Contents

Lis	t of Figures and Tables p	age vii
List of Abbreviations viii		
	Introduction Two Pictures The 'Secular' Why Elections? Electoral Politics in Iran Chapter Outline	1 6
1	Theoretical Framework Defining Secularisation Revolutionary Religiosity Elections: From Anomalies to Pillars of Legitimacy Conclusion	17 17 23 32 40
2	The Age of the 'Imam' Introduction First Presidential Election, 1980: Abolhassan Banisadr Second Presidential Election, 1981: Mohammad-Ali Rajai Third Presidential Election, 1981: Ali Khamenei Fourth Presidential Election, 1985: Ali Khamenei Fifth Presidential Election, 1989: Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani Conclusion	41 44 51 57 62 66 71
3	The Era of Reconstruction and Reform Introduction Iran after Khomeini Sixth Presidential Election, 1993: Ali-Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani Seventh Presidential Election, 1997: Mohammad Khatami Eighth Presidential Election, 2001: Mohammad Khatami Conclusion	73 73 75 79 86 100 104

4	Ahmadinejad and Secularisation: Rupture or Continuity?	106
	Introduction	106
	Ninth Presidential Election, 2005: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad	109
	Tenth Presidential Election, 2009: Mahmoud Ahmadinejad	126
	Conclusion	133
5	Consolidation of Secularity	134
	Introduction	134
	Eleventh Presidential Election, 2013: Hassan Rouhani	136
	Twelfth Presidential Election, 2017: Hassan Rouhani	147
	Conclusion	158
	Conclusion	160
	What Are the Implications for the Future?	163
	omanos os nos tides www.cambioge.org/272110-65-5550. "jajuoo2" a a. 46. 464-5270-75 august 12.	4 (0
Appendix: Presidential Elections in a Nutshell		168
Bibliography		173
In	dex	182