THE IMPACT OF TRANSNATIONAL FEMINISM ON WOMEN’S MOVEMENT AFTER 1979 REVOLUTION IN IRAN

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of a literature review in regard to how Transnational Feminism affected women’s movement after 1979 Revolution in Iran. It explains historical roots of Parisianism verses Islamism. Iranians are not Arab and some of them consider Islam as a foreign import ideology. It also displays why Islam never succeeded to prescribe only Islamic identity to women and meantime why mullahs succeeded ending dictatorial regime of Pahlavi in Iran. Century’s long challenge between Persiansism and Islamism led to 1979 revolution in Iran. Since then, fundamentalism, sharia based family laws, and patriarchal natures of theocratic regime, viewed by some scholars as main obstacles for feminism. Women’s opposition to regime’s controversial gender policies intertwined with their demand for democracy coincided with accelerating process of globalization and emergence of consequent transnational feminism. Proliferation of Information Technology made it possible for democratic values to influence and alter many women’s perception on traditionalism and Islamism in Iran. Women’s defiance of Sharia based Family Protraction Law began immediately after 1979 Revolution and grows stronger. Globalization and women’s increased contact with outside world encouraged more confrontation with regime’s ideological propagation. Women activists’ are divided over how to pursue their feminism objectives. Islamists created their own feminism concept by reforming Sharia based Family Laws and secularist advocated replacing of democracy with Islamic theocracy. Another controversy surrounding feminism debates is pious Muslim women’s deep attachment to religious values and traditional norms. They refuse secularism while Islamic ideologies stigmatize feminism. Transnational feminism increased women’s consciousness over their own issues and Reformist’s moderate approach to women’s concerns which resulted in Conservative Hardliners to adopt anti-western policies promoting superiority of Islam over western democracy. The theoretical–methodological base for this paper is the works of well-known Iranian scholars like Mir-Hosseini, Esfandiari, Najmabadi, Keddie, Kian, Ghorashi. Haleh, Paidar and Nayerah Tohidy. Among the most internationally active and vocal feminists are Shahla Lahijani and Shirin Ebadi (The only Iranian women who won Noble Peace Prize). Historical comparison and database are consists of documents from the official sources associated with the subject. It also includes internet materials which deal with the experiences and conditions of the women’s movement in foreign countries and respective gender-related affairs. Reports by international organizations including the United Nations, Local, regional and global NGOs’ publications and websites have also been used as valuable resources. In conclusion it was found that, transnational feminism can transform women’s passive resistance to loud massive protest against ruling power for justice and equality. Both Islamists and secularist women in Iran are persistent in their struggles for gender equality and their determination will not be weakened by any closed minded conservative individuals and authorities promoting restrictive gender regime, because the world become a global village with no ideological, cultural, economic boundaries.

Key words: Feminism, Transnational Feminism, Iranian 1979 Revolution.
INTRODUCTION

