

On Representation of the Concept of Feminism in Iranian Media: A Conservative Strandpoint from Iran

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Abstract

Although Iranian women have been involved with women rights issues for the past century, there seems to be a general resistance against using the label “feminist” among women activists in the country. While some women activists may associate themselves with “Islamic Feminism”, a lot of them prefer to drop the label “feminism” all together. Although there may be many reasons behind disavowal of feminism in a conservative Islamic society like that of Iran, one cannot deny the power of media in creating and shaping a particular stance toward feminism. The present paper elaborates on the discursive representation of the concept of *feminism* in Fars News agency which is one of the main conservative news agencies in Iran. The results are drawn from a 450,000 word corpus of Persian news texts on feminism published by Fars News Agency from 2006 to 2012. Wordsmith concord feature was used to look for collocates of the search term *feminism* in the corpus. The collocates were then hypothetically categorized into various semantic groups and further analyzed using their contexts from the corpus. The data reiterated the results found in similar studies on feminism in Anglophone media in that feminism has indeed been portrayed in negative terms.

Keywords: feminism, discursive representation, corpus, media

A brief Background: Women’s Right Movement in Iran

The history of Iranian women’s movement dates back to the early twentieth century when Iranian women gradually used their collective force in favor of Tobacco Protest (1890-1892), Constitutional Revolution (1905–1907) and further schooling for girls. Women’s presence in social arenas gradually increased during the following years and they succeeded in establishing various women societies including Women’s freedom society. A number of women magazines were also established aiming at sensitizing the Iranian society to women issues.

Iranian women played an unprecedented role in Tobacco Protest which was a protest against a tobacco concession granted to the Great Britain by Nasir-al-Din Shah Qajar¹. As

¹ The King of Persia from 17 September 1848 to 1 May 1896

highlighted by Paidar (1995: 50-51), Iranian women engaged in public protests and violent attacks during the Tobacco Protest. Even women in Nasir-al-Din Shah Shah's harem joined the protest and quit smoking to support boycotting tobacco. A few years later, Iranian women demonstrated a strong presence in the Constitutional Revolution (Mahdi 2004). They established secret organizations to support the constitutional movement and some even took part in pro-constitutional fights.

The increasing presence of women in social arenas along with the growing number of writings by both men and women on women's issues gradually set the ground for the emergence of what can be called the feminist movement in Iran. In fact, although women activities during the Tobacco Protest and the Constitutional Revolution were largely inspired by anti-imperialist and anti-dictatorship sentiments (Cheraghi Kotiani 2014), they were monumental in that they brought women together and directed women's attention to gender inequality in Iran.

If we define feminism broadly as the recognition of women's oppression, and the avocation of equality for women, we may refer to the early twentieth century as the time feminist movements started in Iran. During this period, women who had already used their collective forces in Tobacco Protest and Constitutional Revolution came to realize their power and being influenced by feminist ideas in the West, they started using their power to ask for gender equality and improvement of women's condition. Among the issues raised by the very first so-called Iranian feminists were women's right to vote, schooling for girls and polygamy (Mahdi 2004). Though women succeeded in winning schooling for girls, they had little progress in their fights for voting right for women and against polygamy during Qajar¹ ruling which ended in 1925.

Following the fall of Qajar dynasty and the coming to power of Reza Khan Pahlavi, feminism took a state shape (Sedghi 2007). However, women's associations suffered the dictatorship brought by Pahlavi regime. Reza Shah's stance towards women was modern, yet still biased and unfair. While he favored schooling and education for girls and women, he did not approve voting right for women. During Reza Shah's time in power, there were positive changes in divorce law and the minimum marriage age for girls was raised to fifteen. Following Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's rise to power in 1941, the situation for women gradually improved and women finally won the voting right in 1963. Yet, Mohammad Reza shah just like his father could not tolerate independent political activities by women, so only the women who were supportive of Pahlavi's policies were welcomed in social and political arenas.

After the massive participation of Iranian women in anti-shah demonstration and the victory of the Islamic revolution in 1979, the situation improved for conservative religious women who found the new Islamic society a better and safer place for women. Over the years following Islamic revolution, the presence of women in social arenas increased gradually, yet steadily, and Iranian women, traditional or modernized, focused on education as a means to empower women and fight gender inequality. Polygamy, divorce law, child custody, women's working condition and women's participation in governmental jobs are among the main concerns of women activists in today's Iran. Other controversial issues some women activists have been trying to address

¹ Dynasty which ruled Iran from 1785 to 1925.

include women's stoning, abortion, and the issue of Hijab. The following section focuses on feminism after the Islamic revolution in Iran.

