# Woman and Home in Iran;
# The Impact of Ideological Tides through Modernization and Islamization

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# ABSTRACT

Investigating social and political changes in Iran, the outstanding position of women -the one who preserves the indigenous culture and raise the nation- and home -the container of traditions and the nest for the nation to grow within- reveals the women`s position and the domestic realm as two inseparable and pivotal subjects in modernization and Islamization of the Iranian society.

The interactive approach between gender identity and spatial identity proposes that any modification of gender identity through any socio-cultural changes, led by either modernization or Islamization forces, will cause changes in spatial identity and vice versa. Through the chronological order of this study, it will be explicated that how different Iranian states have taken different attitudes toward the Woman Question in Iran; hence, the shifting role and identity of Iranian women under the impact of various ideological approaches will be discussed. Moreover, altering the boundary of public and private spheres- as two folded concepts rather than conceptual oppositions- has been evaluated as the convenient and well-related debate to explore the transformation of the Iranian houses through socio-cultural and political changes from late 19$^{th}$ up to the establishment of the Islamic state in Iran. This research reveals that there are similarities in ways through which different state, either modern or Islamic, have tried to promote their agenda by using the woman and the home as the subjects and also the objects of modernization and Islamization.

**Keywords:** the woman, the home, modernization, Islamization, Iran

# ÖZ

'Modernite' ve 'Modernizasyon Süreci'nin İran'da araştırılmasında, geleneği ve özgün kültürü koruyan sıradışı konumuyla '**kadın**' ve öte yandan tüm bunları barındırma işlevi gören **'konut/ev'** kadının aile ortamındaki rolüne açıklık getirdikleri için aslında birbirinden kolay ayrılamayan temel konular olarak ortaya çıkarlar. Cinsiyet ve mekan kimliği arasındaki karşılıklı ilişki göstermiştir ki, gerek modernizasyon ve gerekse 'İslamizasyon' etkisiyle oluşan sosyo-kültürel değişimlerin cinsiyet kimliğine olan etkileri, mekan kimliğine; ya da mekan kimliğindeki etkilenmeler de cinsiyet kimliğine hep yansımıştır. Dolayısıyla, bu çalışmanın zamansal akışı içinde, farklı devlet yönetimlerinin İran'daki '**kadın sorunsalı'**na yönelik geliştirdikleri farklı bakışlar irdelenmekte, böylelikle İran Kadını'nın çeşitli ideolojik yaklaşımların etkisinde değişen toplumsal rolü ve kimliği tartışılmaktadır. Daha da ötesinde çalışma, karşıt olmaktan çok katlanan kavramlar olarak ele alınan özel ve kamusal alandaki başkalaşımları, İran konutunun 19 yüzyıldan başlayarak günümüze kadar devam eden sosyo-kültürel ve politik değişmelere bağlı dönüşümünü göstermek yolunda elverişli bir tartışma ekseni olarak değerlendirmektedir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kadın, Konut, modernizasyon, İslamileşmesi, İran

Dedicated to

Nima, my best friend, who kept me going;

And my little one, Sam, for his better understanding of women`s world.

# ACKNOWLEDGMENT

# PREFACE

The enthusiasm for conducting this research originated from an intellectual curiosity about prevalent myths and narratives about woman and home in Iranian society. However, one particular story my grandmother narrated when I was 15 years old, fascinated me most among the many other stories I had heard; she has spent her life throughout three different political periods in Iran. The story was about an unforgettable day she, her mother and two other women were going to a farm in the small village they used to live in. It was the same year Reza Shah announced the unveiling order in the year 1936. She used to give us a very detailed account of how they faced two policemen and were immediately asked to take off their veils. The officer, who wished to enforce the law, pursued them once they started to escape. My grandmother vividly describes the image of her friend with her long woven hair dangling in mid-air, while her chador was cut into pieces by the officer. I have listened to this story several times; meanwhile, my mother had numerous stories of her own about how she had been forced to wear a veil by Ayatollah Khomeini's order after the Islamic revolution.  Because of physical attacks, street harassments and at the end being threatened to lose her job as a schoolteacher, she finally got veiled in the same way my grandmother was forced to lose hers. I was born in the early years after the founding of the Islamic regime. I grew up in a secular family while obeying the Islamic practices in school, university and public areas every day. I have been forced to face many paradoxes and contradictions. The paradoxical experiences my grandmother, my mother and I have had, in terms of "being veiled, unveiled and re-veiled", clearly shows how women's bodies have been used by those in power, whether Islamic or secular, to establish their image and ideology.

By focusing on the role of women, debates about the dualities of other/self, foreign/local and the concept of public and private emerge; in the midst of these dualities, women are said to be the agents of domesticity, belonging to the private space, that is embodied by the home. The woman`s body portrays the self-identity of women, also metaphorically it may present the national identity at large. On the other hand, the boundary of home, as a nest for family and its metaphoric denotation as the homeland for the nation, symbolizes the idea of privacy, which stands opposite to the public sphere.

The mentioned analogy between the woman and home has led the author to investigate how far the concept of womanhood and home have been transformed under the impact of ideological tides through modernization in Iran. Considering the semi-colonial history of Iran and its often contradictory regimes, the way in which 'others' and 'ideas' coming from the top have altered the mentioned interwoven concepts will mainly be discussed. Another concern this study aims to answer is whether or not the transformation of the role of women and similar transformations - from traditional to modern- on homes have been under the influence of the same shifting state ideologies.

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# INTRODUCTION

Investigating modernity within Middle Eastern countries, the pivotal position of the domestic realm emerges as one of the significant battlegrounds between modernity and tradition; the tight, interwoven relationship between the woman as one of the main preservers of traditions and the home as the container of backward customs, renders the woman`s position and the domestic sphere significant in modernization discourse.

Classical and prevalent texts about modernization in the Middle East point to popular binary concepts such as private/public, traditional/modern, Islamic and secular. These dichotomies appear as the primary factors needed for understanding the conflict between the so-called backward East and the Modern West. The Orientalist point of view toward modernization, assigns "superior" concepts, such as modern, secular and developed principles, to the West; while, the East is trapped with traditional, Islamic and "ignorant" ideologies. By taking into account the well-known and prevalent dichotomies, this research questions the strong edges that separate the East and its social matters from the West. The present study attempts to provide a new outlook towards classical and old established views of Woman Question and domestic space in Iran.

The analogy between the 'Eastern woman`s veiled body' and the 'privacy of her domestic sphere' (this analogy has got inspiration from Gulsum Baydar (2002) in "Tenuous boundaries: women, domesticity and nationhood in 1930s Turkey) has inspired this research to propose a framework through which the alternation of woman`s performance and her iconic body along with the transition of domestic space (shifts of public/private binaries) could be clarified. Accordingly, the major objectives of the present study are as below:

Defining the significant positions of "Woman" and "Domesticity" through modernization and Islamization process in Iran along with their metaphorical connections and mutual relations.

Determining the transformation of the Iranian domestic realm, its architectural and cultural aspects along with the active agency of Iranian woman, her changing role within home and society.

Comparing the ways of modernizing and Islamizing women and homes by different states.

The main obsession in conducting this research was to explore the socio-cultural upheavals through modernizing attitude of the Pahlavi dynasty (1925-79) to move from traditional society to modern one; but in order to have a more holistic view, it seems necessary to look back to the Qajar era (1985-1925), especially the late Qajar when the modernity as a new term of social existence which was extremely different to all past forms tried to find its way into Iranian society by the quest of Renewalsits and intellectuals which led to the emergence of the constitutional era."Renewalism"

was an amorphous cultural movement that began in the nineteenth century with thinkers like Akhundzadeh. It called for the moral and material rebirth of Iran, utilizing a mix of modern European technology and culture and a renewed awareness of the pre-Mongol, pre- Saljuq Turk, and pre-Islamic Iranian past. A central project of renewalism was improving the status of women in society. The constitutional era emerged after constitutional revolution (1905-07) during the Qajar dynasty (1785-1925), when the quest for building an independent country and unrestricted nation from backwardness and traditions was demanded by Iranian intellectuals.

Although this study mainly focuses on the period in which modernization was strongly demanded by an Iranian dynasty (Pahlavi) but it also looks forward to anti modernization period which started in late Pahlavi and got extra credit in Islamic regime (1979 up to now) (figure 1).



| Qajar (1785-1925) | | Pahlavi Dynasty (1925-79) | | | Islamic State (1979 up to now) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Late Qajar (1905-25) Constitutional Revolution Demanding Modernity (1905-25) | First Pahlavi Nation Building program (1925-41) | Second Pahlavi Modernist trends (1941-1979) | Islamic Revolutionary Era Anti-Modernist trends (1977-1979) | Post Revolutionary Period Anti- modernist state From the establishment of the regime till the end of the war between Iran and Iraq (1979-88) Contemporary era |

Figure 1. The timeline of political changes in Iran

In order to clarify aforementioned objectives, the following part expands the debates and explicates the standpoints of this research through five subsections; it also

attempts to explain the methodology and the status of existing literature review in this area.

## 1.1 Theoretical Background

### 1.1.1 Woman and Home, Swinging between Modernity and Tradition

Modernity and tradition have been simply approached as contradictory terms. Many classical theories have considered traditions as the main barrier blocking the way to modernization, which by default was demanded by all nations (Lerner, 1964). The interests of the West in the East and their efforts to modernize non-Western cultures could be followed by well-known key concepts such as Orientalism, Colonialism, Post-Colonialism, Capitalism and Globalism.

The efforts of Western countries to modernize the Middle East have revealed their belief of cultural superiority and their opinion that they can offer a more desirable model for life, which was both dictated and also advertised by the West. Modernity has a controversial character in Middle Eastern countries, which according to the orientalist point of view, has always been engaged with backwardness in contrary to the advanced West. Orientalism, as Said (1978) pointed out is a framework through which the 'colonial interferences' became easier and was even introduced under the guise of reform programs in colonized countries. In non-Western contexts, besides dealing with modernity, locals experienced an extra dimension of foreignness (westernization) by means of imposed ideas and adaption processes. Evidently, the imported concepts and reforms could barely take place as planned since indigenous cultures and rituals struggled either to refuse or localize and adapt the new ideas as their own rather than simply accepting them as they were handed down (this debate is expanded in chapter 3).

Studying the process of modernization in Middle Eastern countries and having Islam as the current religion (except in Israel), Moghadam (1993) believes that Egypt, Turkey and Iran more or less went through similar processes. Rhetorically and practically, in the challenge between tradition and modernity, Islam very often replaced traditions and became the major barrier toward modernization in those countries; Hence, Islam and modernity appeared as contradictory concepts and fought each other on different battlegrounds.

What is worth mentioning here is that having rich oil reserves led to a strong distinction between Iran, on the one hand, and Turkey and Egypt, on the other, in the modernization process. As a result, Iran was not turned into a colonized country like Egypt, but a semi-colonized one. The lucrative oil industry spurred the British to station many foreigners in the country. After World War II, Iran became one of the frontlines of the Cold War between American capitalism and Russian communism between 1940 and 1990. The Point Four Program was actually a technical assistance program which was defined specifically for developing countries by Harry S. Truman the president of the United States. After the Second World War through the Cold War period, this program was supposed to pave the path for the presence of the U.S. in third world nations under the framework of reforming plans; It had holistic plans in many fields such as health, agriculture, industry, officials, etc. to raise the standard of living conditions for people. Under the title of missionaries and agents of the Truman IV Point program, foreigners tried to reform the Iranian domestic realm as the backbone of the nation, reshape Iranians' daily life pattern and control their consumer culture as well. The current study explores how through these mentioned programs; Iranian women took their particular position as the agents of their nation.

By the establishment of the 'nation state' program and the emergence of many governmental and bureaucratic jobs, society witnessed the rise of a new social class 'the white collar middle-class' who were obedient to the first Pahlavi state. Advertisements on modern home, modern furniture and lifestyles mainly targeted the middle-classes. On the other hand, along with introducing new concepts via advertising, missionaries provided the opportunity for local people to witness and experience the European lifestyle either through daily life or formal training programs. In some cases, missionary efforts worked with national education programs to offer classes for girls, which took place in a kind of artificial spatial setting modeled based on the modern home. Women, in particular, used to be trained on new ways of domesticity. Providing the opportunity to introduce the new lifestyle, the large population of workers living in oil-rich cities such as Abadan and Masjed Soleyman became the active agents of this civic mission in Iran. Therefore, apart from the elites, working class people were also the target of modernism in the oil city.

Imposed concepts for domestic and public realms were implemented alongside modifications in gender roles. Adapting Western patterns and devaluing local cultures seemed to be the only way to emancipate Middle Eastern people, especially the women (Abu-Lughod, 1998), who according to postcolonial theories are the main victims of traditions. On the other hand, the concept of modern womanhood, which was introduced in the late 19th century, in the late Qajar era and was developed in the first Pahlavi period from 1925 to1941, could be considered as the pivotal issue in the modernization period. In this regard, while women were encouraged to participate in public life, their ideal role in contributing to the development program of the country was based on their connectivity with home, since their public presence was not

welcome. Instead, the modern home was the ideal locus for the modern woman to serve her country by nurturing the modern nation within it.

Although during the Islamic Revolutionary era of 1977-1979, women were widely encouraged to take part in street protests, after the shift in the regime from secular to Islamic in 1979, many jobs were taken from women and their public lives became restricted and limited. With the precipitation of war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the ideal women were introduced as Muslim mothers, giving birth to Muslim soldiers to protect the Islamic state from enemies. Muslim mothers were supposed to shield their pious homes from being the showcase of foreign commodities. It is logical to say that women`s ideal role in different social movements, both secular and Islamic, have been defined based on their close ties to their family and home.

### 1.1.2 The Inextricable Relation and Resemblance between Woman and Home

Literature regarding the link between woman and home has found broad discussions among philosophers and feminists; one of the controversial debates has been raised by feminists who criticize the well-known article - *Building Dwelling Thinking*- of the key figure in phenomenology, and refer to 'gender trouble' in 'Heidegger's dwelling'. According to some poststructuralist feminists such as Young and Irigaray, Heidegger's definition of the home in his article, *Building Dwelling Thinking* is male based. In mentioned article, Heidegger referred to the dwelling as a means of being. His well-known debate is that humans can dwell to gain subjectivity, only via "building" which has two aspects: constructing and cultivating. Cultivating as Young (2001) declares, implies preservation: "One mode of building consists in cherishing, protecting, preserving, and caring for, whose paradigm is agriculture, the cultivation of the soil" (p.255). Young (2001) mentions the act of building as a male activity, and she argues, "If building [...] is basic to the emergence of subjectivity, to dwelling

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in the world with identity and history, then it would appear that only men are subjects. On the whole, women do not build" (p.255); she claims that Heidegger has ignored the importance of preservation, which is feminine by nature as it is interwoven with nurturing and caretaking activities. What men build is only sustained due to the nurturing role that females play. Hence, Young (2001) tries to integrate women into the process of gaining identity. She believes that the temporality of preservation should not be devalued as preservation is a regular work that requires energy again and again; "home as materialization of identity does not fix identity; it anchors it in physical being that makes continuity between past and present" (p. 271).

In *The Forgetting of Air*, Luce Irigaray reviews Heidegger's idea of dwelling and theorizes a perception of subjectivity that relies on air and the maternal body in contrary with a dwelling which contains founding boundaries and edges between beings and the world. She proposes "adding gender to Heidegger's notion of dwelling can help us complicate his philosophy and overall it gives us a more nuanced idea of home" (Cassolet, 2015, p.22).

There is a strong body and long tradition of feminist literature which appraising domesticity and home for representing the "private sphere" which excluded women from accomplishing their existence in means rather than being mother or via their marital status. Feminists criticize the close relationship between women and home in which women as mother, wife, daughter, etc. act as nurturer and caretaker. Women are responsible for forming the sense of security and comfort within the boundaries of the nest, which at the same time confine them (Blunt, 2005; Blunt & Dowling, 2006). The home, isolated from the dangerous, risky, brutal and masculine life of the

outside, is an apolitical, safe and standstill arena. Similarly, the woman running this sphere is also detached from the public arena, stuck with devalued housework and unaware of what is going on outside the home (Rosaldo, 1974; Spain, 2000; Rose, 1993). Such an approach excludes women from the modern way of life. It states that since women are assigned to the home and housekeeping duties, they cannot belong to any modern associations. Because modern associations reject any form of belonging to a certain space providing stability and safety.

The woman is encouraged to leave the domestic space behind in order to gain her identity as an equal individual and become a part of the modern world (Frieden, 1963). Choosing displacement rather than attachment to a safe and secure place has become a model for feminists who reject any positive aspect of the home.

However, Young does not support the idea of rejection the concept of the home. She sees home, as a complex ideal, should not be entirely rejected or embraced by feminist theory; it should rather be criticized and reworked to make it a positive value (Casselot,2015). Young (2001) proposes a different way of perceiving home that offers a layout in which women gain their identity within its borders. As Holland (2001) declares, "she [Young]…offers an alternative way of understanding home that can provide grounds for a laboratory reconceptualization of safety, privacy, and the relationship between one's self and one's physical and historical place in the world" (p. 47). The aforementioned view towards woman and home has also raised disagreements among feminist geographers such as McDowell (1999) and Massey, who believed that feminists had built their arguments upon the abstract and normative definition of the home and womanhood. As Johnson (1996) argues: 'a normative definition of womanhood in which desires for home as comfort, intimacy

and everydayness appear to be what "we" [...] ought to be leaving behind' (1996: 453-454), Johnson (1996) argues that in order to 'destabilize normative definitions' of womanhood, feminists have to avoid setting up their own normative definitions in which a desire for the home is considered as 'inappropriate, even perhaps shameful, something that we hope to move "beyond"' (1996: 454 in Kılıçkıran, 2013).

Womanhood could be perceived as a dynamic concept, playing different roles, finding its position in the face of any incoming circumstances, whether they be social, political or cultural. In this regard, according to Hook (1990) – a post-colonial feminist- home could be seen as a ground in which identities would be reconstructed alongside the social forces (Hook, 1990).

Many writers have addressed the resemblance between woman and home, and have drawn an analogy between her body and the concept of domestic space; Best (1995) refers to theories in which the question of space goes hand in hand with the question of woman referring to space as a container of human habitation. Likewise, woman`s body is able to contain life within itself (Best, 1995). Bachelard (1969) explicitly refers to the 'maternal features of the house' and states, in his own words, that "the house is a woman -a warm, cozy, sheltering, uterine home" (1969, p. 7).

In line with the connection, which is seen to exist between the concepts of Woman and Home, examples can be cited from pop culture in Iran, which corroborate this claim. A prevalent word in Qajar literature, *Manzel*, was a common nomenclature referring to both the home and the woman in Iranian society. Aside from the metaphoric similarity between the two meanings, this truly reveals woman`s attachment to the home. Calling a woman not by her own name but any word related

to property, reveals her position as one of the man`s possessions which also could not be recognized out of the boundary of home. Assigning women to domestic space as one of the man`s belongings may reveal the patriarchal system of masculine power.

Marxist feminists discuss the power production and reproduction embodied in gendered spatial differences- public and private-; Rosaldo (1974 cited in Kılıçkıran, 2013), argues that assigning women to the domestic arena was not related to their reproduction and providing service roles; rather, it was culturally constructed. Furthermore, she points to Harvey's (1990, p.419) statement that "the assignment of place within a socio-spatial structure indicates distinctive roles, capacities for action, and access to power within the social order." Woman`s marginal role within family and society at large is a socio-culturally constructed concept reflected in the spatial configuration of home (Ardener, 1993).

As an anthropologist, Khatib-Chahidi (1981) indicates, the spatial configuration of the Iranian traditional homes has been determined based on the kinship between men and women. Those men and women who according to their affinity (as defined by the Islamic jurists) are not allowed to marry each other are said to be *mahram*. They are permitted to share the same physical space. On the other hand, those who are *na-mahram* to each other are not allowed to be alone with each other in any place, since there is a possibility for them to sin. This religious-cultural concept -*mahram/na-mahram*- was one of the major factors which shaped the separation of the domestic and public spheres and also the division between *andaruni* and *biruni* sections of Iranian homes, similar to their Turkish counterpart *harem* and *selamlık* in traditional Turkish houses.

**1.1.3 The Analogy between 'Border of the Body' and 'Boundary of the Home'**

The private vs. public dichotomy in Middle Eastern studies has found itself in juxtaposition with other opposing terms such as traditional/modern and Islam/the West. As Göle (1953) mentions, "The position of women [in the Middle East] is the determining factor in these conflicts framing the existing dualities, such as Islam/the West, traditional/modern, equality/difference and *mahram*/*namahram*, private/public" (p.30). Gender segregation within the home, which limited the woman`s access to some parts of her own territory, and also restricted access to public spaces and facilities is based on the idea of keeping her away from public gaze. Moreover, as Spain (2000) believes, this idea reveals the gender stratification, by claiming that women's status is a production of different cultural, religious, and socioeconomic items, the physical separation of men and women leads to gender stratification by reducing women's access to socially valued knowledge which are produced by men.

It is worth to be mentioned here that despite the strong ties and attachment of women to the home, and since public life was not institutionally established for men at the time, generally a particular part of the house -*biruni*- provided a daily secure space for the public life of the male members of the family.

Veiling and gender segregation are two interwoven concepts that go hand in hand in Islamic societies, and both have been challenged via the modernization agenda in the late 19th in Iran. The gender segregation in Iranian society with its paternalist structure, confined women in an excluded arena: the hidden locus or the private space; while men had the opportunity to be mobile agents with broad access to public space and public knowledge. During the Qajar period in Iran, gender segregation and

the homo-society of both men and women gave way to Western criticism. They pointed to the status quo as the main cause for homosexuality and a sign of ignorance in Eastern societies (Najmabadi, 2005). The Eastern women`s veiled body were perceived as a declaration that Islamic ideology is opposed to Western modernity. However, veiling has been a constant symbol of backwardness and has had a long history of strengthening the dichotomy between the East and the West. Najmabadi (2005) refers to the woman's veil not only as a visible marker of cultural difference between Iran and Europe, but also as the most visible marker of gender segregation and a key signifier of the homo-society. No other symbol -like female body- could more clearly reveal the distinction of the 'otherness of Islam' for Westerners. Therefore, the female body is interpreted as a 'political site' of dissimilarities and a battlefield in which the West normalizes its standards and exports them to other nations (Amin, 2005).

The concept of the civic body and its transformation, as introduced in the foreword, could be itself the layout for studying the process of modernization, Capitalization, Islamization and so far globalization within Iranian society. The body, as Foucault (1979) pointed out, could be considered as a ground in which culture turns individuals into subjects. Negotiating the boundary of the body and its given civic code, which has the potential to bestow gender and at the same time to strip it away, will be taken into account as a result of the tensions and struggles between the aforementioned upheavals in Iran. During the Pahlavi era (1925-41), the civic body turns into a unifying object in service of the nation-state, helping it through the westernization and modernization process. Meanwhile, while the female body was about to get physically unveiled, metaphorically it was supposed to be veiled by chastity. Chastity was the shield for protecting women from negative masculine

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attitudes toward women`s presence within public space. Iranian men did not give up their public territory to females easily. In order to have a disciplined body as well as a modern, disciplined language, women were asked to turn their sexual body into a neutral and de-sexualized one.

Similarly, in the Islamic Revolutionary era, ranging from 1977-1979, when Ayatollah Khomeini ordered women to be re-veiled as a primary agenda of the Islamic state, the civic body carried a message of Islamic ideologies in both the national and international arena (Moallem, 2005). So, the ideal woman, dubbed the Muslim mother, appeared in street graffiti sometimes with no face, and her body was portrayed in posters and graffiti as being completely gender neutral.

It was not only the female body which went through modifications during different political states in Iran, but also the domestic layout in which it performed her activities went through upheavals and transformation as well. Just as someone`s body may draw the border between self and others (through veiling for instance), the boundaries of space also define the arena of private and public. Here, it may be logical to define a relation between 'veiling', as a shield protecting the body of Eastern women from Western intrusion and 'privacy of the domestic realm', which was the arena in which local people could keep their culture and customs untouched from foreigners and state ideologies. In this regard, studying the shifts between public and private spheres of Iranian houses becomes more complicated, because even within the boundary of the house, which is generally perceived as a private locus (as opposed to the public arena), there are gender-segregated spaces (entitled as *Andaruni/Biruni*) belonging to different sexes.

As many other scholars have also pointed out, the private sphere could refer to both the Middle Eastern female body and the private space she has been confined to and within which she keeps national traditions. In post-colonial and feminist literature, home is in the core, defining the relation between space and gender identity.

The boundary between self and others, rather than assigning the home as a component of woman identity, can be considered as a site of resistance (Hook, 1990). Celik (1997) also stated that Algerian homes were the place where the local culture was preserved and protected from the intruding French colonialists. Moreover, she describes domestic space as an inviolable space where local people kept their identity and culture within.

## 1.2 The Woman Question in Diversity

Apparently, the Orientalist point of view emphasizes the duality between modern countries and non-modern ones which by default desire modernity and perceive the West as a complete model to imitate: The West is thought to be modern, while the East was not. The Middle East did not belong to the 'carnival of changes' (Gole, 1953, p. 28); So Middle Eastern nations had lost every opportunity to get rid of their dark backwardness. Women, in this regard, had the most prominent place, as they were at the same time the agents and also the victims of backward tradition. If we accept the gender role as a socially constructed, ongoing and dynamic concept, then the rigidity and passiveness of the oriental view imposed on the Eastern women would be quite prejudice and unfair. The Oriental point of view toward women has been challenged by intellectuals like Keddie (2007), who has criticized the rigid and exaggerated western scholars` view toward Middle Eastern women as primary victims. She believes that "The ideals of women's seclusion and the separation of

genders were misinterpreted to mean that most women lived lives without meaning or satisfaction" (p.125). Pointing to the changeable notion of Islam, Keddie (2007) invited scholars not to restrict their views toward Eastern women to the primitive Islamic era when religious practices were untouched and primary; instead, she asks them to follow the changes and updates which Muslims gradually applied in their daily lives and practices. Meanwhile, Moghadam (1993) emphasizes the significant role of gender in social changes such as modernization; she argues that in Middle Eastern countries, middle-class women are the major actors of social change. As Abu-Lughad (1998) also points out, the middle-class along with women from the elite class were the major groups involved in social movements. Furthermore, Moghadam (1993) claims that the Woman Question and improving woman`s status within society and family framework, has been a pivotal effort of different social and political changes all around the world not particularly in the Middle Eastern Cultures. In Iran, however, emancipating women was primarily considered in the formation of "national liberation, state building and self-conscious attempts" to reach modernity (Moghadam, 1993, p.70). Moreover, the Woman Question in Iran was one of the battlegrounds between secularism and Islamism, both of which wanted to control and shape the outcome of the conflict. In other words, the Woman Question emerged as an issue both Islamic and secular creeds, had strict ideologies about and considered it as the requisite factor framing an Islamic or modern society. Evidently, there was a wide range of modernizing programs established by foreigner or local state in the Middle East, which considered women as their object. In Iran, with the emergence of State Building in the early 20th century, the making of modern woman stands at the core of the conflict and challenge between secular state, foreign missionaries and religious forces. In a relevant manner, her individuality, sexuality and labor within

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family and society were reconsidered. Domestic modernity applied by the state introduced the "modern woman" as the main subject of modernity and the agent of its nation who was supposed to run a "Modern Home" and raise a "Modern Family" and metaphorically a "Modern Nation" within the Modern Home. In this regard, the desirable pattern introduced through the media and press was European women and families. In the same line, the national effort for emancipating women through unveiling and providing education and work opportunities, as will be discussed more in detail in the second chapter of this study, did not touch the deeper layout of women`s lives. While most of the people did not defend breaking the patriarchal system within the family, modernizing women was simply restricted to be trained as better mothers and cultured partners (Kandiyoti, 1991). The patriarchal boundaries had been formerly accepted by social reformers, and even feminists could not stand against it. The major effort by feminists was to make women aware of their status as equal citizens, but their individuality and personality was not deeply taken into account as it belonged to the patriarchal family structure trapped by the clergy. Amin (2005) looks at the Woman Question in Iran, not as a quest for emancipation but rather, in his view, it was a matter of struggle between different patriarchal systems and male guardianship.

This study aims to investigate the way in which different reforms and agenda approached the Woman Question in Iran. The prevalent view towards the Iranian veiled woman is still the one describing her as being trapped in ignorance and backwardness.

By referring to the emergence of first woman`s movements in Iran through late Qaiar era and following the continuity of this trend in Iranian society, in contrast with the

common view towards Eastern women, the present research proposes a new and fresh view toward Iranian women; how these women struggled to criticize, shape and reshape the roles imposed upon them. Meanwhile, the reflection of their attitude will be followed by their social and cultural assigned space: their homes. This study will explore how during the constitutional period (from 1905 to 1907), women stood up for their rights. In the Pahlavi period, while the modern woman was introduced as the agent of the nation, anti-capitalist feminist intellectuals accused women as being nothing more than a pretty doll, a tool for capitalism and the object of modernization, rather than an agent and the subject of modernist trends. After the victory of the Islamic revolution, revolutionary women who used to be considered as militant and were fighting beside men were pushed aside, their individuality was hidden under the title of the Muslim mother. Their ideal role was defined as the manager of the devout home and being the mother of soldiers serving Islam. Radical governmental attitude toward gender issues and their misunderstanding of feminism have led them to perceive the Woman Question as a quest proposing that the woman`s position is higher than that of man`s (Mir-Hosseini, 2002). As a result, the Woman Question was transformed into a problem, not a facet of an emancipated nation.

