downward trend starting in December and falling to its least frequency in February. After February, a gradual rising starts from March until the last month, July, in which it peaks.

In terms of "Anger", it started from November 1978, however it was the least on the bar chart. It maintained the same level until February 1979 after which a substantial rise is observed in March. This rising pattern continues until April when this emotion is at its peak. Although the frequency of this emotion is more than other four emotions illustrated in the bar chart, it drops in the last month of the chart that is July.

People's anger before revolution was against the Shah. People expressed their anger by demonstrating and making protests. They were demanding the Shah's removal and Khomeini's return from exile.

However, "Anger" went through a different route after the revolution. On the first day of April, Khomeini declared an Islamic republic after getting approval in a national referendum. The clergy immediately excluded their former leftist, nationalist, and intellectual allies from power in the new regime, and returned to their conservative social values. The 1967 Law for the Protection of the Family, which granted further rights to women in marriage, was invalidated, and revolutionary groups known as committees, Komiteh in Persian, enforced Islamic mandatory veiling and behavior codes. They also started suppressing political groups. The violence and brutality often surpassed the conditions that prevailed under the Shah. All these events aroused people's anger and people began to regret that the revolution succeeded, however it was too late and people had no chance to go back to the past and change the course of events.

Looking at social movement theories, Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2007), Van Zomeren (2004), and Leach et al. (2006) also introduced Anger as the porotype emotion in social protests, protest motivator, or potent symbol predicting a protest. Taylor (2009) shares the same opinion in introducing the emotion "Anger" as an emotion that turns the relationship between people and authorities into a challenging one.

Although the present case study found "anger" as the most dominant negative emotion that could lead to social movements, this study found future appraisal emotion category (Fortune), the "F" subcategory and Moral emotions as predisposing emotions that could elicit "anger". So, the emotion "Regret", reached its peak in months November, June, and July. This emotion was least experienced in February, at the time of victory. "Hate", on the other hand, followed a steady rising pattern in the bar chart peaking in June. It was least experienced in December 1978. This emotion started to increase among the people and the other parties against Khomeini's new policies and Islamists in general. Putting a new religious constitution, bringing velate faqih and sweeping power to the leader made other parties and even moderate Islamists to experience "hate" and question their revolutionary zeal. Taken both negative and positive valence of Social Emotions, the bar graph indicates the dramatic increase in negative valence in April and there are minimal fluctuations of positive valenced emotions as presented below.

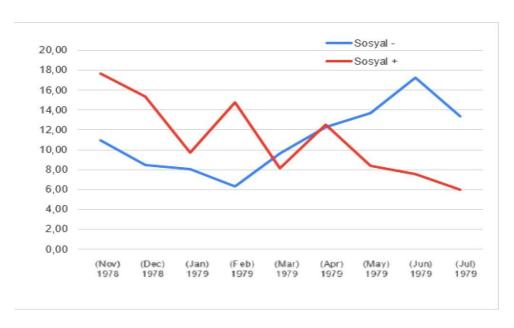


Figure 4. 12. The Trend of Both Positive and Negative Social Emotions-Produced by the Author

In terms of the valence of the emotions, the significant decrease in positive emotions of social emotions is obvious after fluctuations observed between January through May 1979. Regarding the negative emotion, for the reasons mentioned above, after February there has been a continuous increase until it reaches its peak in June 1979. At this time the restrictions on media, people, and other parties started to increase until August 1979 when approximately all non-Islamist parties' newspapers were closed by Khomeini's order.

Although traditional collective action studies mainly emphasized on negatively valenced emotions such as anger, the present research considered the impact of positively valenced emotions that could affect the social movements' outcome. There are some scholars who had similar emphasis on the role of positive emotions as well (see Drury & Reicher, 2005; Van Zomeren et al., 2008). Drury and Reicher (2005) argue that the event with successful outcome was accompanied by positively valenced emotions such as joy and pride which increased individuals' motivations in taking future actions, whereas in terms of the failed collective action, they were accompanied by negative emotions which required cognitive

reappraisals for achieving the desired outcome. However, the impact of "pride" hasn't been investigated in a systematic way. In order to fill the gap, caused by the lack of systematic analytical tools, Williams and Desteno (2008) suggest a link between pride and efficacy. They propose that, in spite of the fact that efficacy is a cognitive appraisal, pride acts as a driving motivation that has the potential to proximally predict behaviors. Thus, pride can be considered as an indirect mediator between efficacy and intentions for taking future actions.

Similar to pride, as Pekrun and Stephens (2010) explains, anger, in goal-achievement context, activates outcome-related emotion. In situations where the goal could not be attained and the non-attainment was attributed to factors that were out of control of the subject, this emotion occurs (Weiner, 1985). Although Pekrun and Stephens (2010) emphasized that finding the relationship between the behavioral anger and the one which is related to achievement is complicated, Frijida (1989), by using appraisal theories, suggested that anger is a response to failure that can evoke actions to move against the one who is responsible for the failure. Van Zomeren (2008) argues that anger directly increases individuals' tendency to participate in a collective action. However, Van Zomeren (2008) believe that efficacy and emotions are dual pathway models each is separate from the other.

Although a lot of research emphasized the role of collective identity, social network, solidarity between group members, not much research was done on emotional interaction of members and transactional patterns of interaction.

The second classification on emotion categories belongs to "Moral" emotions. As discussed before, moral emotions are also a kind of social emotions however when the context is about making moral decisions, the emotion belongs to Moral category in the model.

The result of the analysis in terms of Moral emotions' positive and negative valence has been presented below.

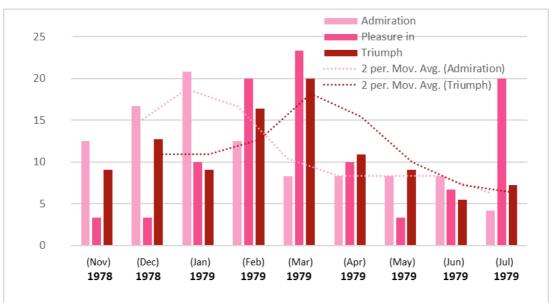


Figure 4. 13. The Dynamics of Positive Moral Emotions-Produced by the Author

The given red bar graph (Figure 4.13.) provides information on the transition of positively valenced Moral emotions between the same 9 months' timespan. This subcategory contained four emotions three of which, including Admiration, Pleasure in, and Triumph, were more dominant and has been illustrated in the bar chart below. It can be clearly seen, the data provided for 9 months between November 1978 and July 1979 had an overall fluctuating trend with peaks seen in months January for "Admiration", March and July for "Pleasure in", and March for "Triumph".

Turning back to the details, it is obvious that the emotion "Admiration" has seen an ascending trend from November to January with its peak in January. It later experienced a rapid decline in February and the descending trend continued until April after which it stayed constant.

It can be understood from the bar graph that the emotion "Triumph" experiences a gradual increase in its trend from November to March where it peaks. The descending order starts in April and reaches to its least point in June and July. The dominance of the emotion "admiration" synchronized with the time people were approaching the victory of the revolution. Due to the same reasons explained for social emotion category and Khomeini's change in his policies after the victory, people and non-Islamic parties' feeling of "admiration" and "triumph" decreased significantly or better said were replaced by Islamists experiencing these emotions and reaching their peaks in March 1979.

Khomeini used Islamic concepts to win the public's admiration. He attempted to increase individual's motivation by emphasizing on Martyrdom and inviting them for moral self-sacrifice. He depicted the revolution as presenting people opportunities for moral self-sacrifice. As Smith (1996) argued, martyrdom was evidently employed as a bridge to the realm of social emotions, in particular moral emotions, which often mobilize and fuels social movements. In this regard, martyrdom is one side of the coin of aggression; i.e. attempt to annihilate others and embrace death if the other empowers you. This type of aggression for social causes is believed to result from the social phenomenon of Pseudo-speciation, i.e. 'identification with a mass movement generally implies the rejection of and hostility toward outsiders' (Munz, 1985). In this case, there is open hostility and conflict between groups, and the members of other groups are often treated as if they were members of other species. In essence, the pattern of relative cooperation within the group is combined with deadly hostility toward outsiders. Thus, there is a minimum of inhibition against attacking others, and this is somehow associated with deindividuation, by which in crowds, people lose their individual identities and become part of a homogeneous mass.

Many scholars including Jasper, Smith, Collins, emphasized on the role of religious beliefs in commitment stage. (Bayat, 2013). Therefore, religious identity is an important characteristic of the revolution. Having scrutinized the historical background of the Iranian revolution will assist a better understanding of the factors and their roles in Iranian revolution's success (Sen, G. 2013).

Lofland and Stark (1965), argued that the emotions' role is more central in religious movements rather than other types of collective actions. Gould (1993) describes that "norms of fairness" influence the decision to participate, but he too does not elaborate on the ways in which emotions signal what is fair or unfair.

Collins (2004) introduces this religious identity under the discussion of the microritual process, which enables shared identities to be mobilized and passionately defended. Successful interaction rituals require co- presence, barriers to outsiders, a mutual focus of attention, and a shared mood. The rituals generate feelings of collective effervescence, which creates group solidarity, individual emotional energy, symbols of group membership, and standards of morality. Shared symbols may consist of visual icons, words, ideology, gestures, and other representations. Members imbue these symbols with a sense of righteousness and morality, passionately defending them against impropriety and violations.

In terms of "Pleasure in", it can be seen that there is a considerable increase from November to March when it reaches to its peak. There is a marked reduction in April, May, and June however it goes up suddenly in July 1979.

On the whole, February and March 1979 see the most frequent positive valence Moral emotions within the assigned time period.

Psychologically speaking, "Pleasure in someone else's misfortune", Schandenefreude (2014) states that whenever someone suffers from a mishap or a downfall, others sometimes experience pleasure from another's misfortune. In the case of Iranian revolution, experiencing this emotion coincided with the time after the victory of revolution, when the new regime started arresting the Shah's agents, most importantly those who were working for SAVAK. Due to imprisonments and restrictions imposed on people by SAVAK, observing them experiencing the same imprisonment caused the public to feel pleasure for their punishment.

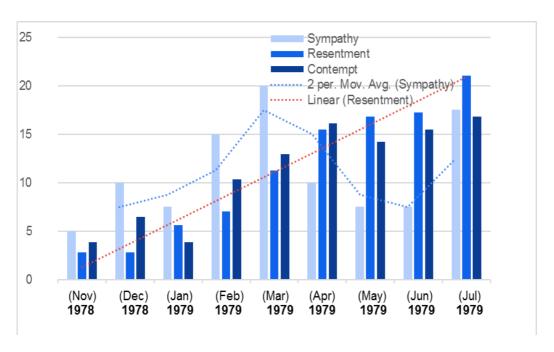


Figure 4. 14. The Dynamics of Negative Moral Emotions-Produced by the Author

The given blue bar graph (Figure 4.14.) shows a comparative data on negatively valenced moral emotions. There are five emotions of Sympathy, Resentment, Contempt, Humiliation, and Indignation in this category. Three most frequent ones including "Sympathy", "Contempt", and "Resentment", have been illustrated in the blue bar graph below. As is apparent, except Sympathy that sees fluctuations peaking in March, the other two emotions follow an ascending trend from November to July. The peaks point for Resentment is July and for Contempt April and July.

Getting back to the details, Sympathy started from a minimum frequency in November and saw a gradual ascending trend until March. After March, there was a swift drop in April and reached to its lowest point in May and June after which it increased significantly in July.

Unlike the uneven trend of Sympathy, the emotion "Contempt" followed a gradual increasing trend with the least frequency in November 1978 to the most in July 1979.

Having looked at the emotion "Resentment", it can be seen that it has the similar trend to "Contempt", however there has been slight variations in May and June 1979.

Briefly, March and July have slightly higher frequencies compared to other months.

The reason that "Sympathy" and "Contempt" prevailed in March and July goes back to the punishment of the Shah's agents. The revolutionary and Islamic court was formed immediately after the victory of the revolution and the general goal was seeking vengeance against those officials who worked for the regime, particularly SAVAK. However, many of them were tortured or sentenced to death in front of the public which aroused people's "sympathy" for them. In the same situation, the Islamic court and the revolutionaries approached the regime officials with "contempt".

The next situation during the revolutionary period when the media witnessed the dominance of the abovementioned two emotions was when Khomeini began to suppress other political parties and ordered crackdown and imprisonments. For instance, the authors, editors, and columnists of leftists, socialists, and other parties who later complained about Khomeini's strategies and published some articles against him were arrested and this stimulated the public's "Sympathy".

Taken both negative and positively valenced Moral emotion together, the graph indicates the ascending trend of negative moral emotion whereas the positive moral emotion experience more fluctuated trend of a significant decrease after March 1979.

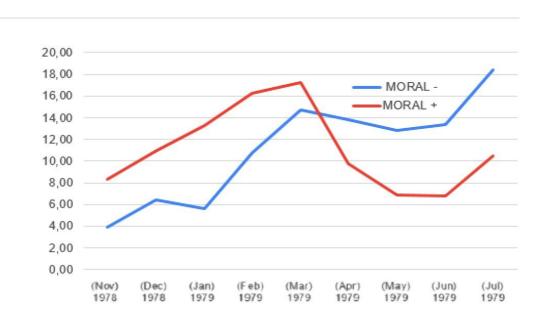


Figure 4. 15. The Trend of both Positive and Negative Moral Emotions-Produced by the Author

The third category of emotions that was studied in this research was "Fortune/Future Appraisal" category. This section summarises those emotions related to individuals' evaluation of future events that might trigger different responses from different individuals. In the proposed model, 16 emotions, 8 emotions with positive and 8 emotions with negative valence, have been introduced as the subcategory of Future appraisal emotions which have been presented in the following bar charts.

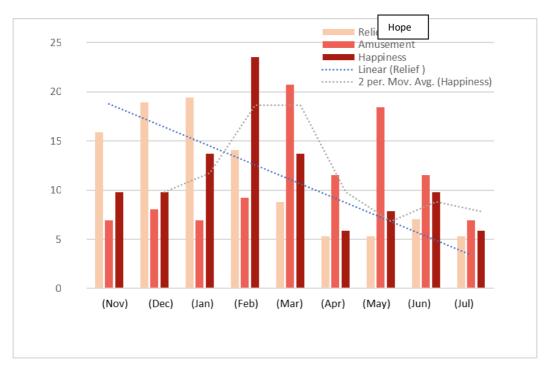


Figure 4. 16. The Dynamics of Positive Fortune/Future Appraisal Emotions-Produced by the Author

The first red bar graph (Figure 4.16.) presents the positive Future appraisal emotion change between November 1978 and July 1979. From among eight emotions, three most dominant emotions of "Hope", "Amusement", and "Happiness" have been presented below.

It can be clearly seen that, apart from Hope which has a descending trend, the other two emotions have an overall fluctuating trend with peaks in February 1979 for Happiness, March 1979 for Amusement, and January 1979 for Hope.

Looking at the details, one can obviously see the descending trend of "Hope" after January. After reaching its peak in January, it had a gradual decrease in February until April which was the least dominant emotion in newspapers and magazines. This trend continued until July.

Having looked at the data, the time that Hope started to fall down coincided with Khomeini's Islamicization of the revolution. Before the revolution, Khomeini had

promised to provide an open ground for different political parties and their activities. This freedom of speech, along with promises on improving economy, aroused the feeling of hope. However, after the revolution Khomeini's new constitutional law, velayate faqih, and imposition of Islam on other parties caused a significant decrease in this emotion. The situation applies for "Happiness" as well.

In studying the context of Iran's revolutionary period, it could be inferred that before the revolution there were some small strikes chanting against the Shah. Although there were a lot who were arrested or killed, the Shah started introducing new policies including the increase in freedom, freeing political prisoners, or similar strategies for the purpose of gaining the public's trust. Considering the Shah's authority, these changes could be considered victories for the public and as a result their "Hope" for changing the system increased and led to participants' commitment to sustain their engagements. Gupta (2009) finds small victories as the main factor that can increase the intensity of hope and make activists look to the future with the expectation of more victories.

Unlike "Hope" which was most frequent in the first months of the revolution, "Happiness" had a slight increase in the first months and experience a huge increase in February after which it faced a swift decrease in March 1979. "Happiness" was observed to be the least in "April". This emotion had a minimal increase in June, however it fell again in July 1979.

Considering "Amusement", it can be clearly observed that this emotion was not frequent compared with others. Except March and May that it significantly rose with its peak in March, this emotion was low in other periods.

In a word, positively valenced emotions of future appraisal or fortune category have a slightly higher dominance in three months of January, February, and March 1979.

From among 16 Future appraisal emotions; eight of them were negative which included emotions: Surprise, Anxiety, Fear, Sadness, Grief, Disappointment, and Despair. Same as other emotions, the order has been arranged in terms of the level of intensity and based on Geneva Emotion Wheel (GEW) introduced by Scherer (2005).