Feminism in post Islamic revolution Iran (1979-present).

Generally, feminism in post-revolutionary Iran can be divided into secular feminism and Islamic feminism. Secular feminism is an umbrella term covering a wide range of individuals including monarchists, anti-Islamists and leftists (Cheraghi Kotiani 2014) who adopt a "secularist"- "a consciously chosen political identity in the context of Iran" not a "secular" identity (Paidar 2001: 29). It considers Islam as a divine ideology to have limited capacity for resolving women issues (p. 30) and thus proposes secularism as a prerequisite for achieving women freedom (Shafie Sarvestani 2000). Secular feminists in Iran are characterized by anti-Islamism, disregard for moral values and attempt to weaken family structure in the Iranian society (Shafie Sarvestani 2000: 61-70).

Islamic Feminism is another term used to refer to feminism in the current Iran. Islamic Feminism is in fact a new branch of feminism emerging in Muslim countries during the second half of the 20th century and is defined as "a feminist discourse and practice articulated within an Islamic paradigm" (Badran 2002: 1 as cited in Tønnessen 2014), or "a feminine interpretation of Islamic holy texts" (Hoseinzadeh & Abbasian 2015: 208).

It is however necessary to mention that while many Iranian women activists prefer not to be labeled "feminist", there are some who associate themselves with "Islamic Feminism", a term which is itself subject to a lot of controversy in the country, the most striking of which has to do with summing up the two concepts of "Islam" and "feminism" together which seems essentially paradoxical to many (Hoseinzadeh & Abbasian 2015: 325). Cheraghi Kotiani (2014) believes that Islamic feminism on the one hand suffers from lack of scientific methodology and on the other hand, that it is modelled on women issues as prioritized in the west and disregards the national and cultural capacities for resolving them.

Yet, we also have women activists in Iran who, while not associating themselves with any form of feminism, work for women rights. Such women activists refrain from identifying themselves as feminists. Although Iranian women have been involved with women rights issues for the past century, there seems to be a general resistance against using the label "feminist" among many women activists in the country. As highlighted by Cheraghi Kotiani (2014), feminism, in general, seems to have no specific identity and position in Iran.

As reviewed above, one can see a general resistance against using the label "feminist" among women activists in the country. Yet, it seems that Iranian women in general and Iranian women activists in particular are not the only ones when it comes resisting the label "feminist". As highlighted by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012), while women are generally aware of gender inequalities, they rarely identify themselves as feminist and some even reject feminism altogether. According to Percy and Kremer (1995), and Riley (2001), "(women) who seem to be sympathetic to feminist values distance themselves from the movement" (cited in by Jaworska and Krishnamurthy 2012: 402).

While there may be a lot of reasons behind disavowal of feminism in a conservative Islamic society like that of Iran, one cannot deny the power of media in creating and shaping particular stance toward feminism. As highlighted by Fowler (1991: 4, cited in: Babalola 2002: 405), news texts are not “value-free reflection of *facts*”, rather news texts are selected according to certain criteria and values, and more often than not they are constructed in a way as to support certain interests.

With this in mind, the researchers embarked on a corpus-based research into the representation of feminism in Fars News Agency which is one of the main news agencies in Iran generally referred to as a conservative news production agency.

The Research

The present research can be defined as a corpus-based study in that the corpus is the main tool used to extract data on representation of feminism. Using the quantitative analysis of corpus linguistics and drawing on in-depth analysis of Critical Discourse Analysis, the present study aims to research into the discursive representation of the word *feminism* in a 450,000 word corpus of Persian news texts on feminism published in Fars News agency. While corpus-based analysis is widely used for describing recurrent patterns of lexical items including collocational patterns, critical discourse analysis approach is particularly useful for detailed analysis of stretches of texts. The combination of two, as highlighted by Baker *et al.* (2008), can help the researchers integrate precise quantitative analysis of corpus methods with in-depth qualitative analysis of critical discourse analysis.