The Woman Question in the Middle East should be investigated through the differing political projects of nation-states, with their distinct histories, relationships to Colonialism and the West, class politics, ideological use of an Islamic idiom and struggles over the role of Islamic law in the state legal apparatuses (Kandiyoti, 1991). This fact may explain the chronological order of this study, while different states have taken different attitudes toward the Woman Question in Iran, the shifting role and identity of Iranian women will be discussed. Along with the differentiation of gender roles, the spatial boundaries of home –the intimate sphere of the woman- also

went through transitions due to different cultural, political and social upheavals. Addressing the woman`s transitional role, this research is mostly indebted to the works of Moallem (2005) and Sedghi (2007) whose holistic points of view and analytical interpretation towards the issue of gender in Iranian society have inspired this study to draw an analogy between the history of the Woman Question and the transition of metaphoric aspects of the Iranian home.

## 1.3 Iranian Home in Transition; the Shift in Physical and Non-Physical Aspects

Taking the gender role into account in studying the house as a physical entity, the present research has mostly relied on the works of art historians and architects, such as Bakhtiar and Hillenbrand (1983) and Grigor (2007) whose works are engaged with the social influences in art and architecture along with gender roles. Isenstadt and Kishwar (2008) explain how architecture could be considered as a strong icon, revealing the local culture and national identity. Marefat (1988) also conducted a detailed research about the architecture of the nation state period in Tehran. Like many other fields, architecture in Middle Eastern countries was used for the development of reform programs aiming at modernization.

The Middle East from the architectural point of view has always been carrying rich traditions but at the same time, has acted poorly in responding to the modernity (probably because of its rich culture and tradition). Facing the modern movement, Middle Eastern countries created their own version of modernity either concomitant with or different from the modern agenda and sometimes even a hybrid of both, traditions and the modern agenda, have been created.

The architecture of house has become controversial in the State Building process in Iran as well as in Turkey and Egypt. The modern house has been defined as the primitive arena in which the modern family and modern nation were supposed to evolve. Bozdogan (2001) conducted an interdisciplinary study about the 'Cubic House' in the early republic period in Turkey. Moreover, she has expanded her study in her collaboration with Bertram (2008). They perceived the Ottoman era as the hallmark of the past, while the modernist republican houses were the symbol of the nation`s prospect. They discussed how symbolically the architecture of the modern home could inspire national architecture.

In Egypt, also Pollard`s (2005) study of the modern domestic realm explored how the architecture of the modern home and the new culture of consumption in the domestic realm, transferred the Nation State`s ideologies to the people. Another study of Egyptian households by Shechter (2003) shows how in countries such as Egypt, Turkey, Palestine, and Israel, transitions in the culture of consumption has been planned via the media, periodical press and school books by the state. People in those regions were encouraged to make changes in their domestic realm. Since the domestic realm has been perceived as the main backbone of the population, its improvement would be tantamount to that of the nation itself.

Despite minor differences, Iran, more or less, went through the same process as Turkey and Egypt, but unfortunately, there is no comprehensive study on the transformation of Iranian houses and their so-called outstanding position in the modernization process.

As advertised by the first Pahlavi reign, the new lifestyle of the modern nation was supposed to be provided within the modern home. The role of the periodical presses and media in easing the transition of consuming culture in the domestic realm is undeniable. As a result, the architecture of housing went through many alternations and became more secular. One of the most pivotal changes in Iranian houses is the merging that took place between the public and private spaces of the house. The modern home became a kind of showcase, presenting its noble inhabitants; while its residents were inside the home, they could find themselves in a kind of public sphere by watching the outdoors easily through huge glassy surfaces and even being seen by public gaze at the same time. It has to be mentioned here that not only do the façade characteristics support the public side of the dwelling, but also space organization gives more importance to the public use of home as well.

During the Islamic Revolutionary era (from 1977 to 1979), the domestic realm and its manager –the Muslim mother- were taken into account by Shiite modernists, who were a community of mostly non-cleric but religious scholars (they were not *mollas*). Their major effort was to revive the spiritual aspects of Islam rather than its practices of everyday life for Muslims. Shiite modernists were not a very well formed community in Iran since the origin of Shiite modernity was rooted in Egypt. The footprints of Shiite modernists could be followed through their efforts to update Islamic practices related to home culture and to build a new agenda for Muslim mothers to apply in their home and society. The efforts of Shiite modernists to define relations with women and the domestic realm started during the last decade of the second Pahlavi regime (the 70s). Karimi (2012) explains how the modern reinterpretation of Islamic discourse related to domestic space came into account to establish the new dialogue with women who wanted to be modern but at the same

time were supposed to remain Muslim. What is referred to in this study as the 'pious home' refers to the proposed housing model of Islamic scholars for Muslims.

With the establishment of the Islamic regime in 1979, anything associated with modernity became a hallmark of alienation. The ideal model of home (i.e., the pious home) was mostly conceptual. Unlike the modern home, there was no certain agenda for decorating, architecture and generally the material aspects of the pious home; instead, the spiritual dimension of the home came into account, which would pave the path for growing the pious family.

Today, more than three decades after the establishment of the Islamic regime in Iran, considering the effects of Globalization, social values have been dramatically changed.

During the Pahlavi period, the flag bearing the modern manifests of the state was carried first by the elites and later by middle-class people. While in the Islamic Revolutionary era, there were poor and low-class people to whom the revolution was literally indebted. The wide range of immigration to cities during the 2nd Pahlavi era, and the serious problem of providing housing led the rural population and immigrants to shape shanties and slums around the large cities. People with no adequate housing conditions formed the majority of the Islamic revolutionary soldiers later on during the Islamic Revolution. Khomeini in his speeches several times names them as the main pillars of the Islamic society (Khomeini, 1989).

As discussed earlier, during the Pahlavi era the elites and high-income families revealed their lifestyle in the architecture of their houses, in the very first steps by

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imitating governmental palaces, European villas, and the American Dream concept. On the other hand, after Islamic revolution people from the lower classes of society, who were loyal to revolutionary values, applied the concept of the devout house. In this case, Khomeini`s own home with its devout image became the main model in which a very pious life could form a virtuous and moral family.

In this study, the way in which the architecture of home has been defined in accordance to different state ideologies concerning gender issues and consuming culture is discussed. Meanwhile, the way in which imposed concepts from above have been negotiated and reinterpreted by people will be explored. These mentioned debates have been tracked in books, articles, intellectual treatise, Iranian periodical press and archival records. This research may be considered as an attempt to fill the paucity of resource and references on the transition of Iranian houses; meanwhile, the active agency of Iranian women in those houses, based on current social, cultural and political upheavals will be followed.

## 1.4 The Methodology and Outline of the Dissertation

### 1.4.1 Methodology

As mentioned above, the desirable model of Iranian women and Iranian homes - defined by different political states- has been individually reported by many studies. However, the relationship between the ideal woman and the ideal house through the different political tides in Iran has been largely ignored. This research mainly focuses on the ways in which the late Qajar, first Pahlavi, second Pahlavi and the Islamic state tried to either modernize or Islamize both Iranian women and houses, and introduced them as the hallmarks of their success during the establishment of their agenda; It contributes to the existing literature by comparing the substance and the

output of two quests by Renewalists, Reza Shah, Mohamad Reza Shah and Ayatollah Khomeini: to modernize/Islamize `women` and to modernize/Islamize `houses`. In this regard, present research contains a 'documentary analysis' of scholarly works regarding the transition of Woman Question and Domestic realm.

After studying a wide range of scholarly works, certain criteria have been considered for collecting the most related data for documentary analysis; so that, present dissertation has benefited most by two groups of researchers: (a) the ones who have emphasized the importance of gender role and domestic realm in the Nation Building programs, modernization and Islamization of the Middle Eastern societies. (b) The second group are those scholars who have considered gender and space as 'social constructed' and 'changing phenomenon'. In what follows two mentioned categories will be explained more:

(a) Scholars such as Duben and Cem (2002), Campo (1991) and Ghannam (2002) have tried to map the ties between gender, domestic space, and religion in addition to the socio-cultural and political issues in the Middle Eastern way of dealing with Modernity. In Turkey, scholars such as Z.F Arat (1998, 1999), Durakpaşa (1998), Y. Arat (1998) and Baydar (2002) have investigated the prominent role and the special position of women in the family and homes designed by the Nation-Building program. Likewise, in Egypt, Badran (1996), Pollard (2005) and Baron (2005) explored the same subject area under the reign of Muhammad Ali. They discussed the significant efforts of middle-class women within and beyond domestic arena in gaining national independence.

In Iran, historians such as Amin (2002), Najmabadi (2005), Paydar (1995), Haeri (1981) and Hoodfar (1997) have created a body of literature by reviewing and negotiating gender roles through modernizing and Islamizing Iran. It has been tried to underline their point of view mainly regarding women`s position in public arena in case of veiling issue and their job opportunities along with their position within the family threshold considering the transition of the family law.

Issues of gender and sexuality were central to the formation of modernist and counter modernist discourse, and these contestations continue to be central to contemporary politics within Iran and many other Islamic societies of the Middle East (Paydar, 1995). Najmabadi (2005) reminds us of the importance of gender roles in making modern history not as a "leftover" impact of culture and traditions, but as a central effect of modernity itself (Najmabadi, 2005).

(b) Scholars such as Bulter (1999), Lips (2003) and Baydar (2003) have emphasized on gender and space as 'social constructed' and 'changing phenomenon'. The interactive approach between gender identity and spatial identity, proposes that any modification of gender identity through any socio-cultural changes, led by either modernization or Islamization forces, will cause changes in spatial identity (whether in its physical aspects or social ones) and vice versa. Investigating the relation between woman and home in Iran through modernization, aforementioned theories led the present research to find itself in accordance with those scholars considered the positive aspects of home in building the woman`s identity; those who see the notion of home and woman`s identity as ongoing concepts rather than rigid, fix and passive ones.

In this research altering the boundary of public and private spheres - as two folded concepts rather than conceptual oppositions- has been evaluated as the convenient and well-related debate to explore the transformation of the Iranian houses through socio-cultural and political changes from late 19<sup>th</sup> up to the present time.

Aside from mentioned scholarly works in this field, the periodical press of the time, newspaper articles and government policy records –regarding the modernization and Islamization of women and homes- in Iran also have been gathered; these documents have been reached mostly from three main libraries, the National Library of Iran, the *Astan-e Ghods* Library of Mashhad and the Library of Congress in Washington. Meanwhile, private archives have also played a significant role in data collecting process.

It has to be mentioned here that although analyzing the Iranian houses -which is itself an expanded research-, is not the focus of this dissertation but the list of changes in the physical and non-physical aspects of the Iranian houses, which led to secularization and Islamization of the domestic realm are within the scope of this research.

Meanwhile, the effects of policies regarding secularization and Islamization of the society on women`s lives not only within domestic spaces but also in public arena will be explored. In this regard, the active agency of Iranian women through states` legislation for modernization and de-modernization of the society will be explicated. This research may pave the path for rethinking the orientalist point of view toward Eastern women which consider them as passive and the victims of traditions.

By exploring the socio-political upheavals in Iran during modernization and de-modernization era in country, this research tried to have a holistic view toward the Woman Question and domestic arena in Iran from the past up to now.

The main limitation in studying the changes in Iranian domestic realm is the lack of an architectural archive. Since architectural documents were not required until decades after the first Pahlavi era, there are limited architectural sources for relevant research interests. While still many of traditional/ courtyard houses have been preserved and could be easily visited, most of the houses from the first Pahlavi period have been demolished; Hence, the key sources for investigating the early Pahlavi housing typologies has been provided through: analyzing the architecture of houses designed by famous architects along with architectural manifestos by Iranian architects published in magazines of the time, the fieldwork studies of several scholars in the 1980s and the observation of a few maintained residential buildings by author. The housing built through Islamic Revolutionary era and afterward have been analyzed trough Islamic manifestos of the time (printed in newspapers, periodical press and governmental records of the time), observation and archives of architectural firms.

Another significant obstacle in data collecting process, was the continuity of this research in the present era. While the Qajar and Pahlavi regimes were overthrown years ago and scholars had the opportunity to deeply analyze their strengths and weaknesses, some issues related to Iran after the revolution of 1978 have still been untouched. The present Islamic regime has defined certain restrictions and limitations for Iranian scholars (who are not in exile), and this has caused strong gaps in the literature and references related to social realities in contemporary Iran.

Meanwhile, it has to be mentioned that constructing the Nation Building program of Reza Shah and his approaches was in many ways similar to what happened in Turkey, Egypt and even in a smaller scale in Afghanistan; as the consequence, literature regarding the state building program and modernization in the Middle East context is very rich; but de-modernization in this context has not been explored widely. Iran was the only country in the Middle East which experienced the Islamic and anti-modernist revolution while the country has been in many ways modernized. Hence, comparing with the Pahlavi era, Iran after the Islamic revolution from a socio-cultural point of view has been studied and explored by less scholarly works.

### 1.4.2 The Outline

The present study includes five inter-related chapters. Aside from the introduction and conclusion, chapter 2,3 and 4, focus on the interwoven relationship between the woman and the home through the Qajar - pre-modernist- era (chapter 2), within the Nation-Building program –first Pahlavi regime- and modernizing efforts of second Pahlavi regime (chapter 3) then within the Islamic Revolutionary period and establishment of the Islamic state (chapter 4) will be explicated.

Since the main focus is on 'woman' and 'home', in the main three chapters, different versions of the Iranian home (advertised by the states) along with different positions of Iranian womanhood in society has been brought up and reflected in the titles of each chapter. However, it has to be mentioned here that this study does not solely focus on 'woman' and 'home' (as a private arena), but also 'the alternative position of the Iranian man' along with the transformations in the 'public space' will be briefly mentioned; because the notion of woman`s role and private arena would not be clarified isolated from man`s role and public sphere.

Chapter 2, The Woman in the Traditional/Gendered Home, reveals the interpretations of gender role in Qajar society and its reflection in the spatial configuration of the traditional/ gendered home. Moving towards modernity, the way in which the concept of homo-society and gendered space went through changes along with the emergence of melting the boundary of public and private arenas within elite class villas will be explained. Chapter 2 addresses the constitutional period (1905-1907) in Iran and how the road was paved for the emergence of ideas, such as 'modern womanhood' along with transformations in the concept of 'male guardianship'. The history of art in the Qajar era has aided investigations into the homo-society trend in traditional society. Meanwhile, the main body of literature has been provided by the periodical press and written books by the Qajarian intellectuals and ordinary people who have introduced the notion of gendered society, its rules, popular narratives and myths in this period.

Chapter 3, The New Woman vis-à-vis the Modern/ Colonized Home, describes the woman`s position in the discourses of national modernity which was started by the establishment of the first Pahlavi dynasty in 1925. This chapter will follow the emergence and formation of the concept of 'Iranian modern womanhood'; a concept, which like any other imposed idea, was negotiated by the local people. Moreover, the alternation of Iranian male guardianship, which regardless of the kind of social reforms that took place in Iran was imposed upon women, will be also tracked.

Meanwhile, the efforts by the Pahlavi state and foreigners to introduce the concept of modern home as a desirable model will be reviewed in the third chapter. These mentioned efforts have been made through educational and missionary programs mostly sponsored by the West and advertisement via media and the domestic press.

Transformations in the physical and imaginary concept of the home within the Pahlavi era has been studied under the title of 'Modern / Colonized Home'.

The references, which support the debates in the third chapter, aside from relevant books and articles, have been provided from periodical press published during the Pahlavi era, the archive of the American missionary program and the observation of buildings belonging to the mentioned period in Iran.

Chapter 4, 'Muslim Mother Inside the Pious Home', focuses on the Islamic Revolutionary and early post-Revolutionary periods in Iran. The post-revolutionary woman`s main duty was based on her maternal existence as a Muslim mother who was to raise soldiers for defending the revolutionary values. Revolutionary scholars have described Iranian women`s bodies as shields protecting the society from the invasion of imperialism and capitalism (Rahnavard, 1981; Adel, 1980). Hence, veiling women became one of the main outcomes of the revolution; it was women`s duty to turn the society into a healthy, pious and Islamic one via their veiling, and the refusal of western consumerism in the domestic realm as well as raising a pious family in the pious home.

In chapter 4, it will be briefly discussed that how Iranian people perceived and responded to radical governmental regulation, which led the society to lose its loyalty toward the revolutionary values which they have been fighting for, 40 years ago.

Here, the main claim is that surprisingly no power or reign has been as successful as the Islamic regime in breaking religious taboos and Islamic values in Iranian society. In chapter four, the dichotomy between State`s agenda and people`s ideologies will

be followed by the domestic spheres and the way women are running it. In this regard, it will be discussed that Muslim women who were supposed to raise Islamic families and soldiers to defend revolutionary values started to protest against the social rules and welcomed the public life within their home, which will be referred to as the 'pastiche' in the present research. The pastiche home here refers to the dual role that the Iranian home plays in the contemporary era as an arena in which inhabitants live their private lives while hosting their public lives as well. The fourth chapter will address the vague border between public life and privacy within the pastiche home.

In this research, the impacts of the state`s orders over the woman and the house and the way through which people responded to the brand of modernity and Islamization-- imposed by the ' Pahlavi' and 'Islamic' regimes-- has also been investigated. The challenge between Islam and modernism in Iranian society is still ongoing; Likewise, both the Woman Question and domestic space are still of major concern to the Islamic state and the secular intelligentsia. Therefore, this research may pave the path for understanding the very present situation of the Woman Question and the domestic realm in Iran.

# Chapter 2

# THE WOMAN IN THE TRADITIONAL/GENDERED HOME

> In their family life women are treated as commodities. Women moved from one Kurios to another: father, husband and son, and never reached majority, nor had they any independent economic status. (Rabinowitz, N. S,1993. P.5)

The Woman Question has been considered and defined as a core part of the Iranian political and social concerns particularly in two periods of modern Iranian history: late 19th to early 20th century -Qajar era- when the socio-political achievements in Europe formed a model of modernity. The second era, from the mid-1960s up to the present time, was characterized by the rejection of the previous models and the creation of a new political attitude that was Islamic (Najmabadi, 1991). By reviewing the gender politics in Iran like elsewhere in the Middle East through the modernization era -from the Qajar dynasty to the current Islamic regime- it will be shown that the Woman Question has always been the main core of the struggles between tradition and modernity. Both have wanted to define and control woman`s identity, sexuality and labor.

The procedure of modernity in Iran through the Qajar period introduced a European model, which tackled many socially structured concepts such as gender role and gender rights within the family and society. The Qajar dynasty, from 1790 to 1920, was the first Iranian state that faced modernity in many aspects; however, Iranian

history refers to Qajar`s attitude toward modernization as minimal, which led to the emergence of the Renewal movement as the main social protestors in Iran. The Renewal movement was an unstructured lobby that criticized the Iranian society in many aspects. It perceived modernity as the only solution for saving the country from ignorance and backwardness. The popularity of homo-society and ignoring the Woman Question during the Qajar period was criticized as signs of tradition blocking the way toward modernity and became very fundamental deleterious points in the appraisal of the state (Adamiyat, 1978, Akhundzadeh, 1985 & Amin, 2002). One of the significant outcomes of modernity through the 19th century was the transformation of homo-society into hetero-society, which was perceived as a requisite factor for achieving a modern society. According to Najmabadi (2005), this transformation was due to hetero-normalization of love which was supposed to give way to many reforms, such as "transformation of marriage from a procreative to a romantic contract", eliminating gender segregation boundaries within the public and private arena and emancipating women (Najmabadi, 2005, p.7). The prevalent social and cultural view through Qajar era strongly assigned women to the domestic realm; the idea of keeping women from the public realm and stranger gaze appeared in the spatial configuration of traditional houses. Women used to spend most of their time in the private section of the house called *andaruni*, and had limited access to the public zone of home *-biruni*. In line with changes in perception of Iranian womanhood by Renewalists, there has been also modifications in the physical and non-physical aspects of Iranian domestic realm as well.

In this chapter, the way in which the perception of Iranian womanhood was criticized by intellectuals and went through a transformation from the traditional to a modern one through the late Qajar and constitutional period will be discussed. Constitutional

revolution took place between 1905 and 1907 in Iran. The revolution paved the path for establishment of the parliament in Iran and it also gave way to many social and cultural changes. Meanwhile, the transformation of the physical and non-physical aspects of the domestic arena will be also explicated. In this regard, the way in which women, men and their roles in society and family have been perceived and the reflection of these perceptions in configuration and spatial arrangement of the expanded family house will be clarified. Considering the historical events and reviewing the very early Iranian handwritten books and publications in the constitutional period, this study proposes a reliable look towards Qajar women and their active agency within traditional houses with its particular spatial configuration.

## 2.1 The Woman Question in the Qajar Dynasty; Transition from Backward Tradition to Enlightened Modernity

> Behind the closed doors at home, prohibited from everything in life, education, training and social life, women are regarded as mindless, like infants; they are confined to the burdens of household work and child-bearing and are considered the slaves and servants of their husbands. (Sedghi, 2007, p. 25)

The common view towards traditional Iranian women among historians is that during the Qajar dynasty (from 1781 to 1925), cultural and social norms forced women to spend most of their lives in the private world of their home. Secluded from the public locus, women have been devoting their entire lives to their families. Escaping the dominant paternalism forced on them by their fathers, brothers and other masculine relatives, girls with little social esteem managed to gain some economic and social credit by trading sexual favors for life through a marriage contract, agreeing to became their husband's virtual property; so once more, their sexuality, labor and identity would be controlled by another patriarchal system (Sedghi, 2007). This was

a prevalent view towards women through Qajar period, which started to be modified by the arrival of modernity and through the constitutional period in Iran. By increasing the interactions between Iran and the West, Iranian intellectuals started to criticize many social rules and cultural beliefs within society; meanwhile increasing social awareness about women`s role in family and society, gave rise to the issue of Woman Question (*masalay-e zan*) (Aikan, 2010). Woman Question was one of the major issues, which went through many debates and transformations. In what follows the spirit of Iranian traditional society and the way in which women`s roles within the society and family -defined by the social rules, religious discourses and cultural beliefs- had been criticized will be discussed. Meanwhile, the emergence of modern womanhood concept and the way in which intellectuals, Renewalists and active women in society tried to make this image a desirable and acceptable one will be explicated.

## 2.1.1 Criticizing the Qajar/Traditional Womanhood

Renewalists criticized the prevalent view toward Qajar woman; they were against women`s seclusion and their limited access to the public knowledge. Intellectuals also questioned the misogynous view towards women and blamed misinterpretation of the religious discourses, which gave rise to the formation of gendered society.

A prevalent word in Qajar literature, *Manzel,* was a common terminology that referred to both *home* and *woman*. Calling the woman not by her own name but through the word referring to a piece of property, reveals her position as property, which barely could be recognized outside the boundaries of the domestic space. As one's house was the most private place of every man, calling a woman using the same word reveals her denied individual identity; this trend is still visible among religious families clinging to their strong patriarchal systems.

Patriarchy has had different faces in Iranian families with different social classes; in fact, it was much stronger in upper-class families rather than middle and low-class ones. Controlling the *Manzel* and keeping its female members protected from public gaze was a privilege for wealthy men. However, confining women to their home decreased their access to the society. In this case, anthropologist Khatib-Chahidi (1981) states that:

> Very rarely would any woman from a good family go out alone in the provinces, even for household shopping which was often done either by the husband if the family had no servant or by the husband and wife together or by the wife with a female companion. (Khatib-Chahidi, 1981, p. 119)

This was the most common view towards the position of the Iranian traditional woman in Qajar society. This chapter argues that despite all restrictions, Qajar women could find their position as a mobile agency; even running some businesses to help their family`s economy, while remaining invisible from the public eye. Meanwhile, history has shown the colorful role of Qajar women in the cancellation of the tobacco concession treaty in 1891. Nasir-al-Din Shah granted a complete monopoly over the production of tobacco to Britain in 1890. However, following the religious 'fatwa' -an Islamic religious ruling, a scholarly opinion on a matter of Islamic law-, women from all around the country refused to use tobacco in their houses. Even in the Shah`s harem, his wives turned down tobacco and did not serve him Hookah; they even broke their hookahs and nargiles. It has been argued that women`s refusal to use tobacco in the domestic space was one of the major factors in repudiation of the tobacco concession treaty in Iran. This mentioned episode suggests different views toward Iranian traditional women`s role in the society, although their access to public knowledge was way more limited than men, they were still active in some social movements. The limited access of the women could be followed in the

concept of the 'gendered space', which was prevalent in public spaces as well as the private realm during the Qajar period.

Before the Qajars, Safavid was the ruling dynasty in Iran. The Safavid traditions and Islamic culture is highlighted in Iranian history, due to the high proportion of personal interpretations and exaggerations of Islamic practices, which was added to the religious discourse by the Safavid clergy. The Qajars were the heirs of the mentioned traditions and legacies, which have been made up based on Islamic discourse. The famous Iranian sociologist, Ali Shariati (1972), claims that the Shi`ism which was introduced by the Safavid was totally different from pure -*Alavi-Shi'ism*, since the Safavids abused religion and religious beliefs as a tool for controlling social thoughts and extending the length of their reign (Shariati, 1972). Qajarian Renewalists also blamed the Safavid culture and traditions for its superstitious and naught discourses. The Woman Question was one of their major concerns. The woman situation within the family threshold and society was evaluated as that of being trapped in ignorance, a victim of misogyny and confined to the house managed by a patriarchal system.

The view that women are disadvantaged in Islam is perhaps most visible in the Islamic law according to which through the division of the inheritance, a woman takes half of a man`s portion. Moreover, testimony made by two females is equal to that of one male. In the Quran, it has been clearly mentioned that men are superior to women (Surahan-Nisa, 4:34); according to the Quran, man is responsible for controlling his wife, since she cannot be completely trusted due to her 'deficient mind'. Meanwhile, the first Shiite Imam, Ali, in a very popular sourcebook - *Nahj-*

*al- Balagha*, Sermon 77, says women are deficient in wisdom and faith (Dashti, 2007).

In traditional Iranian society, misogyny was a common concept, although there are doubts concerning whether this perception mostly originates from religious texts or any other layout, as Amin (2005) says, *"We certainly have evidence of misogynist readings of Islamic law that date from the Safavid period…"* (p. 18).

There are some other Islamic sources belonging to the Safavid and Qajar eras, revealing the misogynistic culture in Iranian society as a prevalent concept. In 1699, religious scholar, Mohammad Baqer Majlesi wrote a book entitled *Helyat al-Mottaqin* (Ornament of the Pious), which expounded Koranic statements about the woman. As he explains, the woman`s most important mission is giving birth to children and pleasing her husband since she has no one but her husband to shield her from strangers. She cannot be trusted nor consulted with about anything, and she has to obey her husband in all aspects of her life. Another work by Hoseyn Khansari (1710), named *Aghayed Alnesa* (the woman`s beliefs) criticizes the superstitions, emptiness and the false perception of Islamic practices among women's society during the Qajar period.

A very misogynistic hand-written book, entitled *Tadib al Nesvan* (The Education of Woman), was released by an anonymous writer perhaps sometime between 1880 and (1890 the exact date of writing is vague). There are assumptions that the author has been one of the Qajar courtiers, who hid his identity in fear of arousing the wrath of female courtiers. He obviously has taken men into account as audiences and advised them how to expect their women behaviors at home. The author mentions the

woman`s mind like a child`s; he claims the woman has to be disciplined by her husband since her salvation would become possible only if she obeying her husband completely; Moreover, he refers to sexual gratification for men as the main aim of marriage. But what is worth mentioning here is that in 1984, Bibi Khanom Astarabadi responded to this book by writing *Maayeb al Rejal* (The vices of Men). In her book, Astarabadi criticized the current vision towards women in *Tadib al Nesvan.* By referring to very common vices among men in the Qajar society (including drinking, gambling, marital infidelity and achieving sexual gratification through intercourse with young boys), she claims that men are not themselves qualified to discipline women. She only accepts male guardianship under the sole condition that the men be pious themselves (Amin, 2002).

In Qajar society, gender segregation was very common in the use of public facilities, such as pedestrian roads, mosques, and any other public places; some places like cafes were exclusively reserved for men. Women instead had their own communities; they could come together from time to time for occasional events such as childbirth, weddings, and religious gatherings.

By reviewing these two books, *the education of woman* and *the vices of men*, Najmabadi has made a very important statement regarding the gender-segregated society in the Qajar period. She believes that as *The Educating of women* found its way to female readers (as one of them tended to respond by writing a book), *The vices of men* also found its male audiences (Najmabadi, 1993). While men and women were not used to speaking about the opposite sex in the presence of a member of the other gender, publishing the mentioned books in which the authors

from the opposite sex addressed audiences from the opposite sex, created a kind of dialogue between men and women.

By the late years of the Qajar dynasty, women`s absence from the public realm was perceived by Renewalists as motivation for transforming the society into a homo-society and consequently, in the larger scale, giving currency to homosexuality. Through the Qajar period, the presence of women in public was very limited. It was extremely rare for one to see unknown and unrelated men and women socializing with each other in public as well as the private arena. In the 19$^{th}$ century, many Europeans observed homoerotic tendencies in Iran and referred to it as a sign of backwardness in the country. In this regard, the major role of travelogues by Iranian who visited Europe and vice versa should be taken into account. The bi-directional contact between Iran and Europe led many intellectuals to perceive hetero sexualizing of the society as one of the main obstacles on the path to reaching modernity.