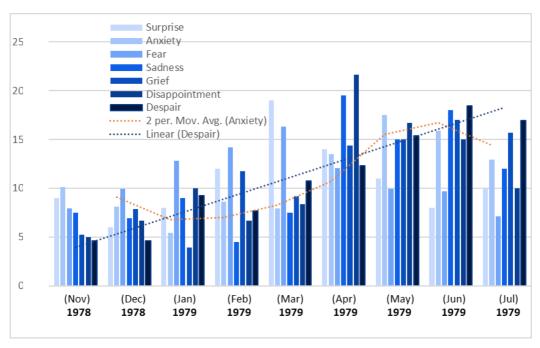


Figure 4. 17. The Dynamics of Negative Fortune/Future Appraisal Emotions-Produced by the Author

The second bar graph (Figure 4.17.), blue in color, provides information on the negatively valenced emotional shift between months of Nov 1978 to July 1979. Seven emotions of Surprise, Anxiety, Fear, Sadness, Grief, Disappointment, and Despair were noted to be the most dominant emotions of this category. Having looked at the graph, one can see how these emotions shifting during November 1978 to July 1979.

As can be seen, the data presented for aforementioned emotions during nine months had an overall fluctuating trend with peaks in months March, April, and June and drops in the first three months.

Looking at the details, it is clear that the negatively valenced emotion "Negative Surprise" peaked in months March after which it followed a downward trend except July in which there was minimal increase. Negative surprise was least dominant in December 1978.

Another Emotion in the bar chart is "Anxiety" which was the most dominant emotion in May. It went down in November, reached its least point in December and remained constant until April in which this emotion saw rapid increase. After its peak in May, there was a slight decrease in the following two months.

"Fear", on the other hand, experienced a parabolic curved shape by starting from the lowest percentage in November 1978, peaking in March and returning to its lowest point by a gradual decrease until July 1979.

Another emotion within this category was "Sadness". This emotion had a fluctuated trend with a peak in April 1979 and lowest percentage in December 1978. After December there was a gradual increase in January however it suddenly increased the second half of February and fell with the same pace in March. With a dramatic increase in April, it remained constant with minimal difference until the end of July.

"Grief" and "Despair" had a rising trend with slight differences. Both emotions "Grief" saw their peak in June 1979 however the lowest percentage for "Grief" was January 1979 and for "Despair" was June and July 1979.

In terms of "Disappointment", it is obvious that the overall trend is rising. It peaks in April 1979 and reaches to its lowest frequency in November 1978. After November there is gradual increase until March. April experience a dramatic boom after which it dropped slowly until July 1979. Although the decrease in July was relatively significant compared with April, it was not equal with the first months of revolutionary days.

Altogether, months of March through July 1979 witnessed peaks of the negatively valenced future appraisal emotions and November 1978 through April 1979 saw the least.

Another finding of this study was the absence of the emotion "boredom" which shows how motivated protestors were. This finding is in line with Summers-Effler's (2010) idea who argued that sustained burnout without the emotional intensity of thrill, risk, or hope can eventually lead to frustration with the movement that can threaten movements.

As mentioned in negative social emotion results' explanations, different parties who supported Khomeini, got surprised at the beginning due to the fact that their expectations were not met and Khomeini changed his policies through Islamicization of the revolution. Ordering crackdown, imposing compulsory veiling, restricting music and newspaper publications, and introducing Islamic court were among the events that caused the above-mentioned negative moral emotions like anxiety, sadness, negative surprise disappointment and despair. They experience "grief" since they had no way to return to the past and change the course that led to the success of Khomeini's revolution in 1979.

Kamans (2010) relates despair to hopeless situations that leads to non-normative actions. He analyses emotions within the context of status and power. By presenting a path model for estimating the power's direct influence on offensive action, Kamans (2010) explains the way emotions can predict the responses of low-power, low-status members' emotions like anger and fear both of which are related to the forms of (offensive) action. Kamans (2011) also defines two different routes for protests. First, anger route that leads to normative actions and second, contempt when the situation is hopeless; this route can lead to non-normative actions.

Similarly, Eric Shuman et al. (2016) argued that different emotions lead to different actions and introduced normative vs. non-normative actions. They

related Normative actions to incremental theories that are based upon the fact that groups and the world has the potential to change and non-normative actions to entity theories that held the opinion that that world cannot change. According to the findings of Shuman et al. (2016), incremental theories predict normative action through hope and anger, while entity theories predict non-normative action through hatred. In other words, people who believed in the possibility of change support normative action, whereas those who believed change was not possible supported non-normative action.

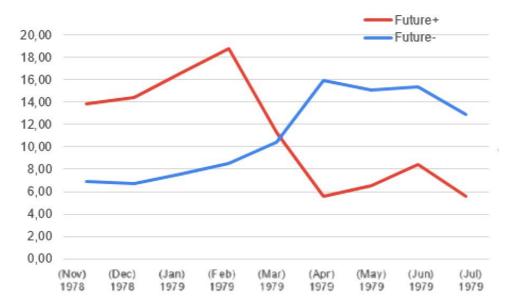


Figure 4. 18. The Trend of Positive and Negative Future Appraisal/Fortune Emotions- Produced by The Author

Altogether, considering the overall positive and negatively valenced emotions, one can clearly see the considerable decrease in positively emotions after February 1979 and the negative emotions experienced a gradual increase after March 1979.

The last category of the proposed model was aesthetic emotions that comprised four subcategories of positively valenced emotions of: Awe, Touching, Wonder, and Harmony none of which was observed in the data analyzed.

The findings of the present research are in line with Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2007) who argue that aesthetic emotions are peripheral compared to group-based emotions that have "accelerator or amplifier" function which emotion causes in protestors. They developed Appraisal theory to explain personal emotions that are experienced by individuals. However, they studied emotions related to "self" is connection with collective emotions: "If group membership becomes part of the self, events that harm or favor an in-group by definition harm or favor the self, and the self might thus experience emotions on behalf of the ingroup" Stekelenburg and Klandermans (2007).

By having a retrospective look at the history of Iran shortly before and after the revolution, it can be estimated that the evocation of "fear", "anxiety", and "anger" was coincided with Shah's suppression of strikes, imprisonment of demonstrators that were intensified on the Islamic holiday of Eid al-Fitr on 30 September 1978 which became a turning point in the Iranian revolution. Nearly 500,000 people marched in the streets of Tehran, and during the demonstration, people shouted, "Long live Khomeini"; thus, bringing Khomeini's name to forefront of Iranian politics after he had been sent to exile 16 years earlier following the Islamists' uprising on 5th June 1963 on which Khomeini denounced the Shah. After this event, and as a result of "Anger", Nationalists, leftists and other political fractions unified against the Shah and despite Shah's effort in gaining the opposition's consensus, he has to yield to their demands. Shah's power started crumbling at the end of 1978 and in his 36 days as premier of Iran, Bakhtiar ordered all political prisoners to be freed, lifted censorship of newspapers, relaxed martial law, ordered the dissolution of SAVAK and requested for the opposition to give him three months to hold elections for a constituent assembly that would decide the fate of the monarchy and determine the future form of government for Iran. Despite these conciliatory gestures, Khomeini refused to collaborate with Bakhtiar, denouncing the premier as a traitor for siding with the Shah, labeling his government "illegitimate" and "illegal" and calling for the overthrow of the monarchy. Bakhtiar was accused by some of making mistakes during his premiership such as allowing Khomeini to re-enter Iran. In the end, he failed to rally even his own former colleagues from the National Front. So, his government was overwhelmingly rejected by the masses, who mocked him by chanting "Bakhtiar, the hapless servant." The feeling of "Triumph", "Hope", and "Happiness" reached to the peak at the end of December when "Shah Left" was the headline of the newspapers. Shah's departure was greeted by public celebrations. On 12 February 1979, which is known as the 'Day of Victory of the Islamic republic', the army surrendered to the new leader and his appointed prime minister, Bazargan. The brief execution of Shah's supporters and military chiefs was started shortly thus setting ground for the Sharia rule and Islamic jurists in the social and political life of the country. This was the time when emotions of "pity", "surprise" and "pleasure in someone else's misfortune" were evoked from different individuals. In this regard, the second wave of victims were liberal minded and westernized women, who held demonstrations against the obligatory dress code on the 8th March, 1979. Hijab and Music were two important issues found in any newspaper and magazines of the time causing anger and indignation from other political activists including leftists and nationalists against the restrictions imposed shortly after the victory of the revolution.

The referendum for the Islamic Republic was held on 30 March, during which people had been asked to choose between monarchy and 'Islamic Republic', but no other form of government. This was not well received with liberals and leftists, who had started to sense the totalitarian intentions of clerics. The protests did not go beyond the grudgings in newspapers and magazines, which still were enjoying an unprecedented freedom in Iranian recent history. But, this did not last for long; as clerics, who were steadily establishing upper hand in the country's politics, in particular by taking the full control of judiciary with the full support of religious masses, finally banned independent publications in July 1979. This was a crucial move, as the opponents lost venues for promoting their candidates for the assembly of the constitution. Thus, through the combination of Khomeini's charisma, implied religious duties, and manipulations by the de facto 'Islamic Republic' ruling party, the overwhelming majority of the seats were taken by clerics. They wrote a constitution which put absolute power in the hand of Vali-

ye-Faqih (Jurist ruler) and demolished the aspiration of liberals and leftists for establishing democratic values. On 16 August 1979, Khomeini ordered a bloody crackdown of his opponents. Thus, an era of clerical rule was inaugurated which has lasted until now. With the crackdown and the decrease in freedom of speech in newspapers and thus the power of other political parties, emotions of "Disappointment", "hatred", "disgust", and "grief" were observed more dominantly between other political parties and Islamists.

In August 1979, newspapers¹¹, periodicals, and magazine like: Parkhash, Ahangar, Ayandegan, Ferdowsi, Peygham-e-Emrooz, Sepid va Siyah, Kar, Sogand, and Tehran Mosavvar who served leftist viewpoints or were against Islamic views were banned and have never been republished.

The remaining newspapers were: Keyhan, Ummat, Jonbesh, Sogand, Enghelab-e-Eslami, and Nameh-ye-Mardom. Keyhan had a continuous publishing between 1979 and 1981. Although initially it secretly acted in line with the Communist Tudeh Party, it was later expropriated by clerics and continued its activities by being aligned to their inclinations. Similar to Keyhan, Enghelab-e-Eslami shared the same goal by favoring the Islamization of people's lives and bringing Islam into people's private and public life. Ummat, served left-wing religious-nationalist groups of the time. Jonbesh was active between 1977 and 1980 and fused socialist tenets with radical Shiism, however its publication was suspended in 1980. Nameye Mardom was initially an intellectual journal that was publish by Communist Tudeh Party, however after the revolution 1979, it served Islamic thoughts.

Approximately, all newspaper that continued their publication after August 1979, served Islamic thoughts.

In sum, the research findings explained how emotions meaningfully changed in different stages of a social movement and how their transitions guided movement

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¹¹ Please seetable 3.2. for a detailed explanation of the newspapers and their political viewpoints

protestors to be involved in the movement, persist it and move towards the successful outcome. Despite collective behavior theorists, the present study attempted to depict emotions in a rational framework and find a scientific explanation for their existence and interactions, within social movement theories. The findings can place emotions under the category of New Social Movement theories and fill the methodological gap to emphasize the pivotal roles of emotions in social sciences. It is estimated that this model of analysis can be applied to ongoing movement to predict the tentative outcome of a social movement. However, Kurzman (2005) presented different explanations in the case of Iranian revolution and its retroactive predictability. Kurzman coined the term "antiexplanation" to mean explanations provided to predict a movement and reconstruct a predicted outcome out of the moment experiences should be abandoned. The reason for this explanation of Kurzman was in confusions, instability and unpredictability of revolutionary moments. Kurzmans' explanations point to a different disagnoses of the major challenge that faces claims. From Kurzman's point of view, one question is raised that are explanatory claims can define the contextual factors to the level that condition their validity or not. However, this does not mean that these processes and interactions cannot be studied for their own sake.

The next section will deal with findings on how the emotions were interacted and which patterns they proceeded during the course of revolution.

4.3.2. Findings on Transactional Analysis

Although tracking emotion transition within a given time period can provide important insights that scholars can use to expand theories of social movements, identifying how these emotions interact between different actors can add even deeper knowledge that can complete and make the emotion transition process more meaningful. Therefore, the second question in the present study addressed the identification of interaction patterns according to Eric Berne's (2011) model. Berne (2011) identified three patterns: parent-child, child-parent, and adult-adult.

To provide a more detailed description, the results of the study were presented in Figure 4.18. The bar chart provides information on the interaction of positive and negative emotions between Islamists and other political parties and vice versa, and in terms of the timeline, the data is presented for two general periods before and after the 1979 revolution.

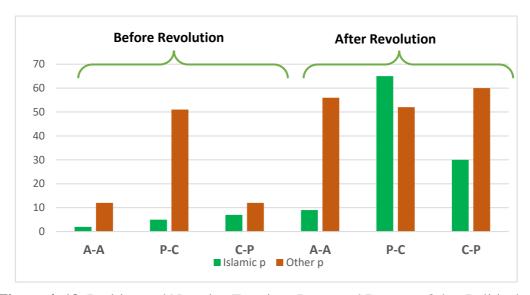


Figure 4. 19. Positive and Negative Emotions Interacted Between Other Political Parties vs. Islamists and Vice Versa Before and After the 1979 Revolution-Produced by the Author

As can be seen, the data presented had dominant interactions on parent-child and child-parent interactions. Looking at the details, it is clear that the density of emotion interaction was outstanding in both positive and negative emotions after the revolution, with negative emotions outweighing positive emotions by striking difference. It is obvious that the parent-child interaction between Islamists and other parties was more prominent after the revolution, and the child-parent interaction between other parties and Islamists is markedly high both before and after the revolution. There is also adult interaction, but it is mainly between members of the same party. For example, Islamists interact with Islamists and other parties interact with similar parties that hold the same political views. It could be seen that before the revolution, which coincided with the first days of February 1979, there was a considerable increase in the interaction of positive

emotions between other parties and Islamists. This trend decreased shortly after the victory of the revolutions for the same reasons found in 4.1.

While P-C interaction was high both before and after the revolution, C-P interaction suddenly increased after the revolution, replacing positive emotions and adult-adult interactions.

Looking at the overall comparative percentage of negative and positive emotions interacted between all political parties as a whole (Figure 4.19), one can easily notice the prominence of negative emotions.

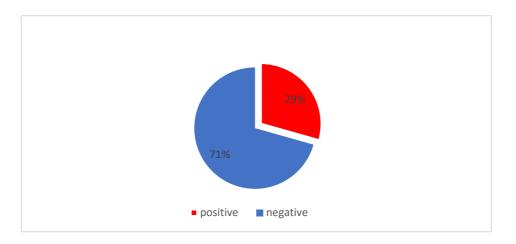


Figure 4. 20. The Percentage of Negative and Positive Emotions Interacted Between Different Political Parties Produced by the Author

The results of the transactional patterns interacted between different political groups show the dominance of Parent-Child and Child-Parent patterns which is indicative of Islamists tendency to gain supremacy over others. This is evident when Khomeini banned newspapers after the revolution and ordered Islamicization of other parties including Tudeh Party and Communists. Along with these incidences, emotions were observed to start shifting around the time when Khomeini was planning to change the constitutional Law and base laws on Islamic rules.

It is assumed that perhaps the findings of this research can be defined within the context of theories such as religious fundamentalism or fundamentalist movements. Almond (2011) identified fundamentalist movements in terms of organizational and ideological characteristics and assigned nine different characteristics which seems to be in line with the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

Almond (2011) identifies five ideological characteristics for fundamentalism; reactivity, selectivity, dualistic worldview, absolutism and inerrancy, and Millennialism and Messianism. The first one refers to fundamentalists' reaction against modernity or their attempt to protect traditional religion, the second characteristic is selectivity which refers to selective use of traditional concepts from different sources, mainly religious books, with which they can control their society. In Iran's case, for instance, the Shah's rapid reform plan and the resulting failure provided Khomeini with an ideal opportunity to create a social movement through anti-Shah demonstrations by selectively using traditional and Islamic motives of the majority. Khomeini invoked the Quran and its emphasis on justice along with the religious ideologies. He emphasized how the Shah undermined their cultural and religious values and how Justice will be brought back to the society after the revolution; the third point is the dualistic worldview; fundamentalists define concepts by finding the opposites, for instance they define good against bad or justice against injustice. Khomeini and his movement can be an evident example. To encourage people to commit to the continuation and perpetuation of the movement, Khomeini emphasized Shiite dualism, for example, the traditional Islamic ideal of good government expressed in the term "justice." This was presented by depicting current injustice and going back to the time of the Prophet Hussein and his martyrdom against tyranny. The fourth is absolutism and inerrancy. Religious fundamentalists believe that only one view is true and there is no room for multiple interpretations. Khomeini, by bringing velayate faqih, proved that there is only one true and people have to follow velayate fagih. The last characteristic that Almond (2011) defines for ideological characteristic of fundamentalists is Millennialism and Messianism, which refers to sacred texts such as the Quran that promise a holy end against all challenges and difficulties.

It is full of miraculous results. Khomeini promised justice against the tyranny of the monarchical regime. Moreover, he made a connection between events and religion, stating that in the end the hidden Imam would return and put an end to all suffering and evil. By making Islam the basis of the revolution, Khomeini, like other religious fundamentalists, ensured the victory of good over evil.