For many decades, feminism has dominated every aspect of our consciousness. Women’s century long demand for equality hasn’t yet been materialized in most parts of the world, particularly in nondemocratic ruled nations. The hope for ultimate gender equality and freedom is what deeply bonded women throughout the world together. This bond goes beyond traditional relations, family and ethnic ties and ideological orientations. Every single aspect of woman’s life is affected by global feminism. Women as citizens of global village are keen to take leadership of their own issues and activities at local- national and international levels. According to most social scientists transnational feminism is relatively new while the global feminism goes back to 17th century. This new trend is directly related to socioeconomic and socio-demographic changes at both local-national and international levels that led to the emergence of international feminist networks. In this context, it becomes necessary to prove that women’s quest for equality and liberation is universal rather than just western. Infect, the historical perspective of feminism discourses in Iran prove that, there is a continuous linkage between century long feministic activities in Iran with international women’s movements. Currently, globalization continues to influence women’s gender views in Iran, alters their perception on issues such as, marriage, divorce, the custody of children, women’s employment, Hijab and the sociopolitical partnership. While conservative hardliners is trying to close it’s border to outside influences, revisionists are after reforming Iran’s gender policies. Evidently global feminism, comprising feminist discourses, the international women's movement and transnational feminist networks has been very influential in the development of these changes and women’s movements in Iran. Of course, there are many different kinds of philosophical and political obstacles to women’s movements in Iran, secularist claim that, integration of religion with politics, traditionalism, patriarchal characteristic of Iranian society and sharia based gender policies account for major impediments for equality of men and women in Iran. Iran’s gender policies based on sharia has been challenged by secularists since its inception of 1979 revolution. Women’s movement in Iran comprising, efforts to change their inferior socio-political status, family laws, to have freedom, democracy, economic improvements have been getting a lot of attention by national and international human rights organizations. To alter women’s current situation in Iran women’s activists has been following the foot step of western feminists which led to feminism activities in Iran being labeled, as western import. Another word, mis-conceptualization of feminism in Iran by few bias scholars that are trying to divert public opinion on real demands of women by characterizing feminism as western concept, a kind of approach which victimize Muslim women who dislike western cultural influences on their youngsters. Women of Muslim societies that hardly distinguish the theoretical differences between feminism with western culture is helping mullah’s anti-feminism propagation. The leaders of Islamic regime in Iran have been advocating Islamic version of women’s rights being competitive to secular feminism. Their views never perceived well by some of the modern Muslim women due to its ambiguity and oddness with new realities of women’s life. One of the distinctive characteristics of 1979 revolution was unprecedented massive participation of women during the revolution. They were equally shared the burden of toppling Pahlavi’s regime. Debates over women’s condition intensified as Islamic regimes gender policies drafted based on Sharia.

REVOLUTION OF 1979

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Iranian’s multiple identity emerged throughout history as a result of Arab invasion to Iran 15 centuries ago. The confrontation of Islamism and Persianism has been center focus of historians for most part of 20th century in Iran. On one hand Iranian Kingdom tried to give Persian identity to Iranian nationals particularly during Pahlavi dynasty. They viewed Islamism as an obstacle to modernity and progress. Isolation of clerics and preventing them from interfering in state’s affairs was critical to success of Pahlavi’s modernization policies. Similarly, Islamists on the other hand, have
been very active in demonizing and labeling ruling monarchs as antireligious dictators protecting western interests. Islamic scholars like Ayatollah Khomeini (the funder of Islamic Revolution of 1979) an inflexible and outspoken individual who openly denounced Shah’s legitimacy and had become a critical opponent of Pahlavi’s policies. He was arrested and deported to Turkey after his stimulus anti-Shah speech in fall of 1964 and returned back to Iran as Supreme Leader of the Islamic Revolution in 1979. My study shows that, Pahlavi’s despotic modernization process marginalized and stigmatized Muslim women who adopted pure Islamic identity for 15 centuries. Additionally Shah’s pro-western modernization policies created social injustice and economic disparity. Because despite modernism that look very practical and promising, Shah’s ambitious plans to become regional power distanced him from lower and middle class families. His armament race caused for serious diversion in economic “Grand Program” aimed to alleviate poverty and illiteracy. He could have had better inclusive socioeconomic policies to prevent public resentment and upcoming revolution of 1979. I believe people will only rise against ruling elites when their economic conditions are deteriorating, reaching to unbearable level. The revolution of 1979 was all about social injustice and poverty in a country that was blessed with huge oil revenues. In fact shah’s deviation from religion and poor boosted mullah’s anti-monarch programs particularly among politically illiterate Muslims that had deep respects for Islam. Mullahs did not challenge Shah’s modernization policies but they attacked his anti-religious behaviors’ that portrayed him as US poppet establishing proxy regime promoting Western’s cultural values. Mullahs were very successful in their campaign against Pahlavi’s monarchs during the revolution of 1979, because Islamism have created unique network of contact centers such as mosques, from where, they have managed to encourage religious people to rise against Pahlavi’s regime. This was the key to solid mobilization of politically illiterate individuals to participate in Revolution of 1979. Women had played great roll in replacement of dictatorial monarch with theocratic regime. Whether it was a replacement of one dictator to another will depend on individual’s own interoperations of political Islam. In this process which did not take long secular women and pro-feminists targeted by newly formed theocratic regime that drafted its gender policy based on sharia. Manifestly, in light of women’s growing tendency toward democracy and freedom their initial optimism and hope for western democracy tuned in to a great disappointment. First and for the most part, revolutionary’s primary objective was to establish a democratic political system but in the process, Mullahs managed to steer flow of the revolution to their intended direction by successfully defining people’s socio-political demands and values strictly in Islamic context ,the platform of which set the foundation for Islamic political system in Iran. Majority of men and women were inspired by Khomeini’s speeches televised in religious tone which paved the way for total integration of the politics with religion. It was very difficult time for secularist’s to especially empower uneducated people on cleric’s real intentions, (at the time of the revolution the illiteracy rate was above 45% in Iran). [1] Only a small group of noetic from different political sectors had anticipated establishment of theocratic regime in 1979. Immediately after the revolution the theocrat’s main objective was to introduce Islamic Ideologies as the only foundation to Iran’s future political structure. Regime’s philosophy policy of Islamic ideology became a priority and secularism along with secular feminism compromised by Mullah’s Islamization process. According to a study by group of Iranian scholars “Following the 1979 Iranian Revolution, the newly-born Islamic regime under the leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini dramatically reversed the pro-Western modern policy of the Mohammad Reza Pahlavi. Since then Iran has oscillated between the two opposing tendencies of revolutionary ardor - eliminating western non-Muslim tendencies and promoting the Islamic revolution abroad and moves towards pragmatism promoting normalization and economic development” [2]. Iran’s current regime view secularism as western concept piousness to Islamic values. This prevailing ideological clash between secularism and Islamism will continue to be major pediment for social progress while pluralism can’t be tolerated in Iran’s monarchic (during Shah)
Blimpish Islamist’s hostility toward pragmatism will only strengthen the popularity of secularism. Shah characterized and labeled Islamism as “backwarded Midvale ideologies irrelevant to nowadays realities, posing serious threat to his modernization policy. He was overpowered by Iran’s rapidly growing economy, strengthening his centralized power. He underestimated the power of clerics and often overlooked the prevalent realities and anti-monarch activities surrounding his kingdom that were controlled and led by group called Mullahs. A group that capable of manipulating religious followers, the groups who equipped with spiritual power of governing people’s minds and hearts that Shah didn’t poses. Shah often considered both communism and Islamism as two hidden powerful enemies to his monarchy. Islamist’s are making the same mistake by isolating secularism and ignoring its growing power. It is difficult to have a comprehensive discussion on feminism especially now that feminism intertwined with women’s demand for freedom, democracy and particularly economic prosperity. Therefore, this study was focused on post-revolution feminism developments’ here in this short essay without elaborating more on its historical dimensions.