One of the objections to a gender segregated society by intellectuals was its harm to the family structure; since through this cultural circumstance, men and women were not given the chance to know each other before getting married, so their marriage could easily turn into a big emotional failure for both of them, and led to increased hatred in the family and also society. This pattern has been strongly criticized by Renewalists, who instead relied on European patterns in marriage, the foundations of which were based on love between man and woman, and women had as much freedom as men in choosing their future spouse.

Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, a very active Renewalist and literacy critics, who lived from 1854 to circa 1896, was at the helm of many intellectual debates. He particularly discussed topics such as the desegregation of the society. Referring to European societies, he portrayed the presence of women in the public arena and in the company of men as a source of honor and pride for the nation, not a sign of shameless and immoral action (Adamiyat, 1978). Additionally, Kermani declared his discontent with veiling, which he believed had limited women`s chances of enjoying public knowledge, communicating with men and having the opportunity to find their future companions (Roshanzamir, 2000)

Kermani also appreciated women`s role as the first teachers of their children and emphasized their influence in improving the future of the nation. Meanwhile, he condemned polygamy as it decreases the level of love and healthy relations in families. In order to expand the range of his audience (both religious and non-religious), Kermani also made occasional references to some Koranic texts. According to the Koran, it is forbidden to take additional wives if one is unable to treat them justly (Qur'an 4:3). Kermani warned that polygamy in Iran was worse than anywhere else; since Iranians belonged to the Twelve-Imam sect of Shi`ism, which also allows temporal marriage. He saw this concept as barbaric and as a sign of backwardness in Iranian society (Najmabadi, 1990).

The concept of family, which was drawn by Renwalists, portrayed romantic love as existing between a couple who were great companions for each other and their marriage was based on understanding and mutual support. This was in stark contrast

to the Iranian traditional style of marriage, which was mostly arranged, and condoned polygamy and effortless separations.

By increasing the interaction between Iran and the West, the ambitions for achieving modernity were aroused; but to be modern, Iran needed the West to confirm its modernity (Amin, 2005). As it was mentioned earlier, one of the social hallmarks that had emphasized the backwardness of the traditional society was gendered segregation within the public and private arena. Hetero-socialization seemed to be the appropriate way for pulling women out of the domestic space. It could also pave the path for communications between men and women, which would cause more safe marriage; besides, it could gradually liberate the society from the grips of homosexuality. While women were supposed to become visible in public, many questions were aroused about their new appearance, their behavior and if they wanted to work outside of the home, their rights and position in the family and society needed to be redefined. To sum up, the need for defining a model for modern Iranian womanhood to appeared. Despite the deep cultural differences between Iran and the West, the most appropriate modern image of the Iranian woman was the closest one to that of the Europeans. The idea of modern Iranian womanhood changed over time, oscillating between two images: the Western and the traditional. Amin (2005) named four interrelated themes which have a direct influence on the new idea of womanhood; these include: "*marriage and motherhood, women's education, women's employment and women's civic participation in the society*" (p.48). It should be mentioned here that along with any changes in the newborn concept of 'modern womanhood', the concept of 'male guardianship' was also altered.

**2.1.2 The emergence of Modern Iranian Womanhood**

The issue of modernizing women gave rise to questioning and rethinking gender segregation, veiling and women`s education. The modern Iranian woman was supposed to reject backward traditions along with the immorality of the Euro-American women; she had to adapt the western woman`s braveness, her enthusiasm for gaining education as well as being a good mother for her children and a faithful companion for her husband. Moreover, she was also encouraged to have a modern appearance.

As reviewed earlier, Iranian travelers to Europe as well as the Renewalists challenged the idea of the passive Iranian woman as one who is restricted to the domestic realm and is seen as a barrier to the rebirth of the country in the late years of the Qajar dynasty. Rebirth of the country was a new concept, which Renewalists introduced to the public mind. In order to achieve the rebirth of the country, Iran was supposed to rid from its pre-Islamic, Saljuq Turk and pre-Mongol past by applying European culture and technology; meanwhile, improving the women`s status within the society was one of the main projects of Renewalism. So that, women`s presence in public and the claiming of their rights became a prevalent debate among intellectuals; in this regard, women`s efforts for suffrage in England was considered as an important pattern which was propounded by Iranian Renewalists (Amin, 2002).

The issue of veiling and gender segregated space have been going hand in hand as interwoven concepts in Iranian society and the domestic realm; both are preventing women from gaining access to the outer spaces and being strictly confined to the boundaries of their home. As Jafari (2010) points out:

> [During the Qajar period] …women were primarily confined to the household and reproduction. Their three-piece dress consisting of the chador (a long veil that covered them from head to toe), the rubandeh (a short veil that masked the face), and the chaqchur (very loose trousers) that signified their separate world; it assured them space and identity as zai'feh, or the weak sex and status as moti'eh, or those obedient to men's will… (Sedghi, 2007, p.26).

The hidden reason behind the concept of gender segregation in Iranian society and the necessity of having control over women and their appearance in the public and private locus have been studied by scholars; in *Beyond the Veil* Mernissi (1987) argued that the concept of veil in the Islamic society is in contrast to Christianity and Freudian psychoanalysis. In Western philosophical tradition, female sexual desires are perceived as passive will. However, in Islam, female sexuality is presumed to have an active role by seducing men and causing them to sin. Accordingly, in Islamic society, the current view stipulates that without having control over woman`s sexuality and her presence in public, her powerful desire would be increased and chaos would ensue in men`s civic lives. Therefore, it is supposed that veiling and gender segregation would decrease the chance of corruption and immorality within the society (Mernissi, 1987).

As discussed earlier, veiling and gender segregation are considered as two main factors leading the society toward homosexuality. However, Najmabadi (2005) invites us to view them as an "institution of hetero-sociality":

> …if we do not assume the naturalness of heterosociality, any more than the naturalness of heterosexuality, if we consider heterosocialization as a social achievement, a learned performance, then we need to radically rethink the veil and gender segregation as institutions for regulation of heterosociality and prevention of unlicensed heterosexuality. (P.132)

This is quite a different view, which declares that veiling and gender segregation are two hallmarks of hetero-sexualization. However, the classical view toward veiling in Eastern historiography assigned them as a hallmark of the differentiation of Islamic societies from Western ones. In modernist discourse, veiling appeared as one of the characteristic features of tradition and backwardness of the Iranian/ Islamic woman in contrast to the modern Western woman.

Through the constitutional period (from 1905 to 1915) and afterward, unveiling was viewed in different ways by Iranian reformist and intellectuals. While some believed that the unveiling program would signal the arrival of modern society, others were not completely comfortable with the idea. From the modernist point of view, veiling was a sign of Arabic culture and its removal would somehow disconnect Iranian culture from Arabic and its backward traditions. On the other hand, for the counter modernists unveiling would present the immorality and corruption of the Western women (Najmabadi, 2005). Among these black and white interpretations of veiling between scholars there were also different voices; Akhundzadeh (1985) argued that unveiling could be continued till a woman gets married afterwards she has to protect her husband`s honor with her veil; moreover, he believed that unveiling shouldn't lead to freely communication of men and women in public arena (Akhundzadeh, 1985 , pp. 177-8). There were many contradictory perceptions of veiling and unveiling, so it gradually became one of the particular debates between Renewalists and counter modernists. It seems that there was a strong doubt about the necessity of unveiling among intellectuals.

In 1900 Itisam Al- Mulk translated a book entitled as *Liberation of Women*, from Egyptian language written by an Egyptian intellectual specialist Qasim Amin in

1899. Itisam Al- Mulk translated the title as *Education of Women* and made free interpretations of what Amin had claimed. For example, he rewrote the second chapter of the book totally different from the original version; Amin had written:

> Where women's socialization effected in accordance with religious and moral principles, and where the use of the veil terminated at limits familiar in most Islamic schools of belief, then these criticisms would be dropped and our country would benefit from the active participation of all its citizens, men and women, alike. (Najmabadi, 2005, p. 135)

I'tisam al-Mulk translated mentioned statement as below:

> Provided education of women is carried out according to fundamentals of our solid religion and rules of morals and manners, and with due regard to conditions of hijab, we will reach our goal, bitter conditions will be behind us and sweet days will emerge. (Najmaabadi, 2005, p.135)

In conclusion, taking everything into consideration, it could be argued that majority of the reformists perceived the 'veil' as an obvious differentiation between Iranian and Western women; moreover, veiling was interpreted as the distinction between tradition and modernity, ignorance and enlightenment and it was assumed also as a differentiation between vice and morality (Amin, 2005); however, some scholars believed that veiling could assure the chastity of Iranian women who wanted to adopt European patterns in their lifestyle (Akhundzadeh, 1985).

Aside from European women, Ottoman women were another pattern for Iranian women who wanted to achieve modernity. Ottoman women and their effort to reach modernity came into account by an article published in an Iranian newspaper entitled *Danesh* in 1910. *Danesh*, published an article in which the efforts of Ottoman women to reach modernity had been explicated. The author had compared Ottoman women with Europeans, and the way in which Ottoman women had adapted the

western patterns in their business, affairs and marriage. Moreover, the changes in Turkish women`s veiling custom had been considered; it was not long and covering the whole face (*neghab*) anymore and had altered to a thin face veil, which could cover only half of their face (*yashmaq)*. As Amin (2005) says:

> The less "veiled" the Ottoman women were, the more they followed the European example and the more modern they were. The substance of this modernity was in Ottoman women's greater public visibility and fuller partnership with their husbands—but its symbol was clearly the veil (p. 57).


New definitions and concepts regarding women`s unveiling and their position in society and domestic realm, provoked different responses from the clergy. Some of them were against the new trends and claimed that aside from interfering in our political and economic ground, the West wants to control our women as well by encouraging them to take off their veil. On the other hand, there were some Islamic scholars who welcomed modernity, they believed that modernity would pave the path for technological achievements and would be helpful in keeping the country independent from the Western Imperialism. Through the late 19th century, the Arab Middle East faced great amounts of efforts by Islamic reformists about the Women Question (Paydar, 1995). In this case, Qasim Amin`s efforts seem outstanding; he rethought and redefined the woman`s position in Islamic societies by the advent of modernity. In his book, *The New Woman*, he tried to reinterpreted Quranic texts regarding the woman`s right and situation within the family and society.

This could be one of the first attempts of 'Shiite modernists'. Islam was not the original religion of Iranians; it was an imported cult from the Arab Middle East which they kept it as it was handed down to them. Hence, the roots of Shiite modernity raised and its concept was developed among Arabic scholars, not Iranians.

The issue of veiling has been renegotiated by Shiite modernist scholars and their followers in Iran. But aside from religious origins, veiling has a strong background in Iranian culture and has been appreciated for protecting the women`s honor.

Unveiling provoked many disagreements among clergy and some reformists; this may explain that why unveiling was removed from the agendas of the constitutional revolution and also it was eliminated from the program of emancipating women by revolutionists. However, shifting the focus of the modernist discourses from the body (veiling/unveiling) to the mind (gaining knowledge and education) could be also seen in other countries of the Middle East like Turkey and Egypt as well as in Iran through the modernization process. In all three countries, (as it will be discussed) transparent veil and chastity, would guarantee the modesty of the modern woman for entering the public realm. So that, unveiling came out of the picture and instead education came into account as a pre-requisite factor for emancipating women. As Kandiyoti argues in Turkey women's presence in public realm could have mandated new forms of puritanism (1998 in Abu-Loghad, 1998); Meanwhile, Badran (1995) has similarly explained that the middle-class Egyptian feminist tried, in the early decades of the twentieth century, to shift the focus of debate regarding the modernizing women, from veiling versus unveiling to modesty versus immodesty or seductiveness.

By the century's end and raising the quest for having a constitutional government, Renewalist of the time focused on two issues: science and law. These two were perceived as the foundations of successful European experience. Pursuing the science, education became the hallmark of civilization and progress, which needed new educational establishments in Iran. Meanwhile, as Najmabadi argues: "This

focus on law and science influenced the terms of gender for the modernist project, which became centered on women's education" (p.135).

In this regard emancipating women was reconsidered as educating women. In Iran, Itimad al- Mulk and the other Iranian reformist such as Nasim e Shomal shifted the focus from veiling- unveiling to women`s education. As Najmabadi (2005) pointed out:

> For these reformers, the problem with Iranian domestic space was not that it imprisoned women but that it was a site of un-knowledge, a site of *khurafat* (superstition) and *jahl va nadani*(ignorance), embodied in the women of the household. This was also causing men to run away and spend time in "sinful activities… (p. 136)

Instead, the main focus of reforming women`s lives was shifted on their education and awareness; Educating women became a major focus of the periodical press which started to work in Iran since 1879. *Akhtar* was the first Iranian press; it had been publishing in Istanbul for years. Many Iranian presses had been publishing inside and outside of the country (in London, Cairo and Istanbul) until the constitutional revolution (1905–6). It could be said that the (constitutional) revolutionary period was a glorious time in the history of Iranian periodical press since their number and fieldwork was expanded dramatically.

*Sur-e Esrafil* (*Esrafil*'s Trumpet established in 1907), and *Iran-e Now* (New Iran, opening in 1909), were two of the mentioned newspapers, which had been considered as the agendas for the later generation of Iranian journalists. The main theme of both was social issues and concerns about awakening the public mind and granting the society enough knowledge to achieve modernity (Amin, 2005).

There were several women press, which particularly focused on Women Question and demands within the society. Among those journals, there were some that focused only on debates related to domestic realm and female role. *Danesh* (knowledge) was the first women`s journal which was published in Iran through 1910 (four years after the constitutional revolution) by Mrs. Kahal. The main theme in this weekly magazine was housekeeping, raising children and the way in which women could serve their husbands; the political concerns were out of the focus of *Danesh* and it had been clarified in the first issue by editorial board (Danesh magazine, NO.1, p.2).

The second periodical press that was related to women`s issues, *Shokhufeh* (blossom), was published in 1913 by Mrs. Maryam Amid. She started her work with publishing articles about women`s role in the family and their critical responsibility in raising children. In each volume, several caricatures had been published which had criticized the superstitious and traditional social habits among Iranian women and had compared them with women from all around the world, especially European women. Being compared to European women as Amin (2002) suggests, would provide "both a sense of connection to the world and a sense of what was distinctly Iranian (P.118)" for Iranian women.

Gradually *Shokoofeh* found its way into the political field. A women organization entitled as *Anjoman Khavatin-e Irani* (Iranian ladies' society) was introduced by *Shokoofeh*, which encouraged women to take place in forming their own national identity and independence. One of the main concerns in both magazine and organization was the women`s education. There was constant news which had been publishing in *Shokoofeh* about the growing numbers of women`s schools in Iran.

Meanwhile, the presence of women in the public arena and working outside of their home was discussed as a requisite factor for promoting the Iranian art, goods and industry (Dastjerdi, 2010). *Zaban-e Zanan* (women`s Language) was the other outstanding magazine, which was published by Sedigheh Doulatabadi in 1918. Although in the article of associations, it was mentioned that the magazine would not get involved in political debates and its main theme would remain in the field of training housekeeping skills and child rising, but the attitude of the *Zaban-e Zanan* was gradually changed. Consequently, it became a very controversial newspaper, discussing freedom and emancipation of women from men`s patriarchy.

Aside from Iranians attempts in promoting women`s press, missionaries' effort in this field also should be taken into account. The history of missionaries` presence in Iran -started from the nineteenth century- reveals that they have been always concerned about leading Iranians toward having a 'good life' and 'Christian way of life' rather than converting them to Christianity (Karimi, 2012). Missionaries` contribution in producing women`s publications, was to emphasize on the women`s responsibilities such as housekeeping and childrearing. Moreover, there was often a tendency to promote the Evangelical discourses through which, domestic arena was introduced as "a source of stability, security, virtue and piety held together by moral and emotional bonds, a construct modeled on the heavenly home to which all who experienced personal conversion might aspire (Blunt, 1991, p. 424)". Moreover, Rostam-Kolayi (2002) also indicates that the main aim of the American Presbyterian missionaries was mostly concerned "with the aim of 'reviving' their Christian culture, rather than converting Muslims" (Rostam-Kolayi J. , 2002, p. 186).

Although American missionary schools used Bible, they did not use it as a propaganda and conversional tool. Religion also came in the core when missionaries` programs targeted the domestic life. This trend could be read through the women`s magazine which American published in Iran entitled as *Alam-e Nesvan*; this magazine was published by female employees of *American Presbyterian Bethel School* for Girls (active from 1874 to 1940). There were also some of the graduate students of this school in the editorial board. The main theme of *Alam-e Nesvan* was about improving the quality of the Iranian domestic life according to the American lifestyle pattern by emphasizing on scientific domesticity, hygiene, and proper marriage and family relations. This magazine tried to draw a connection between cleanness of home and morality without referring to religious discourses. Although the agenda of this magazine was not opposing the Islam but as Ringer (2004) argues: the articles encouraged Protestant American notions of religiosity, with faith manifested in moral character, piety, and good deeds and focused on the internalization of religious faith in the name of 'progress' and 'civilization' (Ringer, 2004). Missionaries were trying to internalize the religion as the sign of civilization and progress; they present religion as a "spiritual relationship between individuals and God" (Ringer, 2004, p. 50).

Each issue of the *Alem-e Nesvan* included almost forty pages, it had different sections on cooking, providing hygiene in modern ways, household management, childrearing, literary topics, news about women`s progress around the world. It acted as an educational manual for wives and mothers. Discussion about European and American women was a common topic in women`s press through the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. There was a deep appreciation for European women among Iranian women at that time; although they were not as virtuous as Iranian

women, it was clear that they were much more effective in demanding their rights. Hence, the girls' schools, which had been running by the Western boards, were in the interest of Iranian families especially the noble ones. American and European women were introduced as the progressive mothers and household managers who were familiar with the modern ways of housekeeping and raising children.

The section about 'Child Rearing' and 'Disease and Hygiene' in *Alam-e Nesvan* were mostly written by Iranian doctors who were graduated from the West or European doctors, both giving references to progressive matters of medical issue in America and Europe. Meanwhile articles about child care were reflecting the bourgeois standards of motherhood; for example, there were very detailed instructions about how to clean and dress children, how to feed and nursing them properly, the importance of following a careful eating, sleeping and having regular doctor appointment schedule for children also was another important subject. The magazine was also useful in training children, the way in which they could learn morals, not to lie and not to be rebellious were discussed in child rasing section.

'The Happy Motherhood' was introduced by the *Alam-e Nesvan* as the modern model of womanhood; it referred to a perfect and happy mother who was herself physically healthy, she was aware of ethical issues and also could manage the household works and children very well (Rostam-Kolayi, 2002). The emphasis of the magazine on children was explained as below: "children are going to form the future society and Iranian women are still as before ignorant of how to feed children. As a result they would raise weak and incapable individuals for the future generation (*Alam-e Nesvan* in Rostam-Kolayi, 2002)". This attitude actually shows that the motherly duties had been perceived as a 'national responsibilty'.

The other women magazine issued by missionaries was *Alam-i Zanan*, it was published by the British embassy in Tehran.  Its main agenda was improving women`s taste in home decoration and interior design. Improving the quality of domestic space was considered as a civilizing mission through which traditional and irrational habits would give up their place to the new concepts such as hygiene and thoughtful organization of the house. Hence, missionaries perceived their job as a humanitarian contribution towards modernization while they were concerned with the moral notion of their mission; morality aspect here is very important because it may propose that the notion of modernizing the domestic space by missionaries was not a secular attempt like what was done by Western governmental projects concerning domestic realm, as Karimi (2009) claims: "it [missionaries` mission] occurred through Western channels that were clearly religious in many aspects" (P.49).

Aside from women`s press, the role of secularist press which were printed by men in claiming the Women Question during the last decade of 19th century, have to be taken into account. In 1898, Mirza Mohammad Ali Khan Kashani published *Soraya* in Cairo, in 1900 the name was changed to *Parvaresh*. The most outstanding influence of the *Parvaresh* could be traced through series of published articles entitled *Woman`s Right and Freedom*. Through those articles, women had been encouraged to participate in society since according to the authors there was no natural law which proves that women are less capable of men (Mansur, 1984, p. 16). One of the main themes in the mentioned series was the interwoven relation between social reforms and women`s freedom. Meanwhile, men and women had been encouraged to understand the necessity of changes and reforms. The editor, Moayedol-Islam had referred to historical ignorance of Iranian women and the way

in which they unfairly had been considered imprudent without any talent (Mansur, 1984, p. 18).

To sum up, following the main agenda of the published press in Iran through the Qajar era and Constitutional period, the way in which the path for the gradual transformation of public minds -regarding the Woman Question in family and society- has been paved by female and male intellectuals, reformists and Renewalists has been clarified.

In coming part, it will be followed that how the social and cultural changes, have pushed the walls and barriers of the domestic space aside and have provided the new opportunities for Iranian women to have their own public lives and also gain new position and role in their own homes.

## 2.2 Gendered Society and Gendered Home; the Dialogue between Public and Private

As mentioned earlier the concepts of homo-society and gender segregation within the public and also Iranian traditional houses were strongly criticized by the Renewalists and intellectuals as the hallmarks of ignorance, backwardness and barrier towards reaching the modern nation and society. In what follows the way in which hetero-normalization of love gave way to the formation of hetero-society and also questioned the public/private dichotomy within the domestic realm will be explicated.

### 2.2.1 The Gender-Based Reconceptualization of the Nation and the Homeland

Studying the history of Qajar art, it seems that in early Qajar era, beauty was not assigned to any specific gender. Pretty face and figure could belong to both men and

women (figure 2). In fact, men and women in Qajar paintings could be recognized not via their faces but by iconic features like their clothes and headgear. Photography for the first time was introduced to Iranians in Qajar period; photos of this era are in accordance with what is readable from the paintings, as it could be seen in photos, Qajar women had mustache like men (figure 3).



Figure 2. Amorous Couple, early nineteenth century, Ref:
http://www.arthermitage.org



Figure 3. Qajar Women, Ref: http://www.mirmalas.com

By the end of the 19 century as Najmabadi (2005) says by increasing the interactions between Iran and Europe, 'gender-differentiated portrayal of beauty' appeared and the natural concept of the love emerged as heterosexual (p.4). As the category of 'the beloved' became feminized, the concept of the nation and homeland appeared as bodies with gender. Therefore, Iran has been considered as a beloved female needed the male guardianship. Accordingly, the hetero-normalization of love has been manifested in protecting the country as a patriotic effort along with defending women as the honor of the nation. In the nineteenth-century, hetero-normalization of love was central to shaping the political and cultural transformations that signified Iranian modernity. Feminization of the 'beloved category' shaped the figure of Iran as a female beloved which needed to be protected by the male national soldiers. It is worth mentioning here that the official emblem of the Iranian state in 1836 was released in the form of a lion and the sun, both of which were portrayed as gendered bodies: the nation was symbolized by a male lion protecting the motherland (embodied in the form of a female sun) with his sword (figure 4).
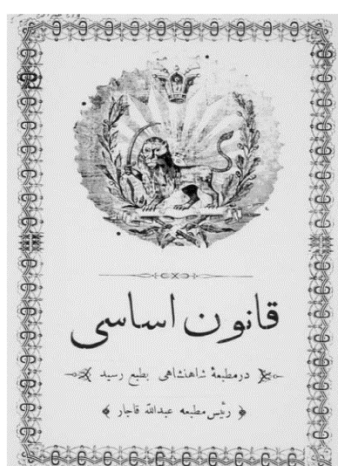


Figure 4. The emblem of the Iranian State, Ref: Najmabadi (2005)

During the Qajar period, for the first time, male guardianship found its way into the literature and was considered as an established fact and an accepted concept in the society. Since women were not yet considered as citizens, the 'nation' referred only to men; women were nourishing the nation; in return, it was the nation`s duty to protect and guard them.

The relation between the gender of the nation as male and the homeland as female shaped the concept of the *Namus* (Najmabadi, 2005). *Namus* is a terminology, which was borrowed from the religious text (the full term in Islamic text is *Namus-i–Islam*) and has been transformed to a national civic culture. It addresses the woman`s virtue and also the integrity of the nation. Protecting the *Namus* was a masculine responsibility, and true patriotism was seen as protecting both the honor of women and that of the nation. These were considered as interwoven concepts.

## 2.2.2 Femininity in the Men`s Spaces of the Gendered Home

Following the rules and principles of traditional Iranian houses, the way in which early Qajar houses were organized according to the interior/exterior axioms will be discussed.

It has to be mentioned that the rate of this dichotomy was different in the spatial structure of the Iranian home; it emerged differently based on the climate, economic and social status of the families in rural and urban houses. In general, the gender segregation was a mere concept in rural area, since women had a significant role in breadwinning and economic activities out of the houses. But in urban families, women`s duties were limited to domestic spaces and they did not have much connection with outer spaces (Varmaghani, Soltanzadeh and Sharif, 2016). As Sir John Malcolm describes in his travelogue: …urban women were always imprisoned

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in domestic space. But in the villages and tribes, such tradition was not common. Women were charged with the most agricultural work and weaving knitwear and animal husbandry (Malcom, 1983, 636). In urban space, women`s participation depended on their social status, As Varmaghani, H., Soltanzadeh, H., & Sharif, M. D. (2016) argue:

> …Women and girls of craftsmen and lower classes families spent part of the day walking for pleasure and recreation in groups. But dignified and aristocratic women never left the house. They were always controlled and had a private bathroom in their own homes. (p.35).

Hence, gender division was more visible in the house of elites and upper-class families. Accordingly, only close male relatives had access to the inner part, while the outer section belonged to men and their visitors. This division of space in the Iranian home is actually the prominent view in the discourse related to Iranian traditional dwellings. Nevertheless, as Hillenbrand (1984) suggested, since the outer space of the house was mostly in use for ceremonies, gatherings and meetings, it could be occupied by women in their special female parties; so Hillenbrand believed that there was not a rigid gendered division in Iranian traditional houses. However, accessing the inner part was much more limited than the outer one. The concept of *mahram* and *na-mahram* in Iranian families should be taken into account in this debate. *Mahram* is the legal term denoting a relationship by blood, marriage or sexual union, which makes their marriage forbidden. Defined by the Islamic jurists, those men and women who are not allowed to marry each other are believed to be *mahram* with one another; they are permitted to share the same physical space. On the other hand, *na-mahram* literally denotes any person of the opposite sex whose kinship does not represent an impediment for marriage. (Khatib Chahide, 1981, P. 114). Those women and men who are *na-mahram* to each other should have very

restricted and controlled social interactions. The appearance of this convention could be tracked in the spatial composition of the Iranian household; occupation of the space has been shaped based on the concepts of *mahram* and *na-mahram* in the form of *andaruni* and *biruni* sections.

For a pious Muslim, sharing space with a member of the *namahram* category should be avoided, since it could lead to unexpected sexual temptation. In the past, the gender of visitors was clear from the moment they knocked on the door, because of the separated wooden knockers which were used depending on the visitor`s gender; so if the visitors were male, the women of the house would not answer; instead, it would be the men who would answer the door; and if necessary, they would host their male visitors in the *biruni* section of the home. Therefore, women who were spending most of their time in the *andaruni,* would be safe from the strangers' gaze.

Aside from the limitations barring *na-mahram* people from entering certain spaces of the house, the rest of the house was neither masculine nor feminine. There are many studies, which have described traditional Iranian houses as being flexible and multi-functional  (Mirmoghtadaee, 2009). The usage of each space within the house would change depending on the time of the day. Temporal considerations could make a space available to men or women of the family; but since all the spaces were open to family members, there was no gendered segregation and rigid division; although from time to time, a space could be used only by male or female dwellers.

As mentioned earlier, women`s presence in the outer *-biruni-* section was not as usual as in the inner section *-andaruni-*, since *biruni* was the public part of the house and could be used to host strangers and male visitors (figure 5). That is why in

Iranian historiography, traditional houses have been mentioned as including gendered space.

Iranian art and architecture during the Qajar dynasty went through many upheavals, since Qajar was the first dynasty to host modernity in Iran. The combination of ideas from enlightened others (foreigners) and the traditional self-created a hybrid style in Iranian art and architecture.
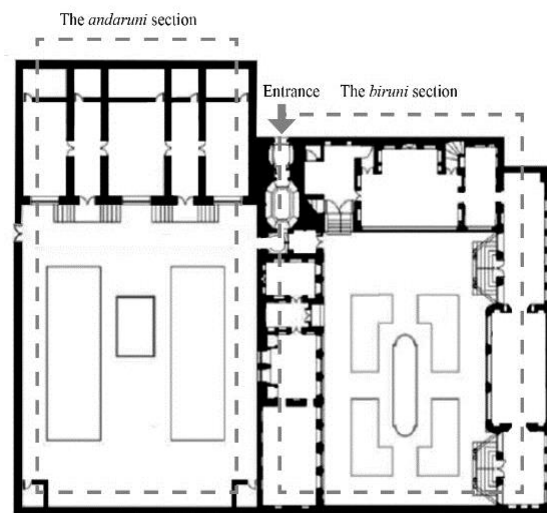
Figure 5. Salmasi House in Tabriz, the andaruni and biruni sections, Ref: Cultural Heritage Organization, Eastern Azarbayjan

In the first place, new trends in art and architecture affected the architecture of palaces and governmental buildings, later it found its way to aristocratic and then middle-class houses. Palaces and aristocratic houses became the locus for the consumption of imported products from Europe. The most important fact in reviewing the emergence of the hybrid style in art, architecture and consumer culture patterns in the Qajar dynasty is that Iranians have barely been blind imitators; it seems that they were never comfortable with applying imported concepts or using European products without changing them and adapting them as their own. The word

'hybrid' itself depicts the Iranians' tendency toward striking a balance between imported concepts and existent traditions.