From an organizational perspective, four characteristics were noted by Almond (2011). The first is the fundamentalists' assumption that they have been chosen and that their mission is to defend their religion. The second characteristic is the sharp demarcation between true believers and apostates, between the saved and the damned. Thanks to this particular organizational characteristic, the Ulamas can take on a different role, merely providing moral leadership to the community. This can be linked to their dualistic viewpoints as well. The third, is the creation of an authoritarian organization. In fundamentalist movements, there is a charismatic leader, and the others are followers. The leader is credited with supernatural qualities and insights into sacred texts, which are taken as a model by the followers. Khomeini, as a charismatic leader served as a role model for the society during revolutionary period. Finally, fundamentalists establish specific rules of conduct that followers must observe. These rules mainly relate to appropriate dress, eating habits, sexuality, etc. In the case of Iran, it was observed that Khomeini prescribed veiling or hijab for women and asked people to abstain from sexuality and alcohol. Music was another issue that was subject to restrictions after the revolution.

Khomeini and his Islamic revolution in 1979 seem to best represent the fundamentalist movement and leader. Particularly, Almond's (2011) introduction of people as followers that need to act as followers doing their principles and codes of conduct are expressly in accordance with Eric Berne's explanation of parent-child interaction which can be the subject for further analysis.

However, Halliday (1982) does not believe in Iran's 1979 revolution's full fundamental characteristic. According to Halliday, Khomeini's ideas are

fundamentalist in the claim that he derived everything from a sacred book which was Koran and from traditional ideas, but the ideas themselves and their social and political impact are all novel and dependent on contemporary conditions of the society. Halliday believes that Iranian revolution was the result of the alliance of different social groups that had the support of different communities. Of these groups, apart from Islamists, were nationalists and liberals who had nationalist rather than religious views; "The National Front" is the main nationalist party along with "The Party of Iran" and "The Pan-Iranian Party" that were other two parties that presented this ideology. The Liberals' concern, on the other hand, was individual freedom and its most prominent political party was "The Freedom Movement". Another group was the Tudeh Party. The Tudeh Party was the main representative of the leftist and Marxist thought in Iran. The establishment of the Tudeh Party dates back to 1941, which coincided with the occupation of Iran by British and Soviet troops and the overthrow of the government of Reza Khan.

The Tudeh Party promises to establish several organizations, including military organizations, youth organizations, the Democratic Women's Organization, and the United Central Workers' Union, to attract various social and political elements and utilized different capacities in the country's cultural, social, labor, political, and scientific fields and established satellite bases to strengthen the party. By publishing newspapers, organizing demonstrations and activities in the political, cultural and social fields in different sectors and among different strata and classes, the Party gained a wide range of forces with different spectrums to be involved in Party activities in these groups. Mojahedine Khalq organization was another important factor that had a role in the revolution. This organization was founded in 1961 by three students from Tehran University who had previously been members of the Freedom Movement and had a religious orientation. Mohammad Hanif nejad, Saeed Mohsen and Hassan Nikbin, known as Abdi, were the core founders of the Mojahedin. There were other political organizations the detailed explanation of which has been present in the appendix. As Misagh Parsa and Fred Halliday discussed during the revolution all dissident groups formed an alliance before the revolution. Initially, all social groups protested against the dictatorship or as Halliday mentions it was a populist movement. However, this revolution was later hijacked by Islamists under the leadership of a charismatic leader.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS: IRAN'S RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT FROM AN EMOTIONAL PERSPECTIVE

The present study tried to show the role of emotions in the process of social movements. Addressing the research aims, an emotional analysis was conducted for finding the transition of emotions within a specific timespan and finding a method to fill the methodological gap in the study of emotions and their effects in theories of social movements. Accordingly, a new model was proposed, which was adopted from Scherer (2005) and other emotion theories and their various classifications. The criterion for the new classification was the consideration of social relations and emotions in relation to the "self" and group-related emotions, which allow the researcher to meaningfully place the results in the context of sociology. Later, the way emotions interact between political groups was also considered. To this end, Eric Berne's (2011) thesis on the three interaction patterns of child-parent, parent-child, and adult-adult was chosen as the basis for transactional analysis. Iran's 1979 movement was taken as a case study and the attempt was to answer the following questions:

- 1. How collective emotions underwent a shift in Iran's 1979 Revolution?
- 2. What was the dominant transactional interaction between different political groups?

Using an extensive range of data, the present research has provided generalizable evidence on the role of emotion in social movement theories. The main observation of the research according to the results indicate that the collective emotional state of Iranian society before the victory of the revolution were "hope",

"pride", "appreciation", "admiration", and "triumph" in positive emotions and "anger" and "anxiety" in negative emotions.

Generally, the positive emotions were aroused for people's will and Khomeini and his orders and actions. The negative emotions, on the other hand, were against the Shah and his repressive policies. The density of positive emotions greatly outweighs the negative emotions.

After the victory, the positive collective emotional state of Iranian society was dominant in "triumph" and the negative collective emotions were "disappointment", "contempt", "anger", "fear", "anxiety", and "negative surprise". The emotion "triumph" was experienced by Islamists.

Unlike the period before the victory that experienced the dominance of positive emotions, after the victory this was replaced with negative emotions.

The transactional interaction of different political groups before the victory of the revolution generally proceeded via "parent-child" and "child-parent". After the victory of the revolution, the relative frequency of "parent-child" interaction with respect to "child-parent" interaction substantially increased. This may be linked to religious fundamentalism in which religion is used to build an authoritarian regime. Khomeini's introduction of Velayate Faghih, imposition of Hijaab, and codes of conduct such as abstinence from sexuality or clothing styles are characteristics that can prove Khomeini's fundamental approach. However, the revolution was not intended to be fundamentalist movement and it was a populist movement, since it started with the alliance of dissident groups with different ideologies, including the Tudeh Part, Mojahedine Khalq, Socialist, Leftists, Liberals and other social groups. However, later the revolution was hijacked by Islamists and since Islamists introduced religion and rule of God as a refrence point that people have to follow, this rules out democracy. This lack of democracy and peoples' obligations to follow what God and God's representatives asked them explains the nature of parent-child ego state.

5.1. The Contributions of the Thesis

The present study provided a valuable knowledge base for Area Studies by seeking to develop one of the important concepts within Area Studies which is interdisciplinarity. Interdisciplinarity is the interaction of different disciplines from simple concepts to integration of methodology, terminology, etc. This study attempted to integrate psychological methodology into social movement theories and developed a psychological framework to re-contextualize social movements. Since social movements have the potential to occur in different regions such as Middle East, Central Asia, Latin America, etc. the findings contribute to Area studies.

Regarding social movement theories, past research has examined the limited number of emotions such as anger, hope, hate, etc. However, the current study provided methodological perspectives with which one can systematically examine the emotions and interactions in a more empirical and systematic way and drawing on the variety of empirical findings and theoretical approaches based on emotional experiences, the current study provides empirical support for the fact that emotions are not only rational but their nature can be analyzed without having direct access to subjects who experience emotions. Apart from that this study extended the models from individual and group level context to studying emotions under four categories of social (same as group level emotions), Moral (involved in forming and communicating moral judgments and decisions), Fortune/Future appraisal (emotions felt for future events), and Aesthetic emotions (emotions evoked for artwork). Therefore, this study contributed to the emotion literature by extending emotions form individual-and group-level context and at the same time intermingled the social movement theories with social psychology analysis models and literature and thus presented a different approach for emotional analysis of narratives of Iran's 1979 revolution. Furthermore, this study has provided an opportunity to better interpret and/or understand emotional dynamics underlying a social movement.

Considering Iran's 1979 revolution as a case study, the present research contributed to the existing literature by adding a psychological analysis on contemporary narratives. Iran's 1979 revolution is one of the most important revolutions in the Middle-Eastern and Area studies that was studied from different aspects such as historical, political, social perspectives. Scholars emphasized on the role of religious ideologies on the success of the revolution by presenting Shia culture as intrinsic to the movement. Many emphasized on Khomeini's leadership and his policies, some were more specific by discussing Karbala and Taziyeh as components of Shia culture and others considered the solidarity that religious symbols and rituals could bring to the members of the society and as such affect the movement. However, Iran's revolution hasn't been analyzed in terms of the emotional trend and emotional interaction and thus, the findings of this study contributed to Iran's revolution history and literature as well.

5.2. Implications and Recommendations for Future Research

As discussed in the previous chapter, it is estimated that there is a relationship between religious fundamentalism and the parent-child interaction. This can be further studied by adopting a different approach. Apart from that, emotions in this research, were analyzed according to four classifications; however other categorizations can be considered as well. For instance, considering emotions according to their primary, secondary, or tertiary classifications can also add more details to the emotion labelling.

Since the present study, adopted Iran's 1979 revolution as a case study, further studies can be conducted on implementing the proposed model on other movements from different regions and according enrich Area Studies literature along with other disciplines.

5.3. The Limitations of the Present Study

Since the present study is a case study, and involved only the 1979 Iranian revolution, the findings might be suggestive of what may be found in similar social movements, however there might be a need for additional research in order to verify the method, proposed model, and its generalizability.

A comparative study can also be conducted on other case studies since social movements of different regions or times have their own distinguishing features and yield different results due to its dynamic nature.

The researcher in the present study was a native speaker who had no cultural or linguistic barrier in analyzing the data, a non-native of a region, can also find or propose different methods of analysis to tackle with these barriers.

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APPENDICES

A. POLITICAL PARTIES

Grass root and Modern Islamist currents

The ideological basis for these currents was predominantly Islam, and their founding members were mainly clerics. The most important organizations that advocated Islamic views were Fadaiyan-e-Islam and the Islamic Coalition Party. In addition to the clergy, some Islamic intellectuals, particularly Dr. Shariati and Bazargan, played a prominent role in the political struggle. However, because Shariati lacked sufficient expertise in the field of Islamic sciences and was influenced by Western thought, his party, its members, and its activities were seen as representing Marxists and liberals whose ideologies were at odds with purely Islamic views. ¹²

Devotees of Islam (Fada'iyan-e Islam)

Jamiat Fadaiyan-e-Islam was founded in 1945 by Seyyed Mojtaba Mirlouhi (Nawab Safavid) with the aim of fighting atheism. After studying mechanics, Nawab went to Najaf Ashraf to study religious studies. While studying in Najaf, he witnessed the rise of anti-religious ideas in Iran, fueled by Reza Shah's government and some intellectuals like Ahmad Kasravi. Kasravi was one who expressed his rejection of religion and the clergy from the beginning and considered many principles and tenets of Shiism to be superstitions. He considered visiting graves, honoring imams, and commemorating the martyrdom of Imam

¹² Khosrow Panah, A. (2009), Currents of Contemporary Iran, Qom: Modern Islamic Wisdom Cultural Institute.

Hussein during Muharram as the misery of the Iranian people. In his book Shiism, he insulted Imam Sadegh and denied the existence of Hazrat Vali-e-Asr¹³

Kasravi's thoughts provoked protests and opposition from the clerics. Nawab Safavid, who was a young student at that time, came to Iran to defend the religious thoughts and schools. After long debates with Kasravi, he concluded that Kasravi had no intention of changing his mind. Therefore, Safavi planned to assassinate Kasravi. However, the assassination attempt failed and the Nawab was arrested. This was the first attempt made by the Fada'iyan-e Islam when they did not have a permanent organization. After this incident, many religious leaders as well as the people supported the Ulema. The publication of the first announcement of this organization coincided with this incident. 14

As the activities of Kasravi and his followers continued, Nawab Safavid, who had founded the Fada'iyan-e-Islam organization with the help of a group of young scholars, attempted to assassinate Kasravi, and Seyyed Hossein Emami attacked Kasravi in the courthouse and killed him on March 11, 1945. There is no doubt that the Fada'iyan carried out this action with the permission of some authorities of the time. It is said that this permission was given by some authorities and scholars such as Haj Seyyed Abolhassan Isfahani, Haj Agha Hossein Qomi, Sheikh Mohammad Tehrani, Haj Sheikh Abolghasem Kashani, Allameh Amini and even Seyyed Mohammad Behbahani. Kasravi was assassinated at a time when he was under great pressure from all religious circles.¹⁵

The members of Fada'iyan-e-Islam continued their activities for revolutionary assassination of the corrupt people of the imperial regime, and Hajir, the court

¹³ Amini, D. (2002), Jamiat Fedaiyan Islam, Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documentation Center, pp. 58-59.

¹⁴ Jafarian, R. (2013), Religious-Political Flows and Organizations of Iran, Tehran: Islamic Revolution Records Center, p. 173.

¹⁵ Jafarian, R. (2013), Religious-Political Flows and Organizations of Iran, Tehran: Islamic Revolution Records Center, p. 174.

minister, was assassinated by Seyyed Hossein Emami in 1949; Emami was later sentenced to death. They continued to actively participate in the movement to nationalize oil and assassinated Razmara, one of the main obstacles to the nationalization of oil, by Khalil Tahmasebi. Later, the oil industry was nationalized with the approval of the National Assembly and the Senate. After Razmara, Hussein A'laa became prime minister, but he resigned due to the opposition of Ayatollah Kashani and Nawab Safavid, so Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh took over the government. However, Mossadegh's government was far from the thoughts and ideas of the Fada'iyan. Unlike the Fada'iyan party, he was not concerned with forming an Islamic government. His main concern was to free the country from British rule and to expel British agents from Iranian oil companies. "I am not a man who claims Islamic rule, nor do I want to be your ruler and prime minister forever. The only thing I need is some time to solve the oil issue" 16

The Fada'iyan-e Islam organization was indeed one of the most influential groups in the 1940s and 1950s, whose views and practices inspired other groups. As Khomeini explained, his first political-military sparks were first initiated by Seyyed Mojtaba Nawab Safavid.

Islamic Coalition Party

The Islamic Coalition party was established in 1963 with the coalition of groups of religious bazaars and religious sites. Most members of the coalition were involved in political struggles, and their main motivation was Islamic thoughts. In this organization, a clerical council was established to liaise between the Imam and the coalition and was tasked with advising people on political and Islamic issues. The leading members of the Clergy Council, who were confirmed by the

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¹⁶ Jafarian, R. (2013), Religious-Political Flows and Organizations of Iran, Tehran: Islamic Revolution Records Center, p. 183.

Imam, were: Ayatollah Motahari, Ayatollah Beheshti, Ayatollah Anwari and Ayatollah Ahmad Molaei. ¹⁷

This group played an effective role in confronting the regime by printing and distributing leaflets and tapes of Imam Khomeini, organizing marches and strikes, and supporting the families of political prisoners. One of the most important actions of this party, before the Islamic Revolution, was the assassination of the then Prime Minister, Hassan Ali Mansour. On February 22, 1964, Mansour was shot twice by Mohammad Bukharaei due to drafting and passing an article in the National Assembly. After his assasination, 34 central members of the coalition were arrested; Mohammad Bukharaei, Harandi, Nikonejad, and Amani were sentenced to death, Asgaroladi, Kalavchi, Heydari, and Modarressi, were sentenced to life imprisonment, and Mohi al-Din Anwari was sentenced to 15 years in prison.¹⁸

After the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the leaders of the coalition intended to form a party and discussed this issue with the Imam, who, however, said that the members of the coalition should join the Islamic Republic Party. This coalition played an effective role in providing and financing the activities of the Islamic Republic Party in the cities, and some of its members, including Asgraoladi, Iraki, Islamic, Derakhshan, Badamchian, Haerizadeh, Amani and Assadollah Lajevardi, were actively involved in forming the first nuclei of the party and later the Central Council.¹⁹

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 $^{^{\}rm 17}$ Badamchian, A. (2015); Getting to know the Islamic United Community, Tehran: Andisheh Nab, p.47.

¹⁸ Jafarian, R. (2013); Religious and political currents and organizations of Iran, p. 323.

¹⁹ Jasbi, A. (1998); Comprehensive organization, a review of a decade of activity of the Islamic Republic of Iran Party, Tehran, Islamic Azad University Scientific Center Publications, vol. 1, p. 635.

This party has always been present alongside the militant clerical community and is considered one of the influential parties of the right-wing and fundamentalist current. The weekly newspaper called "Shoma" (You) is its official platform.

Nationalist and Liberal currents

This faction was based on nationalist rather than religious views; "The National Front" is the main nationalist party along with "The Party of Iran" and "The Pan-Iranian Party" that were other two parties that presented this ideology. The Liberals' concern, on the other hand, was individual freedom and its most prominent political party was "The Freedom Movement".

The National Front

The National Front faction is the main symbol of nationalism in Iran which has gone through different phases and periods during its activities.

The first National Front

After the 16th parliamentary elections and the Shah's efforts to form a proper parliament and prevent opposition members, including Dr. Mossadegh, from entering the political arena, a group of people gathered in front of the court to protest against the government's interference in the elections. On October 23, 1949, nineteen of those who participated in the protest gathered at Dr. Mosaddegh's house and called themselves the National Front. The aim was to establish a national government by ensuring freedom of elections and thought. They saw themselves as guardians of social justice and the constitution.

The activities of the first National Front, from its formation to its dissolution (August 19, 1953) can be divided into two periods. The first period is from its formation to July 20, 1952, during which there was a rapprochement between the members due to oil nationalization. The second period covers the period from

Mosaddegh's reelection to the coup d'etat on August 19, 1953. During the second period, different opinions arose between the members due to Mosaddegh's claims to power. After the fall of the Mosaddegh government, the activities of the National Front were banned and some of its members were arrested while others dispersed.²⁰

The Second National Front

During Iqbal's tenure, Kennedy's plan created a relatively open political space in Iran, and the regime's pressure on the opposition decreased. During its three-year tenure, the Second National Front republished the newspaper "Bakhtar-e-Amrooz", organized strikes in major universities and high schools, held a national congress, and elected a large central committee. It attracted a group of prominent members of the markets and universities and held demonstrations in which more than a hundred thousand people's participated. The Second National Front was split into two rival factions due to some strategic, ideological, and organizational differences among its members: The first faction, composed mainly of members of the Iranian Party, retained the title "Second National Front" and intensified its activities in the Confederation of Iranian Students in Europe, continued to publish the newspaper "Bakhtar-e Emrooz", and called for the establishment of a secular democratic government in Iran. The second faction; consisting of members of the Freedom Movement, the People's Party of Iran, and the Socialist Society, called itself the Third National Front. After internal disputes and the secession of a number of members, the Second National Front officially announced its dissolution in 1964.²¹

The Third National Front

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²⁰ Zareshahi, A. (2001), The Causes of the Formation and Dissolution of the National Front of Iran, Tehran: Center for Islamic Revolution Records, p. 16.