SECULAR WOMEN’S REACTIONS TO ISLAMIC REGIME’S GENDER POLICY

According to a study by group of Iranian scholars, “following the 1979 revolution, the ruling cleric prescribed exclusively Islamic identity for women in Iran, modeled after Fatima (daughter of the Prophet and wife of the first imam of Shiite Muslims). In practice, nonetheless, this eight-century model of Muslim woman remained ambiguous, contradictory, and irrelevant to contemporary realities [3]. However there were small numbers of the women raised their voice against Iran’s new gender laws. These women’s first display of defiance coincided with massive celebration of International Women’s Day in 1979. Women’s presence in International Women’s Day signifies a sense of solidarity with women's movements around the world. Proponent of the secularism used it as an opportunity to openly protest regime’s gender policies concerning women's rights in the family and the workplace, mandatory veiling, and the removal of women judges from the courts. It was a protest against theocratic nature of newly formed government that replaced civil based Family Protection Laws with Sharia. Iran’s new Family Laws surprised many including women who played tremendous roll during 1979 Revolution. According to some activists, soon after the Revolution, feminism activists faced with immense challenges in protecting what took those decades of struggle to achieve (Family Protection laws) during Pahlavi eras. Feminists in Iran during first years of post-revolution had neither feminist wisdom nor effective strategies to deal with regime’s gender policies. Additionally, feminists were not educated on how political Islam will switch off feminism activities. Moreover, local mullahs were present in different layers of society, preaching on daily basis, advocating superiority of Islamic ideologies to western values. Contempt existing anti-western propagations, women activist’s tendency toward western feminism ideas has been increasing since 1979. It is true that Feminism is not just western but western feminism had contributed a lot to global effectiveness of transnational feminism. Western feminism had always affected women’s movement in Iran more specifically during Pahlavi period and that is because Iran had close relationship with West and particularly with the United States of America and also Iranian feminist scholars and activists were mostly educated in Western countries and western scholars were their source of feministic ideas and inspirations. Withal, the proponent of the democratic movements in Iran claims that, Iranian women's movement can be influenced by western feminism but it is not simply a foreign or Western import. According to them, the historical backgrounds of Iranian women’s movements for equality have indigenous roots. That is why, “the banners rose by thousands of women protesters carried the slogan at Global Women’s Day in 1979, displayed "Freedom is neither Eastern nor Western; it is Universal!" Such acts of resistance or any manifestations of feminism in the 1970s and 1980s were, for the most part, ignored or branded as divisive and as "bourgeois deviations" by many
secular leftists or as Western and Westoxicicated by nationalists and Islamists.” [4].