In late Qajar dynasty, the boundary of *biruni* and *andaruni* started to melt into each other; meanwhile, the gender reconceptualization of beauty (or the feminization of beauty), gradually changed the interior space of houses.

As noted earlier, in Qajar painting, portraits of men were eliminated from tableaus, since they were no longer seen as desired objects; instead, Iranian men`s fascination with the unveiled European woman transformed those women`s images into new desirable objects, appearing in Qajar paintings hanging in Qajar palaces and aristocratic houses (figures 6, 7).
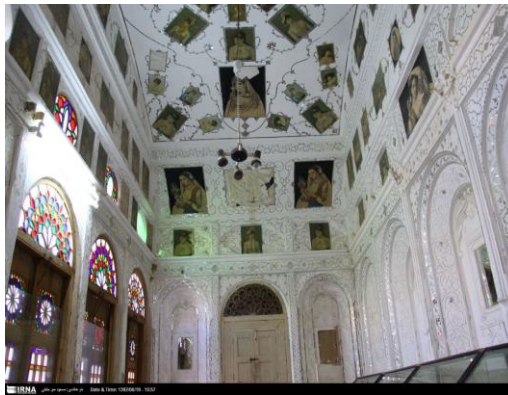


Figure 6. Interior space, Lariha`s House, Ref (1)http://www.ichto.ir/

Figure 7. Interior space, Lariha`s House, Ref (1)http://www.ichto.ir/

The root of Iranian men`s attractions to European women, could be traced in Iranian culture through a very popular and well-known story, entitled '*Sheikh Sanan anddokhtar-e tarsa'*. The story narrates the fascination of a Sufi clergy, called *Sheikh Sanan*, with a Christian girl (*dokhtar-e tarsa*). He fell in love with her and left his religious beliefs, his fans and his family as the terms for marrying the girl.

Moreover, in '*Woman of the West Imagines'*, Tavakoli (1994) refers to Iranian voyageurs who depicted European women as both angels and vamps. He describes how Eastern men were fantasizing about European women as well as European men dreamed the Middle Eastern harems (Targhi, 1994).

Influenced by the modern trends, the interior space of Qajar houses lost elements of the decoration that was popular at the time of the Safavids, such as symmetry, order, proportion and reflections of divine features, which were replaced by a Western-style of decoration. It was for the first time that wallpaper and posters were customized (revealing the Western or Iranian identity) in interior spaces. These images were somehow localized through the touch of the local craftsman, who sensibly surrounded the images into the frames of mirror pieces on plastered walls. The

aforementioned portraits were mostly hanged in the outer area of the houses: *biruni*.

With the transformation of the spatial structure of the houses in the late Qajar era,

*biruni* was transformed into men`s quarter or an office room, where men, aside from

the daily life of the family, could receive their male guests. The Arab room in

Victorian homes, which contained many ornaments and has mostly been used as a

place for smoking by men, could be compared to the Iranian men`s room/office

(Karimi, 2012). Both the Arab room and the office of Iranian men was a very small

version of *biruni,* since just like the *biruni*, female access was limited to these places

and it was also separated from daily life activities. In aristocratic houses, European

guests were commonly hosted in this room. In the Pahlavi era, Iranian ornaments and

craftsmanship found their way into the 'man`s office' and its title was changed to the

'Persian room'. Gradually in modern house, this room was replaced by the library.

## 2.3 Conclusion; Demanding Modernity

Through the Qajar era, prevalent ideas about the Iranian woman described her as

being the victim of a patriarchal system, a prisoner in the domestic realm, trapped in

ignorance without having access to public knowledge. Because of the gender-

segregated society, women`s presence was not welcome in the public realm, as they

were believed to cause immorality and corruption in men`s civic lives.

During the late Qajar and the Constitutional period (from the beginning of the 20th

century), the Woman Question became a controversial debate among modernists who

assumed modernization would be the rebirth of the country and would save it from

backward traditions, ignorance and unawareness. Emancipating women has been

considered as a requisite for achieving enlightenment and modern society.

The emergence of models for modern Iranian womanhood, as mentioned earlier, could be followed among Iranian intellectual efforts in many fields; they tried to promote women`s situation within the family and society via preparing the path for their presence in the public arena, helping them to educate and change their disrespectful position in the domestic realm. Veiling also came into account as a symbol differentiating Islamic society from the western one, but since there were many contradictory voices on the issue of unveiling, some intellectuals tried to focus on the education of women rather than the unveiling program; women`s education was the issue that all modernists and opponents took the same position towards it. The most powerful community against unveiling was the clergy and religious scholars. The advent of Shiite modernity took place in Egypt by the late Qajar period, but since Islam was not the original religion of Iranians, the majority of Iranian religious communities preserved Islamic discourse as it had been delivered to them. However, there were some voices coming from Egyptian Shiite modernists who were against veiling in Egypt and their attitude influenced other Islamic societies like Iran.

Aside from veiling, gender segregation and the currency of the homo-society was also considered as a sign of backwardness and a barrier toward modernization by Iranian Renewalists. By the late Qajar era, the concept of love became hetero-sexualized, and the love between the nation and their country re-conceptualized these two notions based on their assumed gender: the nation was perceived as male and the motherland was considered as female, which needed the male guardianship of the nation. Women, just like the motherland, were perceived as the honor of the nation; their role was gradually defined as a mother of the nation, its nurture and first teacher. Hence, their position was raised, as the first teacher of the nation. They were

not supposed to be confined to their home anymore; they had to participate in the public realm and gain enough knowledge to be good mothers and wise wives. Women`s presence in public gave way to the hetero-sexualization of the society and the fading of gendered spaces in the public realm. Gradually, with the first steps of modernity in Iran, European women became the pattern for Iranian women to imitate. The fascination of Iranian men with European women brought their image to the walls of men`s rooms (men`s quarter in the Iranian home, was gradually transformed from the *biruni* section to a visiting or office room), so femininity (anonymous images of foreigner females not Iranian women) found its way into the men`s space of Iranian gendered houses.  In all, the boundary of public and private spaces within the domestic arena went through changes and by the late Qajar and early Pahlavi era, as women were supposed to find access to the public realm, the dichotomy of outer and inner –*biruni / andaruni* spaces of traditional houses steadily disappeared. The public arena gradually witnessed the presence of women and heterosexual communities as a new part of the citizens' civic lives. So, the private space of the house -*andaruni*- lost its characteristic feature to hide women inside its walls.

Hence, in the late Qajar and during the Constitutional period, as Iranian women found new and higher esteem through many social efforts, their presence was supposed to be welcome in the public dominion in order to give way to a hetero society. Meanwhile, the female locus, traditional houses with their specific configuration of space (the dichotomy between outer and inner sections), which somehow lent connotations of gender to the usage of the domestic arena, went through changes. The boundary of the mentioned dichotomy melted in early Pahlavi houses and the public life found its way within the private space of people.

In chapter 3, the transition of houses and their altered spatial configuration from traditional to modern will be followed, along with important social, cultural and economic reasons. The Modern home, in the Pahlavi era, became the hallmark of the modern nation, which was supposed to be managed by the capable modern woman. In this regard, the promotion of women`s position by the state- the main claimant of modernity- will also be taken into account.

# Chapter 3

# THE MODERN WOMAN VIS-À-VIS THE MODERN/COLONIZED HOME

In the early twentieth century, with the establishment of the Pahlavi dynasty in Iran - founded by Reza Shah in 1925- the 'state' and 'foreigner missionaries' were the two main claimants, which introduced and developed the concept of modernity in Iranian society. One of the common battlegrounds of both was the domestic realm where according to their specialists, the backward traditions -nurtured by the women of the family-, had deeply penetrated into the nation`s core essence.

Modernizing women was at the very core of the conflict and the challenge between the secular state, foreigner missionaries and religious forces; and consequently, women`s individuality, sexuality and labor within the family and society, was reconsidered and redefined.

Domestic modernity -introduced by the state through the Nation Building program- presented the 'modern woman' as an agent of the nation. She was supposed to raise a 'Modern Family' (and metaphorically a 'Modern Nation') within a 'Modern Home'. Aside from governmental propaganda, the concept of the modern home, its architectural and metaphoric aspects, was the outcome of the new trends in architecture. The modernist approach in architecture found its way first into public buildings and palaces and gradually into the housing sector.

In the 1940s, parallel with changes and alternations in housing patterns from traditional to modern, while many families from the elite and middle-class left their courtyard houses, the new way of life in new houses was widely advertised by the public media. Unveiled, liberated Iranian women were expected to manage the new way of life (by gaining domestic knowledge) within the modern houses. Similar to the new woman, the modern home also became unveiled by getting rid of Qajar-heavy architectural features and shedding its gendered space dichotomy. Consequently, new houses were a kind of showcase reflecting the women`s taste and also the status of their family.

The modern house, designed by professional architects, and a new lifestyle was advertised and quickly became one of the popular debates in architectural magazines. Aside from finding a market for the new materials and goods, the press created vista and desire for having a modern home, which seemed like a united package encompassing the modern family and the modern lifestyle within itself.

The oil industry in Iran and the semi-colonized nature of the country led to the wide presence of foreigners in Iran. Under the title of missionaries and agents of the 'Truman IV Point Program', foreigners tried to reform the pattern of Iranian daily life and control their consuming culture as well. Their reforms penetrated into domestic life and involved Iranian women as the objects and subjects of modernization. Many female schools had been established to train women on how to manage their homes and raise their families. In this regard, housework was considered not as a routine and unimportant activity, but as valuable and professional efforts to build a modern nest for a modern family and eventually a modern nation.

Meanwhile, aside from aristocratic families, advertisements on the modern home, modern furniture and modern lifestyles had mostly led Iranian families to live in a strange place which was not directly suited to their cultural background. In this study, these types of housings have been titled as Colonized (imposed by foreigners) as well as Modern (an imposed concept by the state).

Many scholars have discussed the concept of modern womanhood and also modern house through modernization period in Iran separately; but despite the relation and similarity of their roles in promoting the nation state programs, the interrelated position between the modern house and modern woman within the national discourse has remained untouched. The contribution of this chapter will be explicating the relation between woman and home and their association with the Nation State program in Iran through the third decade of the 20th century.

## 3.1 Instructing the Modern Woman by the Modern State

From the 1920s up to 1940s in Iranian history, has been entitled as the 'Nation-Building' era, which emerged after the post-constitutional period (when the desires for building an independent, unrestricted nation from traditions was formed by Iranian intellectuals and reformists).

Modern institutionalism in the West led to the emergence of the Nation State and nationhood in the Iranian political arena during the 19th century. The nation-state was established based on concepts such as citizenship, constitution and law. Moreover, the state was defined as the expression of popular desires looking for independence and getting rid of Colonization (Zunadia, 1989).

The concept of Nationhood, intermeshed with modernity and evolvement, was developed and advertised by upper and middle-class members, such as merchants, aristocrats and even clerics who were looking for a solution to end the misconducts of the Qajar state (which they believed led the country to suffer from the tyranny of foreign powers). Forming a unified nation was the common aim of urban intellectuals from a variety of social ranks, which brought even the clergy and secular reformists in the same front through the Constitutional Revolution (from 1905 to 1907). But of course, the constitutional state, which was imagined by seculars, was far from the ideals envisioned by the religious. Secularists referred to ancient Iran as a point of origin; and according to them, the concept of the Iranian nation emerged from the ancient era and through its system of monarchy (Bhabha, 1990).

The failure of the Qajar dynasty could be related to the diversity and plurality of different communities in Iran, which brought different voices and caused dispersion within the Iranian society. During the Nation Building period, Reza Shah conducted major efforts in establishing central authority. He pushed aside and ignored some of the cultural traditions and indigenous social resources in order to unify all social groups and communities. Furthermore, the welfare of the society came into account in the case of providing education, health and transportation, which led the state to plan a bureaucratic system and gradually became a major employer of the new social class (i.e., the white collars).

The new nation-state, which has been following the Western model in achieving modernity, chose several aspects of the Western pattern and left some untouched. The main adapted aspects were establishing a central state, a unified nation, a single

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national language and religion, secularizing the society, applying technological progress, economic development and emancipating women; the aspects that were left untouched, on the other hand, were democracy and individual rights (Paydar, 1995).

Defining the new position toward religion was a great concern of the first Pahlavi state. In the Qajar period, the state and religious community had a mutual relation although they were independent of each other. Through the constitutional period, the participation of the clergy in the political field increased, it was mostly due to their presence in the parliament, as people's representatives. In contrast, Reza Shah made a very clear statement by pushing the clergy aside from the judiciary field (which had been the locus of their activities since the Safavid period); and instead, he established the Ministry of Justice based on Western patterns and Western laws. In the nationalization process, Islam was considered to be in opposition to the citizens' new national identity. The clerics' participation in the educational system has been also removed by the elimination of the Quran and Islamic practices from the educational curriculums of the time.

The state`s position towards the Woman Question was the other controversial debate during the construction of Nation Building program. It was the first time in the history of Iran that the Woman Question has become a major concern of the state. However, the state theories regarding the woman`s position in the society might not have been spread among all social categories. However, at some level, the mentioned ideas definitely altered the patriarchal view over women and renegotiated their confinement within the domestic arena (Vielle, 1988). The efforts in this field mostly were built based on the intellectuals and Renewalists` works through the Constitutional period from 1905 till 1907.

The attitude of the Constitutional state towards women was quite different from its approach regarding men. The nation was basically assigned to men and it was the nation`s duty to support women as the creators of the nation and preservers of the national traditions and customs. As Taghizade (1977) mentions:

> Women function as the main pillars and the firm foundations of ethnicity, religion, language, culture and the national heritage. Women can exert enormous influence in the education of the new generation (Taghizadeh & Afshar, 1977, P.163).

Gradually women became very momentous to the nation since they were its producers and its first teachers, who preserve the nation`s roots and identity. This fact explains how the women`s positions raised within the society and the views towards women gradually altered.

### 3.1.1 The Establishment of 'Woman`s Awakening Project'

In order to unify all the communities within the country, Reza Shah stopped all the independent feminist movements and established one unified women organization and assigned her daughter, Ashraf Pahlavi, as the head of the mentioned organization. The organization defended a wide and very intelligent project which was entitled *the Women`s Awakening* (from 1936 to 41); it was actually following the State`s policy to provide educational programs for women, offer them new job opportunities and reforming the marriage law in favor of women. In return of those chances, women have been required to apply the modern agenda in their daily life of their own and their families; they were specially asked to appear unveiled in public (Amin, 2002). However, it will be explained later that the program was much more committed to the women`s public face rather than their situation behind the closed door of the home.

The demands of the state from women could be read via one of the Reza Shah`s speech:

> Previously Iranian women could not exhibit their talents and render services to the country . . .. But now, they can enjoy other advantages on top of their remarkable duties as mothers . . .. We must not forget that in the past half of the population was unemployed and was not taken into account. At no time women's potential was utilized . . .. You ladies should take advantage of the opportunity to work . . . and to educate . . . you have now entered the society, have moved ahead to guarantee your own happiness and to contribute to the welfare of your country. Remember, your duty: work.... Be good educators of the future generation and train good students . . .. Serve your country. Save, avoid luxuries and be useful to your nation (Wilber, 1975, p. 168).

Through the Nation Building projects, issues related to the Woman Question and the image of the modern Iranian womanhood found common ground between the modernist Left party, modernist Right party and the State. Left party in Iran had been established by the Bolshevik efforts in Iran through 1921 while the right party was under the influence of the Fascist party. The Woman Question and the image of the modern Iranian womanhood was a common issue they all were in the same front towards it (Amin, 2002).

In 1925, *Khalq* a magazine that was belonged to the left party published several articles including some images through which a European family had been compared with an Iranian family (figures 8, 9). In those articles, the passive role of uneducated Iranian woman had been compared, criticized and perceived as the main reason for the backwardness of the Iranian family.

Figure 8. Iranian Family Ref: Khalq magazine, 33 (25 December 1925), 4, caption
reads: oh dad came, one person whose beard is in seven peoples` hand!



Figure 9. European Family, caption reads: in European family, woman also works,
Ref: Khalq magazine, 33 (25 December 1925), 4

The image shows that in Iranian family, all female members of the family and also

the sons are waiting for the father to bring them bread. In contrast, the image of the

European family depicts a calm domestic atmosphere through which the couple

seems to enjoy each other`s company and it seems that they both have the same

position within the family. The captions in figure 8 indicate that 'in Iranian family,

the only breadwinner is the father, but in European one, the woman also works'

(figure 9). Figure 10 also depicts that in Iranian family due to the lack of knowledge,

which could improve the quality of the domestic life, parents are unable to run the

family properly, while the scheme of the European family (figure 11) shows a couple who seems good companions for each other and enjoy talking while their children are gaining skills like playing piano and riding a bicycle.

It seems that both pictures of modern families are suggesting that man and women both are equal parties of the well-being of the family. However, it is not legally recognized and supported by the secular state program and modernized basic law.


Figure 10. Iranian Family Ref: Khalq magazine, 29 (25 December 1925), 4


Figure 11. European Family Ref: Khalq magazine, 29 (25 December 1925), 4

### 3.1.2 Emancipating Women; Family Law, Women`s Education, Unveiling

Through the Nation Building program, the secularization of laws did not penetrate into the depth of the Iranian family`s structure. Although all other areas of the law

had become under the control of the secular courts, the family courts remained under the clerics` control. According to the family law, men still could take unlimited numbers of temporary wives. The divorce remained as the husband`s right, even the presence of the woman was not necessary when the man wanted to divorce her; after divorce, the custody of children was belonged to men, although daughters could stay with their mother for 7 years and sons till the age of 2. But after that, if the father was dead or disabled, still mother could not have the custody of her own children; if grandfather or uncle (from the father side) were willing to take care of children women were forced to give them up.

However, several reforms were imposed on family law by the secular State in 1931; according to the new law, the issuance of marriage and divorce became compulsory, marriage and divorce had to be registered at the time in civil bureaus not in cleric`s courts anymore. The minimum age for the marriage also increased; according to religious laws, the age of puberty for girls was recognized as 9 and for boys as 15. Those ages were modified for girls to 15 and boys to 18.

Women also gained the right to continue their education after marriage by Reza Shah`s order who believed that women`s education was necessary for the national growth and future generation (Sadeghipour, 1968).

Influenced by clerical discourses, in the revision of the family law through 1931, the sexual objectification of women sustained and remained unchanged in new secular laws. The married couple`s rights were divided into two categories as material and non-material ones. The woman`s material right allowed her to have independent rights over possessions and take benefits of them, the husband`s material obligation

was to provide substantial life necessities such as shelter, food, clothes, etc. woman`s non-material obligation was in coincide with 'patriarchal notion of sexual control'. She was supposed to be sexually submissive to her husband. Moreover, in some cases, men legally could decide about their wives' death and life, since man could kill his wife in case of disloyalty and there would be no punishment for him (Sedghi, 2007).

As Paydar (1995) has pointed the reforms inside the family threshold "[shaped a] secularized family system, which was considered essential for the upholding of national honor" (Paydar, 1995, p. 112). The State policy regarding the women`s right did not exceed the dominant patriarchal relations within the family framework. In fact, the state was much more concerned with the women`s presence in the society (by asking them to become educated, take off their veil and have a modern appearance) rather than their individual right as a family member suffering from the patriarchal system of the society and family.

Reza Shah, as the father of the state, did not totally break the social and cultural traditional bonds. It seems that he was not personally willing much deeper changes in the women`s status within the family framework. As his son, Mohamad Reza, declared:

> Reza Shah never advocated a complete break with the past, for always he assumed that our girls could find their best fulfillment in marriage and in the nurture of superior children. But he was convinced that a girl could be a better wife and mother, as well as a better citizen, if she received an education and perhaps worked outside the home long enough to gain a sense of civic functions and responsibilities (Pahlavi, 1960, p. 231).

Reza Shah followed the mainstreams of the reformist communities regarding the emancipating women and relied on their supports. But no group specifically defended breaking the patriarchal system within the family framework. Hence, modernizing women was restricted to training better mothers and cultured partners (Kandiyoti, 1991).

Social reformers had accepted the patriarchal boundaries, which were interwoven within the structure of the family and society; even feminist communities could not push those boundaries aside. The major effort, which had been done by feminist groups, was awakening women about their status in the public arena as full citizens, but their individuality and personality did not come into account since it belonged to family structure (the structure which had mostly been trapped and controlled by clergies). Moreover, although women have been widely encouraged to work outside of their home, the law bound them to get permission from their husbands in order to get employed somewhere. Therefore, new secular laws maintained the patrilineal notion of the society although in several aspects it was somehow different from the Islamic discourses (Sedghi, 2007).

Gender desegregation and unveiling were the pivotal achievements of the modernizer State in the public arena and both of which were propagandized as the emancipation of women. Unveiling order was conducted very seriously; veiled women were not welcome in any public place and could not use any facilities such as public bath or shops. Unveiling became the symbol of modern women and defined a specific social class for women and their family.

Although, unveiling was an agenda for achieving women`s emancipation, but it has to be mentioned here that through the unveiling program, some women became even much more dependent on the male members of their family (Hoodfar, 1997). Many women refused to leave their homes without wearing veil until 1941 (when Mohammad Reza Pahlavi took his father`s place, he followed the same path but he used more modern methods. He said: "My father was determined to fight the hijab and to make women remove it by force. Today I do not see this as necessary. The cultural conditions are now right for women to remove their hijabs voluntarily and to give them up gradually" (Pahlavi 1941 in Kh. Ali, 2010, p.3). Till then, these women became so much dependent on male members of the family for many activities like shopping and etc. Veiled women even could not meet their relatives unless via the roofs of their houses.

Unveiled women sometimes were the victims of the street harassment and humiliation in public realm, Iranian men were aware that their control over women was about to be extorted by the State, so they did not welcome women`s presence in the public space and did not accept it easily.

 Police protection became available through 1926 for protecting unveiled women (who were not actually totally unveiled by the time and still wearing hat or scarf). That`s one of the many reasons that Sedghi (2007) referred to Iranian patriarchy as "immutable" (Sedghi, 2007, p. 89).

The Pahlavi State had believed that education would turn the Iranian girls to better mothers and wives while at the same time, it could pave the path for them to be professional employees and become more visible in public. The concept of educated

and working women became a very controversial debate among clergies, intellectuals and feminists. It was the main theme of *Iran-e Emruz,* a periodical press which had been printing during 1939 till 1940; in each of its volumes, readers shared their point of view about educated women and working women. While some readers had believed that changing the motherhood chores and providing job opportunities for women to be more than just a good wife and responsible mother would make them free from the family burden and finally they could be recognized as individuals in the society, the others still were arguing that keeping women inside the home would strengthen the family`s core and also it would protect the men`s honor; they believed that the only contribution of women in making the modern society was to be educated enough to become good teacher for their children who are the future of the nation. (Sayyah, 1940). In 1934, Ala-al Din Farid Eraqi published an article in *Ettela-at* and drove a line between men and women`s abilities:

> It is so clear that a single woman cannot be both a man and a woman and perform the duties of both simultaneously. [She cannot] participate along with men in all the routines of life including the army, war, or working in factories, mines, offices, and laboratories, and at the same time be separately responsible for the normal duties particular to herself such as pregnancy, nursing, raising children, organizing a house- hold, and so on (Ala al-Din Farid, Eraqi, Ettela-at1934, 2.)

However, the policy of the other magazine, *Iran-e Emruz* was to shape an honorable and acceptable image of the professional woman. Hence, the images of Iranian women were printed in *Iran-e Emruz* picturing many professional possibilities. Iranian women were pictured while they were competing in athletic competitions or taking college entry exams, flying airplanes, working in factories, etc. In many images, women were pictured alongside their male colleagues to propound the idea of the men and women working together (figures 12,13) (Amin, 2005).

Figure 12. first female pilot, Iran-e Emruz, No. 1 (March/April 1940)



Figure 13. female and male Iranian students, Iran-e Emruz, No. 11 (January/February 1941)

Despite all pessimistic approaches towards the presence of women in working spaces, the State employed women as office workers, teachers, medical professionals, etc. Along with the appearance of unveiled women in public as professionals, their public manner also came into account, for example, the acceptable way for men and women to shake hands was even discussed in one of the daily press:

> An older woman must first extend her hand to younger men and women, and young ladies. Married men may extend their hand to young ladies, but a single man has no right. If a single man extends his hand to a young lady, she should not refrain from giving her hand, but she must treat [the matter] with the utmost coolness so as to make it [almost] reproachful (Hekmat, 1936, p. 207).

To sum up, it seems logical to say that through the construction of the Nation Building project, women`s individual position within the family did not go through the fundamental changes. The major modifications were about her position in the society in terms of unveiling, education and employment. As Paydar (1995) has mentioned:

> The discrepancy between reforms on the personal and social status of women associated nationalism and secularism with women's social participation, on the one hand, and identified women's familial position with the Islamic shariat, on the other (Paydar, 1995, p. 116).

In coming part, the way in which the female body (her public face) has been considered as a site of metaphor and political discourse within the Pahlavi era will be discussed. This subject will also be followed through the discourse of the Islamic regime (in fourth chapter) as well.

### 3.1.3 Increasing Sociability; Unveiled Appearance, Veiled Conscience

> Each of us lives at home. At home we love and respect our father. We also have a bigger house. This big house of ours is our country Iran. In this big house we are like one family. The Shah is like the father of this large family and we are like his children. The Shah loves all of us. We love our kind Shah like our own father. We respect our Shah. (Extracted from the school book, Chelkowski and Dabashi, 1999, pp. 128–29, cited in Moallem, 2005)

As it was discussed earlier, the major focus of the state was on modernizing the woman; this concern included plans for her education, unveiling and revision of her rights within the family and society. It was assumed that modernizing the woman -as the nurturer of the nation- would pave the path for achieving modernity in the society.

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With the advent of the state building project, the woman`s veiled body was recognized as a sign of religion, tradition and patriarchy. Adapting the European style in clothing was perceived as a hallmark of newness and emancipation. Likewise, Iranian men also have been asked to adapt European fashion, leaving the traditional style, shaving their beards, wearing jacket, suits and wearing a hat called *Kolah Phalavi* (Pahlavi hat). Consequently, the European clothing code transferred the "religious coding of masculinity" (Moallem, 2005, p. 64).

The unveiling program, family laws and calls for women`s participation in public life weakened the domestic patriarchal system within the family threshold, which caused an even stronger dichotomy between the public and the private realms in families without initial civic culture. While the private arena and its traditional structure which confined women to home was invaded by the state, religious masculinity was supposed to fade gradually; but instead, in religious and low income class families, women became even more imprisoned in the domestic space; since they were trying to avoid showing up unveiled in the public arena. This could be considered as one of the important critiques on the state policy. While in Turkey modernity was introduced through a well-defined 'ism' (i.e., "Kemalism"); in contrast, Iranian modernity without infrastructural layout seemed like a 'program' rather than a doctrinal movement or a well-established 'ism'.

The state policy toward women as it was mentioned before, did not remove the patriarchal forces; but rather, it seemed that aside from their revised subordinate position in the private arena, women in their public lives also encountered a paternalistic system of their great father- the King. His paradoxical policies, such as shutting all independent female movements and female press and forcing women to

unveil, all while claiming the emancipation of women as being at the core of his state policy, was an obvious paradox.

Meanwhile, the unveiling order seemed to be against the will of many women. Although it could be assumed that unveiling might weaken the masculine patriarchy, since men had no control over their women`s bodies anymore, women entered another circle of control by the state and its national soldiers.

Moallem (2005) criticizes the compulsory unveiling order as she also questions the veiling order by the Islamic regime in 1978. She says,

> Our [women`s] bodies were othered by civic necessity. We were coerced by the order of the visible and were concealed in the realm of the invisible. Her [Woman] body's lived experience was forgotten in the state commemoration of the day of unveiling, which was celebrated as Women's Liberation Day (the day of uncovering of the veil, *kashf-e-hijab*) (Moallem, 2005, p. 69).

She also explains the way in which after the unveiling order, women lost the opportunities that veiling had provided for them:

> Veiling facilitated women's anonymity and movement. Elite women met with their lovers wearing servants' veils. Women of various classes veiled their faces to engage in sexual acts while hiding their identities. Also, veiling protected women from the community's accusations because it made a woman indistinguishable from others, so a woman could deny her presence in a particular place. In the popular literature, sayings, and jokes, there are many references to women's ruses (*Makr-e Zanan*) and secret…. (Moallem, 2005, p. 64).

Hence, one could consider unveiling as the state intervention in the presentation of the specific form of femininity manifested through the female body.

As it was discussed before, any changes in the woman`s position within the society altered male guardianship features as well. Through the unveiling agenda, while men were about to lose their power in the domestic space, the state granted them power in a different realm. Reza Shah used to regard himself as being primarily a soldier and secondarily a king. He invited all men to serve their nation on the way toward achieving modernity. After a while, the state certified male-citizen warriors -who left their traditional role behind and were willing to gain power by taking on the role of citizen soldiers- to civilize women and protect their country (Moallem, 2005, p. 72). Therefore, the presence of women in the public locus, was policed by male soldiers who were forcing women to take off their veils.