²¹ Abrahamian, E. (1982), Iran between two revolutions, Princeton University Press

Upon Mosaddegh's request, some party leaders attempted to form another National Front which included members of the Freedom Movement, the "National Party of Iran,", the "People's Party," Khalil Maleki's "Socialist Party,", and the "Students' Organization of the Natoional Front" which officially announced its existence on July 29, 1965, with several statements.

This National Front, which was active among Iranian students in France and North America, published two newspapers, "Iran-e Azad" and "Khabarnameh," and tried to establish effective relations with religious leaders in exile, especially Imam Khomeini in Iraq. However, the regime arrested the leaders of the Third National Front and dissolved it in less than three weeks after its announcement. ²²

The Fourth National Front

The open political space in Iran in 1978, coincided with Carter's assumption of power in the United States, encouraged this front to regroup itself, and thus the Fourth National Front was formed that year. In June 1977, three remnants of the National Front, Shahpour Bakhtiar, Karim Sanjabi, and Dariush Forouhar, published an open letter to the Shah calling for obedience to the principles of the monarchical constitutional system. Although some of their comrades objected to the limited number of signatories to the letter, this action was the prelude to consultations that led to the formation of the "Alliance of the Forces of the National Front of Iran" on November 19, 1977.

This alliance was formed by the merger of the "National Party of Iran," the "Party of Iran." and the "Socialist Society" under the leadership of Reza Shayan and a number of Bazaaris who supported the National Front. Assadollah Mobasheri was in charge of inspection, Reza Shayan was in charge of finance, Dariush Forouhar was in charge of publications and presentations, and Kazem Hasibi was the

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²² Nejati, Gh. (1994), Twenty-five-year history of Iran, Tehran: Rasa Cultural Services Institute, p. 331.

chairman of the Central Council. The leaders of the National Front, on the other hand, tried to gain the support of the masses by attending religious gatherings and establishing contact with the followers of Imam Khomeini.

On July 20, 1978, this group changed its name from "Association of National Front Forces" to "The Fourth National Front." The members of the board of the Fourth National Front, Shahpour Bakhtiar, Forouhar, Hasibi, and Mobasheri, were headed by Dr. Karim Sanjabi. In order to maintain its social prestige, the members of the fourth national front tried to adopt a tougher tone after the September 8 incident. However, its leader, Sanjabi, continued to insist that he was not against constitutional monarchy. Sanjabi's trip to Paris in November to dissuade the Imam from the need to overthrow the monarchy had no effect other than to force him to make three declarations that the monarchy was illegal and that it was impossible to compromise with it.

After this meeting, the National Front issued a three-part statement calling the monarchy illegal. Of course, the Imam stressed that the path of the National Front was different from that of the revolutionaries: "I can not speak of the fronts or do anything for them; their way is different from ours."²³

In response to the question "Will you uphold the National Front with all its components?" Imam Khomeini answered: "Any person or group that can align itself with the demands of the Islamic movement in Iran, can continue to do its work, otherwise, it has no place among the people, and the Iranians are consciously cognizant of these issues." ²⁴

The presence of the National Front at the gatherings after the victory of the revolution and even at the gathering on Mossadegh's death in 1979 was a marginal presence. Sanjabi, the leader of the National Front, also resigned from the Foreign

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²³ Imam's Sahifeh (1979), vol. 3, p. 439.

²⁴ Imam's Sahifeh (1979), vol. 3, p. 175.

Ministry shortly after the victory of the revolution due to a long-standing rivalry with the leaders of the Freedom Movement. The wear and tear of the National Front and its ineffectiveness in the first months after the victory of the Islamic Revolution prompted Dariush Forouhar (Labor Minister of the Provisional Government) and the group he led (People'Party of Iran) to leave the National Front and led to the emergence of another nationalist group called "the National Democratic Front" announced by Hedayatullah Matin Daftari on March 5, 1980. Among the positions Matin Daftrai advocated during his several months of activity were support of separatist movements in Kurdish, Turkmen, and Arab areas, call for disbanding the army, and calls not to participate in the referendum and elections to the Assembly of Constitutional.

In a letter to the provisional prime minister, Matin Daftari emphasized his "rejection of imperialism." However, he was in constant contact with American agents in the U.S. Counterintelligence Service, and the Americans eagerly followed his activities to unite groups opposed to the Imam. When the revolutionary forces were determined to counter the operations of this group, Matin Daftari fled in June 1979 and never returned to the country. Two years later, in July 1981, Matin Daftari became a member of the so-called National Council of Resistance.

After Abolhassan Bani-Sadr came to power, the National Front rejected Bani-Sadr because of his monopolies. However, his presidency offered great opportunities for the nationalist group; Saeed Sanjabi, the son of the secretary general of the National Front, was one of the main leaders of the political organization of "Bani Sadr" along with Salamatian.

However, the climax of the National Front's confrontation with the Islamic Republic was the fall of the Retaliation Law. The National Front, which took a liberal approach, opposed the Retaliation Law and, in a statement of rejection and sharp attack on the Retaliation Law, called on the people to march on Enghelab Street to Tehran College on the afternoon of June 16, 1981. On the morning of

June 16, Bazargan, Yadollah Sahabi, and Kazem Sami announced in a joint letter that they would not attend public parliamentary sessions due to insecurity and censorship and the continued closure of several newspapers.

In response to these activities, which are indeed considered an uprising against the Quran, the Imam took a clear stand, stating that the "apostasy" of the National Front must be removed forever from the country's political arena: "I am curious to know what is the basis for this march. I have seen two National Front proclamations calling for a march. In one of the two proclamations, one of the motives for the march is the law of retribution. That is, they called on the Iranian people to rise up against the law of retaliation. In another statement, the "inhumane law" was interpreted as a call for the Muslim nation to march against the law of retaliation. What does this mean? It means marching against the text of the Holy Quran and calling on them to rise up, persevere and march against the Holy Quran. The text of the Holy Quran. "The Imam finally clarified, "They are apostates. The National Front is doomed from today. If the National Front announces on the radio this afternoon that this statement is not theirs, we will accept it." ²⁵

After the National Front refused to comply with the Imam's request, large demonstrations in support of the revolutionary leadership took place in the streets of Tehran, further worsening the situation for the National Front and its supporters.

The National Front's boldness in the face of the Islamic verdict of retribution spelled the end of this group in Iran. The leaders of the group fled abroad, and Karim Sanjabi was invited by Rajavi to officially join the Monafeghin organization in Paris in the summer of 1961, and had contacts with some officials of the organization and the Resistance Council. Thus, there was no trace of the "National Front" in the political atmosphere, either inside or outside the country.

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²⁵ Imam's Sahifeh (1979), vol. 3, p. 452-463

After June 2, 1997, when counterrevolutionary groups used the existing open political space to gain a foothold, the National Front also made efforts to reactivate itself politically.

Parviz Varjavand, then secretary general of the National Front, introduced ideas through interviews and articles in new newspapers that did not go beyond the slogans of the emerging groups. However, the number of National Front members was not even enough to submit a known list for the elections to the first term of the councils and the sixth term of the parliament.

The Freedom Movement

The Freedom Movement was formed in 1960 from a merger of two national and religious factions. In the suffocating conditions after the coup d'état of August 19, 1943, when the National Front dissolved under the leadership of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh, a number of opponents gathered under the name of "National Resistance Movement" and started some activities to keep the National Movement alive. These people included two prominent clerics named Ayatollah Seyyed Mahmoud Taleghani and Ayatollah Seyyed Reza Zanjani and some national-religious forces such as Yadollah Sobhani, Mehdi Bazargan, Mansour, Rahim Ataiee, and Hassan Nazieh. From this group, the Iranian Liberation Movement was founded on May 17, 1971.²⁶

This organization is essentially based on the ideas of Dr. Mossadegh. According to Bazargan and their motto of the movement was, "We Muslims, Iranians, are loyal to the constitution and Mossadegh." ²⁷

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²⁶ Jafarian, R., Religious-Political Currents and Organizations of Iran, p. 342.

²⁷ Soltani, M. (1984), Compromise Khat, Tehran: Farhang Islamic Publishing House, p. 252.

Their stated principles refer to being Muslim, but Islam is not a comprehensive school with specific goals and programs; rather, being Muslim is seen as a motivation and a factor used in political activities.

In fact, the ideology of the religious liberals and the freedom movement was nothing but nationalist thinking, and it was only on certain issues and because of intra-group differences and the use of religion in Iranian politics that Bazargan and his comrades-in- arms formed the religious wing of the National Front. They organized it under the name of the Freedom Movement. Politically, the view of the religious liberals did not differ much from that of the secular liberals, and despite their emphasis on the political nature of Islam and the involvement of religion in politics, their ultimate goal was a democratic and liberal government.²⁸

About the essence of the freedom movement, Bazargan says: "For us it was an intellectual basis, a stimulus and a reason for our social and political activities ... The national movement lacked an ideological basis, it lacked an ideological character; it was a political movement with anti-colonial and anti-authoritarian demands." ²⁹The presence of Ayatollah Taleghani among the members of the movement brought it closer to the clergy and the original religious principles, but the Freedom Movement gradually distanced itself from the clergy both socially and politically during its active life. The leaders of the movement played an important role in the formation of the Revolutionary Council and the provisional government because of their religious background.

The activities of the Iranian Freedom Movement after the victory of the Islamic Revolution can be divided into several periods:

1. The first period 1979-1994

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²⁸ Amiri, J. (2008), Iranian Liberalism, a survey of right-wing currents in Iran, Tehran, Islamic Culture and Thought Research Institute, pp. 260-261.

²⁹ Bazargan, M. (1996), Sixty Years of Service and Resistance, Tehran: Rasa Cultural Services Institute, vol.1, p.370.

This period covers the peak of the movement's activities and extends to the death of Bazargan, the movement's founder.

Khomeini's appointment of Bazargan as prime minister of the provisional government can be considered the first prominent and significant activity of the Freedom Movement in the post-revolutionary period. Although Khomeini appointed Bazargan without regard to his political affiliation, in practice it was completely different, and Bazargan handed over all key positions to his colleagues and those whose ideas were similar to his political party.

In general, it can be said that the Provisional Government was not revolutionary in character and did not believe in replacing revolutionary methods and strategies for governing the country with outdated methods. As a result, the first clash occurred between the revolutionary committees and Bazargan, which was, as Bazargan described it, a government within another government. The interim government even objected to the work of the Revolutionary Council and believed in the withdrawal of the clergy from the affairs of the country.

When Muslim students who were supporters of the Imam's line stormed the U.S. Embassy in Tehran, their action was met with disapproval by the interim government. For this reason, and because of the increase in conflict and misunderstanding, Bazargan resigned.

The attitude of Bazargan and the Freedom Movement toward Bani Sadr and his entourage was contradictory. A few months before the first presidential elections, Bazargan had explicitly stated that with Bani Sadr's presence on the Revolutionary Council, he would no longer be a member of the council. The Freedom Movement supported Dr. Hassan Habibi in the presidential election, but the election results had a significant impact on the attitude of Bazargan and his allies. The sense that the Imam's line was weakened after the election of Bani Sadr increased the Freedom Movement's greed to return to power through parliament. After the

election of Bazargan and Yazdi in the first round of the first parliamentary elections, the secretary general of the Freedom Movement issued a statement and announced Massoud Rajavi "the representative of the passionate faction of young believers" and asked people to vote for him. ³⁰

This action, which was immediately met with sharp reactions from the Imam, showed that Bazargan was ready to lead all elements opposed to the Imam into a parliamentary battle. Some other members of the Freedom Movement later issued statements in support of Bazargan's declaration and endorsed the proposal.³¹

Despite Bazargan's large share of the vote in the first round, the people did not give in to his demand. At the height of their activities, Bazargan, Sahabi (Yadollah and Ezatullah), Ebrahim Yazdi, Ahmad Sadr Haj Seyyed Javadi, Azam Taleghani, Ali Akbar Moinfar, Mohammad Tavassoli, Sabbaghian, Golzadeh Ghafouri, and Kazem Sami were able to be sent to parliament with the people's votes and form an active minority faction. This faction could not even hold on until the end of the first legislative term.

Only after this incident did Bazargan and his allies in parliament fully support the Bani Sadr faction. Although the Freedom Movement always claimed to be neutral on the Bani-Sadr issue, it held a demonstration at Tehran's Amjadieh Stadium a week before March 5, 1980. At this demonstration, which was accompanied by slogans against the Republicans, Bazargan accused Raja'i of supporting only one group (the Islamic Republic Party) and disregarding the rights and duties of the president (Bani Sadr). The Investigative Committee also pointed to the culpability of the Mizan newspaper (the organ of the Freedom Movement). Bazargan continued his support for Bani-Sadr until the last weeks of his presidency, when Bani-Sadr's violations came to light.

³⁰ "Shahrvand" the weekly newspaper, Number 52, 1980

^{31 &}quot;Keyhan" newspaper, 1980

The worst attack of this group on the Islamic system is found in a leaflet entitled "The Analysis of the Absolute Jurisprudence of the Supreme Leader", in which the author of this leaflet had presented the absolute jurisprudence "from the perspective of the Koran" as "unfounded". In this leaflet, the Freedom Movement completely rejects the Velayat according to the rule of the Prophet. It seems that this group has forgotten that when Bazargan was appointed Prime Minister of the interim government by Imam Khomeini, he considered obedience to the Imam's judgment as his religious and ideological duty. However, the regime's toleration of this group went nowhere until the Imam finally officially announced the non-recognition of the Freedom Movement in response to Seyyed Ali Akbar Mohtashamipour's letter, "After the resignation and removal of the interim government, the Freedom Movement has constantly confused the people by opposing the government of the Islamic Republic, the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and even the judiciary".

In response to Mr. Mohtashamipour's letter, the imam said, "... This movement, as well as its performance in the interim government, testify that the so-called freedom movement is a serious supporter of Iran's dependence on the United States and has not abandoned any efforts in this regard ... Based on the frequent meetings of the members of the movement, whether in their own homes or in the U.S. Embassy, the so-called freedom movement is not qualified to interfere in any governmental, legislative or judicial affairs, and since they pretend to act according to Islam and try to deceive our dear youth, and also cause unnecessary interference in the interpretation of the Holy Quran and the noble hadiths, they will cause harm to themselves, even more than the "hypocrites." Since the so-called freedom movement and its members are trying to mislead many people who are not aware of their sinister intentions, they should not be officially recognized."³²

2. The second period from 1994 so far

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³² Imam's "Sahifeh", vol. 20 pp. 479-480

After Bazargan's death, Ebrahim Yazdi was elected as the secretary general of the party. The main approaches of the Freedom Movement during the tenure of Secretary General Ebrahim Yazdi are: The creation of revisionist views under the pretext of holding a ceremony in honor of Bazargan and Sahabi, the dissemination of secular thoughts about the separation of religion and politics, the disregard for the constitution and the principle of Velayat-e-Faqih, the issuance of statements and letters to undermine the foundations of the system, the organization and centralization of oppositional currents in the form of a national-religious framework to oppose the system, and the call to boycott the elections.

After May 23, 1997, this group tried to use the opportunity for its subversive goals. Some groups that emerged from the Freedom Movement, who were fierce critics of Bazargan and his allies during the interim government, had no choice but to join the Freedom Movement in the following years, but at the same time were unwilling to operate under the leadership of Mehdi Bazargan, Ebrahim Yazdi, and others.

This group continued its activities during the July 1999 unrest. Ebrahim Yazdi, the leader of the group Socialist parties such as the Tudeh Party, Ummat, the Mojahedin Organization (Sazman-e Mojahedin-e Khalq), and the Fedayeen Guerrilla Organization (Sazman-e Cherik-e Fada'i), which are associated with Marxist thought, are based on public ownership and reject the capitalist system. Although nationalists, liberals, and leftists were religious and at times attempted to harmonize with the Iranian religious community, they are referred to as an eclectic movement due to the dominance of nationalist, liberal, and Marxist ideas and the influence of Western principles. Therefore, these parties have been studied under the category of socialist parties.

The Tudeh Party

The Tudeh Party is the main representative of the leftist and Marxist thought in Iran. The establishment of the Tudeh Party dates back to 1941, which coincided with the occupation of Iran by British and Soviet troops and the overthrow of the government of Reza Khan.