The main research objective is to find out how “feminism” has been discursively presented in the news articles by Fars news agency as one of the main news agencies in Iran. The researchers believe that such data can help us better understand how feminism is portrayed and further perceived in an Islamic society like that of Iran. We further believe that the results from this study and other similar studies can be helpful in understanding the public stance adopted toward feminism in the current Iran.

The corpus

The corpus used in this study is a 450,000 word corpus created from the online news texts on feminism published by Fars News Agency.

The news texts were collected using advanced search setting of Google search engine. At the very first step, the researchers identified the potential Persian equivalents for the keywords *feminism*. To do so, the researchers consulting various English-Persian dictionaries and relevant academic/nonacademic texts came up with a list of all potential Persian equivalents for the term *feminism*.

The following three main terms were identified as Persian equivalents for the term *feminism*: (جنش برابری زنان) (فمینیسم), (زن سالاری)

As the next step, the identified terms were each googled to see how common they are in various Persian discourse in general and Persian news in particular. As it turned out, the two terms

فمینیسم and زن سالاری were the most common ones used in Persian news media. These two terms were thus set as our search terms for building the Persian corpus.

It is necessary to mention that considering the various spelling alternatives for the above-mentioned two terms, the final search terms were increased to five terms: فمینیسم، فمینیزم، فمینیسم، زنسالاری، زن سالاری.

During the next step, using Google advanced search setting the search terms were each searched in the domain <http://www.farsnews.com/>. Then all the news articles containing the search terms published from 2006 to 2012 were downloaded and saved in plain text format to be analyzed by the corpus tool. The final corpus contained 448, 821 tokens or words.

Pre-editing the corpus

In order to prepare the corpus for analysis, a number of pre-editing procedures were carried out. Firstly, we needed to homogenize different codes for the same character in order for them not to be recognized as different by the corpus tool. Secondly, we needed to joint affixes to their stems in order for them to be treated as one word by the corpus tool. Lastly, we homogenized various Persian equivalents for the word *feminism*. To do so, we replaced all variants of the Persian equivalents for *feminism* with فمینیسم which seemed to be more common than others. In other words, the Persian terms زن سالاری، زنسالاری، فمینیسم، فمینیزم were all replaced with فمینیسم.

Extracting data from the corpus

The corpus tool used in this study was Wordsmith 5 (Scott, 2010). Wordsmith concord feature was used to look for collocates of the search term "فمینیسم" in the corpus. The concord feature determines the probability of two words being collocates by comparing the probability of these two words being a unit against the probability that they are together by chance.

There is no doubt that the recurrent use of certain words/terms in referring to a concept or phenomenon may propagate a specific view of the concept/phenomenon in question and it can eventually lead to shaping a specific version of reality about it. As highlighted by Van Dijk (1995), lexical choices or lexicalization, as Van Dijk calls it, can reflect the ideological stance of a speaker, or the writer among other things. Van Dijk further asserts that opinions and ideologies may be conventionalized and codified in lexicon. A useful concept here is "semantic prosody" which had been defined by Louw as "the consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates" (1993 :157). Semantic prosody has to do with positive, negative or neutral attitudinal meaning associated with collocates meaning that certain words when co-occur may evoke certain positive, negative or neutral aura of meaning.

This study above all intends to explore into the collocations of the term "فمینیسم" in order to shed light on how this concept has been portrayed in our 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles on feminism.

Analysis

As mentioned earlier, Wordsmith 5 was the corpus used in this study. Using Wordsmith Concord feature, the list of collocates of the search word فمینیسم was generated. Wordsmith has six

statistical methods for generating collocates list. In this study, T-Score was used to generate the collocates list for the search term "فمینیسم".

Concord list yielded 195 collocates for the search term "فمینیسم" a number of which were function or grammatical words including articles and conjunctions which had to be removed from the list. In fact, while such function words ranked high in the collocates list, they were removed as they were not part of the meaningful recurring pattern for the search term "فمینیسم". What we were interested in were content or lexical items which carry the primary meaning or content and thus can help us know the concepts/meanings generally associated with "فمینیسم".

After removing all the function words from the collocates list, the remaining words were hypothetically categorized into various semantic groups to make the analysis easier to follow. Whenever the researchers were not sure about the exact semantic category for a word, the wider context of the respective word was consulted to make sure about the exact meaning of the word in question.