Unveiling and the desegregation of the public spaces based on their users` gender were perceived as two of the main tools for hetero-socializing the civic life of citizens (which was actually one of the agendas for modernizing the society). While women were about to enter the public arena without the veil and were seeking to modify their appearance according to the new patterns, they were also required to adjust their language as well. They were not supposed to use the same language that they were using in their homo- social gatherings. In her article, *Veiled Discourse-Unveiled Bodies,* Afsaneh Najmabadi (1993) states that through schoolgirls and the press, old feminine superstitions and other 'nonsense' were eliminated from female argot. When women found the opportunity to be heard in the public and to have a male audience, their voice and language became veiled; in other words, modern female language got rid of vocabulary that was marked by sex (especially those that were formerly used in the presence of other females) and replaced them with scientific words.

Along with the 'veiled language', the female body was supposed to be physically unveiled while metaphorically it was supposed to be veiled by chastity -the shield that protects the woman from the masculine negative attitude toward women`s presence within the public space. In order to have a disciplined body as well as having disciplined and modern language, women were asked to turn their body into neutral ones. It was believed that the woman`s desexualized body and de-eroticized language would pave the path for her presence beside her male counterpart in the public arena (Chan, 2011). Reviewing debate regarding gaining public face to participate in a society and ensuring the quality of social interactions, one may refer to Van Herk (2005) and her arguments about increasing the quality of sociability within a modern society. She believes that to ensure the level of purity and quality of the social interaction, people have to rid themselves from what make them different from one another regarding the objective meanings: "sociability is based on ignoring the 'realities': of everything that is objective, but also of everything that is individually specific" (Herk, 2005, P.138).

Along with the presence of the women in the public realm, men showed that they were not culturally and religiously ready to give up on the masculinity of the streets. Hence, harassing unveiled women, making jokes and humiliating them became major problems for those women who were about to experience their new public lives.

Gradually, men`s public face became as important as the appearance of women in public; however, in Islamic discourse, religion prevents its devotees from taking on the appearance of 'non-Muslim others' since it would change their characteristics into 'others'. Men were encouraged to wear *kolah Pahlavi* (a phrase meaning 'the

Pahlavi hat'), tie and suit to gain a modern appearance and be a suitable companion for the modern women in the public arena. The new agenda for the male appearance was hardly accepted by Iranian men. They were afraid that by imitating European men`s style – shaving their beards and altering their clothing and mannerisms - they would look like *amrad* (men who looked like women in appearance). By facing the cultural gap between Iran and Europe, the term *farangi-maab* was coined by Iranians. This term was used to refer to the European style in clothing, mannerism, etc. From the late 19th century, the concept of *farangi-maab* was criticized and questioned by those who saw it as a cultural threat to Iranians (Najmabadi, 2005). Later on, through the middle of the 20th century, the words *gharbazadegi* (Westoxication) became a prevalent term among intellectuals, who not only blamed those women who were blind imitators of the West, but also criticized those Iranian men, whose behaviors and clothing, under the impact of the West, was not in accordance with Iranian culture.

## 3.2 Negotiating Modernity within Iranian Domestic Realm

In early twentieth century, the state and foreigner missionaries were two main claimants who insisted on modernizing the Iranian domestic realm. Domestic modernity, applied by the state, perceived the domestic realm as the most important arena in which the nation could be modernized under the supervision of modern women. In this regard, modern architecture had a major role in altering the domestic daily life pattern. The most significant change took place in domestic space through the first Pahlavi era when modernist architects tried to secularize the houses and break the dichotomy between public and private spaces.

On the other hand, oil industry led the wide presence of foreigners in Iran. Under the title of missionaries and agents of Truman IV Point program, foreigners tried to reform the pattern of Iranian daily life and control domestic consuming culture as well. Their reforms penetrated in domestic realm since they believed that domestic sphere is the main backbone of the nation. Therefore, they wanted to strengthen their presence in Iran by controlling Iranian domestic realm.

In both domestic modernity (applied by the state) and foreigner modernity (imposed by the others) modern woman and modern home were the main subjects. In coming part, the way in which Iranian domestic spaces went through changes, which were imposed by the state and foreigners will be explained. It is worth mentioning that analyzing the Iranian modern house -which is itself an expanded research-, is not the focus of this study; But the list of changes in the physical and non-physical aspects of the Iranian house, which led to secularization and westernization of the domestic realm are within the scope of this research.

**3.2.1 Domestic Modernity; Secularizing Domesticity by the State**

Releasing articles about both the concepts of the new woman and the new house started around 1925. By reviewing the related press, one could easily see the striking resemblance in the way that both of these concepts have been introduced to the society. Both were intimately engaged with the physical and mental growth of the nation; European patterns were applied to both in order to achieve a modern, simple appearance. The new Iranian woman was supposed to be educated, professional and modern. Her abilities and taste would be evaluated through the simplicity of her home, just as simplicity and efficiency became the most important characteristics of the modern home.

Moreover, as it was argued earlier (in chapter 2), the concept of homeland became feminized through the hetero-sexualization of love. The metaphoric relation between woman, home and homeland developed during the nation-building period. As the woman and the home were tightly related to each other, they were both perceived as the container of tradition and backwardness, and both needed to be modified by the state and also be protected by the nation`s male guardianship.

During the reign of the first Pahlavi monarch, as the modern home rid itself from the public and private dichotomy and became free and unveiled from Qajar-heavy architectural features, unveiled Iranian women also found their way into the hetero-society. Meanwhile, both the Iranian home and woman remained under the power of the patriarchy as their new patron (i.e., the state) imposed a new system of control over them.

The notion of home as a private, cozy, safe arena has been negotiated by the modernist discourses. Peter Sloterdijk (2003, in Herk, 2005) describes the coziness as "the holes of human illusion from which the intellect has to break out in order to travel toward an 'extra-human' world, to travel toward exteriority" (P.134). He believes that the self-realization of the modern citizens would be shaped within the public arena through action not within the domestic realm and family thresholds through getting involved with the objective world. Moreover, Taut (1925 in Herk, 2005) also rejects defining the modern home as a motherly, nurturing and warm space, rather he referrers to cold and naked interior space which could provide rationality, purity and hygiene. Meyer (1928 in Herk, 2005) also believes that coziness is something that should be allocated in "the heart of the individual" not on "the wall of his home" (P.124).

The coziness of the domestic realm could be broken by displaying it and make it open towards the outer spaces of the house. While individuals were supposed to show up in public realm with neutral appearance, de-eroticized and disciplined bodies through applying simplicity in their clothing style and using gender-neutral language -as mentioned earlier- modern home also was supposed to rid itself from the 'culture of coziness' and mysterious spaces; new design agenda, which was applied by modern architects met the simplicity, efficiency and outward-ness. Moreover, through modernization period, while the men`s space of the houses (*biruni* quarter) faded the images of women within its interior spaces were also disappeared. It could be said that modern houses -likewise modern women- got rid of their gendered features and spaces.

In what follows the transformation of the Iranian houses through modernization process will be analyzed via following the two main streams: unveiling the coziness of the houses and veiling the culture of residents.

### 3.2.1.1. Unveiling the houses: The Integration of Public and Private Spaces

Modern architecture found its way into Iran during the 1$^{st}$ Pahlavi era, mostly through the governmental buildings by Reza Shah`s request. The adaption and 'make it as its own' process formed the National Style, which was looking toward both European Fascist architecture and Neo-classicism. The National style revived some ancient Iranian Islamic motifs and ornament of Art Nouveau as well. In his book, *memari moaser-e Iran* (Iranian Contemporary Architecture) Bani Masoud (2009) refers to this style as the dictators' favorite.

During the 1$^{st}$ Pahlavi era (from 1921 to 1941) the state was the main employer and subscriber in the field of architecture; through this period the first generation of

professional architects both Iranian and foreigner became involved in urban reconstruction projects which had been defined by the state. Transformation of architectural and spatial features of housing was as fast and dramatic as the transformation of the urban spaces and public buildings. It could be said that modernity has been strongly negotiated and challenged in the domestic arena, which acted as a site of resistance, keeping its residents' culture, traditions and beliefs (Hook, 1990). Reviewing the transformation of Iranian architecture through the modernization period, it could be claimed that houses were the last physical locus, which had been transformed by imposed ideas and new concepts.

Affected by the Western style and Reza Shah`s tendency to apply the Western patterns, the state`s architects found their way into private sector quickly. Many architects who designed governmental buildings had also housing designs in their resume. The clients of housing were mostly from the elite and also middle-class families whose population was growing dramatically at the time. The growing population of the middle-class and their new requirements led to the formation of new housing typologies, such as 'townhouses', 'row houses' and 'apartments'. It was in Reza Shah`s ruling period that for the first time, housing was considered as a significant market (Masoud, 2004). Gradually new and different spatial layouts took the place of very old and primitive principals of housing design.

In 1928, the first architectural magazine in Iran *Arshitect* (Architect) introduced new and controversial debates among Iranian architects who had mostly been graduated from abroad. They discussed new housing design agendas, such as hygiene, efficiency, simplicity and comfort as some of the fundamental factors for achieving the modern architecture. Moreover, at the same time, CIAM congress (the

Committee International d`Architecture Moderne), which was held in 1928, revealed many manifestations about the modern architects especially the modern housing. The CIAM messages transferred to Iran by Gabrial Guevekian, an Iranian architect who was the secretary of CIAM, he was active from 1933 to 1937 in the housing sector. Enthusiastic professional architects, who had mostly been graduated from Europe and were aware of the international debates on architecture along with the emergence of the architectural press in Iran, paved the path for the transformation of the traditional pattern into a modern one in both urban scale and housing sector.

Through the first Pahlavi era, rather than architectural press, housing typologies and the spatial configuration of domestic realm in Iran has been affected by new urban patterns, new technologies and new materials; moreover, it was widely influenced by the transitions of cultural beliefs, social values and gender role in the new society and family framework which had been defined as 'modern' by the state in that time.

The new urban, structure which had been applied through 1930`s, gradually gained prominence in residential neighborhoods and affected the houses as well (figures 14, 15). Although in the capital -the first place in which urban planning was altered-several old neighborhoods survived, many were demolished and rebuilt according to the new urban pattern. The new pattern, the orthogonal grid, defined the new relation between buildings and streets by eliminating the hierarchy of access from the public sphere into the private zone. Progressively, in several districts in Tehran, organic patterns were replaced by the grid pattern.

Figure 14. Figure 14. Tehran- Organic Street Pattern,1920s



Figure 15. Tehran- Regularized Grid, 1937 Ref: Marefat,1998, p:556-7

The new Western grid pattern influenced the architecture of housing in a way that new housing blocks, which were allocated according to new urban layout, had been oriented toward the outside and directly faced the street (figure 16). Consequently, the dichotomy between public and private sections of houses which -as mentioned in the previous chapter- was a significant feature of traditional gendered houses cracked and gradually disappeared.

Figure 16. Pasdaran St. house in Mashhad, a 'facing out' house with large openings.
Ref: author`s archive, 2015

Through the Reza Shah`s program for developing the national architecture, new materials and techniques were imported to Iran, which led to the possibility of creating new forms and spatial qualities. The housing industry had been affected by the introduction of new materials, such as steel, cement and concrete, which gradually replaced the prevalent traditional materials such as mud bricks and clay mixed with straw.

Professional and educated architects (mostly graduates from the West) criticized the lack of stability, hygiene and efficiency of traditional houses; new techniques such as plumbing, wiring and using new materials were introduced as tools for achieving the modern buildings.

In August 1946, Vartan Avanessian, a famous Iranian architect published an article in which he referred to the preservation and restoration of traditional houses as purposeless as if it was like intending to turn an old lady to a young one by putting so much makeup on her face (Avanessian, 1947). Traditional houses were criticized on the grounds that they did not provide comfort, hygiene and a suitable atmosphere for modern families. Meanwhile, after almost 20 years, during the second Pahlavi

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regime, when professionals started to re-evaluate the arrival of modern architecture into the country, Avanessian published an article in *Memari-e Novin* magazine and drew an interesting analogy between traditional houses and Iranian women:

> Those who remember, know well that the buildings in this big city [Tehran], like female communities, were hidden under black veils. Their only connection to the outside was provided through very tall and boring walls and ugly and iron knockers… no one could remove these black and upsetting barriers which surrounded a man`s house, nor could anyone open a window or balcony from his living room towards the outside. In these days, just like the woman, who was imprisoned in her home and was used to living like a prisoner, buildings and gardens in the capital were also enclosed by tall walls. Moreover, as there were no smiles on the woman`s face, the appearance of the buildings behind the walls also seemed sad and stern. (Avanessian, 1960)

However, even earlier, during the late Qajar period, traditional houses had already been criticized by Renewalists. In this regard, *Mollasadra*, a popular press of the time, published an illustration in which the exterior solid walls of traditional houses were compared to the walls of a prison (figure 17).



Figure 17. The caption reads: "Sister, look how lucky they are, they have windows!"; The women look with envy to the prison (left), because it at least has windows, unlike their own home (right), labeled "Home of Muslim Women", Ref: C. KELLER (2011) Slavs and Tat

In December 1947, *Arshitect* published an article by Abu Taleb Goharian, in which he had criticized the deterioration of old houses and addressed new and reliable

techniques and materials for building new houses. Brick was a familiar material for local builders, the improved versions of it that had been reinforced by the steel beams, enabled the builders to create new forms. Therefore, circular forms and cantilevered balconies emerged in the architecture of brick housing. Moreover, in 1934, with the construction of a cement factory in the city of Rey, the use of cement and concrete became very popular in residential buildings. It was due to the use of these new materials that flexibility in structure and aesthetic nuances became possible. The forms of new housing constructed by concrete resembled the Bauhaus cult. The plans had symmetrical order, and interior walls were left unadorned, just like walls on the exterior (Marefat, 1998).



Figure 18. Villa by Akbar Fard, Ref: Arshitect.2

The press started to advertise modern houses in which the interior space had a maximum visual connection with outdoor spaces. The idea of unveiling the architecture of Iranian home was accomplished through the elimination of the thick

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and load-bearing walls and replacing them with the new and light material, such as steel and glass.

Using the new materials paved the path for the appearance of new forms in residential buildings, by the prevalence of using concrete, metal and glass, 'bow-windows', 'circularly shaped balconies' and 'cylindrical stairwells' became the characteristic features of the modern home (figure 18). It could be reminded that the new forms were not only the consequence of using new materials but also they were one of the outcomes of the alternation of the urban pattern as well as a new tendency towards configuration of interior spaces. The most important internal quality, which was created by semi-circular beams, was allowing the integration of the interior space of the home with the exterior area (figure 19).



Figure 19. Khanmanesh House in Mashhad, the exterior façade of the living room with circular form, Ref: author`s archive, 2005

The new techniques mostly have been used in structuring terraces and specific spaces of the home, such as living room which with its specific furniture, had the potential of functioning as a showcase. In this regards, the curved walls of the living rooms were usually covered by multiple windows. Those windows also were providing view towards the outside and vice versa; hence the dichotomy of the inner and outer

spaces of the houses was cracked in the new design agendas. The wide usage of glass in breaking the public- private dichotomy is undeniable, to fade the coziness and private esprit of the house, the glass would work as the enemy of mysterious and hidden spaces (Herk, 2005).

Hence, in the new type of housing called 'facing out houses' (I borrowed this terminology- facing out houses- from Mina Marefat (1988) which referrers to housing typology belonged to first Pahlavi era in contrary to introverted traditional houses), the boundary of the public and private melted; wide glassy facade, which permitted interaction between the interior and exterior of the house became prevalent in the architecture of housing. Dwellers in facing-out houses could see the outside; while at the same time, they were also visible from the outside (figure 20). As Cauter (2002, in Herck 2002) mentions, by eliminating specific borders between the different sections of the home, all spaces, even the kitchen and bathroom, become like a showcase. Consequently, through the modernist trends -likewise emphasizing on women`s public face and their presence outside the home- the public side of the home and displaying its interior space to outside became important. Hence, both facing out home along with the unveiled woman who was running it became the hallmarks of the modern nation.
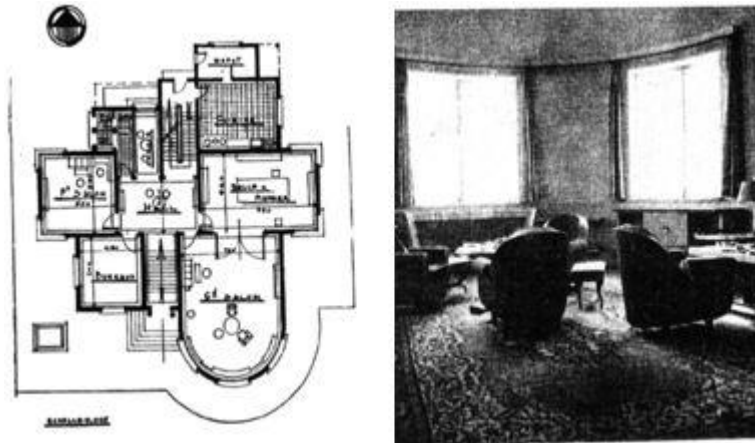
Figure 20. Left: plan of the first floor of the Ghashghi House, Tehran, Iran; Right: The interior of the Ghashghia House; Designed by the Armenian/Iranian architect Boudaghian, Ref: Arshitect (Mordad/Shahrivar1325), 28.

Baydar (2002) mentions the same debate and refers to similar extroverted modern housing in Turkey. With a close reading of a time related article, in which figures of bird cage and modern house had been printed next to each other, she makes an analogy between a birdcage and modern houses in Turkey (with their large glass surfaces), which is a showcase in essence displaying the modern lifestyle and modern woman inside the house.

In Iran, modern home and modern woman both as the symbols of modern nationhood appeared in the press while in many of which they have been introducing in an interrelated way as if they are complementary to each other, for example in some ads woman advertised a modern house.

Above picture is an advertisement in *Taraggi* magazine in which a European alike woman is calling people to participate in a lottery for a modern house in Tehran.

Although many aspects of the traditional house were eliminated and replaced by the new patterns, some of them remained intact; in what follows the transition of significant features of the traditional/ gendered houses will be briefly explicated.

As it was discussed in the previous chapter, providing privacy- that has root in religious and also Iranian culture- had a significant role in the formation of introverted traditional domestic spaces, entitled as 'courtyard houses'. The way in which the *andaruni* part of the houses was connected to the street was arranged in a way that maximum privacy and invisibility could be provided for the residents of the houses. The houses were secluded from the public arena and provided privacy for its inhabitants especially women -who could be unveiled in *andaruni*- by indirect access and layers of walls, in the last layer of which there was no window; hence, visual privacy had been completely provided (figure 21) (Shirazi M. R., 2011).
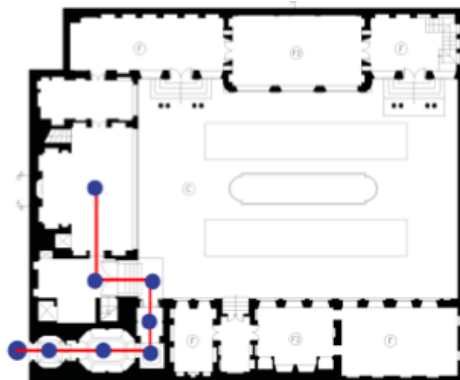


Figure 21. Salmasi House, Access to the main hall from the entrance

While Reza Shah issued the unveiling order, the necessity of providing visual privacy for the women in *andaruni* became unnecessary. Meanwhile, the need of having a boundary and division between *andaruni* and *biruni* was widely challenged. However, the *andaruni- biruni* bipartite appeared in the new houses in another way

in which *biruni* that had been designed to host guests was replaced in many houses and apartments by the *Pazirayi*or *Mehman- khane* (guest room). *Pazirayi* or *Mehman- khane* was the biggest room of the house, usually furnished by Western furniture. The door leading to the *Pazirayi* was often locked, and was only open for the sole purpose of hosting guests. Although many families continued to use traditional equipment in interior spaces, using European furniture became very popular, especially among the middle-class families. In this regard, Khandaniha magazine published an article entitled "Tehran from a foreigner`s point of view". In this article, the author described the modern houses of the time and claimed that each of the families from the middle-class has a guest room which is designed in the European style with furniture relating to the 19th century, the owner never uses this furniture unless he has guests, the door of this room is usually locked (Labourse, 1946, 13-14).

Using European furniture became very popular between people, especially among the middle-class families. Interior design and advertising Euro-American furniture became one of the most well-liked themes in the periodical press.

Through the emergence of new housing agenda, the courtyard in traditional houses gradually lost its centrality and dominance in new houses and similar to the European backyard was turned into a mere connection between the building and the street. The functional features of the yard were partially provided by semi-open traces entitled *Baharkhab* (spring sleep terrace), which replaced both the courtyard and the *Ivan* of traditional houses. Services area like kitchen, storage and toilet that were allocated in the yard were transformed to the inside of the buildings. The elimination of *Hashti* - the niched, octagonal vestibule that functioned as entry and foyer- as the main

entrance to the yard, led to the elimination of hierarchical access into interior spaces of the house (Shirazi M. , 2011). Instead, direct access, functionally and visually, was defined from the street (not from a Cul-de-sac, because of the alternation of urban layout) to the house. Family gatherings took place in a smaller space entitled *Neshiman,* which resembled the *Panjdari* in traditional houses (in most cases *Panjdari* had access to the yard). *Neshiman* and all other interior spaces of the house were accessible through a passing hall, which resembled the function of *Sarsara* in traditional houses (figure 22).
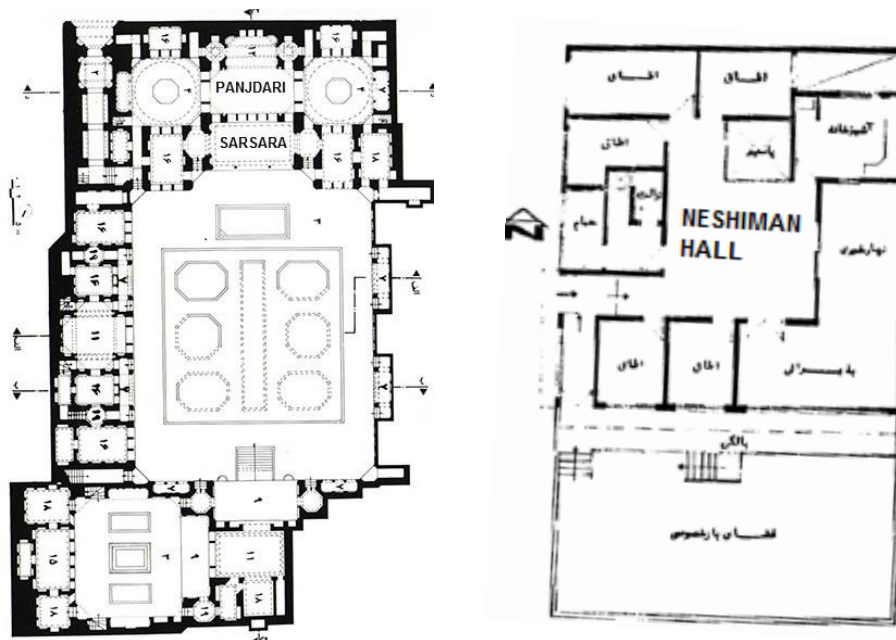
Figure 22.Left: Tabatabayi-ha House, Kashan, Iran, Ref: http://www.archinfo.irI; Right: a family type house in Tehran (1962), Ref: Kia-Kojuri,Kh. (1972), A Study of Nine Residential District in Tehran. Manuscript 2. 62

In low-income family houses, the *Hall* was used as a TV room and *Neshiman*. Analyzing the spatial configuration of Iranian houses Khatib Chahide (1981) presents the *Hall* as below:

> …It has features of the old courtyard, in that it is through the hall that one must pass to go from one room to another and through which guests must pass to gain access to the entertaining area. The latter area contains all the best

furniture, carpets and bric-a-brac. It is often larger and always more luxurious than the family living area of the hall but it will only be used for more formal or large-scale entertaining. (Khatib-Chahidi, 1981)

It has to be said that mentioned transformation in spatial layout of the Iranian houses did not take place suddenly and all at the same time, but they gradually found their way into the domestic realm. One of the important issues in transition of Iranian houses is that in new houses by entering the main hall, visitors were facing a neutrality which would not give them any clue about the place they had to enter; while in traditional houses visitors could be led into public space of the house without being guided by the host and through following the hierarchical spaces of the home they could enter the place which they were supposed to. This may be considered as the different approach in providing privacy within the modern house, which put the spaces with different degree of privacy in almost the same accessibility of the public ones.

Within the traditional houses, spaces had been named according to their morphology (*talar*), the number of opening (*sedari*, which literally means a room with three doors), the location (*balakhaneh*, which refers to a room which is located on the second floor), the period of usage (summer room), and rarely according to their function (kitchen) (Rafieisereshki et al., 2003 in Mirmoghtadaee (2009). On the other hand, modern houses included spaces, which were not only as flexible and multi-functional as traditional ones, but were also named according to their specific function, like bedroom, dining room and living room.

The new characteristics of the elite and middle-income urban houses were applied in designing houses for the less wealthy social classes, without reasonable cultural considerations for whether or not the residents could adapt themselves with them. However, locals especially from the less wealthy families, continued their traditional lifestyle within modern houses. For instance, they used the living room as a sleeping quarter through the night by placing mattresses and blankets on the floor. The dining quarter and dining table were only in use in the presence of guests. In other circumstances, the majority of families sat on the floor for eating or drinking tea (*Arshitect*, 1948). This misuse of the new spaces, in the absence of guests, was criticized by architects with a modernist approach. In one of its issues, *Arshitect* published an article in which the author criticized Iranians who continued to live their traditional lives in modern houses. The author claimed that although Iranians now have dining rooms in their houses, they are not using it appropriately and families usually eat while sitting on the floor of a room, which might also happen to be someone's bedroom (Arshitect, 1948, 204-208).

Extroversion was the common feature among all typologies of modern housings, which emerged in different forms of the opening based on architects` taste. It was totally in contrast with introverted traditional houses. The outcome was not a blind imitation of western style or simple reinterpretation of traditional domestic realm; in mentioned new typologies a new lifestyle was defined for residents as the society expected them to perform a different role in public realm too. As the woman of the home was supposed to show up in public space, unveiled but with the neutral body, the privacy and coziness of the private realm also went through reexamination. The public aspects of the home became more important which also acted as a showcase revealing the modern lifestyle of the family.

The modern house became an arena for accommodating a nuclear family rather than "a self-enclosed complex for domesticity, production and business" (Marefat, 1980, p.231). What happened in Iran through the transition of the domestic realm was merging the East and the West, the outcome was neither entirely western nor eastern.

### 3.2.2 Foreigner Modernity; Reforming the Iranian Domestic Realm by 'Others'

The mainstay impacts of the West in remodeling, transforming and introducing the new concepts in Iranian domestic realm, could be tracked through three major paths: (a) Missionary projects and schools, (b) the presence of the foreigner experts of the oil companies and their families in Iranian oil cities and (c) the Cold War agendas in Iran. Iranian home was a common battlefield between all three mentioned paths.

### 3.2.2.1 Missionary Program; Training the Domestic Science

The presence of Christian missionaries in Iran had started from 1870, when French, British, Russian, German and American missionaries began their activities and so-called 'reform programs' in Iranian large cities and rural areas. Christian missionary could be considered as a core mission of European Colonialism in Iran, which penetrated inside the indigenous communities and tried to remodel the daily pattern of their life under cover of morality and religion (figures 23, 24). Their activities contained different fields such as educating, providing health care facilities and also developing living conditions especially within the rural areas

Figure 23. A healthy and complete meal for breakfast, The U.S. Department of Education. The Album of the Home Economics Department, Division of Education and Training, 1954 @Library of Congress



Figure 24. By the use of the ironing board the working level is raised from the floor, The U.S. Department of Education. The Album of the Home Economics Department, Division of Education and Training, 1954 @Library of Congress.

Studying the missionary educational programs, their intentions, tactics and accomplishments may reveal that educating the Iranian young girls was one of the most prevalent agenda of all missionaries groups. Although French schools had a major effect on altering the traditional educational system in Iran, the role of American schools in expanding the modern educational system is undeniable. The American Presbyterian Missionaries had established several schools in Iran two of which in particular became very well known: 'Alborz Collage' for boys and 'Nurbakhsh/ Iran Bethel School' for girls (from1874 till 1940). It is worth mentioning here that the American schools had a significant role in establishing Iranian Nationalism and modernity (Rostam-Kolay, 2008). In fact, there was a shift

in their attitude from 19<sup>th</sup> century to 20<sup>th</sup> century; while in 19<sup>th</sup> they were focusing on evangelizing Iranians, by the advent of nationalization trends in Iran through 20<sup>th</sup> century, their concentration was shifted on programs in favor of propagating the nationalization agenda and adjusted their policies according to what the State expected from them. Missionaries tried to modify their plans in order to provide high-quality social services such as public healthcare and education. Accordingly, their fieldwork and target group was changed from rural to urban middle and high-class families. The main pushing force for missionaries to change their agenda came from the State.