The Tudeh Party promises to establish several organizations, including military organizations, youth organizations, the Democratic Women's Organization, and the United Central Workers' Union, to attract various social and political elements and utilize different capacities in the country's cultural, social, labor, political, and scientific fields and establish satellite bases to strengthen the party. By publishing newspapers, organizing demonstrations and activities in the political, cultural and social fields in different sectors and among different strata and classes, the Party has gained a wide range of forces with different spectrums to be involved in Party activities in these groups. ³³

After the realignment and escalation of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union, the party, instead of taking seriously the popular struggles for the nationalization of industry, advised the formation of a workers' movement and emphasized the struggle against American imperialism. During the August 19 coup, the Tudeh Party, despite having hundreds of officers and military forces and weaponry, could have played an effective role in fighting the coup, but took a passive stance and took no steps in this regard. This later led to criticism and contestation. After a change in Soviet policy toward Iran and an improvement in relations with Iran, the party's leaders emigrated to East Germany. ³⁴

The party's activities in the 1960s and 1970s were concentrated mainly in the Eastern bloc and were limited to issuing a statement, establishing a radio station

³³ Ahmadi Hajiklai, H., Left Currentism in Iran, pp. 191-192.

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³⁴ Ahmadi Hajiklai, H., Left Currentism in Iran, pp. 217-216

abroad, and some small underground activities in the country. The organization remained secret in Iran until the victory of the Islamic Revolution. ³⁵

The Tudeh Party's activities were mainly based on loyal and legitimate opposition to the Islamic Republic and promoting closer relations of the country with the Soviet Union. In general, the activities of the Tudeh Party in the Islamic Republic of Iran can be divided into four periods:

- Transfer period

After the victory of Islamic Revolution in 1978 and thanks to the open political space and freedoms, the members of Tudeh Party saw a suitable ground for reactivation and returned to Iran and created the ground for the reorganization of the party.

- The period of reorganization

Immediately after the victory of the Islamic Revolution, the Tudeh Party announced its reactivation in Iran, and the first issue of the "Mardom" newspaper was published in Tehran in March. From the beginning of 1979, this party recruited all those who wanted to return to Iran and joined both public and clandestine organizations. During this period, the party pursued a dual strategy: while pretending to be a supporter of Islamic Revolution, it went beyond that by organizing secret groups and planning to infiltrate the military and recruit members. Its goal was to lay a foundation for confrontation with the regime, as Mehdi Partovi, the head of Navid's secret organization and a member of the party's central committee, admits: 'The ultimate goal of the party, like all communist parties in the world, was to seize power and create a socialist society

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³⁵ Fawzi, Y. (2000), Political and social developments after the Islamic revolution in Iran, Tehran: Institute for editing and publishing the works of Imam Khomeini, vol.1, pp. 121-123.

on the model of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and to turn Iran into one of the Soviet satellites.³⁶

- The stabilization period

In this period, the party tried to distinguish itself as a "strategic" supporter of the Imam, and taking a stand against the "Democratic Party of Kurdistan", Bazargan tried to strengthen its position by supporting the capture of the spy cave and claiming participation in the sacred defense.

- The period of collapse

The party's actions and policies paved the way for its downfall. When the party's clandestine military activities were finally exposed, some of its leaders were arrested. In May 1983, the Prosecutor General's Office issued a statement announcing the dissolution of the party. [The public trial of the members of the Tudeh Party's military organization and the exposure of the party leadership and the officials and members of the military organization in court led to a deeper collapse of the political and intellectual positions of the remnants of the Tudeh Party. By recording and broadcasting the confessions and interviews of the party leaders, the intelligence agencies tried to inform the supporters and members of this party and prepare the ground for their return to the fold of the revolution. In a television interview, Kianouri expressed regret and called on other passionate young people who had joined the Tudeh Party to fight imperialism to sever their ties with that party.

Some of the arrested elements, while explaining the history of the Tudeh Party in their interviews, confessed their obvious betrayal and how they were influenced by the

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³⁶ Modir Shane Chi, M. (2014), Confessions of the Leaders of the Tudeh Party of Iran, Tehran: Islamic Propaganda Organization, p. 85.

Thus, after the collapse of the Tudeh Party most of its members changed their course by surrendering to the judicial and disciplinary centers of the country, and the Islamic Republic regime of Iran in turn tried its best to provide them with a way to return to the country. Some other members of the Tudeh Party and the People's Fedayeen (majority) allied with the Tudeh Party left the country and settled in the West as "political refugees" under the protection of the Red Cross or beyond the Soviet borders. They fled and settled mainly in Baku. ³⁷

Those members of the Tudeh Party who went to the West received salaries from those countries as political refugees and were, in effect, in the service of those countries. Many of them left the Tudeh Party and joined other counterrevolutionary groups. But the members who fled to the Soviet Union had a painful fate. They were under constant pressure from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, were in a poor financial situation, and were severely repressed by the Soviet Union. There were violent protests against Soviet security. Eventually, many of them fled to the West, where they sought refuge at the United Nations and shared their memories of terrible living conditions in the Soviet Union. The financial and moral corruption of party leaders, which led to internal conflicts among members and forced the refugees, including women, girls, doctors, engineers, sociologists, and teachers, to work hard, were part of the suffering of Iranian refugees in the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. ³⁸ From time to time, hoever, there were still publications under the title of the Tudeh Party of Iran.

Socialist Theists

In the 1940s, there was a group of religious youth who worked with national political groups and sought justice. They were strongly influenced by socialist

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³⁷ Tudeh party: from formation to collapse, a group of researchers, Tehran: Institute of Political Studies and Research, p.863

³⁸ Tudeh party: from formation to collapse, a group of researchers, Tehran: Institute of Political Studies and Research, p.892

ideas and tried to reconcile the righteous teachings of Islam with socialism. The so-called God-fearing Socialists were the result of these tendencies and efforts. The group was founded by students and religious intellectuals such as Jalaluddin Ashtiani and Mohammad Nakhshab. This group worked with the Party of Iran for a time, but separated in 1952. They were supporters of Mossadegh and played an active role in the formation of the National Resistance Movement and the formation of the Second National Front after the August 19 coup. From 1963, like many other political groups opposed to the regime, they began to think of armed struggle and organized themselves under the name "Revolutionary Movement of Iranian Muslims" (JAMA).

However, in 1965 they were identified and disbanded by the security services, and their leaders were imprisoned. Some of their members joined the Mojahedin Khalq organization. With the outbreak of the revolution, the Jama resumed its activities, and Dr. Sami, who was the minister of health in the provisional government, became its leader. After the dissolution of JAMA, activities continued in a limited form under the leadership of Dr. Peyman.³⁹

While the students refused to invite many prominent figures to the Liberation Movement Conference, people like Habibullah Peyman were invited to speak at the conference. Peyman's strategy at this point was to separate Khomeini from his companions, whom he called "reactionaries." Despite his past and current situation, he had tried to appear as an anti-liberal figure. He repeatedly called for the disclosure of the "links of the freedom movement with the United States."

Considering that those who sided with Khomeini were not analytical thinkers, the "Peyman" group had set out to undermine Khomeini's party by frequently expressing their attachment to it. It seems that the influence of the "nationalists" on the Imam line, which played an effective role in the factions of the following

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³⁹ Fawzi, Y., Political and social developments after the Islamic revolution in Iran, previous, pp. 109 110 and Mozafari, A., current affairs of contemporary Iran, pp. 75-76.

years, was rooted in the actions of the "Peyman" group. Although they hypocritically tried to side with the Imam Line, one could gather from the tone of some of their statements that they were deeply concerned about the centrality of the struggle against the United States in Khomeini's party. A month after the occupation of the spy den and after the revelation of documents on American anger against the supporters of the Imam Line, the newspaper Ummat warned that one-sidedness in the anti-imperialist struggle would lead to no other result than compromise with the imperialists. Regarding the Cultural Revolution, the militant Muslim movement stated that it fully recognizes the need for a cultural revolution: "We believe that this movement must be carried by young Muslim revolutionaries from below." This stance of the Habibullah Peyman group was important because, on the one hand, its supporters maintained good relations with Monafeghin and, on the other hand, they managed to infiltrate some Islamic associations.

It seems that the real concern of this movement was the central role of Islamic leaders in the Cultural Revolution. From the point of view of the militant Muslims and the Monafeghins, suffice it to say that the Monafeghins also spoke of the "revolutionary pedagogical reconstruction of the country through elected councils," with the difference that the Monafeghins called the Muslim students "opportunists" who regarded the Cultural Revolution as supporting the enemy and imperialism. The Jama group, led by Kazem Sami, also saw revolutionary change in the education system as necessary, but asserted, "In a situation where the nation is at war with imperialism, there is no need for fundamental change in universities."

In the first round of elections to the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the militant Muslim movement selected members such as Massoud Rajavi, Mehdi Abrishamchi, Mohammad Shanehchi, etc., as candidates and presented them as "progressive and academic candidates who are serious about the currents of deviation." However, the true nature of these people and their rejection of the Imam and Islam are quite obvious."

Mojahedin Khalq Organization

This organization was founded in 1961 by three students from Tehran University who had previously been members of the Freedom Movement and had a religious orientation. Mohammad Hanif nejad, Saeed Mohsen and Hassan Nikbin, known as Abdi, were the core founders of the Mojahedin.

By 1965, the core members of the organization expanded as: Hanif Nejad, Saeed Mohsen, Badi'zadegan, Ali Bakeri, Bahman Bazargani, Mahmoud Askarizadeh, Nasser Sadegh, Nasrollah Ismailzadeh, Hossein Rouhani and Ali Mihandust. ⁴⁰These members had strong religious and revolutionary tendencies. Religious gatherings on Qur'an and Nahj al-Balaghah were among the regular programs of these young people. Some, however, had an implicit tendency toward a socialist reading of Islam.

The founders of this organization were influenced on the one hand by the modern and scientific interpretations of the leaders of the freedom movement and on the other hand by the experiences of the Marxist revolutionaries in different parts of the world. Merchant's emphasis on the scientific nature of religious teachings convinced them that there was no contradiction between religious beliefs and scientific laws. However, they were also gradually influenced by Marxist ideas, and so the Mojahedin took steps to combine some of the views of Marxism with Islamic beliefs. For example, they based Marx's theory of "surplus value" on their "Islamic economics" and combined it with their interpretation of the Quran and Islamic traditions. As Marxist culture became more widespread among the Shah's opponents, the part of Islamic beliefs that seemed to agree with Marxist ideas was emphasized and taught more by the Mojahedin, and the other part - which showed no such agreement - was abandoned. In fact, the principles of Marxism were

 $^{^{\}rm 40}$ Jafarian, R. , Iran's religious-political currents and organizations, pp. 382-383.

recognized as the science of struggle or the "science of the evolution of society" and the line between this Marxist worldview and Islam was blurred.⁴¹

The aggravation of Marxist tendencies against Islamic views prompted the Marxists to purge the Mojahedin of its religious elements. Among the murdered members of the organization was "Sharif Vaqefi", after whom Sharif University of technology is named.

In 1971, the organization attempted to assassinate key elements and personalities of the regime as well as some foreign advisors, based on the policy of armed warfare. Their first military operation in August 1971 was to disrupt the 2,500th anniversary imperial celebrations by bombing electrical installations in Tehran and attempting to hijack an Iranian airliner; these acts led to the arrest and execution of a number of their key members.

A close examination of the theoretical works of the Mojahedin, including "Their Little Book of Knowledge," "Economy in Simple Language," "The Way of Hussein, Evolution, the Way of the Prophets, the Way of Man," shows that this organization has profound theoretical problems and conflicts. As a result, the organization concluded that it should abandon Islam and put Marxism at the center of its ideologies, so much so that Taghi Shahram, a member of the organization's central cadre, said, "Everywhere we have tried to create problems with Islam, we have failed."

In September 1975, a statement was issued by some members of the Mojahedin about the ideological change in the organization: "After four years of armed struggle and two years of ideological debate, we have come to the conclusion that Marxism is the only real philosophy of the revolution. At first we thought we could combine Marxism and Islam and accept the philosophy of the algebra of history without materialism and dialectics, but now we realize that such an idea is

⁴¹ Abrahamian, E. (1982) Iran Between Two Revolutions

impossible ... We have chosen Marxism because it is the right way to liberate the working class from domination. Since Islam, because of its belief in God, prophecy and resurrection, cannot be among the rising forces of human society and pave the way for the final victory of the oppressed working class, a complete rejection of all exploitation and oppression cannot be achieved in Islam. ⁴²

After the arrest of members of the organization by SAVAK in July 1975, the arrested leaders of the organization officially and explicitly stated in a television interview that they were not only Marxists, but that the organization also had a Marxist ideology and conviction. They explained that they had been Marxists for many years and that, as Marxists, they had taught Marxist thoughts and ideas to the members of the organization. To the astonishment of the hundreds of Muslim believers who had sacrificed their lives for the organization, the leaders of the organization confessed that they had killed the members of the organization who had remained faithful to Islam and protested against the Marxist leadership. ⁴³

This confession not only broke the sanctity of the Mojahedin, but also paved the way for the secession of other religious elements from the organization. Nevertheless, Massoud Rajavi and his other religious companions who led the Mojahedin in prison continued to insist on a strategic alliance with the Mojahedin. The developments and the coup d'état of 1975 were very valuable for SAVAK, as it managed to arrest many members of the organization and use the information gained to dismantle the organization. ⁴⁴

One of the blows against the Marxist current was the issuance of the "Imam" Fatwa, which stated, " Considering the losses caused by the coexistence of

⁴² Mojahedin Organization of Iran, statement announcing the ideological positions of the organization, pp. 241-246.

⁴³ Ziba Kalam, S. (1993), Introduction to the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Tehran: Rosenha, pp. 264.

⁴⁴ Ziba Kalam, S. (1993), Introduction to the Islamic Revolution of Iran, Tehran: Rosenha, pp. 267.

209

Muslims with Marxists and the social prestige they gain from it, and taking into account all religious and political aspects and the final verdict on the impurity of the infidels, including Marxists, the separation of Muslims from Marxists in prison is necessary. And any negligence in this matter will cause irreparable damage. ⁴⁵

After the issuance of this fatwa, a number of other small groups such as Mansourun, Falaq, Movahedin, Saf, Abu Dharr, etc., which typically scattered in the cities and were affiliated with the Mojahedin, broke off their cooperation with the organization and established their Islamic positions. Seven groups of them, including the United Nation, Tawhid Badr, Tawhid Saf, Falah, Falaq, Mansourun, and Movahedin formed the Mojahedin Organization of the Islamic Revolution after the revolution and tried to resume its political life.

In this context, a considerable group of members and activists of the organization, who supported the Marxist current within the organization, acted as the Marxist branch of the Mojahedin Khalqand after the revolution, this group abandoned the name of the Mojahedin and operated under the name Peykar Organization for the liberation of the working class.

The Nationalists' Party:

The Nationalist Party was founded in 1958 by Dr. Manouchehr Eghbal, the prime minister at the time. This party played the role of the majority (it had the majority of seats in parliament), while the People's Party was the minority. As the ruling party, the Nationalist Party was launched with the royal encouragement and help of the then prime minister as its chairman. In the inaugural meeting convened to

⁴⁵ Rouhani, S. H. (1993), Imam Khomeini's movement, Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documentation Center, vol. 3, pp. 723.

appoint Dr. Nosrat Allah Kasemi as the chairman of the party in place of Egbal, the Shah explained the reason for the establishment of this party as follows: I think that we should have political parties in Iran. The "People's Party" was founded as a minority party. Now we need a party that is the majority. And that is your task. There will be complications, but you must try to form political parties in the country. If you are the majority, you should govern the country, and Alam, as a minority, should serve as a critic. Among the political activities of the party, in addition to the attempts to form political parties at the end of 1958, the ceremony of March 9, the procession to the shrine of Reza Shah on March 5 (the date of Reza Shah's birth), the electoral victory of Red Shir Khorshid in Tabriz, the active presence of Egbal and Naser (the Minister of Finance) in parliament among the deputies of the parties, and the talks on Iran's decision to lower the price of oil.

Overall, in 1958, one could observe the gradual growth of the party of nationalists in Iran and especially in Tehran. Various political organizations also emerged and developed. In 1959, the Nationalist Party actively participated in all celebrations and occasions related to the Pahlavi government.

The party's primary goal was to show popular support for the Pahlavi regime and to emphasize its acceptance by the Iranian people. These two central goals of the party in 1959 were achieved at the expense of the effort to plan and provide facilities and supplies and the time of the party's leaders and active members. Thus, the Nationalist Party had fewer opportunities to engage in other political activities, compete with rival parties, or devote time and energy to developing the party's political organization.

The Nationalist Party's greatest success as a majority party also meant its disintegration. In the Twentieth Parliamentary Elections held in July 1960, when Egbal was Prime Minister, most of the elected deputies belonged to the Nationalist Party, which led to objections from both the People's Party and other parties that had participated in the election. Numerous objections and complaints from various political figures and forces about the election process and fraud prompted Shah to

express his dissatisfaction with the twentieth round of parliamentary elections in a press conference on August 27, 1960, and therefore to order the cancelation of the election. Two days later, on August 29, 1960, Egbal submitted his resignation to Shah and the press after Shah disapproved of the election. As a result, the Nationalist Party was virtually The right emotions to find and the appropriate transactions depend on factors such as context, timeline, and the environment in which the narrative is set.

Since time can be experienced emotionally and is a prerequisite for finding the right term, the following is a chronological account of the main events related to the 1978-1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran that are relevant to the subject of this study.