Table 1 displays the collocates of the search term "فمینیسم" categorized into different semantic groups.

Table 1: The collocates of the search term "فمینیسم" categorized into different semantic groups

Semantic group	Collocates Associated
Islam-related	اسلام، اسلامی، مسلمان (Islam,) (Islamic, Muslim)
Gender reference	زنان، زن، خاتمها، بانوان، مرد، مردها (women, woman, ladies, men, man)
Political and philosophical movements	جنبش، سکورال، حقوق، مدرنیسم، سوسیالیسم، رادیکال، لیبرال، انقلاب، اقتصادی، افراطی (movement, socialism, secular, modernism, radical, liberal, revolution, extremist, economic, rights)
Social taboos	همجنسگرایی، سقط، طلاق (homosexuality, abortion, divorce)
Place	غرب، ایرانی، غربی، آمریکا، تهران (west, western, Iranian, USA, Tehran)
Family-related	خانواده، مادری، همسری، ازدواج (marriage, motherhood, wifehood, family)
Academic-related	تئوری، نظریه، مکتب، دیدگاه، نگرش (theory, school of thought, viewpoint, notion)

During the course of the following paragraphs, the most important semantic groups identified will be discussed using the data from the corpus. The analysis focuses on collocates associated with 1) Islam, 2) Political and philosophical movements, 3) Social taboos, 4) Place and finally 5) family-related concepts.

1. COLLOCATES ASSOCIATED WITH ISLAM

As displayed in table 1, Islam, Islamic, Muslim (اسلام، اسلامی، مسلمان) were among the common collocates for the word “feminism” in our 450,000-word corpus of Persian news articles. A detailed analysis of concordance lines around these three words indicated that when Islam is discussed in vicinity of the term "فمینیسم", it was generally discussed under the following two major themes:

Similarities between Islamic concepts and Feminism

A close analysis of concordance lines revealed a focus on shared characteristics of Islam and feminism in the news articles analyzed. Major themes included:

- Just like feminism which values women’s status in society, Islam is a religion which has greatly focused on the value of women in families and in society. Examples included:
 - 1) *There are many verses in Quran which emphasize the value of women and encourage men to respect their wives and mothers love daughters.*
 - 2) *In Quranic verses, God talks to both men and women and for God men and women both have equal capacity to serve God.*
 - 3) *There are many verses in Quran about influential women.*
 - 4) *There is a Sura in Quran named after women with verses all about women, while there is no Sura for men per se.*
- After the emergence of Islam, the situation of women improved greatly, especially in Arab nations. Examples included:
 - 1) *Islam was clearly against female infanticide which was a common practice when Islam emerged.*
 - 2) *After Islam emerged, a girl’s consent to marry was declared as imperative for the marriage to be acceptable.*
 - 3) *Islam recognized the women’s right to own a property.*
 - 4) *After the emergence of Islam, dowry which was previously regarded as the bride-price paid to the father became a gift given by the groom to the bride herself,*
 - 5) *Islam improved the inheritance practices for women.*

Differences between Islamic concepts and Feminism

A detailed analysis of concordance lines around the three Islam-related words indicated that when Islam is discussed in vicinity of the term "فمینیسم", it was generally discussed under the following two major themes:

- Family ties can be weakened because of feminism; this is while family is a sacred institution in Islam. Examples included:

- 1) *Marriage which is an important institution in Islam has been damaged by feminism.*
 - 2) *Radical feminism, in contrast to Islam, is anti-marriage.*
 - 3) *Marriage, a holy institution in Islam, is considered a form of slavery in radical feminism.*
 - 4) *Divorce, one of the least likable actions in Islam, is evidently promoted by feminism and feminists.*
- Feminism promotes homosexuality and abortion; this is while they are both considered major sins in Islam. Examples included:
 - 1) *Feminism is a movement initiated by homosexual women.*
 - 2) *Feminism promotes homosexuality which is a major sin in Islam.*
 - 3) *Feminism with its stress on women's power over their bodies tries to justify abortion which is considered a sin in Islam.*
 - 4) *The number of abortions is higher in societies where feminism is taught and promoted, while the number of abortions in Islamic societies is very limited.*
 - Feminism de-emphasizes motherhood, while motherhood and the role of mothers have been greatly emphasized in Islam. Examples included:
 - 1) *Feminism tries to devalue motherhood, while Islam attaches especial importance to the roles mothers play in families and in society.*
 - 2) *Feminism tries to discourage women from getting married and having children and this is not acceptable in an Islamic society like that of Iran.*