In 1915 the State claimed its tendency to supervise the foreigner schools in order to prevent the spreading of their religious attitude and advertising Christianity in Iran. Hence, the religious approach of those schools was shifted to educational programs considering the Nation Building agendas, especially training the Iranian modern womanhood. 'Home Economics' program found its way in the domestic science curriculum of missionaries` schools through 1916. The main motto of Home Economic program was that the household management is an art rather than being the servant`s work. Missionaries believed that through educating the young women they could always stay in the nation`s home culture, ethical beliefs and found their way in indigenous customs as well. As missionary teacher, Annie Stocking Boyce claimed: *"it ensures so permanent a hold of the missionary on their lives after school days are over."* (Rostam-Kolayi J. , 2002, p. 188)

Rather than providing the opportunity for learning the professional household skills for both girls and boys, the new way of socializing also could be practiced by

students of the American schools. Unlike the prevalent social rules in Iranian society, girls and boys were sitting next to each other in classrooms.

In order to assure the popularity of these schools, the school principals had defined several public service programs; for example, the school principals of Iran Bethel had defined a charity program through which several groups of girls from wealthy class families had to collect food, clothes and medicine for poor people. Such activities had been appreciated even by the national press, and moreover, they were in line with the nationalist and patriotic concepts. Furthermore, the agenda of schools had been engaged with developing unity and eliminating race prejudice and clarifying the dignity of labor.

American schools were very popular among elite class, most of the governmental employees` children were graduated from these schools, and it gradually became as a privilege to be graduated from an American school. As Rostam- Kolay (2008) says:

> The upper-class origins of their students inspired missionary teachers and administrators to view their work as creating a generation of social and professional leaders. In the end, Presbyterian education in Iran was a vehicle for the creation of a modern Iranian middle-class identity. (P.234)

Samuel Jordan principal of Alborz College believed that there is a direct relation between easing the nationalization, Westernization and modernization process and working by the elite class. He believed that:

> . . . [In] Iran since the beginning of the century, American schools have been patronized by the leading men of the country. Among the students have been enrolled sons of the princes of the royal family, first and second cousins of former Shahs, the only grandson of the present Shah, sons of Prime Ministers and other Cabinet ministers, of members of the Majlis (Congress), of tribal chieftains, of provincial governors, of other influential men…. Probably no other school in the world has ever enrolled so many of the children of the

leading men of any country . . . Our students imbibed liberal ideas, they agitated for reforms, they cooperated with other forward-looking patriots in transforming the medieval despotism of thirty years ago into the modern, progressive democracy of today. (Jordan, 1935, p. 348)

Constructing public health facilities was the other major works by missionaries. Their Missionaries station in Mashad (a religious city of Iran) was one of the most active stations. It was a neighborhood consisted of residential units, church, hospital and school, the area was gated and the main entrance used to be called 'New American Gate'. Unlike the traditional Iranian houses with the introverted concept and without any opening towards outside, missionaries` houses were detached buildings and were located in the middle of the land portion with wide windows on façade. The lands were surrounded by very low walls. The spatial configuration of the interior spaces was simple, efficient and was devoided from any ornaments. The plans of houses and furniture had been brought mostly from America by missionaries themselves, but the builders, carpenters and craftsmen were from the local people. Annie Boyac (1930) one of the employees of the American missionaries station in Tehran says:

[We] make our own designs and the [local craftsman] copies pictures using the measurements we have worked out. Each new chair and table is an achievement which means more to us than the money we have paid the carpenter, for into it have gone our own time and thought and planning. It was a real triumph for [the carpenter] when he succeeded in getting the pitch of the rocking chair. The only piece I have known him absolutely to fail on was winged armchair. We had to guess at the measurements and a mouse in his shop chewed the only available picture. (p.10)

Gradually local builder became familiar with the new style of housing and furniture, which was also demanded by elite class families.

The missionary hospital in Mashhad had been expanded by the juxtaposition of a family hostel for patients who came from other cities and there was no need to keep them in the hospital. They could move to the hostel with their families, where western furniture and interior design were presenting new taste and domestic habits to them. For example, eating was a private habit among Iranian families; they used to sit on the ground and eat on *sofreh* -piece of cloth with rectangular form-.

In hostel next to the hospital, as it is shown in the picture, local people learned to eat on the table. Photos like this were hanged on the walls of the hostel, so gradually a very private domestic habit was displayed in public (figure 26).



Figure 25. 'Iranian couple dining at the table'. C. 1920. RG 231-3, picture no. 141. The Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia. Reprinted in Karimi (2012), p. 47

### 3.2.2.2 The Colonial Domicile; Where the Local Faced the New Taste

Aside from the missionary`s programs, which affected the local domestic culture, the presence of foreigners in the southern oil cities of Iran like *Abadan* and *Masjed Soleyman* and their role in altering the daily life pattern of the locals, also should be taken into account. With the establishment of 'Anglo-American Oil Company' many

foreigner specialists came to Iran with their families mostly from Europe, America, Persian Gulf States and India.

Through 1909, parallel with building a refinery in *Abadan*, an urban plan also defined by British planners to provide housing for the foreigner workers. The result was the strong division between two parts of the city, where oil company employees were living and the part that local people had occupied. In employees` section, there were sub-divisions according to the residents professional ranking in the oil company and also their nationality. The gated area *Braim*, was hosting senior European staff. *Braim* included villas surrounded by gardens, bungalows, green lawns, etc. The density was about 4.5 housing units per hectare. Each villa was built on lots average 1000 square meters. The other neighborhoods, *Bahar* and *Bahmanshir*, included row houses (the area of which was about 120 square meters) with small courtyards, allocated in a straight line (figures 26, 27 and 28). The density was about 26-31 units per hectare. These neighborhoods belonged to high rank employees. There were the other typologies of housing in *Bawardeh* area for middle and lower staff; the scale, space organization and architectural features in this neighborhood were somehow the combinations of two earlier mentioned typologies (villas and row houses) (Ehsani, 2003).



Figure 26. Housing at Bahmashir, Abadan, 1950 (Photos: Wilson Mason & Partners)
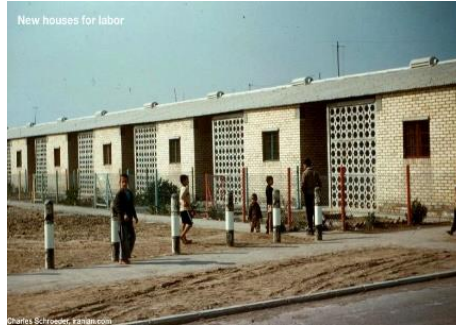
Figure 27. New Houses for Labors,Bawarda, Abadan, 1958 (Photographs by Charles R. Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder. www.Iranian.com)


Figure 28. Bawarda, Abadan, 1950 (Photos: Wilson Mason & Partners)

The main agenda for designing houses for the low rank workers was to prepare a plan, which could easily be repeatable by using the cheap materials. Hence, new and modern materials replaced the traditional one. The new materials were not as equipped as traditional types in case of modifying seasonal and climatic fluctuation; therefore, residents gradually became dependent on using the modern amenities such as air conditioning and heaters. In traditional regions, very keen preparations had been arranged in order to protect the neighborhoods from dust and the wind by tall adobe and brick walls. Through the rigid and ordered housing patterns for nuclear families, which had been dictated by the company, the pattern for accommodating the local expanded families who were totally ignored. By changing the housing pattern of the locals, their lifestyle and the gender role within their family structure

also altered. The domestic space was no more a site of economic productions for women and children. The presence of livestock, chickens and their daily productions vanished from the daily life pattern, so women were deprived from the economic activities and men became the only breadwinners. The social roles of domestic women gradually decreased in so-called modernized residential areas, the domestic spaces altered to a burden for them, since they could not cross its boundary as they used to in their previous household space (Ehsani, 2003).



Figure 29. Images from the interior of one house in 'Braim'. 1958 (Photographs by Charles R. Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder. www.Iranian.com)

The urban pattern of the area, which was occupied by the foreigner staff, was totally different from the rest of the city. In the traditional pattern, the social life of citizens used to take place in public places like *bazars*. Likewise, the other traditional cities, there was a well-defined hierarchy of the public places to the private area of residential neighborhoods. This hierarchy from public to private included *maber* (artery), *kucheh* (alley) and *bonbast* [cul-de-sac] (Marefat, 1980).

On the other hand, the urban planning of foreigners` region like *Braim*, has been designed according to the concept of 'city beautiful' and 'city garden' movements which had been applied in many European cities; the agenda of these movements

was to plan self-contained neighborhoods bordered by greenbelts, including districts of residential, agricultural, industrial, etc. Therefore, in contrast to Iranian traditional neighborhoods, houses in *Braim* neighborhood stood totally apart from each other, they were surrounded by greenery spaces, which defined the territory of each building. The general view of this district resembled a European city (figures 30,31).



Figure 30. House in Braim, 1958, Photograph by Charles R., Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder



Figure 31. Braim Neighborhood, 1958, Photographs by Charles R., Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder

As Lahsaee Zadeh (2006) claims: "the city is designed in such a way that the European do not have alienation feeling and they feel they are in their hometown" (p.32). Furthermore, he argues that the primary map of *Abadan* after British changes, depicted the features of industrial town planning which was prevalent in colonies of Great Britain, like Delhi; 'spatial segregation' based on social classes, turn *Abadan* to a 'dual city'. The indigenous part kept its traditional and rural features (figure 32,33), while the part, which was occupied by oil company employees, had a different image.



Figure 32. Abadan. 1958, Photographs by Charles R., Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder



Figure 33. Abadan, 1958, Photographs by Charles R., Schroeder. Courtesy of Paul Schroeder

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Gradually, indigenous people were influenced by the presence of foreigners and their western lifestyle. They became familiar with foreigners` specific skills within the domestic realm such as housekeeping, house decorating, spatial arrangement and tried to apply them in their own houses.

### 3.2.2.3 Model Home; The battlefield of Truman Doctrine

The victory of Soviet Russia over Germany through the Word War II in 1945 paved the path for distributing and developing the leftist Communist party in Iran. It could be claimed that America started its opposition toward the development of the Communist party by imposing pressure on Russia to evacuate Iran after the World War II. Many believe that the Truman doctrine was the first episode of the Cold War that American government conducted to weaken the Communism (Motlagh, 2008). In one of his speech William Orville Douglas, an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States said: "We [the U.S.] will write their [Iranian] history instead of letting Soviet Russia do it." (Donvan, 1972, p. 97)

In 1947, Reza Shah initiated a series of developing plans for each seven years' cycle. In order to achieve national development, he defined priorities and guidelines in different fields. The Pion IV Program established by Truman donated financial aid through second development plan which took place during 1955 till 1962. Aside from the budget that Point IV program provided for building the infrastructural facilities such as road construction, Americans also established a 'Home Economic Department' in Tehran which was working under the supervision of 'Point IV Program`s Division of Education and Training'. Later the Home Economic Department established many schools in other cities. The program was planned for schoolgirls and in each city, it took place in a 'Model Home' which was resembling a European home because of its spatial arrangement and furniture (figure 34). Students

were supposed to spend the necessary hours in these houses and then go back to their high schools (Karimi, 2012).

The agenda of this department was improving the Iranian domestic spaces in many ways, their specific plan, however, was educating women. Through the curriculum of the Home Economic Department, the professional ways of child raising, housekeeping, interior design along with new European products which would ease the home keeping process had been introduced. The program was not initiated only for women; it had specific plans for educating men as well to contribute in building a healthy family and the modern home.



Figure 34. The dining room of a Model Home in Isfahan. The U.S. Department of Education, The Album of the Home Economics Department, Division of Education and Training, 1954, Library of Congress.

Through the Point IV Program, Iranian state was encouraged to contract three treaties in oil industry with three American companies. Consequently, many American economic advisors came to Iran to improve industries, transportation, communication, housing and general services. Moreover, the import of American products to Iran became 20 times more than Iranian export to America which gradually led to the bankruptcy of the local businesses. There was a massive flow of

American products in Iran from the Kentucky Fried Chicken to Westinghouse refrigerators. In 1970, America exported goods with the total value of 326$ million. In three years this amount increased dramatically and in the next five years it was doubled (Ahmed, 1973).

It was mentioned earlier that one of the major efforts of missionaries in Iran had been defined in a way that they could pave the path for improving the Iranian domestic sphere. Among all the missionary plans, it could be said that the Point IV Program was the most effective one. Americans, who were equipped with strong agendas and enough financial resources, could take the Iranian market under their own control. Parallel with the vast advertisements in introducing the new lifestyles, they tried to present new consuming culture and taste in domestic field and propagate desires for the new consuming pattern. The major focus was on training new skills, which could improve the quality of domestic spaces by using updated technologies and equipment. It was claimed that improving the domestic spaces by using Western furnishing and Western ways of life, would "gave a real opportunity to raise the level of living for the country as a whole" (King, 1954).

The very first step of Americans to establish the Home Economic Department was sending a group of specialist to Iran in order to investigate the present situation of Iranian domestic spheres and to estimate the problems and the possibilities for initiating the 'Homemaking Program' of the Home Economic Department.

The duration of 'Homemaking Program' was three years, the main aim had been defined as raising the level of daily life, improving knowledge regarding child care, family health, foods and nutrition, house furnishing and home care, clothing textiles,

family relationships and personal cleanness. The objectives of the three-year course had been published in their articles of association as below:

To correlate the three-year program of home economics

To emphasize homemaking in light of individual and family needs

To develop recognition of the scope of home economics

To develop an interest in home and family living and the relationship that exist between members of the family

To promote student`s interest in gaining knowledge which will enable her to assume responsibility for a well fed, clothed, housed and cared for family

To develop parent interest in the goal; set up for homemaking

To develop community interest in home economics

To promote education in technical skills which will enable student to earn own living if necessary

To develop methods of teaching which will gain objectives and still coincide with the culture of the country (King, 1953, p.2)

According to a report of Bernice W. King (1954), the manager of the department, the desire for such an educational program in Iran had been already existed:

There is, in Iran a prevalent desire for Home Economics in the fullest meaning of the term. It is believed this basic need is felt because an awakening in social order for women and because of a growing change in the economic development of the country. Many families of former wealth no longer have a retinue of servants and it is slowly becoming necessary that wives and mothers possess knowledge which will ensure that adequate food, clothing and shelter be provided for the family. Women who formerly felt it a disgrace to use their hands suddenly feel that to provide and improved family life for themselves and their country. (P.2)

As American Capitalism and Russian Communism were competing on owning the world after the war, through the summer of 1959, the 'American National Exhibition' was held in Moscow entitled as 'Kitchen Debate'. It was for the first time that the American consumer lifestyle was introduced to Russians. It was, of course, a power marching; although Khrushchev had claimed that they already had the exhibited equipment in their homes, but American saw the exhibition as "probably the most productive single psychological [warfare] effort ever by the US in any communist country" (Castillo, 2005, p. 262). Kitchen Debate exhibited many Model Homes and household goods. Considering the spread of American Capitalism in Iran through the second Pahlavi regime, it could be argued that Iranian domestic realm itself, turned to a big Kitchen Debate.

In 1961 a home economics book published some graphics illustrating an imaginary middle-class family in which the figures were setting a simple and perfect domestic environment. It actually resembles the context of America through post world war II, when all publications regarding home economic were presenting white, very simple and middle or upper-class atmosphere (Harris, 2007). The same attitude was followed by the Iranian home economics books and women`s magazines. They were introducing the American dream and vision towards domestic life by presenting

perfect and standard environment, which was most of the time along with the images of happy and satisfied women.

Altering domestic consumption patterns was a cold weapon which burned many local traditions, behaviors, beliefs and also the domestic market. New commodities were supposed to lead to the new material culture. Orienting the public attention towards the material life within the domestic arena became a major concern of the media during the second Pahlavi period. The public mind was directed to perceive the imported products as the tools for raising the quality of daily life; it gradually changed the meaning of family class, since their class was depended on their taste for purchasing the right good. It was particularly the duty of the wife or mother of the middle-class family to develop the 'good taste' and purchase the appropriate commodity; it was her important job which put her in an equal position of her professional husband who was working outside of the home (Hutchison, 1994). Consuming the new commodities needed wide advertisements, in all of which the figure of modern European alike woman had been pictured as if it was the only type of the women who was supposed to be the users of presented products (figure 35).

Figure 35. Tehran Musavvar [Tehran in Images] (Friday Day 1, 1329/December 1950. Caption says: My Electrolux [refrigerator] which works with both electricity and oil, made my friends jealous)

Filling a society up with the obsess of material life and overloading the public mind by advertisement as sociologist Sontag claims would turn the citizens into the image junkies (Sontage, 2001). She believes that:

> … [such a society] becomes 'modern' when one of its chief activities is producing and consuming images, when images that have extraordinary powers to determine our demands upon reality and are themselves coveted substitutes for firsthand experience become indispensable to the health of the economy, the stability of the polity, and the pursuit of private happiness (P.153).

Then there should not be any doubt that through the colorful pictures of the press and other media tools, American lifestyle became a dream of Iranian families who wanted to be modern, intelligent, educated and raise brilliant children. The image of New Woman, as the agent of the modern and non-traditional domestic life penetrated in the advertisement, so that the female body was perceived as a contested terrain (Malleck, 2013).

## 3.3 Conclusion: Whose Modernity

The First Pahlavi era (from 1925 to 1941) has been mostly recognized due to the State-Building plans and calls for modernizing the nation and the country. Modernizing process in the first half of the 20-century led to the fundamental changes in Iranian society. Naming these changes one could refer to modification of the civil administration, the judiciary, national economy, educational system, army, public health, and also transformation in the religious atmosphere and intellectual climate (banani, 1961). Woman Awakening Project, which had been established by Reza Shah provided the possibility for women to participate in the public arena, where they could gradually be recognized as independent citizens rather than domestic docile mothers or wives. The concept of the 'modern woman' was propagated by the State and intellectuals as the agent of the 'modern nation'. Moreover, the 'Modern Home', where woman could nurture and raise the modern family within also became a hallmark of the modern nation. Through the third chapter the interwoven relation between, woman, home and state ideology has been explicated. It was discussed that emancipating the women by the State did not go further than reforming their position in the public arena, women`s situation in the domestic realm and family structure which had been criticized before as 'trapped in ignorance' and 'the victim of patriarchal system', mostly remained unchanged. Women had been encouraged to educate and have jobs out of their home while they barely could have their individual right within their family.

By the presence of women in the civic sphere, the boundary of gendered segregated spaces in the public arena broke. Men and women could freely socialize and work together shoulder to shoulder. In return, women who had found the opportunity to be

heard out of their homes, were asked to turn their body into a desexualized one and modify their language to de-eroticized one. Therefore, they could be present beside their male counterparts in the public realm without making sins and being hurt by masculine negative attitude.

Considering the alternation which Iranian women went through by the shifting state`s ideologies, it could be said that traditional Iranian houses also went through the same transformation. New trends in architecture led to the replacement of the introverted patterns by extroverted spatial configuration, which emphasized on the public phase of the house and made it as a showcase of a modern family and modern lifestyle. New techniques and materials offered transparency and provided a strong relation between inner and outer spaces. Hence, by the entrance of the women to the public realm, in domestic sphere also the boundary of 'public - private dichotomy', which was a prevalent concept in traditional houses, was faded.

Meanwhile, the homo-social gathering of men and women and the spatial allocation according to the concept of the *mahram-namahram* inside the domestic realm were steadily replaced by the gathering of both sexes inside the home, more often in the living room, where due to its modern design and large transparent surfaces and providing a direct visual connection with outer spaces was resembling a kind of public place inside the house. The elite, aristocrats and middle-classes ` houses had specific Western architectural features and were perceived as the model for the other classes. When the state wanted to accommodate the lower and working class it copied the architectural qualities of the upper-classes along with some features of the courtyard houses. Hence, the outcome was a hybrid style of traditional and modern styles

Through the second Pahlavi era, Iran faced the cold war policy of Truman Point IV Program. The floating of numerous Euro-American commodities in society made the whole country as a showcase of the imported products. People were strongly encouraged to build a modern life by using the imported commodities as if the consumption of the imported products was a requisite term for having a modern lifestyle.

Women were the main audiences and target group of advertisements by the media. American schools in Iran had provided an educational program for girls and boys through which the American lifestyle was gradually replacing the indigenous one. The educational programs were mostly concerning reforming the domestic spaces because Americans believed that they could remain in a nation`s backbone and control its essence through penetrating into their domestic sphere and change their daily habits and lifestyle. Parallel with the Cold War influences, the presence of Europeans and Americans in Iranian oil cities such as *Abadan* and *Masjed Soleyman*, also transformed the daily lifestyle of local people. The Truman Point IV Program was not very successful and gradually lost its esteem among people, even those who were favorable of the Pahlavi regime started criticizing Truman`s policies and the presence of the foreigners in the country. Especially after coup d'état of 1953, many Iranian and majority of intellectuals lost their faith in America and its reforming plans in third world countries. The 1953 Iranian coup d'état, was the overthrow of the democratically elected Prime Minister of Iran, Mohamad Mosadegh, on 19 August 1953, managed by the United Kingdom and United State. The reforms by Truman Point IV Program, was not welcome in Iran anymore. Russia also played a strong role in changing the public mind against America. Disagreeing voices rose from all over the country and gradually the consumption of the foreigner products

was perceived as a sign of foreignism and alienation. Pahlavi regime was blamed to grant the West, power to interfere in Iran and use its natural resources. The wide immigration to the cities and the lack of enough housing and job for immigrants after World War II was also another spark of disagreements towards Pahlavi reign's policies.

In chapter four the way in which the aforementioned disagreements led the Iranian society to revolt the Islamic revolution of 1978 will be discussed. In this term, the new relation that the Islamic State defined with Iranian women, new expectation and social roles will be explicated. It will be argued that although the attitude and the notion of government have been changed, the Woman Question and the domestic realm are still the main concerns of the State in order to assure its policy in terms of controlling the nation. However, in coming chapter, it will be discussed that today although the Islamic state has still a great interest in Woman Question its interference within the domestic spaces is very limited than its dominant role in modernizing period.

# Chapter 4

# THE MUSLIM MOTHER INSIDE THE PIOUS HOME

> ...We now resemble an alien people, with unfamiliar customs, a culture with no roots in our land and no chance of blossoming here. Thus all we have is stillborn, in our politics, our culture, and our daily life. (Al-i Ahmad, 1984, p. 64)

Through the last decade of second Pahlavi period, 1970s, the voices for authenticity aroused from different social classes, seculars and religious communities. Cold War and the foreigner policy of the state towards the West made the whole country as a showcase for presenting and consuming the imported products; advertisements of European commodities in public via domestic media made the urban spaces like the theater scenes.

As mentioned in chapter 3, through the reign of Pahlavi monarchy, the big cities like Tehran witnessed a lot of immigrants from rural areas, which partially settled in shantytowns around the cities and poor urban areas. New citizens felt totally strange with European products, new consuming culture and lifestyle. In immigrant families, breadwinners in most cases were men; so, rural women who had lost their chance to participate in their traditional lifestyle, remained totally stranger to new public arena and urban life; they could not imagine any kind of connection with those women whose lifestyle, home commodities and even their clothes had been advertising on almost everywhere. The cultural gap and confusion due to facing so-called 'modern

life' pushed these women aside from the urban spaces and excluded them from the urban life. This cultural gap, did not only trapped low-income people in the poor urban region but families from the middle-class and elite also were sometimes suffering from the dominant atmosphere in the society.

Criticizing the Truman Point IV program became a popular and common debate among different political groups. *Tudeh* party, with communist attitude, was one of the leading objectors; its utopian land was Russia and it seriously fought against America and its reform programs for modernizing Iran. According to the communist point of view, European women were not an acceptable model to be adapted by Iranian women anymore; instead communist press started advertising the Soviet women` lifestyle. Soviet women had been described as hardworking women at home and also in public realm that was strongly refusing the European lifestyle and products. Soviet Communists criticized the America`s reforming program in Iran by referring to the poor living condition of Iranians. In February 16, 1948 they published an article entitled as "This is the Way America Helps Iran" (Yaniski, 1958, cited in Karimi, 2012) in their most popular newspaper, *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Red Star); referring to shanties and slums in Iran and the poor living conditions of their residents, author had blamed the unsuccessful agenda of Truman Point IV. Soviets tried to convince Iranian public mind that the Russia could be more effective than America in rightfully modernizing and improving the living condition of Iranians.

Gradually, American Capitalism and specifically Point IV`s staff became the main subject of criticism by intellectuals and opposition groups such as *Tudeh* party (Pro-Communism party which was the only party which recognized the women organization formally) and *Fadaiyan-e Islam*. Intellectuals and *Tudeh* party

expressed their objections through various publications; however, *Fadaiyan-e Islam* and the other religious fundamentalist group -*Jami'yyat-e mubarezeh ba isti'mar* (The Society for Fighting Colonialism)- took the crucial attitude towards them and attacked some employees of the Point IV program. *Fadaiyan* believed that foreigners` presence in the country is a sign of *Istimar* (Colonization); moreover, they had holistic suggestions to de-westernize the society. Abrahamian (1982) described the activities of *Fadaiyan Islam* as following:

> Its program went beyond generalities about following the sharia to demand prohibitions of alcohol, tobacco, opium, films, gambling, wearing of foreign clothing, the enforcement of amputation of hands of thieves, and the veiling of women, and an elimination from school curriculum of all non-Muslim subjects such as music. (Abrahamian, 1982, p. 259).

Meanwhile, secular nationalists in the government also supported opposition against Truman Point IV as well. For example, Ardeshir Zahedi, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not accept to install a sign of Point IV at the entrance gate of the 'Kan apartment' district in Tehran to avoid expressing Americans` involvement in constructing the project (Bashir-Gonbadi, 2003).

It has to be mentioned here that dissatisfactions with Pahlavi regime`s policy about allowing the foreigners intrusion in the country and expansion of Capitalism and Imperialism in the society was one of the sparks, which prepared the firewood for the Islamic revolution. The growth of dissatisfaction among low-income people and those who had left the rural areas and had shaped the shanty habitats out of the cities and were suffering from the housing shortage were the major population, who eased the victory of the revolution in 1979 (Kamali, 1998, 2001, 2006).

As mentioned earlier through the last decade of Pahlavi dynasty, Iranian intellectuals became totally opposed to the state and the society it represented. They were witnessing the paradoxical and identity crisis within Iranian lives. One of the intellectuals who strongly criticized the current situation was Jalal Al-i Ahmad. In 1984, Al-I Ahmad published a controversial book -A Plague from the West- in which he perceived the Occidentosis as an illness, a phenomenon which had made the Iranians like strangers to their own culture; he described Iranians as Occidentalists who had lost their authenticity:

> …His house, which once had a porch and a cellar, a pool, awnings, and a vestibule, now looks like something different every day. One day it resembles a seaside villa with picture windows all around, and full of fluorescent lamps. Another day it resembles a cabaret, full of gaudy junk and bar stools. The next day all the walls are painted one color and triangles of all colors cover every surface. In one corner there is a hi- fi, in another a television, in another a piano for the young lady, in others stereo loudspeakers. The kitchen and other nooks and crannies are packed with gas stoves, electric washers, and other odds and ends. Thus the Occidentotic is to most faithful consumer of the West's industrial goods. If he should rise one morning and find that the hairdresser, the tailor, the shoe shiner, and the repairman have all closed up shop, he would turn to the *qibla* in desperation (that is, he would do so if he knew where the *qibla* was). (Al-i Ahmad, 1984, p. 96)

Lefties accused the consumption of European style commodities as the hallmark of anomie. Iranian women were accused of paying too much attention to westernizing their house rather than their family`s morality as the core of the society. Lefties also blamed the policy of Truman IV program, which paved the path for entering the luxurious and unnecessary goods into Iranian homes; gradually, modernizing the domestic realm came in opposition of citizens` cultural identity.

In 1940 a group of Iranian intellectual women came together and established a leftish group as *Tashkilat-e Zanan* (Women`s Organization), which later became a branch

of *Tudeh* party (Pro-Communism party) in Iran. Founders of *Tashkilat-e Zanan* were mostly from families, which had political history and had been involved in constitutional movement through the late Qajar period. They published a periodical called *Bidari-e Zanan* (Women`s Awakening), the published slogan of the magazine in its front page was: '*Ma ham dar in khane hagh darim'* (we have right in this home too) (Ahmadi, 2003). Influenced by the Soviet Communism, the main theme of the magazine was fighting against the women`s ignorance and encouraging them to participate and play their role in the destiny of their country; moreover, the woman`s right within family and society had been continuously criticizing. In the first issue, an article was published by Maryam Firooz who had a long history in women`s movement in Iran and was one of the very effective members. In her article, *Bidar Shavid* (Wake Up), Firooz had described the society as a dark home full of cigarettes and drug fumes. The inhabitants of this home gradually became careless about what was going on outside of the home, like addicted people they also preferred to remain in their dark world, without trying to even open the window and breath the fresh air for a while. Although they sometimes had a glance from the window towards the beautiful world of the outside, the opportunity to get closer to the window belonged only to men, the women were condemned to remain in the darkness and backwardness of their dark home. The author had encouraged women to wake up and stand up for their right, to untighten themselves from Western lifestyle and revive their cultural authenticity.