B. TURKISH SUMMARY/TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Giriş:

1978-1979 İran İslam Devrimi (şimdiye kadar IIR olarak kısaltıldı) olarak bilinen ayaklanma, 7 Ocak 1978'de dini şehir Qum'da başladı ve 12 Şubat 1979'da 2500 yıllık monarşik rejimin ölümüne yol açtı. 1979 yazının sonlarına doğru, entelektüellerin ve orta sınıf vatandaşların hüsnükuruntularının aksine, ülkede tam teşekküllü bir teokrasi kuruldu. Din adamlarının bu kolay zaferi görünüşte rasyonel düşünceye meydan okurken, bir açıklama bulmak için bazı komplo teorileri ortaya çıktı. Bu konuda ünlü bir örnek, "Ayandegan" gazetesinde yayınlanan "Amerikalıların Kademeli Geri Çekilmesinin Gizemi" (Orphan, 1979) başlıklı bir makaledir. Makale, şu soruyu yanıtlamayı amaçlıyordu: "Ortadoğu'daki en güçlü ordu, nasıl oldu da silah imalat fabrikasını halkın saldırısına karşı savunma zahmetine girmedi ve sadece 36 saat içinde teslim oldu?" Açık cevap, "Amerika böyle planladı" idi. Açıkçası, yazar yukarıdaki komployu, Amerika'yı insanların davranışlarını doğru bir şekilde tahmin edebilen son derece zeki bir varlık olarak hayal ederek haklı çıkarmaktadır. İddiaları için herhangi bir kanıt sunmamasına rağmen, makale İranlılar tarafından o kadar iyi karşılandı ki, gazeteyi satın almak için acele ettiler ve yayıncı talebi karşılamak için konuyu yeniden basmak zorunda kaldı. İlginçtir ki, makalenin konusu IIR liderliği için bile çekiciydi; Zaferlerinden bir ay sonra, Devrim Konseyi'nin bir üyesi bir röportajında (Mofatteh, 1979) rejimin çöktüğünü ve aniden cephaneliklerin kapılarını açtıklarını belirtmişti. Polisin ve ordunun tarafsız kalması bir komploydu. Hapishanelerin kapılarını açtılar. Suçlular serbest bırakıldı. Plan, insanların birbirleriyle savaşmasını sağlamaktı.

Yıllar boyunca, birçok aktivist ayaklanma gününü özlemişti, ancak gerçekten gerçekleştiğinde, herkes şaşırdı. Şah bile, devrilmesine yol açan olaylarda yabancıların rolüne değinmişti: "İran'dan ayrıldıktan sonra, General Huyser birkaç günlüğüne İran'a geri döndü. Sonra ne oldu? Tek şey, General Amir Hussein Rabii'ye, idamından önceki duruşmadan önce General Huyser'in rolü hakkında soru sorulmasıdır. Hakime, "General Huyser, imparatoru ölü bir fare gibi ülke

dışına attı" (Pehlevi, 1980) Aslında, Huyser'in misyonunun, Amerikan askeri danışmanlarının İran'dan güvenli ve hızlı bir şekilde tahliye edilmesinin ötesine geçtiğine dair hiçbir işaret yoktur. Yine de insanlar makaleyi benimsediler çünkü beklenmedik bir sonucu rasyonelleştirmek ve tartışmalar sırasında buna atıfta bulunmak için bir şeye ihtiyaçları vardı. İlginçtir ki, bu bakış açısı, toplumsal hareketleri rasyonel, demokratik ve politik mücadeleler olarak nitelendirme eğiliminde olan o zamanki hakim akademisyenlerle bir şekilde uyumluydu (Yang, 2007).

İran'ın 1979 İslam Devrimi farklı bakış açılarından incelenmiş ve analiz edilmiştir. Halliday (1982), İran devrimini özgün olarak görür ve iki işleve hizmet etmesindeki özgünlüğünün nedenini açıklar; aynı zamanda İran tarihinin şemasına asimilasyonunu önlerken, aynı zamanda mevcut ve tarihsel açıklamaların uygulanamayacağı düzeyde tam bir özgünlüğü de engeller. Halliday, İran devriminin yeniliğini, dinin sonuçlarında oynadığı rolde tanımladı. İran devrimini, tarihte baskın dini ideolojileri kullanarak örgütler kurmayı başarabilecek ilk devrim olarak ayırt etti. Bununla birlikte, dini vurgunun yanı sıra, Halliday, aşağıdakiler de dahil olmak üzere diğer ideolojik faktörleri tanımladı; Birincisi, Humeyni'nin yönergelerini daha önceki siyasi ve sosyal modellere gerileme olarak tanımladığı ve moderniteye karşı olduğu için İranlıların ilerlemeyi reddetmesi, ikinci ideolojik faktör, Humeyni'nin ekonomik faktörlerin devrimde rol oynamasına rağmen, ekonomik ve maddi faktörlere karşı kemer sıkma ve dini bağlılığı teşvik etme girişimidir. Üçüncüsü ulusal kimliğe çok az vurgu yapmak, dördüncüsü tarihin reddedilmesidir. Halliday, Humeyni'nin önceki tüm muhalif liderleri göz ardı ettiğini ve onları meşruiyetinin önündeki engeller olarak gördüğünü ve Halliday'e göre son ideolojik faktörün, Humeyni'nin tüm iktidarın halkın değil, fakih ve diğer dini otoritelerin elinde olduğunu ilan etmesi nedeniyle demokrasi eksikliği olduğunu tartışıyor. Ancak Halliday, devrimin dini yönünün yanı sıra, devrimin tüccarlardan toplumun kent yoksulu kesimine kadar farklı toplumsal grupların ittifakıyla yapıldığına ve seferberliklerinin nedeninin karizmatik bir lider altında diktatörlüğe karşı savaşmak olduğuna inanmaktadır. Halliday'in İran devrimini popülist bir hareket olarak görmesinin nedeni budur.

Misagh Parsa (2009) İran devriminin ideolojik yönü konusunda da benzer bir fikre sahiptir. Bununla birlikte, Misagh, devletin kırılganlığına ve nihayetinde Şah'ın devrilmesine yol açan kilit faktörlerden biri olarak devlet ve onun politik ekonomi ile ilişkisi de dahil olmak üzere diğer bazı değişkenleri de dile getirdi. Misagh, Bazaaris'in ekonomiden en çok etkilenen sınıf olduğunu ve bu nedenle Tahran Çarşısı'nın tüccar, lonca ve zanaatkarlar topluluğu olan SMGATB'yi kurduklarını ve on yıllarca seferberliklerin ön saflarında yer aldıklarını savunuyor. Bazaaris'in protestoları esas olarak siyasi ve diktatörlüğe karşıydı. Daha sonra secula, liberal, laik ve ulusal grupları da desteklediler. Misagh Parsa, din adamlarının hükümete karşı protestoların ilk aşamalarında sessiz kaldıklarını, ancak Humeyni yanlısı din adamlarının başkalarını Aşura mitinglerine katılmaya davet ettikten sonra, binlerce başka klarjileri emebileceklerini açıkladı. Misagh Parsa, farklı repertuarların ve farklı sosyal sınıfların ve farklı taleplere sahip grupların harekete katıldığını, ancak hiçbirinin teokrasinin kurulmasını istemediğini savunuyor.

Assef Bayat (2017), siyasal İslam'ın ve Ali Şeriati'nin düşüncelerinin İran'ın 1979 devrimini desteklediğine ve hareketin başlangıcında İslamcılar ile solcular arasında bir koalisyon olduğuna inanıyor. Ancak Bayat, bu devrimin daha sonra İslamcılar tarafından gasp edildiğini açıklıyor.

İdeolojilerin, Şii ritüellerinin ve İslami ideolojilerin devrimde önemli bir rolü olduğu açıktır. "Muharrem ve Safer'in lütfuyla İslam hayatta kalır. Muharrem ve Safer aylarını, Hz. Peygamber'in hanesinin başına gelen felaketleri anlatarak canlı tutmalıyız. Bu dinin bu tarihe kadar yaşamış olması böyle bir zikir ve yas ile olmuştur" (Humeyni, 1969: 8), İslam devriminin kurucusu Humeyni de böyle demiştir. Karakteristik olarak cilasız ve arkaik dilini kullanarak söylediği bu ve benzeri beyanlar gerçekten gerçekti. Sadece birkaç yıl önce, İslam peygamberinin torunu Hüseyin'in ölümünü anan Muharrem'in İslami ay ayının onuncu gününde (MS 10 Ekim 680), iki milyon gösterici Tahran sokaklarına dökülmüş ve ilk kez solcu göstericilerin sesini "Sadece Hizbullah'ı (Allah'ın partisi) partisi" diye bağırarak boğmuştu. Sadece Ruhullah (Humeyni) lideri.

20. yüzyılın ortalarına kadar, İmam Hüseyin'in 7. yüzyıldaki şehadetinin hikayesi yenilgi ve umutsuzluk hikayesiydi. Bununla birlikte, Humeyni takipçilerini sadece daha önce olduğu gibi ölümünün yasını tutmaya değil, aynı zamanda toplumlarını değiştirmek için onun örneğini takip etmeye çağırdı. Dolayısıyla Hüseyin gibi savaşmak, İran'daki İslam devrimi için toplanma çığlığıydı. Örneğin, 4 Eylül 1978 Kurban Bayramı'nda, İran İslam devriminin doruk noktasına ulaşmasından beş ay önce, 100.000 İranlı İran'da Şah'a karşı yürüdü. Bunu, kendilerini devrim için ölmeye hazır olduklarını sembolize eden düz beyazla örterek yaptılar. Bu etkinlik sırasında yürüyüşçüler "Şah'a ölüm" gibi radikal sloganlar attılar, böylece göstericiler hükümetin ilan ettiği reform yerine devrim talep ederek hükümetten bir adım öne geçtiler. (Parsa, 1989). Geriye dönük olarak konuşursak, olay ayaklanmayı Şii ritüelleriyle iç içe geçirmesi açısından önemlidir.

Ritüellerin önemine ilişkin olarak, Steven Pfaff ve Yang, siyasi anmaları ritüel uygulamalar olarak görüyor ve belirli koşullar altında bu uygulamaların otoriter rejimlerde protestoyu harekete geçirmek için neden kullanılabileceğini açıklıyor. Onların argümanı, sosyal ritüellerin iki ucu keskin karakteri, protesto sahnelemek için ritüellerin kullanımı ve ayrıca kolektif eylemde sembolik kaynaklar olarak politik anmaların teorik bir tartışması yoluyla geliştirilmiştir (Pfaff ve Yang, 2001).

Öte yandan Kamran Aghaie, Kerbela paradigmasının sosyal, politik ve dini söylemlerdeki çeşitli uyarlamalarını analiz etti. 1960 ve 70'lerin siyasi ortamının Şah rejimine karşı açık düşmanlığın artmasına yol açması ve Pehlevi rejiminin Kerbela'nın dini sembolizmini etkin bir şekilde kullanamaması nedeniyle bu sembolizmin muhalif bir kaynak haline geldiğini belirtti. Bulgularına göre, Kerbela anlatısı, değişen siyasi eğilimlere yanıt olarak gelişebilen esnek bir semboller kümesi olmuştur "(Aghaie, 1993).

Ustaca analitik olan makalelerden biri Hamid Dabashi (Bir Protesto Tiyatrosu Olarak Ta'ziyeh) tarafından yazılanlar, diğeri ise Michel Foucault ve 1979 İran

Devrimi kültürünü tartışan Janet Afary tarafından yazılmıştır. Bu denemeler bize tiyatronun izleyicileri kendi tarihsel bağlamlarında etkileyebilecek bir araç olduğunu hatırlatıyor. Dabashi şöyle diyor: "Ta'ziye'nin en önemli yönü, ortaya çıkan karizmatik Şiilik anını [İman'ın ölümü] araştıran istikrarsızlaştırıcı dramatikleridir. . . . mimetik temsil ve sembolik imalarla tematik olarak canlı tutuldu" (Dabashi, 2005: 181). Temel olarak ta'ziye'yi adaletsiz rejimleri istikrarsızlaştırmada yararlı olan ancak kurulduktan sonra bir siyasi partiyi tam olarak desteklemeyi reddeden bir protesto tiyatrosu olarak tanımlıyor. Okumaları, elbette, Şah'ın veya daha sonra Jimmy Carter'ın kötü Yezid ve Humeyni'nin zulüm gören Hüseyin'le iktidara gelmeden önce özdeşleşmesi olarak imgelerinin yaygın olarak kullanılmasıyla ilgilidir: 1979 İran Devrimi'nin retorik araçları. Dabashi, Hüseyin'in "sürekli bir devrimci"yi temsil ettiğini varsaymaktadır (Dabashi, 2005: 182). Afary (2005), kültür eleştirmeni Michel Foucault'nun İran Devrimi'ne coşkulu desteğini yapıbozuma uğratarak, Hıristiyan pişmanlıklarına olan hayranlığını, devrimcilerin Hüseyin'i anmak için Muharrem ayı ayinlerinde ta'ziyeye el koymalarına ve kırbaçlamalarına olan ilgisine bağlar. Afary (2005), dini kurumlar tarafından sahiplenilen bu güçlü imgelerin, nihayetinde dini liderlerin, solcuların ve diğer partilerin bir araya gelmesiyle başlayan ve hepsinde hükümette bir değişiklik yaratmayı uman bir devrimin kontrolünü nasıl ele geçirdiğini göstermektedir. Afary, Foucault'nun siyaseti basit bir şekilde okumasının, "cihat ve şehitliği toplum bakımının ve gayrimüslimlerin hoşgörüsünün üzerine koyan" unsurları göz ardı ettiğini göstermektedir (Afary, 2005: 224). Şöyle diyor: "Büyük devrim çığının hangi yönde ilerlediği onun için önemli değildi; yolculuğun bir parçası olmak önemliydi" (Afary, 2005: 225).

Chelkowski (1984), ayinlerin daha çok göğüs dayağı, kırbaçlama ve derin yas ile karakterize edilen İran kökenlerinden oldukça uzaklaştığını göstermektedir. Örneğin, Hüseyin'in şehadetinin yıldönümü olan Aşura'yı kutlayan ritüel göğüs dövme, esnekliği belirten siyasi bir ritüele dönüştürüldü. Göğüs dayağı Hüseyin'in cesaretini uyandırdı ve İranlı askerleri savaşta yolunda yürümeye hazırladı. Bu nedenle, ritüeller Humeyni'nin 1979 İran Devrimi'nde başarıya ulaşabileceği ana güç olarak düşünülebilir. Konuşmalarından birinde alıntıladığı gibi: "İmam

Hüseyin'in şehadetinin bilincinde olduğumuz sürece, bir daha asla boyun eğdirmeyi bilemeyeceğiz". Özetle, bazı aydınlar din adamlarının olağanüstü başarısını "devrimi kaçırmak" olarak nitelerken, aslında liberal görüşlü İslamcı aydınlar, Şiiliğin ritüelist yönlerini çağdaş sol hareketlerin sembolleriyle uzlaştırarak bu başarıda önemli bir rol oynamışlardır. Böylece, devrimin ortasında, toplumun alt kademelerinden üyeler de, esas olarak ritüelist unsurların çekiciliği yoluyla devrimcilere katıldılar ve hareketin ideallerini Şeriat egemenliği kurma arayışına dönüştürdüler.

İran 1979 devriminin protestolarının esas olarak örgütlü olmadığı ve halkın ekonomik koşullardan hoşnutsuzluğuna dayandığı açıktır. Bununla birlikte, sosyal hareket teorileri ve akademisyenleri, bu tür hareketleri bastırılması gereken irrasyonel olarak görüyorlardı.

Kitlesel seferberliklerin irrasyonel olarak görülmesinin nedeni, toplumsal hareket teorilerinde ya görmezden gelinen ya da bir tür histeri paniği olarak analiz edilen duygusallığa dayanmalarıydı. Örneğin Le Bon (2002), kalabalık duygularını sinirli, dürtüsel ve bilinçsiz olarak tanımlamıştır. Freud (2014), bireyler bir araya geldiklerinde, tüm içsel uykudaki acımasız içgüdülerinin özgür tatmin bulmak için karıştırıldığını savundu. 1970'lerde, toplumsal hareketlerdeki odak noktası, hareketin nedenini bulmaktan nasıl olduğuna kaymıştır. Ancak 1980'lerden sonra bu boşluğu doldurmak için teorik açıklamalarda değişiklikler yapıldı. Buna göre, modern teorisyenler, Taylor (1995), Groves (1997), Goodwin (1997), Jasper (1997) vb. dahil olmak üzere arzuların ve duyguların rasyonelliğini değerlendirmek için şemalar geliştirdiler. Benzer şekilde, 1979 İran Devrimi'ni incelemek isteyen akademisyenler, protestoların başarısının nedenlerini incelediler. Bununla birlikte, duyguların 1979 İran Devrimi'nde itici bir rol oynayıp oynamadığı sorusunun daha fazla incelenmesi gerekiyor. Ve bu, bu araştırmada ele alınacak olan araştırma çalışmamın hedeflerinden biridir.