2. COLLOCATES ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL MOVEMENTS

As displayed in table 1, the words *movement, socialism, secular, radical, liberal, revolution, extremist, economic* and *rights* were among the common collocates for the term "فمینیسم" in our 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles. A detailed analysis of concordance lines around these words indicated that when words related to political movements are discussed in the vicinity of the word "feminism", they are generally discussed under the following themes:

Feminism has to do with extremism

The use of the two adjectives "extremist" and "radical" with the term "فمینیسم" suggests a sense of extremism in relation to feminism. Examples included:

- 1) *Feminism is radical by its nature.*
- 2) *Feminism as a form of radical modernism has targeted Islamic societies.*
- 3) *Extremist feminism adopts an extremist perspective to family issues and the role of women in families.*

Feminism has to do with secularism

The use of the adjective "secular" with the term "فمینیسم" points to a secular stance on the part of feminism. Examples included:

- 1) *Feminism is a secular movement initiated by the West to secularize Islamic societies.*
- 2) *Feminism is in contract to Islamic concepts and the principles of other religions; it is secular and not applicable to religious societies.*
- 3) *Western secular feminism had not succeeded in improving the situation of women.*

Feminism has to do with modernism

The use of the word “modernism” in the vicinity of the term "فمینیسم" suggests that feminism is associated with modernism.

Examples included:

- 1) *Feminism is an unfortunate consequence of modernism.*
- 2) *Feminism and modernism go hand in hand in western societies.*
- 3) *Feminism and modernism both have targeted families and thus the society.*

3. COLLOCATES ASSOCIATED WITH SOCIAL TABOOS

As displayed in table 1, the words *homosexuality*, *abortion* and *divorce* were among the common collocates for the term "فمینیسم" in our 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles. A detailed analysis of concordance lines around these words indicated that when words associated with social taboos are discussed in vicinity of the term "فمینیسم", they are generally discussed under the following themes:

Feminism is linked to homosexuality

As data from the Persian corpus revealed, the word *homosexuality* was used in the vicinity of the term "فمینیسم" under the following two major themes.

- Feminism is a movement initiated by homosexual women
- Feminism promotes homosexuality

Examples included:

- 1) *Feminism initiated in France can be defined as a homosexual movement.*
- 2) *Radical feminism tries to rationalize how homosexual women live.*
- 3) *Western feminism is another form of cultural invasion which target women by pushing them toward sexual independence and homosexual women may draw on feminism’s concepts to defend their way of life.*
- 4) *Feminism promotes homosexuality which is a major sin in Islam.*

Feminism in linked to abortion and divorce

The use of the word “abortion” and “divorce” in the vicinity of the word “feminism” suggests a link between feminism and abortion. Examples included:

- 1) *Divorce, one of the least likable actions in Islam, is evidently promoted by feminism and feminists.*
- 2) *Feminism with its stress on women’s power over their bodies tries to justify abortion which is considered a major sin in Islam.*

3) *The number of abortions is higher in societies where feminism is taught and promoted...*

4. COLLOCATES ASSOCIATED WITH PLACE

As displayed in table 1, the words *west*, *western*, *Iranian*, *USA* and *Tehran* were among the common collocates for the term "فمینیسم" in our 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles. Considering the fact that the news articles were published in an Iranian-based news agency located in Tehran, the use of the two words *Iranian* and *Tehran* was expected. The analysis therefore focused on concordance lines around the three words *west*, *western*, *USA*. A close examination of concordance lines indicated that when these words are discussed in vicinity of the word "feminism", they are generally discussed under the following themes:

Feminism is a movement initiated in the West

Feminism is a form of cultural invasion organized by the West in general and USA in particular

Examples included:

- 1) *Feminism is a tool used by western countries to corrupt Islamic societies.*
- 2) *West is the true origin of feminism, it started there and developed there and has little to offer to our country.*
- 3) *Feminism is truly a silent yet powerful cultural invasion from the west which must be taken seriously.*
- 4) *Western feminism is another form of cultural invasion which target women by pushing them toward sexual independence and homosexual women may draw on feminism's concepts to defend their way of life.*