By the spread of modernizing trend in the domestic sphere and the wide advertisement of the modern lifestyle by the Pahlavi state through the 60s and 70s, religious scholars in Iran tried to establish new agenda regarding the traditional and religious home culture and domestic rules. In order to limit the Western influence on

domestic habits and standards, those scholars tried to update Islamic discourses concerning the home culture; in another word, it could be said that religious scholars tried to pass the modern ideas through the filter of religious traditions. As Chehabi (1990) claims: "Religious Modernism can be defined as an attempt to re-establish harmony between religion and a changing cultural sociopolitical environment in which the forces of change regard religion as dysfunctional in the process of development" (P.26).

There are many Islamic kinds of literatures regarding the ethics of domestic life, which were mostly driven from *hadith* (the saying of the imams and prophets). To name a few, one may refer to *Kitab al-Mushasha* written by Abu-I- Tayyib Muhammad Washasha in early 10th, *Qabusnama* written by Keikavusibn Wushmgir in 1082 and the most famous one *Kimiya-ye Saadat*by by Abu Hamid Muhammad Gazzali. In all of these publications, the main theme is about teaching proper behaviors and habits regarding eating, cleaning, praying, communicating with other family members, sexual intercourse and etc. The more developed and improved version of such publications has appeared in the format of *tozih-o-lmasayel*. The emergence of *tozih-o-lmasayel*s by clergies was a religious reaction to modernization started through the 1960s. Through the 1970s, by the increasing of literacy and clergy`s need to keep their contacts with some increasingly Westernized citizens, high-rank clergies (*mojtahedin*) published their religious instructions regarding different aspects of Muslims` life. As Paydar (1997) mentions:

> The *touzih-o-lmasael* was intended to regulate the lives of Shii followers and answer their religious inquiries. In the 1960s and 1970s, the libraries of Iranian homes were expected to include a copy of the Quran, a copy of *Nahjol-Balagheh* [Sayings of *emam Ali*] and a copy of *Touzih-o-lmasael* from the *marjaetaghlid*, which was followed by the head of the household. The flourishing of *Touzih-o-lmasaels* and other books of religious instruction, which devoted substantial attention to women and the family, was an indication

of the clergy's determination to preserve their authority over these issues on the face of modernization. (P.173)

One of the major attempts has been made by Biazar Shirazi who rewrote Ayatollah Khomeini`s *Tozih-o-lmasayel*. He was an educated clergy and has got his master degree from Islamic Studies Institute of McGill University in Canada. In rewriting and translating the volume about the domestic life of Khomeini`s *Tozih-o-lmasayel* (from Arabic to Farsi), Shirazi added many illustrations to the book. He actually wanted to attract female audiences from wider social classes. By the first glance, the book, which was titled as *New Tozih-o-lmasil* looked like Western magazines full of images, which mostly have been copied from the popular magazines of that era. Karimi (2012) has described Shirazi`s attempt as his contribution to form the 'modern Shiite domesticity' in Iran. Shirazi`s new composition of the book, actually proposed a layout through which Shiism could be customized and adapted by modern Muslim homemakers (Karimi, 2012). For example in the section which was introducing the *haram* and *halal* drinks (*halal* is anything and all matters of daily life which is permitted by the Islam, on the contrary haram is those behaviors, acts, things, etc. which are forbidden by the Islamic laws), he had added pictures from alcoholic drinks bottle which was resembling the way through which different drinks used to be advertised in press (figure 36).

Figure 36. The New Tawzih al-Masail (1980), Vol.2: Family Matters, Abdol Karim
Biazar Shirazi, ed., (Tehran: Mo'assisey-i Anjam Kitab, 1980)

Shirazi tried to introduce new senses of the objects which were in used in houses, he inserted photos of domestic spaces, for example in figure 38 he mentions the importance of curtain as a tool to provide visual privacy. There were not only pictures and illustrations portraying the domestic setting, which were used in *New Tawzih-o-lmasil*, but also the book included many charts and diagrams. This attitude had been taken earlier by employees of Point IV home economics department in Iran to use charts and diagrams and later inspired Shirazi. It worth mentioning here that under the influence of many Western alike magazines, making scrapbooks became common among Iranian young women. It could be seen through their diaries and also wedding albums (figure 36).

Figure 37. Wedding album, Ref: author`s archive

The resemblance between above photos and pages from *New Tawzih-o-l masail* may

reveal Shirazi`s successful attempt to make his book attractive to young women and

to absorb their attention. As Karimi (2012) points out:

> …it is safe to suggest that New Tawzih al-Masail borrowed what it needed
> from more intellectual Shiite political discourses and secular Westernized ideas
> and cast aside the rest…. the diagrams and charts of the New Tawzih al-Masail
> also helped translate the language of Shiite rituals into a popular form (p.135).

Shiite modernists like Shirazi, tried to establish a path in domestic realm through

which modern women could play their role as Muslim women. In fact, the

appearance of this trend started through the late Pahlavi and pre-revolutionary era.

Through the revolutionary period, consumption of the imported and Western

products in Iranian home, gradually became a sign of appreciation of the Imperialism

rather than being the hallmark of modernity. In most of the women`s magazines the

focus was shifted from modern women and building modern homes and raising

modern families into the women working out of the houses and serving their country.

However, this attitude was also re-directed after the victory of Islamic revolution and

women were encouraged to pay more attention to their motherly duties at homes instead of participating in the public realm.

In what follows the transition of a desirable model of Iranian womanhood, defined by the state, -from 'modern woman' to 'Muslim mother'- and the different homes she was supposed to run through the reign of the Islamic regime -pious home- will be explicated. Moreover, it will be discussed that almost four decades after the victory of Islamic revolution in Iran the state agenda and people`s perception of defined concepts went through significant changes. In this regard, the 'militant woman' and 'pastiche home' are the socially constructed concepts by Iranians who want to show their position towards the Islamic state`s attitude.

## 4.1 The Woman Question through Revolutionary Discourses and Post-Revolutionary Practices



Figure 38. Unveiling the proposed Islamic new form for Iranian nurses, Ref.
http://www.dana.ir/news

Who am I then? Tell me that first, and then, if I like being that person, I'll come up: if not, I'll stay down here till I'm somebody else.  (Lewis Carroll, 1920, p. 21)

Through the revolutionary era, it was believed and propagated that women had been the victims of exploitation in Pahlavi society by being treated as a so-called sex object and being distracted from their motherhood and familial responsibilities. Considering the central position of family within the Islamic nation, the main social duties and concerns for a woman as Paydar (1995) points out was defined:

> …based on her regaining her motherhood role and putting it in the service of the Islamic Revolution... Women's loyalty could now be shared between the family and the nation. The woman was constructed as a mother; the mother as creator of the Islamic family; and the family as the foundation of the Islamic nation. (PP.260, 262)

Likewise, the Pahlavi governorship, the Islamic state also had a particular propagandas and promises about the Woman Question. However, comparing the revolutionary (before 1979) and post-revolutionary periods (after 1979), it is clear that the policy of Islamic state towards the Woman Question has been widely negotiated by Iranian women and has gone through significant changes.

Through the formation of the Islamic State in Iran, although there was not a blueprint or specific programs, the major concerns were to turn the society as different as possible in all field of political, cultural, economic, etc. Revolutions in essence as Dunn (1972 cited in Moghadam 1979) claims are "a form of massive, violent and rapid social change. They are also attempting to embody a set of values in a new or at least renovated social order" (p.83).

Through the establishment of the new state, Iranian society faced many downwards and upwards. Elite, the social class in power through the Pahlavi regime, lost their power and handed it down to those who were either more politically or economically

in line with the guidelines of the new regime. Many employees lost their status while the others gained new opportunities. Iranian women, as it will be discussed, experienced this transformation in different ways according to their social class.

Moghadam (1995) has classified two types of revolutions regarding Woman Question: "1. The women`s emancipation or modernizing model; 2.the woman in-the-family or patriarchal model of revolution" (p.355). As she underlines one of the core points of the first model -such as Kemalist ideology in Turkey through the 1920s and the 1930s - is emancipating women; in this model, women are considered as productive citizens who can be a part of economic and political movements and also be free from the patriarchal system. In Turkey through the Kemalist ideologies, women were granted to vote before women from many European countries. The same attitude was taken by Reza Shah through the first Pahlavi regime, however, as discussed earlier his reforms and emancipating plans did not touch the deep layout of women`s lives and his plans were mostly concerned with their public face and civic life. The second model of revolution, the woman in the family model of revolution - which includes the Islamic revolution in Iran-, eliminates women from the process of social liberty and makes an ideological relation between nationalism, religious orders and patriarchal values. The agenda of this kind of revolution assigns women only to the family to preserve culture, religion and traditions. Although in the previous model of revolution also family issues and improving the quality of family members is included in its agenda but here in the second model, the family is dignified and the role of women within it is overriding. However, the patriarchal model has very moderate outcomes for women. Referring to the French revolution -which has been categorized in the patriarchal model by specialists- and the position of French women within its construction, Amar (cited in Moghadam 1979) declares that:

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> Morality and nature itself have assigned her functions to her: to being the education of men, to the minds and hearts of children for the exercise prepare of public virtue to direct them early in life towards the good, to elevate their souls, to educate them in the cult of liberty- such are their functions after household cares…. when they have carried out these duties they will have deserved well of the fatherland. (P.87)

The Islamic revolution of Iran, like many other revolutions around the world tried to legislate new gender relations and redefine male and female rights within the society and family. The state was willing to rebuild the new society as different as imaginable from the previous one. In this regard -likewise the Pahlavi era- again the society was witnessing the centrality of the gender issue in sate-building projects to construct the new national identity for the citizens.

As mentioned earlier, the Nation Building program by Reza Shah and his son`s policies in second Pahlavi period, made the significant changes in the women`s presence within the public arena. Accordingly, new policies led to the emergence of different expectations from the newly established gender role, which particularly was supposed to decrease the male domination. However, weakening the masculine power was perceived as the threat to the traditional and religious family structure. In traditional family structure, women`s role had been perceived to be as centered around marriage and motherhood (Strong and Cohen, 2013); in contrast with this pattern, through the Pahlavi state era, the number of single women who were looking to be educated and employed increased dramatically. Modern Women gradually became a threat to workingmen; therefore, men became opposed to women`s public presence. Through the second Pahlavi period, two categories of women emerged among urban middle-class: *Chadori* (veiled) and *Bee chador* (unveiled). The first group generally includes homemakers who represented the traditional families of

merchants or religious bourgeoisie. *Bee chador* was a group of modern, educated that were mostly employed in private sector or public administration. While the first group had been treated as 'the others' by modernizing program and the growth of Capitalism in the country, the second one –modern women- were the outcome of the modernization. According to Tohidi (1994):

> [A] process of conflict and fiction set in between the growing modernized group of men and women who embraced a Western-inspired lifestyle and found socio-cultural transformation to their advantage and the large traditional strata of women and men whose lifestyle, religious beliefs and cultural identity were being challenged and humiliated by the state`s modernization measures. (Tohidi, 1994, p. 120).

What is worth motioning here is that through the revolutionary days in Iran, participating groups in street demonstrations against the Pahlavi reign were from different social class. The common theme which made them unified was disagreement with the Pahlavi regime`s policies especially the ones towards westernizing the country. Through the Islamic Revolutionary era from spring 1977 to February 1979, many Iranian women participated in street demonstrations. Most of them wore veil as a symbol of their disagreement with state policies regarding the westernizing women and expanding the bourgeois culture. It has to be mentioned here that the presence of veiled women in street demonstrations was not a sign of their acceptance or appreciation of the veil. Moreover, it should be reminded here that Iranian women made a clear statement by protesting against veiling order by Ayatollah Khomeini after February 1979, in these protests even veiled women had participated. Afterward, Ayatollah Khomeini made strong statements and promises regarding the position of women in the Islamic state:

> As for women, Islam has never been against their freedom. It is, to the contrary, opposed to the idea of woman-as-object and it gives her back her dignity. A woman is man's equal; she and he are both free to choose their lives

and their occupations. But the Shah's regime is trying to prevent women from becoming free by plunging them into immorality. It is against this that Islam rears up. This regime has destroyed the freedom of women as well as men. Women as well as men swell the population of Iranian prisons, and this is where freedom is threatened. We want to free them from the corruption menacing them. (Nobari, 1978, p. 13)

Ayatollah Khomeini's speech was promising by giving importance and meaningful position to women. However, he did not define terminologies such as 'dignity', 'freedom', 'immorality' and 'corruption'. The atmosphere of disagreement with the Pahlavi regime, led women to perceive his statements regarding the Woman Question as positive and hopeful (Paydar, 1995). However, he was clear about some issues related to women, for instance through an interview with *The Guardian* he claimed that women in Iran would be free in choosing their clothing within the framework of decency (Khomeini, 1978, cited in Paydar, 1995).

Through the legislation of the Islamic state, the majority of urban women who had a significant role in protesting against the Pahlavi reign in the public arena and were looking for the better days were contradictorily pushed aside to their homes. The motherhood aspect of the women came into account rather than their individuality; their main duty was restricted to the domestic arena as a good mother and wife. As Moghadam (1995) explains, through the transformation of the regime from Pahlavi to Islamic:

> In Iran, women lost their right to divorce and seek child custody; their right to be lawyers and judges, the right to travel abroad on a scholarship if unmarried; the right to Western-style dress; their right to seek control over fertility… (p.352).

Negotiating and criticizing the Islamic state`s policies towards the Woman Question, was claimed by either pro-Islamic or anti-Islamic women`s communities who compromised at that time. Because of their protest, the veiling order was temporally canceled. This kind of protest were mainly guided by Leftist and liberal groups, however, in general women`s objections were not supported by any male political organizations. Therefore, with the elimination of Liberals and Leftists parties from the political field of Iran in 1981, veiling became a compulsory order. Islamists believed that the image that Pahlavi regime had made from Iranian woman is like a 'bourgeois doll' without any morality:

> Islamists argued that women had lost honor during the Pahlavi era, They described the overly made-up bourgeois dolls and naked women –television announcers, singers, upper-class women in the profession- of the Pahlavi era and claimed that genuine Iranian cultural identity had been destroyed by Westernization….the unveiled, publicly visible woman was the product of Western attacks on indigenous culture, and the growing number of educated and employed women frightened and offended men of certain social groups, who came to regard the modern woman as the manifestation of Westernization and imperialist culture and a threat to their manhood (Moghadam V. , 2011, p. 439).

Westernization was perceived as a catalyzer leading the society towards corruption; the presence of unveiled woman in public was a sign of Westernization that was alien to her culture. Murteza Motahhari (1978), one of the Islamist who had a significant role in the establishment of the new state ideologies*:*

> Western society looks at women merely through the windows of sexual passion and regards woman as a little being who just satisfies sexual desires…therefore, such a way of thinking results in nothing other than the woman becoming a propaganda and commercial in all of Western life, ranging from those in the mass media to streets and shops. (Motahhari, 1978, cited in Moghadam, 1995, p.342)

The policy of the Islamic state toward the Woman Question could be read through the content of one of the *Zan-e Rooz* issue, a weekly women magazine, in which author claims that Colonialism and Imperialism could be expanded more easily via using women as a tool to disrupt the ethnic culture and tradition. Referring to Islamic societies the author says:

> …woman in these societies is armed with a shield that protects her against the conspiracies aimed at her humanity, honor and chastity. This shield verily is her veil. For this reason, in societies like ours, the most immediate and urgent task was seen to be her unveiling, that is, disarming woman in the face of all calamities against her personality and chastity…It is here that we realize the glory and depth of Iran`s Islamic Revolution. This revolution transformed everyone, all personalities, all relations and all values. Woman transformed in this society so that a revolution could occur. (Cited in Najmabadi 1994, pp.370-371)

The Islamic regime tried to eliminate the so-called corrupt legacy of Pahlavi reign. Therefore, many laws, which had been perceived un-Islamic, were canceled. As a consequence, women`s presence was eliminated from some of the public places such as sports venues, beaches, etc. it seemed to many urban women that the new regime wanted them to stay at home. By March 1979 the Ministry of Justice rejected to approve orders released by female judges and they have been transformed to other governmental jobs. Many women did not leave their job because of any legal order. However, many found the new atmosphere unacceptable to work, those who did not economically dependent on their job resigned or asked for early retirement.

Aside from veiling, gender segregation was another crop of the Islamic regime, which appeared in every aspect of citizens` public life. Public transportation, universities and even governmental building separated sections, corridors and staircases were determined for men and women. Family Protection Law of 1967

which had been modified by 1975 went through many changes, according to this law all issues related to family, should be referred to courts, meanwhile man and woman both could ask for divorce under the specific conditions, the custody of children also was supposed to be decided by the court, alimony was also supposed to be defined by the family court. The new lawmaking defined new civil courts entitled as *dadgahe khas-e madani* (the special civic court) in which final judgment about the family matters was supposed to be made by a high-rank clergy-*mojtahed-*. The Family Protection Law was canceled by Ayatollah Khomeini`s order in 1980; as one of the consequences, polygamy which had been restricted in 1968, were allowed by the new legitimization. The minimum age for marriage was neglected, women`s right to divorce, work and education also was significantly restricted.

The establishment of the Islamic State was the official manifestation of the transformation from modernization to Islamization. The Constitution determined that the formation of an Islamic nation was reliant on the Islamisation of gender relationships. The state defined a new Islamic relation between gender and nation and identified a new position for women. Due to the separation between a religious institution and the State`s policies during the Pahlavi era, clergy tried to established a separation between family and society, therefore although society was being ruled by the state, they still could control the family arena. After the Islamic revolution cleric institution could have both arena, family and society. The constitution of the Islamic state in Iran had two pivotal and distinguishing matters; the first was giving importance and central position to the family structure through the new constitution. The constitution underscored that since the family is the essential unit of the Islamic society, all the regulations, laws and programs had to accelerate the foundation of it and protect the stability of the family relations. Second matter indicated that women

were privileged by the Islamic nation due to the oppression they went through during the previous regime and their heavy responsibilities in newly established society (Algar, 1980). Thus the new constitution recognized the family and women as the key elements in the distinctiveness of the Iranian Islamic nation from the other nations. According to new legislation men and women had been considered as the equal citizens of the nation, as it has been mentioned in article 20:

> All citizens of the nation, both women and men, equally enjoy the protection of the law and enjoy all human, political, economic, social, and cultural rights, in conformity with Islamic criteria. (Algar, 1980, P.36)

Men and women were free to choose their occupation under the undefined and vague criteria, as Article 28 declares:

> Everyone has the right to choose any employment s/he wishes, if it is not opposed to Islam, the public interest, or to the right of others. The government has the duty ... to provide every citizen with the opportunity to work, and to create equal conditions for obtaining it. (Algar, 1980, P.38)

But the real situation in the society as discussed earlier was far away from what had been promised through the new legislations and rules.

Aside from being a so-called full citizen and having the right to educate, work and gaining social position. Still the most important dimension of womanhood was about her motherly duties and responsibilities. As Paydar (1995) said:

> … [through the discourse of Islamic state] motherhood was the essence of a woman's being and as a result, all other dimensions of womanhood were conditional upon it (P.259).

Through the establishment of the Islamic state in Iran, the character of *Fatemeh* – Prophet Mohammad`s daughter-, was introduced by the state as the perfect model for Iranian Muslim women to imitate; the Islamic state appreciated her motherhood within the domestic arena and focused on her wifely duties as well. In fact, through the revolutionary and post-revolutionary era, there were two female characters to which Islamic scholars were referring as the best model of Shiite women. One of them was *Fatemeh* and the other one was her daughter *Zeynap* who according to Islamic discourses stood up against his brother`s enemy, *Yazid,* through the historical Karbala massacre and gave an expressive speech afterward. Among these well-known religious characters whose names have been always mentioning in religious mournful songs and stories, *Fatemeh* was the final choose of the Islamic state to construct its ideal model of the Muslim mother. The international women`s day was replaced by *Fatemeh*`s birthday; this was one the attempts of the state for de-globalizing the society.

The main duty of post-revolutionary woman was defined as well-aware Muslim mother who can raise soldiers to defend the revolutionary values. This approach could be followed even in public graffiti and postal stamps of that time (figure 39). Female figures were significantly eliminated from the public media and advertisement; in some graffiti and posters the image of Muslim mother was presented as body-less and most of the time faceless.
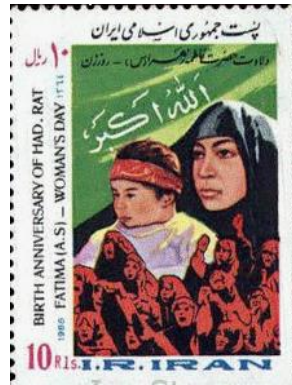
Figure 39. The title of stamp: Woman`s Day,1985 source: http://axgig.com/images

The woman`s veiled body was perceived as a shield which could protect the Iranian society from the aggression of Imperialism and Capitalism. Islamic revolutionary scholars criticized the Woman Question through the Pahlavi period; Shahri (1991) referred to the Iranian society of that era as a 'big whorehouse' and appreciated those women who had covered their whole body using the conservative Western-type hats and coats (p.531). By the beginning of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, the concept of martyrdom was perceived as the most precious and honorable attainment among Muslims who had to defend their country. In this regard, the motherhood and the wifely role of women became even more emphasized by expecting them to encourage their sons and husbands to participate in the war field (figures 40, 41. The very prevalent slogan of the time by Khomeini (1979) was: the man goes to ascension from the woman`s arms ⟨*Az daman-e zan mard be meraj miravad*).



Figure 40. Muslim mother sending her husband to war, source: http://tebyan-ardebil.ir/images/

Figure 41. Muslim mother preparing her husband for going to war, source: http://s4.picofile.com

Most of the time the figure of militant women in public graffiti and stamps were presented while they were holding a child.

Calls for women`s participation in society aroused by clergies and this time *Zeyneb* personality and her attitude toward war against the Islam`s enemies became more emphasized in public speeches. Through the war between Iran and Iraq (1980-88), women who had been sent to their home by the establishment of the Islamic state, were asked to participate in society and fight against the enemy of the state as the encouraging Muslim Mothers and wives.

The war actually pulled millions of women out of their homes and brought them to the public sphere to do many voluntaries jobs. After the war, women felt powerful enough to claim their right; they want to keep their participation in public in both fields of employment and politic. As Halper (2005) Says:

> war gave way to the needs of peacetime growth. A transformation of gender rhetoric and policy began. Women demanded and society agreed that the government should undertake the task of promoting women's social participation as one of its overt goals, rather than simply responding piecemeal to women's issues as it had during the war (p.117).

Aside from the war between Iran and Iraq which ended on 1988, Ayatollah Khomeini`s death on 1989 also caused a political shift in the governmental attitude towards the Woman Question. With Ayatollah Khomeini`s death, the policy of isolated Islamic welfare which had provided free health and education, food subsidies and houses for low-incomes, gave its way to the liberalizing the economy by cutting off the social services, subsidies and likewise programs. This new trend which was applied by the new president, Akbar Rafsanjani, caused fear and insecurity among low-income people who were continuously entitled as the owner of the revolution by Ayatollah Khomeini. Women from those families started to seek for jobs due to economic problems. With the compulsory order of veiling, these families perceived the public arena safe and Islamic; so they did not hesitate to send their women and daughters to work outside the home. Many revolutionary institutions in which women were working as volunteers during the war period became governmental and kept those women as their employees (Poya, 1999). Consequently, through the early 1990s, the number of employed women in Iran increased significantly. As Bahramitash (2003) indicates:

> This increase was much more than the rate prior to the revolution. Such dramatic change in the pattern of labor force participation might not have been possible if Khomeini had not broken the barriers to women [from low-income and traditional families] entering into the public sphere (p.236).

It is worth mentioning here that the issue of veiling empowered many women from traditional class to enter into cultural, political and economic life. On the contrary, these new opportunities were taken from those women with modern attitude, the attitude which was the outcome of the previous regime.

It was after the presidency of Mohammad Khatami on 1997 that the issue of veiling found a place in public debates. With the leftist attitude of the new government, some reformist press started to raise voices regarding veiling. Their debate also found support from some clergy who suggested that: "wearing *hejab* was not religiously mandatory, however desirable: it might be a sin not to wear *hejab*, but it was not a crime "(Mir-Hosseini, 2002, 42-3). Their attempts did not achieve any success in legislations but negotiating the issue of veiling in public media, paved the path for women to modify the style of traditional veiling. Today veiling is not considered as an end point to the modern approach to women`s life; As Halper (2005) claims:

> At present, there is an ongoing debate in the streets of Iran, quiet but visible, over how a modern Iranian woman should look (p.129).

Today women are actually well aware of the role of *hijab* and their bodies in governmental concerns; So the issue of veiling and covering their body has turned to a tool for women to express their agreement or disagreement with the state ideologies regarding not only the issue of veiling but as whole, ideologies which are related to the Woman Question. As Milani claims "lipstick is not just lipstick in Iran. It transmits a political message. It is a weapon" (Milani, 1999).

The current women`s attitude is not to show up in public demonstration as they did through the 1970s and the 1980s, they are not also interested in totalizing ideologies; rather they are more focused on empowering the local groups, increasing their awareness, localizing the global values regarding women and defining tangible and minor but more bearable changes in their lives such as having the appropriate right in taking child custody, inheritance and also the right of divorce (Mahdi, 2003).

As mentioned earlier at the beginning of the war between Iran and Iraq in 1980, Iranian women chose not to show their dissatisfaction with their new constructed role in controversial ways. Instead, they took subtle attitude by using their body and dress codes to demonstrate their opposition towards the state`s policies and claimed their autonomy over their own bodies and individualities (Esfandiari, 1997). Through the 1990s the social and political circumstances in Iran led women to evaluate their status as regressive. However, due to the improvement of literacy among them, they found equal access to modern education compared with men. The number of girls in rural schools and universities increased dramatically. Nevertheless, once they wanted to enter the public arena and start their career, they found themselves discounted by men and also Islamic regulations. As Khosrowkhavar (2001) declares:

> Increasing modernization brings them [women] intellectually and psychologically ever closer to men, making the legal denial of access to equality incomprehensible, even scandalous in their view. As long as women's social and cultural lives were different from those of men, this inequality was perceived as emanating from 'natural' differences. But now, the intellectual status and living conditions of women have changed, especially among the urban middle and lower middle-classes, where many women work so as to maintain a decent standard of living in their household (p.17).

According to state`s regulation, women have equal rights of citizenship; in parliament also their vote is equal to their male colleagues. Nonetheless, in domestic realm when it comes to the family law, the inequality between men and women is significant:

> …a woman cannot travel without the explicit permission of her husband, she can be divorced without any convincing reason and can be denied the right of keeping her children after divorce (Khosrowkhavar, 2001).

However, today the regulations and restrictions, which were defined through revolutionary discourse are not strictly followed even by the government. women of the post-revolutionary era, which have been named militant in this research, are claiming their individuality and right under the effect of globalization. In this regard, the role of internet is undeniable. It is the space where women and any other margined group present their real life.

Aside from the way Iranian women appear in public sphere, they are also questioning veiling order through many virtual campaigns in social networks such as Facebook, Tweeter, Telegram, etc. As Franks explains, veiling itself does not have any meaning but reaches it through what it refers to (Franks,2000). Meanwhile, in order to protest against the mandatory wearing of veil, some women in all the cities wear white *hijab* on Wednesdays. Supporting these women, some men also wear white ribbons on Wednesdays. Hence, although women are protesting in public arena no one can arrest them because of wearing a white veil!

The concept of gender segregation also is largely denied since women from non-traditional families have opened the boundaries of their homes and host the public life –like modern houses in Pahlavi era. Contemporary houses again became the arena through which people could express their desired lifestyle and ideologies. Although houses are introverted as it is asked by Islamic legitimations but this introversion does not draw a distinction line between public and private life –as it did in traditional house-, rather it hides the public life of its residents inside from the governmental gaze.

It could be claimed that multi personalities is one of the outcomes of the Islamic revolution; as A. Ebrahimi (2004) says:

> This [refashioning of social codes] has led to a strategy of dissimulation and invisibility that has become part of the process of social inclusion and negotiation in post-revolutionary Iran. This dissimulation and social invisibility in terms of appearances and behaviors is constantly shifting according to variables such as place, time and spectators, and is defined according to the status, gender and age of social actors. For many women and youth, for example, particular urban districts and hours of the day demand concomitant performances. (p.105)

Women are trying to strike a balance between traditional and modern, faith and reason, culture and civilization. This reveals their attitude towards what has been described by Lubbers as "we-culture" in opposition of the Western "me-culture" (Lubbers, 1996). Gradually women`s higher level of consciousness forced the state to ease up the margins and restrictions over them.

As militant women are claiming their desired social status through their civic bodies, they also took a different attitude toward what the state demanded from them about running their pious home. The pious home as discussed earlier was supposed to act as a nest for growing the Muslim family by the supervision of the Muslim Mother. Hence, today while women are demanding their right via the way they dress, it could be said that the houses they are running also became a scene of expressing their ideologies towards the state. Iranian contemporary homes are not in accordance with the agenda of the pious home which was the ideal model introduced by the state. It could be said that surprisingly no power or reign has been as effective as the Islamic regime in breaking religious taboos and Islamic values in Iranian society, which of course happened unwillingly and unexpectedly.

## 4.2 From Pious Home in Revolutionary Discourse to Pastiche Home in Post-Revolutionary Practices

> A worthy house is similar to the Muslim woman, who does not show her beauty through her body; likewise, the traditional introverted house which hides its beauty within itself. (Hojjat, 1982)

As mentioned earlier Muslim mother was introduced as the ideal model for Iranian Woman by the Islamic state; this concept had significant differences from the presented model by the Pahlavi state -the modern woman-. As two mentioned models were dissimilar from each other the houses, which were assigned to each, were also different. While the modern woman was supposed to manage the modern home, the Muslim mother was likely to run a pious home.