Abrahamian'a (1982) göre, İran Devrimi'nin kökleri, Şah'ın muhalif grupları bastırmaya başlayarak otokratik bir devlet kurmaya çalıştığı zamana kadar izlenebilir. Bu, 1949'da bir saldırganın Şah'ı vurmaya çalıştığı ve Şah'ın muhalefet

grubunu suçladığı ve daha sonra sıkıyönetim ilan ettiği, gazeteleri yasakladığı ve Musaddık da dahil olmak üzere politikacıları tutukladığı zaman meydana geldi; Ayrıca Tudeh Partisi'ni yasadışı ilan etti ve örgütleyicilerini öldürdü. Sonuç olarak, orta sınıf tüccarları temsil eden Ayetullah Kashani ve laik, milliyetçi ve sosyal demokrat partiler Musaddık'ın liderliğinde birleşti ve her şeyden önce dürüst seçimler, özgür basın, petrolün millileştirilmesi ve sıkıyönetimin sona ermesini talep eden bir Ulusal Cephe kurdu. Bu Ulusal Cephe iki farklı gücü bir araya getirdi; biri laik entelijansiya, diğeri küçük burjuvaziydi (Fischer, 1982).

Şah kitlesel gösterilerden korktu ve 1951'de Muhammed Musaddık'ı başbakan olarak atadı. İran'ı inşa etmek için gereken zenginliğin daha sonra British Petroleum adını alacak olan İngiliz-İran Şirketi'nin elinde olduğunu gören Musaddık, 20 Mart'ta petrol endüstrisini millileştirdi; Evde oldukça popüler oldu, ancak İngiliz hükümeti için oldukça popüler değildi. ABD Başkanı Eisenhower 1953'te göreve başladığında, İngiltere, Soğuk Savaş bahanesiyle onu Musaddık'ın Komünist Tudeh Partisi'ni desteklediğine ikna edebildi. Sonuç olarak, yeni kurulan CIA, kod adı Ajax Operasyonu olan bir darbe gerçekleştirmek üzere gönderildi. Operasyon başarılı oldu ve Şah iktidara geri döndü. İktidarının yaklaşan 25 yılı boyunca, Şah giderek otokratik hale geldi ve Amerikan CIA ve İsrail MOSSAD'ı tarafından yaratılan gizli servisi (SAVAK), karşı çıkmaya cesaret edenleri hapsederek ve işkence ederek halka korku aşıladı. Tüm siyasi muhalefeti ezdi. Aynı zamanda Şah, modernleşmeye doğru bir adım olarak Beyaz Devrim olarak bilinen bir reform programı tasarladı (Ansari, 2001).

Şah'ın 1963'ten önceki modernleşme programlarından biri de kadınlara oy kullanma hakkı vermekti. Bununla birlikte, din adamları bunu İslam'a aykırı buldular ve Humeyni ve diğer üst düzey din adamları bu yasanın yürürlükten kaldırılması çağrısında bulundular. Şah'ın yeni politikalarının İslam'ı tehlikeye atacağını iddia ettiler ve Şah'ı kitleleri kendisine karşı seferber etmekle tehdit ettiler. Beyaz Devrim, Şah'ın güç tabanını sağlamlaştırmasına yardımcı olmadı, ancak Ruhullah Humeyni'nin önderlik ettiği ve ilham aldığı karşı-devrimci bir

hareketin ortaya çıkmasına yol açtı. Din adamlarının önderlik ettiği bu hareketin üç temel taşı şöyleydi:

- 1. Amerikan karşıtlığı: Şah'ın Amerikan hükümetiyle ilişkisini ve onun yanlısıpolitikalarını kınamak.
- 2. İran milliyetçiliği: Soğuk Savaş bağlarını aşan ve sömürgecilik sonrası bir geleceğe talip olan benzersiz bir ulusal kimliği eleyen; ve
- 3. Dindarlık: İslam'ın toplumda ve hükümette önemli bir rol oynamasını talep etmek.

Bu üç nokta, Humeyni'nin 3 Haziran 1963'te Feyziye Ruhban Okulu'nda yaptığı ve Şah'ı Emevi Halifesi I. Yezid ile karşılaştırdığı ünlü konuşmasının merkezinde yer alıyordu. Bunu yaparken, Humeyni, İmam Hüseyin'in on üç yüzyıl önceki ayaklanmasına neredeyse paralel bir hareketin temelini attı. Şah'tan sefil ve mutsuz bir adam olarak bahsetti ve görüşlerini ve davranışlarını değiştirmezse insanların onu kovacağı günün geleceği konusunda uyardı. Daha sonra, Humeyni'nin destekçileri kutsal Muharrem ayında Şah'ın sarayının önünden geçerek "Diktatöre ölüm" sloganları attılar. İki gün sonra, güvenlik güçleri Humeyni'yi Kum'daki evinde tutukladı ve Kasr Hapishanesi'ne hapsetti. Tutuklanma haberi Kum şehrine ve daha sonra Varamin, Tahran, Meşhed ve Şiraz gibi diğer şehirlere yayıldı. Binlerce öfkeli protestocu polis karakollarına, hükümet binalarına ve SAVAK ofislerine saldırdı.

Ertesi gün, göstericiler Varamin'den Tahran'a doğru "Humeyni'yi serbest bırakın ya da bizi öldürün" sloganları atarak yürümeye başladılar. Askerler, dağılmayı reddeden göstericilere makineli tüfeklerle ateş açtı. Ayaklanma vahşice bastırıldı ve çoğu çarşıda çalışan çırak ve uşak saflarından gelen yaklaşık 200-300 gösterici öldürüldü (Ashraf, 1988).Humeyni 1964 yılında Türkiye'ye sürgüne gönderildi. Sonunda İrak'taki Necef'e taşındı. Humeyni, sürgün sırasında siyasi faaliyetlerini öncelikle din adamlarının siyasi işlere aktif katılımını teşvik ederek ve Şah karşıtı

görüşlerini broşür ve kasetlerin dağıtımı yoluyla yayarak yürüttü. Bu arada, Şah'ın hükümet politikalarından büyük memnuniyetsizlik vardı. Şah'ın ABD ile ilişkilerinden açıkça etkilenen Batı tarzı reformları uygulama girişimleri, İran'daki geleneksel dini halklar arasında hoşnutsuzluk uyandırdı ve bu da 1979 İslam Devrimi'ni teşvik etti ve hazırladı (Summitt, 2004)

Özetle, halkın Şah'ın bürokratik ve rasyonel modern reform stratejilerini uygulamadaki başarısızlığına karşı duyduğu hoşnutsuzluk, insanların her biri kendi yönergelerine sahip çeşitli ve dağınık yerel topluluklar oluşturmasına yol açan bir boşluk yarattı. Bununla birlikte, İbrahimyan'ın (1983) bahsettiği gibi, Humeyni sürgün sırasında bu boşluğu kullandı ve farklı gruplara din ve İslami kurallara dayalı ortak bir kimlik vererek sistematik olarak merkezileştirmeye çalıştı. Humeyni yanlısı olmayan yerel komiteleri bile yavaş yavaş tasfiye etti ve böylece küçük grupları, Şah rejimini devirme gücüne sahip ortak duygular, dayanışma ve paylaşılan dini kimlikle karakterize edilen kitlesel bir gruba kaydırmak için zemin hazırladı (Foran, 1992).

Bu senaryoyu okuduktan sonra, paylaşılan kimliğin grup üyeleri arasında dayanışmaya ve duygusal bağlara nasıl neden olduğu ve paylaşılan duyguların yoğunluk seviyesinin bir sosyal harekette başarılı bir sonucu nasıl tetikleyebileceği sonucuna varılabilir. Bu nedenle, duyguları ve sosyal gruplar içindeki değerlendirmelerini incelemek, hareketlerin farklı aşamalarını daha iyi tasvir edebilir.

Duygular, kişisel durumlarında, sosyal referanslarının durumunda veya ilişkili oldukları çevrede (örneğin, hava değişikliği, güzel sahneler) önemli bir gerçek veya hayali değişiklik algıladıklarında insanlar tarafından hissedilir. Her insanın kendi sezgisel duygu anlayışı olmasına rağmen, çok az insanın duygu kategorilerinin dışında bırakacağı mutluluk ve öfke gibi en azından bazı kelimeler vardır. Dahası, çoğu insan duyguları çağırmayı seçtikleri fenomenlere üç özellik atfeder. (1) Duygular kasıtlı durumlar olarak kabul edilir. Bu, duyguların, bir duygu bölümünün ortaya çıkması sırasında zihinsel durumların yönlendirildiği bir

"duygu nesnesi" içerdiği anlamına gelir (Goldie, 2000). Tipik bir duygu nesnesi, başka bir kişi, başka bir canlı varlık, bir manzara, bir sanat nesnesi, bir sosyal grup, duyguyu (benlik) yaşayan kişi veya başka bir duygu olabilen belirli bir gerçek veya kurgusal ajandır. Çoğu zaman, duygu nesnesinin belirli bir niteliği belirli bir duyguyu tetikler. Örneğin, öfke genellikle "birinin" "eylemi" tarafından ortaya çıkar, burada "biri" duygu nesnesidir ve "eylem" nesnenin "niteliği" dir. (2) Özne ile duygu nesnesi arasındaki ilişki değerlendiricidir. Özne, iyi ya da kötü hissediyor, bir durum hakkında onaylıyor ya da onaylamayan, rahatlamış ya da hayal kırıklığına uğramış hissediyor. (3) Değerlendirme tutumu az ya da çok geçici ve kısa ömürlüdür. Duygusal bir tepkinin tipik zamansal yapısı, çoğu durumda yarım dakikadan az süren hızlı bir yükselişi ve ardından tipik olarak bir saatten az süren nispeten yavaş bir çürümeyi içerir. Özetle, insanların duygular olarak adlandırdığı fenomenler için kesin bir tanım bulmak zor olsa da, duyguların temel tanımlayıcı özelliklerini tanımlamak hala mümkündür. Örneğin, duygular, aynı zamanda değerlendirici bir bileşene sahip olan ruh halleri gibi diğer duygusal fenomenlerden ayırt edilebilir. Örneğin, duyguların aksine, ruh halleri tipik olarak serbest yüzer veya nesnesizdir, yani belirli bir nesneye yönlendirilmezler. Ek olarak, ruh halleri tipik olarak bir saatten uzun sürer ve bilincin arka planında kaybolur. Bazı durumlarda, ruh halinin belirli duyguların ortaya çıkması üzerinde deterministik bir etkisi vardır. Örnek bir ruh hali kategorileri listesi mutlu, neşeli, rahat, c'li, üzgün, "mavi" ve kasvetli içerebilir (Russell, 1980).

Çağdaş değerlendirme teorileri, örneğin, yinelemeli yeniden işleme modeli (Cunningham & Zelazo, 2007), duyguları statik varlıklardan ziyade süreçler olarak görür. Bu açıdan bakıldığında, duygu terimi "duygusal bölüm" için kısaltma olarak kullanılır. Duygusal bir bölüm tipik olarak belirli bir durumun "değerlendirilmesi" nedeniyle duygusal bir değişiklikle başlar. Burada kullanılan "değerlendirme" terimi sadece yargılamayı değil, aynı zamanda değerlendirmeyi, değer izlenimini, değer hissini vb. İçerir. (Oatley & Johnson-Laird, 2014). Zihnin amacı, yeniden değerlendirme süreçleri (bir sonucun duygusal anlamını değiştirmek) veya durumu değiştirmeyi amaçlayan davranışsal eylemler yoluyla çevrenin istikrarlı ve öngörülebilir bir iç temsilini oluşturmaktır. Bu nedenle

"duygu kategorileri", duygusal bir bölüm boyunca algılayıcının duygusal deneyiminin devam eden dinamiklerini adlandırmanın ve farklılaştırmanın bir yoludur. Duygusal bölümün ortaya çıkması sırasında ilk değerlendirmeyi ve ardından yeniden değerlendirmeyi içeren değerlendirme bileşeni, farklı duygu kategorileri arasında ayrım yapmanın en güvenilir yoludur. Bununla birlikte, bu bileşen genellikle duygu azalana kadar tam olarak tamamlanmaz.

Duygusal teşvikler ve geleceğe dair umutlu bir vizyon olmadan, aktivistleri gerekli günlük ve bazen yorucu işlere katılmaya motive etmek zor olabilir. Suçlanacak bir hedef olmadan, olumsuz duygular eylem için daha yapıcı ve amaçlı bir çıkış noktası olmaktan ziyade korkuya dönüşebilir. Van Ness ve Summers-Effler'in iddia ettiği gibi, birlikte ele alındığında, karizmatik, umutlu veya etkili olmayan liderlerin bir hareketi ateşlemek yerine zayıflatması muhtemeldir (Van Ness & Summers-Effler, 2018).

Sosyal hareket teorilerini çağdaş düzeyde yeniden değerlendirirken, Jasper, Goodwin, Kurzman, McAdam, Zald'ın teorileri, toplumsal hareketleri inceleyebilecek modeller sağlamada daha belirgindir. Ana argümanları, vurgusu daha çok bireylerin bir harekete katılımını, bağlılığını ve terhis aşamalarını etkileyen kültür ve kimlik üzerine olan yeni sosyal hareket teorileri etrafında dönmektedir. Kurzman, bir devrimin sonucunun öngörülebilir olamayacağına inanmasına rağmen, Jasper, Goodwin ve diğer yeni toplumsal hareket akademisyenleri, devrimin sonucunu tahmin edebilecekleri faktörler bulmaya çalışırlar. Öte yandan bazıları, hareketlerin örgütlenmesini, hareketlerin katılımı veya sonucu gibi diğer faktörlerden daha önemli olarak incelemeyi tercih eder. Sosyal hareket teorilerinde kilit rol oynayan duygular üzerinde kolektif bir fikir birliği olmasına rağmen, duyguların tanımlanmasındaki zorluklar ve metindeki belirsizlikleri nedeniyle duyguların incelenmesinde ciddi metodolojik sorunlar vardır (Jasper ve Goodwin, 2000).

Bir hareketin duygusal analizine yönelik metodolojik boşluğu doldurmak için, mevcut araştırma, duyguların sosyal hareketler bağlamındaki rolünü, duyguları kendileri tarafından mı yoksa diğer sosyal aktörlerle iletişim halinde mi

olduklarına göre sınıflandıran bir model önererek açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Modelin uygulanabilirliğini incelemek için, İran'ın 1979 devrimi bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alındı ve amaç, özellikle 1979 Devrimi'nden kısa bir süre önce ve sonra İran Devrimi'nde bir toplumsal hareketin farklı aktörlerinin duygusal bir haritasını ve etkileşimsel modelini çıkarmaktır. Böylece bu araştırma aşağıdaki sorulara cevap bulmayı amaçlamaktadır:

- 1. İran'ın 1979 Devrimi'nde kolektif duygular nasıl bir değişim geçirdi?
- 2. Farklı siyasi gruplar arasındaki baskın işlemsel etkileşim neydi?

Bu sorulara cevap bulmak, bu alanda daha önce analiz edilmiş disiplinlere psikolojiyi de ekleyerek disiplinlerarasılığın kapsamının genişletilmesinde Alan Çalışmaları'na katkıda bulunabilir. Alan Çalışmaları kapsamında, araştırmanın önemli bir kısmı siyaset bilimi, uluslararası ilişkiler, kültür, tarih ve sosyoloji gibi farklı boyutlardan belirli bir bölgeyi incelemektir. Bununla birlikte, bölgeyi psikolojik açıdan incelemek veya belirli bir bölgeyi incelerken duygusal bir analiz yapmak, alan çalışmalarında eksiktir ve bölgesel çalışmalara psikoloji eklemek, Alan çalışmalarında analizin kapsamını genişletebilir. Gerçekten de İran'ın Ortadoğu'da hem IR hem de Siyasette önemli bir rolü vardır ve İran devrimi sosyal hareket teorilerinde farklı siyasi yönlerden analiz edilmiştir, ancak hareketin psikolojik yönünü analiz etmek ne sosyolojide ne de Alan Çalışmalarında tartışılmamış bir konudur. Bu nedenle, bu çalışma Alan Çalışmaları'ndaki bu boşluğu doldurmaya çalışmaktadır. Toplumdaki kolektif davranışın psikolojisi, özellikle bireylerin sosyal hareketlerde ve çatışmalardaki kararlarını ve eylemlerini etkileme şekli bu araştırmanın ana odak noktasıdır. Bu çalışmanın öncelikli amacı, duygu simülasyonları yoluyla toplumsal yansımalarıyla anlamaktır.

Araştırma sorularını cevaplamak için, sosyal psikolojiyi sosyal hareketle karıştırmak için bir model önerildi. Bu amaçla, İran'daki 1978-1979 kritik

döneminde İslam Devrimi'nin yörüngesini izlemek için toplumsal hareketlerin duygusal bir analizi yapılmaktadır.