5. COLLOCATES ASSOCIATED WITH FAMILY-RELATED CONCEPTS

As displayed in table 1, the words *marriage*, *motherhood*, *wifehood* and *family* were among the common collocates for the term "فمینیسم" in our 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles. A close examination of concordance lines indicated that when these words are discussed in vicinity of the word "feminism", they are generally discussed under the following themes:

Feminism undermines family, marriage, motherhood and wifehood

Examples included:

- 1) *Marriage which is an important institution in Islam has been damaged by feminism.*
- 2) *Radical feminism, in contrast to Islam, is anti-marriage.*
- 3) *Feminism is a covert attack to traditional values including marriage and motherhood.*
- 4) *Western societies have started to see the negative effects of radical feminism ideas with women unwilling to commit to motherhood and wifehood roles.*

Discussion of the Findings

As highlighted by McRobbie (2009), the status of feminism in public discourse has been gradually undermined since the early 1990s. She further argues that media industry has played a role in marginalizing feminism and misrepresenting what it really is.

There are a number of studies which have supported the argument put forwards by McRobbie (2009). Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012), for instance, examining the discourse of

feminism in two corpora of British and German news texts found out that there is indeed a strong tendency in the British and German press to portray feminism in negative terms. Other similar studies have generally reported the same pattern (Danner and Walsh 1991; Rhode 1995; Huddy 1997; Lind & Salo 2002).

As our data from the 450,000 word corpus of Persian news articles on feminism revealed feminism has been compared and contrasted to Islam in a number of ways. Based on the data from of the corpus, although both Islam and feminism advocate gender equality, feminism does it in extreme at the price of weakening the solidarity of families, and undermining motherhood and wifehood. On top of that, based on our corpus, feminism in defending women's free choice promotes homosexuality and abortion which are both considered unacceptable in Islam. Feminism has also been portrayed a movement associated with extremism, secularism and modernism which all have negative charges attached to them in Iranian society.

Divorce was among the common collocates of the term "فمینیسم" in the Persian corpus. Based on the data from the corpus, feminism promotes divorce by undermining the sacredness of family and the roles women play as mothers and wives. Interestingly, the words *west*, *western* and *US* were also among the common collocates of the search term "فمینیسم". A close examination of the concordance lines around these three words revealed that based on the Persian news articles studied, feminism is portrayed as a movement initiated in the West and is now being used by the West in general and USA in particular to force Western culture into Islamic countries like Iran.

Conclusion

The present research aimed at investigating into the discursive representation of the term "فمینیسم" in a 450,000-word corpus of Persian news articles on feminism published in Fars News Agency which is one the main news agencies in Iran. The data from the Persian corpus revealed that feminism has been portrayed as a concept initiated in the West not readily fit for an Islamic society like that of Iran. The use of words like "homosexuality", "divorce" and "abortion" in the vicinity of the word "feminism" which implies an association between these words and feminism can be an underlying reason why feminism is hardly acceptable in the Iranian society where homosexuality, "divorce" and "abortion" are considered major taboos. Furthermore, feminism is discursively portrayed as a movement which although advocates women rights, does it in extreme at the price of weakening the solidarity of families, and undermining motherhood and wifehood. Overall, the data from our corpus reiterate the results found in similar studies on feminism in Anglophone media in that feminism has been portrayed in negative terms. This negative portrayal of feminism in media can undoubtedly be one of the reasons why feminism is usually excluded from the discourse used by women activists in Iran. In fact, the specific version of feminism as manifested in the discourse studied in this research is indeed unfit for a society where Islamic values prevail.

Similar studies on portrayal of feminism in news media, which are mostly focused on Anglophone media, have similarly found out that the portrayal of feminism in media is indeed negative. Danner and Walsh (1991), for instance, analyzing the coverage of a UN conference on

women in two major US newspapers namely *New York Times* and *Washington post* concluded that both newspapers misrepresented the conference and so the feminist values by focusing on stereotypical views of feminism which see it as radical and unfeminine. Other similar studies have generally reported the same pattern (Rhode 1995; Huddy 1997; Lind & Salo 2002; Jaworska & Krishnamurthy 2012).

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