The concept of pious home emerged from revolutionary and post-revolutionary discourse as the most desirable realm in which an Islamic family could grow. It was totally in opposition with the modern home; as mentioned earlier, new standpoints were in opposition of whatever influenced by the western concepts. The press had a prominent role in manifesting these viewpoints and introducing the difference between art and architecture of Islamic state and those of the modern (Pahlavi) regime.

*Faslname Honar* was one of the main publications of post-revolutionary era, which played a key role in manifesting the Islamic approach towards the art and architecture A famous art critic, Zahra Rahnavard, prime minister`s wife, published an article in *Faslname Honar* and drew a strong division between Islamic art and modern art (Rahnavard, 1982). She claimed that Iranians could finally get rid of

capitalistic and imperialistic art. She stated that Islamic revolution had actually made a connection between the matters and the meanings; between Iranians and the divine; she suggested that the Islamic art should not be realistic. Instead, it should be abstract containing meaning and signs. Her statements regarding the abstraction of Islamic art could also be followed in religious discourses; in Islamic discourses, any form of representing the human body via art in general and painting, in particular, is forbidden and could be perceived as idolatry. In this regard, Prophet Muhammad has asserted that imitating God`s creation is sinful and those who are attempting to do so, are evildoers. Moreover, the first Imam of the Shiites, Ali declared that those who create images should not consider themselves as Muslims (Heger,1997).

This may reveal that why Islamic scholars who were trying to establish new agenda for Islamic architecture refused to introduce any characteristic feature and materiality gave its way to spirituality; meanwhile, a new perception of architecture as anti-revolution and aristocratic profession made this occupation as unnecessary in the stage of state building process.

It could be said that trough the 1980s, no important architectural inputs were achieved in Iran and architecture entered a passive era. As Afshar Naderi (2005) declared:

> …a predominant intolerance in society did not allow space for architectural criticism. Quantity prevailed over quality; poverty was appreciated as part of new values system, and beauty was looked down upon as a symbol of aristocratic privilege. These were natural consequences of the revolution, and all had negative effects on the field of architecture. (p.123)

After the victory of the Islamic revolution, the new state closed all the universities in the country for almost two years in order to modify the educational directions and programs of the universities; this action was taken under the title of 'cultural revolution'. Universities were reopened on 1983 with totally new programs, which were not sufficient enough; architecture, as mentioned earlier, was perceived as an unnecessary educational program and 'anti-revolution profession'. Most students who were studying architecture did not receive any grant from the government. To solve this problem, architects tried to justify their works in accordance with Islamic revolution`s values.

The 'Islamic' terminology was added to art and architecture of the time as the revolutionary elites also were trying to establish a new point of view towards art and architecture through the lens of Islamic discourses. 'Islamic architecture' was only attributed to the historical trends in Islamic period, in fact, "…achieving architectural forms worthy of being called Islamic was expressed through an obsession with creating forms that revealed a visible and superficial relationship to the past" (Afshar Naderi, 2005, p.123)

With the prevalence of de-globalization trends in revolutionary discourses, the fifth issue of *Faslnameh Honar* published an article by Ayatollah Khomeini in which he condemned the media art in Pahlavi era as corruptive since it was under the effect of the West. He mentioned that Iranians do not need the West in their artistic field as they can revive their own identity and culture (Khomeini R. , 1984). Aside from political figures that had become interested in Islamization of art and architecture, there were also artists and architects with the same attitude. Mir Hussein Mousavi, a trained architect, who later became the prime minister, tried to define the difference

between authentic Islamic architecture and outlandish Western architecture. In one of the issues of *Faslname Honar* he mentioned the buildings which have been built in Pahlavi era as alien places in which people feel like strangers (Mousavi, 1984). Aside from buildings of the Pahlavi era, the hetero-socializing in public spaces was strongly criticized by the revolutionary elite and addressed as moral corruption. As Shahri (1991), Iranian historian of the time claimed: "Spaces such as modern-style restaurants and cafés, cinemas, and public parks are invariably spaces of seduction and illicit sex (between men and women, between adult men and male adolescents) … urban corruption has even spread to such domains as holy shrines." Instead, he admired the spaces of male homo-socialization such as old-style coffeehouses, *zurkhanah* (male sports clubs). (Shahri 1991, cited in Najmbadi, 2005, p.19).

As mentioned earlier the presence of women in some public spaces was limited and mingling between women and men became forbidden. With the de-globalization attitude of the Islamic Republic of Iran, like the pre-modernist period, and the prevalence of gender segregation and veiling women in the society, the dichotomies of 'public/ private' and 'us/the others' was again emphasized.

As women were supposed to cover themselves, likewise the Qajar era, the dichotomy between private realm of the home and the public realm was strongly emphasized. Hojjat (1982) -the dean of department of architecture in Tehran Science and Technology University- published an article in *Faslnameh Honar*; and he made an analogy between a woman`s body and Iranian traditional houses: "A worthy house is similar a Muslim woman, who does not show her beauty through her body; likewise, the traditional introverted house which hides its beauty within itself."

New legislations and rules were defined for constructing the buildings. Providing visual privacy became one of the major concerns at the time, the height of opening had to be determined based on providing privacy for insider and neighborhoods, it was more important than aesthetic issues. In some regions in Tehran, building duplex houses became forbidden because they were perceived as the sign of Western style. Introversion again became a prevalent concept in the architecture of houses; traditional houses were admired for providing privacy and hiding the residents` life from the public gaze. It worth mentioning here that Ayatollah Khomeini who had grown up and spent his childhood in a wealthy courtyard house also expressed his appreciation for traditional houses as below:

> In the past when we had not yet become westoxified, we would place the kitchen in the foremost section of the house. The purpose of this positioning of the kitchen was not to comfort. It was rather to prevent the smell of some of the more expensive food such as kebab from spreading out into the street; the residents of the house did not want to show that they ignored the poor and the hungry. There was no culture of façade making as is the case today; the exterior of the courtyard house was plastered over with mud. If the house was large, its entrance was instead small to avoid showing off one's wealth and status. The house was introverted because people wanted to live a more humble life. (Khomeini R. , 1983)

Ayatollah Khomeini`s pious home was propagated by media as the most desirable model for a Muslim family, detached from the materiality the furniture of the home was basic and simple (figure 42). Even chairs were covered by the white sheet, to hide their foreign character, since they were imported products of the West (Karimi, 2012).

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Figure42.Ayatollah Khomeini`shouse,source:http://www.chn.ir/Images/Newshttp

The usage of imported Western products was strongly criticized and questioned by revolutionary elites. They defined a distinction between imported and local goods, in this regard they got benefits from religious discourses and the concept of *halal-haram*. Joint Iranian- Western enterprise was announced *haram* in the post-revolutionary era. Many Western factories stopped importing their products to Iran. As mentioned earlier in the later addition of Ayatollah Khomeini`s *New Resaleh*, all Western images of household commodities were omitted.

The pious home was actually an abstract concept; rather than suggesting how its furniture, interior space and exterior facade should be designed –as it was defined for the Modern Home- the design agenda regarding the Pious Home was mainly about how it should not be looked like: Westernized.

As the ideal model for women presented faceless and bodiless in media, the ideal model for the home also did not introduce well-defined characteristics and material features.

One of the main requests of the Islamic state from architects and builders was to avoid presenting their personal taste -which was labeled as cheap- in their works, and they were strongly advised to follow the revolutionary values which remained

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abstract and not clear in the field of architecture. However, like Iranian woman, Iranian artists tried to keep their own voices rather than obeying the state ideologies. This approach among people after the revolution has been entitled as the "culture of resistance" which is prevalence in people's everyday life and their private realm (Karimi, 2012. P.15). Although houses are somehow introverted, as it is asked by Islamic legitimations, this introversion does not draw a distinction line between public and private life –as it did in traditional houses-, rather it hides the public life of its residents inside from the governmental watchful control.

The architecture of contemporary houses, also declares that globalization and contemporary trends in art and architecture has found its way into Iran. Applying global trends in the architecture of housing in Iran could be considered as the opposition towards what government has defined and asked for as Islamic architecture. Evidently, there are contemporary Iranian housing, which are known in international arena due to their Avant guard design and approach.

When the public spaces were Islamized, many citizens were pushed to their private realm; In this regard, many events such as parties, ceremonies and gathering in which men and women could freely socialize together are held in houses. Likewise, modern houses in Pahlavi era, today living rooms are the arena in which a very important aspect of residents` social life takes place. Actually a major part of the current public life of people takes place inside the domestic spaces. But in contrast to modern houses of Pahlavi era, the residents of contemporary houses are not willing to present the public part of their houses to the public gaze; because having any kind of party which includes free mingling of unveiled women and men, serving alcoholic drinks, … are formally forbidden by the state.

As discussed earlier, after the Islamic revolution, multi-personality became a prevalent phenomenon in the Iranian society; people have to apply Islamic regulations in public spaces, while they can still live their private life as they wish, but hidden from the public gaze. The interesting issue is that hosting a part of the public life of the residents and their multi-personality has affected the architecture of housing as well. This impact could be followed in the architecture of housing with two kitchens. While one of the kitchens is directly connected to the living room, the other one entitles as the dirty kitchen is completely hidden. The second kitchen contains main activities of preparing, cooking and washing while the other one is designed just for serving food (figure 43). The public zone in these houses is mostly larger than the private zone. The public zone with its clean and neat kitchen, more often contains a small bar for serving drinks. Mentioned pattern has become very popular among the nouveau-riche class who are responsible for the prevalence of the neo-classical trends in contemporary housing building (Islami, Tafakkor and Rezvani zadeh (2016). One may claim that this kind of interior organization exemplifies the opposite simple lifestyle propagated by the state.
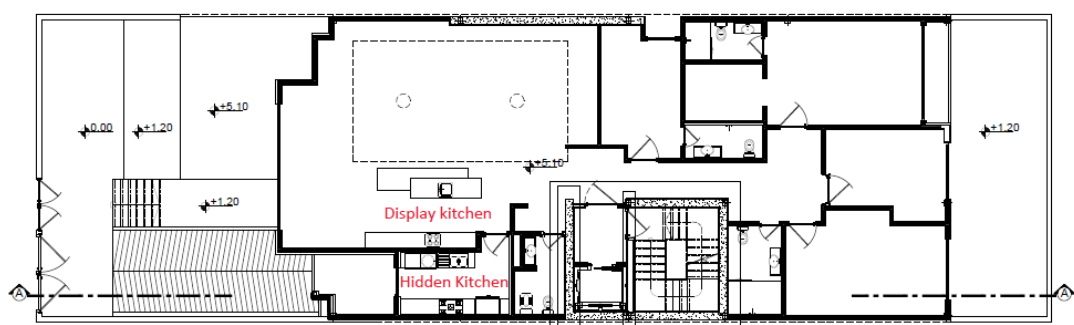


Figure 43. Apartment with two kitchens Ref: Archive of Iman Architectural Office (2016)

As mentioned earlier, in the early years of revolution, architects were prohibited to show westernized features and were asked to avoid their personal taste in their design, but through the 1990s while still, the public buildings were under the governmental watchful control, designers found the private houses as a safe realm to express their individual tastes. As Karimi (2012) indicates:

> Architects developed their individual tastes in domains that oscillated between revolution toward the pre-revolutionary period and nostalgic desire for resurrecting it, between the burdens of an isolated homeland and free places for beyond reach. Throughout the 1990s, images of the latter were manifested in the vestibules of residential apartment complexes, which replicated the grandiose entrance of hotel lobbies or casinos from movie scenes –mostly Hollywood- and Western magazines…the lobbies of these building are adorned with elements from classical Greek and Roman architecture. Some are embellished with frescoes that resemble Victorian era fairy painting. The imagery allows residents to distance themselves from the rigors of daily urban life. Oscillating between ancient Greek temples, Las Vegas casinos, glamorous hotels, and Victorian fairy painting, these structure have become a sort of escapist arcadia for both the Islamic Republic`s middle-class and top bureaucrats in the Revolutionary Guard or the judiciary (p.169).

Meanwhile, aside from the interior spaces, the culture of resistance in housing could be read through the formal configuration of some residential projects in which architects have tried to define a creative dialogue between public and private. A relevant example in this regard could be Sharifi-ha House; it is a residential building built on 2014 in Tehran by Next Office (figure 44). The most characteristic feature of this project is the turning boxes, which let the house to be extroverted or introverted by choice of its residents. The flexibility in case of openness and closure of the form would offer a seasonal mode which resembles the winter living room and summer living room in traditional houses. It seems that in this project architect is offering an optional way of life, while he provides the exaggerated introversion he easily turns boxes and shows the other side of the life by displaying the hidden part and make it visible to the public gaze. As claimed by designers of this house "In this project, the

challenges to the concepts of introverted/extroverted typology led to an exciting spatial transformation of an ever-changing residential building" (report prepared on 7th of July 2014, available at http://www.archdaily.com/522344/sharifi-ha-house-nextoffice).



Figure 44. Sharifi-ha House, Ref. http://www.archdaily.com/522344/sharifi-ha-house-nextoffice

Another relevant example is Dowlat II residential building built on 2007 by Arsh Design Studio (figure 45). In this project, architect has covered the main façade by an external wall cladding. Residents can display their interior spaces while at the same time they are still obeying the system`s regulation. As the designer group in their report for Agha Khan Award jury have indicated:

> Starting from limited surfaces of frontal façades of the residential buildings that we were designing we started to think of the whole city and its civic façades as a medium full of potentials for animation and activation of publicly shared spaces of the city; what if all the civic façades were built out of neutral, repeatable, expandable and adaptable modules that could be controlled by the occupants of the built environments? What if the variations were based on how these repeatable modules interacted? (Samhuri, 2010, p. 7)

Following shows that Iranian architects after the revolution have tried to perform their role as active agencies; they are using the architecture as a tool to oppose to the Islamic regulation. As Karimi (2012) claims:

> …they built on the existing sanctioned status quo and create new meanings in response to it, make it their owns; many artists, designers and architects in Iran have asserted agency in changing their own lives as well as those of others, but this agential capacity is entailed not only in those acts that resist norms but also in multiple ways in which one inhabits norms (Karimi, 2012, 166).



Figure 45. Dowlat II building, Ref. http://www.akdn.org/architecture/project/dowlat-ii-residential-complex

After the Islamic revolution, strong ideological differences led to the deep division between people from different social classes, many people and artists chose to stay in their houses and not to be engaged in public activities. This trend could be read through the novels, which have been written after Islamic revolution. In this regard, one could refer to Ismaeil Fasih who is a very famous novelist and  has reflected domestication of many people mostly from the intellectual class after the revolution.

In a series of his books, such as, *Shahbaz va Joghdan* (1990) and *Name-I be Donya* (2000), Fasih follows the life story of an Iranian engineer, who has been working in Abadan through the Pahlavi regime, and after revolution he gets fired and continues his secular life and relations in his highly modernist apartment.

Via such novels, it could be read that while in late Qajar and Pahlavi period the secularization of public domain led people to carefully keep their tradition alive in their private arena, after the revolution, the Islamization of public sphere let to secularized private life.

The outcome of imposed and propagated ideologies in the Iranian contemporary society is not the one that the state had planned. But still it is a direct consequence of the Islamic state`s ideologies through almost four decades after its establishment.

## 4.3 Conclusion: Negotiating Anti- Modernity

Islamic state perceived women as recipients and receivers of state ideologies rather than its agents. This attitude excluded women from the decision-making process and disregarded their needs in the formation of the new state; however, the Islamic Republic of Iran (IRI) believed that the way it treated women can be considered as one of the greatest Islamic models which is expected Islamic state perceived women as recipients and receivers of state ideologies rather than its agents.

The de-globalization attitude of the IRI affected women`s status in the society and family threshold. Before, through the globalization trend of the Pahlavi regime, the country was under the influence of Western political, social and economic achievements. Through the first decade of the Islamic state, the government tried to detach the country from the world, de-globalization and localization were widely advertised. The attitude towards the Woman Question and women`s right in terms of education, employment and even their presence within the society was changed.

Through the revolutionary era, the majority of women had no particular requirement based on their gender. Under the influence of Marxist ideologies, most of the

intellectual women believed that if the proletariat gained the power, women`s problem would be automatically solved. Meanwhile, religious women also assumed that Islam would solve their issues by destroying the monarchical system. Hence, there was not any gendered base demand from women through the revolutionary era (Khosrokhavar, 2001).

The very first opposition of women versus the Islamic state policies was a demonstration against veiling order by Ayatollah Khomeini in 1979. Hence, the state tried to change its language and took the softer attitude, but at the same time, it established a committee to suppress any public disagreements with veiling order. As mentioned earlier, many women lost their governmental jobs, at the same time the family protection law was also canceled by Ayatollah Khomeini. Women were witnessing the new legitimations, which was in contrary with their desire for having the better life; they were more likely to stay at home and do their motherly duties.

The ideal model of the domestic realm which was supposed to be run by Muslim mothers was introduced as pious home. Empty from western furniture and luxuries, the pious home was a simple and pious arena for nurturing a Muslim family within. Through the establishment of Islamic revolutionary guidelines for art and architecture, revolutionary elite refused to discuss the material features of those fields. Instead, they only relied on introducing abstract concepts such as devout and pious for housing. Hence, while the Muslim mother was pictured as a de-gendered, fully covered and faceless, the main assigned spaces to her also did not find any clear physical appearance.

The policy of domesticating women took many job opportunities away from them, which raised much opposition among urban women. Through the war between Iran and Iraq, which took eight years, women got involved in a new wave of opposition, which requested contribution in the society. Afterward under the presidency of Mohammad Khatami-from 1997 till 2005- the atmosphere for claiming the civic right became more suitable and the state also took the softer attitude towards oppositions.

Today, almost four decades after of Islamic Revolution Iranian women who have been named militant in the current study have challenged many social rules and legitimations, which had been set by the government. Claiming their right majority of Iranian women from the middle and upper class are using their veil as a tool to express their opinion regarding the state`s policies.

The pivotal role of women`s position in social and political changes as Gerecht argued may be considered as the main cause of the other revolution. It could also be read in one of the CIA expert`s view:

> What is the strongest group in Iran from which the revolution could spring? That's an easy one: the women. They are a very vibrant group, very strong and they are influential within Iranian society. The women also hold one of the two last banners of the Islamic revolution by - excuse the expression - the balls: the chador [the black robe worn by devoted- Muslim women]. The other banner is hatred of the United States and Israel. The chador is the way in which the revolution is manifested in every square, on every street. Through the chador you create the feeling of an Islamic revolution in motion. Take it away, and bye-bye ayatollahs (Shirley, 1999).

like the Qajar era, today in Iran veiling and gender segregation are supposed to be going hand in hand again; however, the concept of gender segregation which limits

women`s access to many public spaces has been also questioning by militant women who have opened the boundaries of their pastiche homes and host the public life hidden from the governmental watchful eyes. While public realm has been Islamized, contemporary houses belonged to middle and upper classes, has become the arena through which Iranian people can express their desired way of life. The pastiche home in this research refers to contemporary houses in which introversion is being used to hide the inhabitants' life from the government. In this regard the creative architectural attempts have been reviewed.

As it was discussed in this chapter, both veiling and domestic realm have turned to outdistancing tools in people's hand to rethink and negotiate the anti-modernization attitude of the current regime.

# Chapter 5

# FINAL REMARKS

Tracking the role of different states` ideologies through the modernization history in Iran and different approaches taken towards it, three periods are recognizable. Although the political and social upheavals in each period of time would lead to more simultaneous fragmentations; the current study relied on classical historical classifications while at the same time it tried to cover the specific social and political upheavals of each era. In this regard chapter II covered 'late Qajar dynasty' together with 'constitutional period', chapter III focused on 'first and second Pahlavi periods' along with 'pre-Islamic revolutionary era'. Additionally, chapter IV, focused on 'Islamic revolutionary' but also included 'post-revolutionary' and 'contemporary periods'.

The Woman Question and domestic realm, have been continuously a matter of struggle between different patriarchal systems either secular or Islamic in Iran. As it has been discussed earlier, woman –as the producer and caretaker of the nation- and home –as the first and main nest for the nation to grow- have been continuously the main concerns and tools for different states to manifest their agenda and approaches especially regarding the modernization and Islamization of the country.

The present study depicts that women`s ideal role in different social and cultural movements, both secular and Islamic in Iran, have continuously been defined based

on their close ties to their family and home. In the literature, Celik (1997) claims that to conquer and colonize a nation, a primitive step, which will ease the invasion, is penetrating in domestic spaces and devaluing the local culture. In both, foreigners and governmental programs, in order to modernize and Islamize the domestic space (as an essential and prerequisite factor for altering the society), women were the ones who were considered as the subject of modernization and Islamization; while at the same time, they were treated not as the main agent but as the object of the state programs.

Through the past three chapters the substance and the output of two quests by Iranian political and social powers to modernize/Islamize `women` and to modernize/Islamize `houses` have been analyzed and compared. This research shows that there are similarities between the way through which each state has outlined its ideal models for both Iranian woman and home. Moreover, it could be claimed that there is also resemblance between regimes` approaches towards the Woman Question and domestic realm. Following diagram depicts the backbone of the research (figure 46).
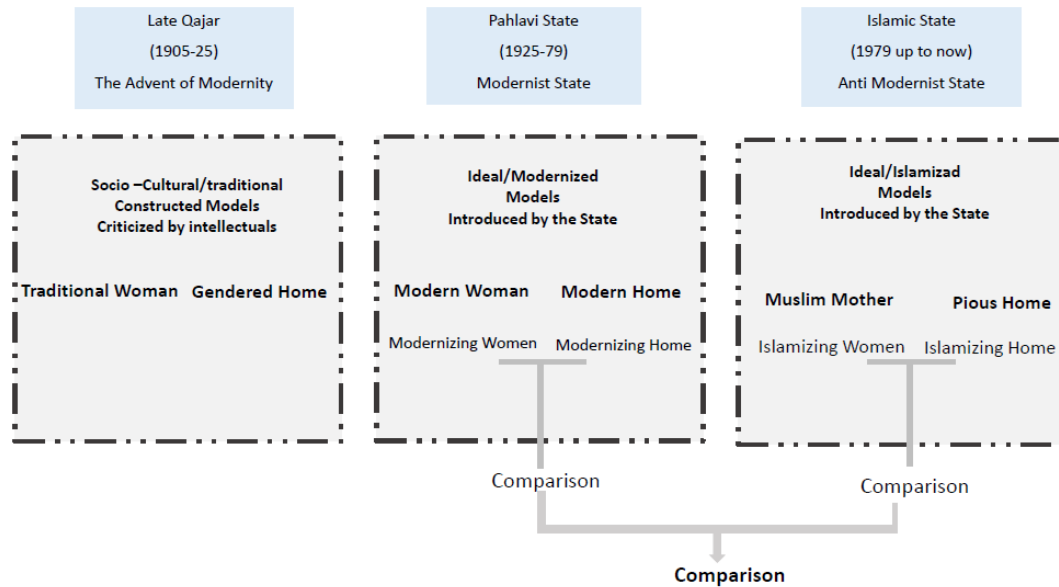
Figure 46. The outline of the study

## 5.1 Modernizing and De-Modernizing; the Woman and the Home under the New System of Patriarchy

It could be said that through the Nation-Building program in Iran, both the Iranian woman and the house, as the main hallmarks of the modern nation, went through an imposed process of modernization. In this regard, the desirable pattern, which was introduced through the media and press, was European. In the same line, national efforts for emancipating women through unveiling and providing education and work opportunities, did not touch the deeper layout of women`s lives. Referring to the nature of state projects and the position of women in modern Nation-States of the Middle East, Kandiyoti (1992) argues that through plans for reforming women`s lives, modernizing women was simply restricted to training better mothers and cultured partners, while most people did not defend breaking the patriarchal system within the family. Although it was assumed at the time that unveiling might weaken the masculine patriarchy, since men would no longer have control over their

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women`s bodies, women actually entered another circle of control by the state and its national soldiers. The unveiling decree was against the will of many Iranian women. Besides, it did not weaken the masculine patriarchy in general. While women were given the opportunity to be heard and their body found another arena to perform outside the domestic realm, the new masculine system of power tried to police them in other ways. Although gaining public face forced women to take off their veils, they were largely expected to veil and keep their chastity inside.

Through the modernization process, the secularization of the domestic realm and its transformation into a showcase, which could reflect its residents` prestigious position and social class, became prevalent among the elite and middle-class families. Therefore, the introversion and coziness of the space configuration in traditional houses were questioned by modernist attitude, and the public face of the house gained primary importance. Meanwhile, modernizing Iranian houses in less wealthy families also did not give way to an evolution in the Iranian and traditional lifestyle. In this regard, modernization mostly stayed at the architectural level of the domestic realm, which led to creative behavior among residents who wanted to continue their previous lifestyle and keep their traditions within the modern spatial threshold.

Meanwhile, present study depicts that the Islamic state also took the similar approaches towards Islamizing both women and homes. The concepts of two so-called ideal models, modern woman and modern house, were replaced by the Muslim mother and pious home. Veiling and gender segregation which have been strongly criticized by modernists and Renewalists through the modernization process came into account as the hallmarks of the de-modernized and Islamic nation. Both Muslim mother and pious home were supposed to avoid any westernized concepts and to be in line with Islamic values and traditions. While women were supposed to be

excluded from some of the public arenas and became veiled, the pious domestic realm also became introverted and hidden from the public gaze.

The compulsory veiling rule also gave the government the opportunity to control and police women`s bodies. These changes and transformation revived and granted the power for the traditional and patriarchal system in society. With emphasizing on the motherhood side of women, they were encouraged to stay at home and raise soldiers to protect the revolutionary values. Moreover, engaging in any forms of un-Islamic activities within the boundary of domestic realm became strongly forbidden; mingling between men and women, serving alcoholic drinks, having satellite… have been marked as the sings of promotion of Western lifestyle and immorality in the society; hence, such activities were announced as crimes.

## 5.2 From Materialist Modernization to Immaterialist Isalmization

As mentioned earlier, by the last decade of second Pahlavi regime, 1970s, the voices for authenticity aroused from different social classes, seculars and religious communities. It was believed that the Cold War, Truman Point IV and the foreigner policy of the state towards the West had made the whole country as a showcase for presenting and consuming the imported products; advertisements of European commodities in public via domestic media made the urban spaces like the theater scenes. The modern house was perceived as a showcase of the western product running by immoral, pretty face and modern woman.

One of the main slogans of the Islamic regime was fighting against Imperialism, Consumerism and Colonialism. One of the most significant notion of the Islamic revolutionary discourses is the replacement of materiality by spirituality; in this

regard although veiling and gender segregation were the two main hallmarks adopted by the state, but revealing their ideal models, revolutionary elites emphasized on immaterial features rather than material ones. The pious home was actually an abstract concept; its exterior facade was supposed to be designed as simple as possible; the space organization of the pious home was supposed to follow the introversion likewise traditional houses.; but rather than suggesting how its furniture, interior space and exterior facade should be designed –as it was defined for the modern home- the design agenda regarding the pious home was mainly about how it should not be looked like: Westernized. In contrary to the colorful images of modern women in media of the Pahlavi, in post-revolutionary era, Muslim mothers were shown in public graffiti with a de-sexed and faceless body covered by black chador with no color and no texture.

## 5.3 Negotiating Anti/Modernity; Revealing and Concealing

The present study reveals that modifications, orders and ideas coming from above in either secular or Islamic regimes, have never been accepted by Iranian people without negotiation. Dealing with modernity and anti- modernity approaches, people have always found the middle way to adopt imposed concepts and ideologies in creative ways.

Through the Pahlavi regime, while public realm became secular people found their domestic realm as a safe arena to save their traditions. Meanwhile, afterward by Islamization of the public places, the private realm again was the sphere to host and to reveal people`s secular lifestyle:

This research explicates that the secularization of the public arena in Pahlavi era, has led people to conceal their traditions within the domestic sphere; as the traditional woman took off her veil, but instead veiled and concealed her femininity to gain modern appearance in public, the traditional house also revealed its coziness and private zone while residents hid or modified some of their domestic traditions and habits in order to match them with the new and modern atmosphere of the domestic arena. As Cronin (2007) claims, through the first Pahlavi reign 'reform from above' by the state found 'resistance from below' among non-elite groups who neither received those reforms passively nor opposed them blindly (Cronin, 2007).

Meanwhile, after the victory of Islamic revolution people were asked to break their bonds with previous regime and its agenda; instead they were encouraged to revive traditions and Islamic culture such as veiling and gender segregation. Women were ordered to conceal their bodies from *na-mahrams*; moreover, people were asked to conceal their pious domestic space from public gaze. Meanwhile, Islamization of the public locus has led people to transfer their secular public life into their private spaces. As it was discussed, in some Iranian houses belonged to middle and upper classes, introversion was not applied in order to confirm the strong division between the public and private −as it is expected by the state- but it helped residents to conceal their public life from governmental gaze. Likewise, the veiling also became a weapon in Muslim mothers' hands to express their dissatisfaction regarding the state`s policies. In another words, both veiling and introversion were used by people to reveal 'resistance from below' towards 'reform from above'.

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