Kritik bir görev, duygu kategorisinin belirlenmesidir. Yaklaşık 100 İngilizce duygu kelimesi, duygusal anlamların neredeyse tüm alanını kapsar (Smith & Schneider, 2009). Tüm bu duyguların bir listeye dahil edilmesi, analizörü duygusal terimlerin çok fazla benzerliği ile şaşırtarak duygusal analiz görevlerini tehlikeye atabilir. Buna göre, araştırmacı günlük sosyal yaşamda ortaya çıkma olasılığı daha yüksek olan 52 duyguyu seçti. Seçim, kısaltmaların sosyal, estetik, ahlaki ve durumsal (servet) temaları temsil ettiği {S, A, M, F} setini içerir. Bu dizilerin her biri, sırasıyla negatif ve pozitif duygu kategorilerini içeren iki sıralı alt diziden oluşur. Diziler şunlardır: S=(S+:(Nostalji, Zevk, Sükran, Saygı, Yükselme, Takdir, Güven, Mutlu Olmak, Cinsel İstek, Aşk, Gurur, Kibir), S-:(Yalnızlık, İğrenme, Acıma, Utanç, Öfke, Suçluluk, Pişmanlık, Düşmanlık, Nefret, Kıskançlık, Kıskançlık, Utanç)), A=(A+:(Huşu, Uyum, Harika, Dokunma), A-:()), M=(M+:(Alçakgönüllülük, Hayranlık, Zevk, Zafer), M-:(Kızgınlık, Küçümseme, Aşağılama, Öfke)) ve F=(F+:(Sürpriz, İlgi, Umut, Rahatlama, Eğlence, Mutluluk, Zevk, Zevk), F-:(Sürpriz, Can Sıkıntısı, Endişe, Korku, Üzüntü, Keder, Hayal Kırıklığı, Çaresizlik)). Her alt dizideki kategorilerin sırası düşükten yükseğe göreceli değerlerdir. Göreceli değerliği belirlemek için sağlam bir temel yoktur. Bu nedenle, Scherer (2005) tarafından tanıtılan Cenevre Duygu Çarkı'ndaki (GEW) duygusal kategorilerin konumlarından bazı kategorilerin yaklaşık sıralarını çıkardık. Simgelerin arka planındaki G raded renktonları, değerliğin büyüklüğünü göreceli olarak göstermek için kullanılmıştır.

Bu çalışma için, duyguların gerçek evrimi hakkında fikir edinmeyi amaçladığı için nitel araştırmaya ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Araştırma tasarımı, bulguların son derece doğru bir tanımını sağlar, bulguları özetlemek için bir dizi kategori oluşturur ve bir durumun arka planı veya bağlamı hakkında rapor verir.

Kodlama, içerik analizinin ana tekniği olarak kullanılır. Saldana (2015: 8), kodları "dil tabanlı veya görsel verilerin bir kısmı için sembolik olarak özetleyici, göze

çarpan, öz yakalayıcı ve / veya çağrıştırıcı bir nitelik atayan bir kelime veya kısa cümle" olarak tanımlar.

Sözlü veya resimsel bir anlatımın duygusal olarak kodlanması bu araştırmanın ön koşuludur. Araştırmacı, duygusal etiketleme ve yazar tarafından gerçekleştirilen bağlamsallaştırma ile istatistiksel olarak anlamlı sayıda giriş içeren bir referans kullanılarak eğitilmiştir. Yazar, duygular konusunda uzman olan ve duyguları kontrol etmek için cihazlar icat eden Kanadalı bir araştırmacı tarafından eğitildi. Eğitim prosedürü sayesinde, uzman yazarın etiketlemesi için farklı metinler gönderdi. Bu üç aşamada yapıldı: ilk başta metnin ipucu adı verilen duygusal olarak yüklü kısmı stajyere gösterildi ve duygu kısmı kaldırıldı; uyum seviyesi, stajyer metni etiketledikten sonra tahmin edildi. İkinci aşamada, eğitmen duyguyu korudu ve kursiyer, duygunun bulunabileceği ipuçlarının bir kısmını bulmak zorunda kaldı. Son olarak, eğitmen hem ipuçlarını hem de etiketleri kaldırdı ve kursiyer her ikisini de bulmak zorunda kaldı. Eğitimin her aşamasının sonunda, eğitmen ve kursiyer arasında etiketlemenin nedenleri hakkında tartışmalar yapıldı. Son olarak, uyum seviyesi hesaplandı. Eğitim, araştırmacı tarafından veri analizine başlamadan önce yapılmıştır. Analiz, bir toplumsal hareketin bir örneği olarak İran'ın 1979 devriminin vaka çalışması üzerine gerçekleştirilmiştir ve araştırmanın yöntemi aşağıdaki adımları içermektedir:

- a) Sosyal hareketin ana oyuncularını kategorize etmek,
- b) Duygu etiketleme becerileri ve duygu kodlama konusunda kendinizi eğitin,
- c) Toplumsal harekete çağdaş kapsayıcı bir yayın yelpazesinden duygu yüklü sözlü veya resimsel anlatılardan oluşan ilgili bir kütüphane hazırlamak,
- d) Verileri duygusal kodlamaya tabi tutmak:
- e) İpuçlarını tanıyarak bağlamı tanımlamak,

- f) Öne çıkan duygu(lar) kategorilerini belirtir.
- g) Oyuncular arasında değiş tokuş edilen vuruşları tanımlar.
- h) Dinamik strok muhasebesini hareketin zaman çizelgesi üzerinde gerçekleştirir
- i) Her oyuncunun vuruş hesaplarını zamana karşı çizin.

Manchester Üniversitesi web sitesinden alınan geniş bir veri bütünü orijinal dilde ilk elden analiz edilmiş ve ilgili arşivin hazırlanması için hemen hemen tüm gazete ve dergiler incelenmiştir. Manchester Üniversitesi neredeyse yirmi bir gazete ve dergiyi arşivledi ve en kapsamlı veri arşiv kaynağını sağladı. Bu web sitesinden on iki gazete ve dergi alındı ve İran milli kütüphanesinden Kar, İnqilab-e-İslami ve Nameh-e-Mardom'un üç gazetesi, siyasi görüşlerin temsili açısından veri kaynağını tamamlamak için bulundu. Detayları metodoloji bölümünde gösterilecektir.

Bu araştırmanın duygular ve sosyal hareket anlatıları arasındaki bağlantının kapsamlı bir incelemesi sayesinde, duyguların etkisi, geçişleri ve toplumsal hareketlerin tarihindeki politik içgörü üzerindeki etkileşimleri ortaya çıkarılacak, vurgulanacak ve incelenecektir. Bu araştırmanın yapabileceği önemli bir katkı, siyasi seferberliğin duygusal evrimine derinlemesine tanımlayıcı bir bakış sunmasıdır. Duygu analizinin toplumsal hareketler ve özellikle alan çalışmaları hakkındaki güncel literatürü nasıl zenginleştirebileceğini gösterecektir. Zald, Jasper ve Goodwin gibi sosyal hareketleri inceleyen bazı akademisyenler, teorilerini duyguların sosyal hareketlerdeki rolüne odaklamış olsalar da, argümanlarını metodolojik araçlarla destekleyememişlerdir. Bu çalışma, duygu kategorileri ve yöntemlerinden oluşan bir model önererek toplumsal hareket teorilerine önemli bir katkı sağlamaktadır. Örneğin, 1979 İran Devrimi, Keddie, Foran, Halliday, Dabashi gibi çeşitli akademisyenler tarafından antropoloji, sosyoloji, siyaset bilimi, uluslararası ilişkiler gibi farklı perspektiflerden incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın yeniliği, aynı olaylara farklı bir bakış açısı getirmesi ve argümanlarını desteklemek için tarihsel veya sosyolojik araçlar kullanan benzer

bulguların bazıları için daha derin psikolojik açıklamalar sağlamasıdır. Alan çalışmalarında psikoloji temel özelliği olan disiplinlerarasılığa rağmen temsil edilmemektedir ve alan çalışmalarında çok az psikolog yer almaktadır (Szanton, 2002). Bu çalışma, psikolojik ve özellikle duygusal bağlam farkındalığının, Alan Çalışmaları akademisyenlerinin çalıştıkları bölgeyi analiz etmedeki doğruluğunu nasıl artırabileceğini göstermektedir. Buna göre, bu çalışmada sunulan genel bakış, gelecekteki tartışmalar için yararlı olacak ve bölgenin daha derin analizine yol açacak yeni paradigmaları ilerletecektir.

Bu çalışma, toplumsal hareketler sürecinde duyguların rolünü göstermeye çalışmıştır. Araştırma amaçlarını ele alarak, duyguların belirli bir zaman dilimi içindeki geçişini bulmak ve duyguların incelenmesindeki metodolojik boşluğu ve bunların sosyal hareket teorilerindeki etkilerini doldurmak için bir yöntem bulmak için duygusal bir analiz yapılmıştır. Buna göre, Scherer (2005) ve diğer duygu teorilerinden ve çeşitli sınıflandırmalarından benimsenen yeni bir model önerildi. Yeni sınıflandırmanın kriteri, araştırmacının sonuçları sosyoloji bağlamında anlamlı bir şekilde yerleştirmesini sağlayan "benlik" ve grupla ilgili duygularla ilgili sosyal ilişkilerin ve duyguların dikkate alınmasıydı. Daha sonra, duyguların siyasi gruplar arasındaki etkileşim şekli de göz önünde bulunduruldu. Bu amaçla, Eric Berne'in (2011) çocuk-ebeveyn, ebeveyn-çocuk ve yetişkin-yetişkinin üç etkileşim modeli üzerine tezi işlemsel analiz için temel olarak seçilmiştir. İran'ın 1979 hareketi bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alındı ve girişim aşağıdaki soruları cevaplamaktı:

- 1. İran'ın 1979 Devrimi'nde kolektif duygular nasıl bir değişim geçirdi?
- 2. Farklı siyasi gruplar arasındaki baskın işlemsel etkileşim neydi?

Geniş bir veri yelpazesini kullanarak, bu araştırma sosyal hareket teorilerinde duyguların rolü hakkında genelleştirilebilir kanıtlar sağlamıştır. Sonuçlara göre araştırmanın temel gözlemi, İran toplumunun devrimin zaferinden önceki kolektif duygusal durumunun olumlu duygularda "umut", "gurur", "takdir", "hayranlık" ve

"zafer", olumsuz duygularda ise "öfke" ve "kaygı" olduğunu göstermektedir. Genel olarak, olumlu duygular insanların iradesi ve Humeyni ve emirleri ve eylemleri için uyandırıldı. Öte yandan olumsuz duygular Şah'a ve onun baskıcı politikalarına karşıydı. Olumlu duyguların yoğunluğu, olumsuz duygulardan büyük ölçüde ağır basar. Zaferden sonra, İran toplumunun olumlu kolektif duygusal durumu "zafer" de baskındı ve olumsuz kolektif duygular "hayal kırıklığı", "küçümseme", "öfke", "korku", "endişe" ve "olumsuz sürpriz" idi. "Zafer" duygusu İslamcılar tarafından yaşandı. Olumlu duyguların baskınlığını yaşayan zaferden önceki dönemin aksine, zaferden sonra bunun yerini olumsuz duygular aldı.

Devrimin zaferinden önce farklı siyasi grupların işlemsel etkileşimi genellikle "ebeveyn-çocuk" ve "çocuk-ebeveyn" üzerinden ilerliyordu. Devrimin zaferinden sonra, "ebeveyn-çocuk" etkileşiminin "çocuk-ebeveyn" etkileşimine göre göreceli sıklığı önemli ölçüde arttı. Bu, dinin otoriter bir rejim inşa etmek için kullanıldığı dini köktendincilikle bağlantılı olabilir. Humeyni'nin Velayate Faghih'i tanıtması, Hicab'ın dayatılması ve cinsellikten veya giyim tarzlarından uzak durma gibi davranış kuralları, Humeyni'nin temel yaklaşımını kanıtlayabilecek özelliklerdir. Bununla birlikte, devrimin köktendinci bir hareket olması amaçlanmamıştı ve popülist bir hareketti, çünkü Tudeh Kısmı, Mücahite Khalq, Sosyalist, Solcular, Liberaller ve diğer sosyal gruplar da dahil olmak üzere farklı ideolojilere sahip muhalif grupların ittifakıyla başladı. Bununla birlikte, daha sonra devrim İslamcılar tarafından kaçırıldı ve İslamcılar dini ve Tanrı'nın yönetimini insanların takip etmesi gereken bir isyan noktası olarak tanıttığından, bu demokrasiyi dışladı. Bu demokrasi eksikliği ve halkların Tanrı'nın ve Tanrı'nın temsilcilerinin onlardan istediklerini takip etme yükümlülükleri, ebeveyn-çocuk ego durumunun doğasını açıklar.

Bu çalışma, disiplinlerarasılık olan Alan Çalışmaları içindeki önemli kavramlardan birini geliştirmeye çalışarak Alan Çalışmaları için değerli bir bilgi tabanı sağlamıştır. Disiplinlerarasılık, basit kavramlardan metodolojinin, terminolojinin vb. entegrasyonuna kadar farklı disiplinlerin etkileşimidir. Bu çalışma, psikolojik metodolojiyi sosyal hareket teorilerine entegre etmeye

çalışmış ve sosyal hareketleri yeniden bağlamsallaştırmak için psikolojik bir çerçeve geliştirmiştir. Toplumsal hareketler Orta Doğu, Orta Asya, Latin Amerika gibi farklı bölgelerde meydana gelme potansiyeline sahip olduğundan, bulgular Alan çalışmalarına katkıda bulunmaktadır.

Sosyal hareket teorileri ile ilgili olarak, geçmiş araştırmalar öfke, umut, nefret gibi sınırlı sayıda duyguyu incelemiştir. Bununla birlikte, mevcut çalışma, duyguların ve etkileşimlerin sistematik olarak daha ampirik ve sistematik bir şekilde incelenebileceği ve duygusal deneyimlere dayanan ampirik bulguların ve teorik yaklaşımların çeşitliliğinden yararlanılabilecek d metodolojik perspektifler sağlamakla birlikte, mevcut çalışma, duyguların sadece rasyonel değil, aynı zamanda doğalarının analiz edilebileceği gerçeğine ampirik destek sağlamaktadır. Duyguları deneyimleyin. Bunun dışında bu çalışma, modelleri bireysel ve grup düzeyinde bağlamdan, duyguları dört sosyal kategori altında (grup düzeyinde duygularla aynı), Ahlaki (ahlaki yargıların ve kararların oluşturulmasında ve iletilmesinde yer alan), Servet / Gelecek değerlendirmesi (gelecekteki olaylar için hissedilen duygular) ve Estetik duygular (sanat eseri için uyandırılan duygular) altında incelemeye genişletti. Bu nedenle, duyguların bireysel ve grup düzeyinde bağlam oluşturmasını genişleterek duygu literatürüne katkıda bulunan çalışma, aynı zamanda sosyal hareket teorilerini sosyal psikoloji analiz modelleri ve literatürü ile karıştırmış ve böylece İran'ın 1979 devriminin anlatılarının duygusal analizi için farklı bir yaklaşım sunmuştur. Ayrıca, bu çalışma bir sosyal hareketin altında yatan duygusal dinamikleri daha iyi yorumlamak ve / veya anlamak için bir fırsat sağlamıştır.

İran'ın 1979 devrimini bir vaka çalışması olarak ele alan mevcut araştırma, çağdaş anlatılara psikolojik bir analiz ekleyerek mevcut literatüre katkıda bulunmuştur. İran'ın 1979 devrimi, Ortadoğu ve Alan çalışmalarında tarihsel, siyasi, toplumsal perspektifler gibi farklı açılardan incelenen en önemli devrimlerden biridir. Bilim adamları, Şii kültürünü harekete özgü olarak sunarak dini ideolojilerin devrimin başarısı üzerindeki rolüne vurgu yaptılar. Birçoğu Humeyni'nin liderliğine ve politikalarına vurgu yaptı, bazıları Kerbela ve Taziye'yi Şii kültürünün bileşenleri olarak tartışarak daha spesifikti ve diğerleri dini sembollerin ve ritüellerin toplumun üyelerine getirebileceği dayanışmayı ve bu nedenle hareketi

etkileyebileceğini düşündü. Bununla birlikte, İran devrimi duygusal eğilim ve duygusal etkileşim açısından analiz edilmemiştir ve bu nedenle bu çalışmanın bulguları İran'ın devrim tarihine ve literatürüne de katkıda bulunmuştur.

Önceki bölümde tartışıldığı gibi, dini köktendincilik ile ebeveyn-çocuk etkileşimi arasında bir ilişki olduğu tahmin edilmektedir. Bu, farklı bir yaklaşım benimsenerek daha fazla incelenebilir. Bunun dışında bu araştırmada duygular dört sınıflamaya göre analiz edilmiş; ancak diğer kategorizasyonlar da düşünülebilir. Örneğin, duyguları birincil, ikincil veya üçüncül sınıflandırmalarına göre düşünmek, duygu etiketlemesine daha fazla ayrıntı ekleyebilir.

Bu çalışma, İran'ın 1979 devrimini bir vaka çalışması olarak benimsediğinden, önerilen modelin farklı bölgelerden gelen diğer hareketler üzerinde uygulanması ve diğer disiplinlerle birlikte zenginleştirilmiş Alan Çalışmaları literatürüne göre daha ileri çalışmalar yapılabilir. Bu çalışma bir vaka çalışması olduğundan ve yalnızca 1979 İran devrimini içerdiğinden, bulgular benzer sosyal hareketlerde neler bulunabileceğini düşündürücü olabilir, ancak yöntemi, önerilen modeli ve genellenebilirliğini doğrulamak için ek araştırmalara ihtiyaç duyulabilir.Farklı bölgelerin veya zamanların sosyal hareketlerinin kendi ayırt edici özelliklerine sahip olması ve dinamik doğası nedeniyle farklı sonuçlar vermesi nedeniyle diğer vaka çalışmaları üzerinde karşılaştırmalı bir çalışma da yapılabilir. Bu çalışmadaki araştırmacı, verileri analiz etmede kültürel veya dilsel bir engeli olmayan, bir bölgenin yerlisi olmayan, bu engellerle başa çıkmak için farklı analiz yöntemleri bulabilen veya önerebilen anadili olan bir konuşmacıydı.

C. CURRICULUM VITAE

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- > French, Beginner

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