**WOMEN’S INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS AFTER 1979 REVOLUTION**

Iranians respect deeply their cultural and traditional values. Islamist’s perceive western cultural invasion as a threat to the concepts of traditional norms and Islamic ideologies. Globalization resulted in spread of foreign culture and increase in numbers of satellite dishes bringing western T.V shows and various entertainment programs to every single family in Iran and other similar states, making vulnerable societies prone to western's cultural invasion. This westernization process is accelerated by government’s pro-western policies promoting western model of life style, the concept of which was more visible during Pahlavi regime in Iran. Liberal democratic values continues to grow stronger despite government’s extreme preventive measures. The impact of globalization is becoming a serious threat for regime as youth population in Iran are becoming more disillusioned with Islamic norms and conditions ,particularly with restrictive gender policies preventing open social activities. For past three and half decades, Iran has been experiencing variety of outside pressures which had negatively affected people’s life, the years of ‘War with Iraq, the years of ‘Reconstructions Period, the years of ‘Reformist era’ that began by moderate cleric President Khatami, and years of ‘Conservative Hard Liners Era.Women’s demand for equality during each period faced with various obstruction and war related pressures. War with Iraq shifted activist’s focus from feminist issues to war related matters leaving very little room to women’s concerns. War ended with devastating infrastructural and economic damages which marked the beginning of so called Re-construction period. It is believed by many that, regime ignored women’s issues and justified it by focusing on priority projects. Sanctions and being cut off from the rest of the world seemed to serve mullah political and ideological interests. It was during Khatami era that women began to look in their own inferior socio-political condition. They began to demand for reform some the gender policies and to modify laws favoring only male society. However little, their persistence forced parliamentarians to reform Iran’s family protections laws on Marriage, child custody, divorce and etc. During this period (Reformist Era) highly educated Islamic women began to make contact with organization that has been working on women’s issues. It was one of the president Khatami’s major political objectives to bring Iran out of isolation by encouraging more dialogue with international communities, especially with western nations. As a part of its foreign policy choices he favored women’s participation in international conferences. Women’s continuous presences at these conferences and strengthen the state of diplomatic efforts to bring the country out of isolation and especially to improve government’s gender image. The moderation in the gender views of many Islamists has coincided with a moderation in the Iranian government's foreign policy-a shift from an isolationist and antiwest position to engage in dialogue among civilizations. This process that also supported by Islamic revisionist and Islamic feminists helped women to be less ideological, more open-minded and pragmatic. The newly formed women organization attempted to have global approach to feminism. Women attempted to identify commonalities without ignoring difference, the condition which helped both secular and many Islamist revisionists to work together for common causes. Women have recognized that the misdemeanor of women’s right is global, there for they can learn from other’s experience and challenges. It was evident that women during reformist era had shown great tendency to establish relationship and dialogues with women in countries around world, particularly with those nations that has cultural and historic ties with. According to Nayereh Tohidy “during the 1990s in Iran, women's local activism not only became increasingly mediated by the transnational and global factors, it also experienced a shift toward de-ideologization, de-radicalization, and pragmatism. This was in part due to the UN-sponsored regional and world conferences on women that stimulated the globalization of the local and acclimatization of the ideal by facilitating transnational and international interactions, and interfaith and beyond confessional dialogue for both Islamist women activists and secular feminists [5]. Nevertheless, the Islamist
women's international interactions, have contributed to the transformation of their approach from sectarianism to pragmatism nature. The economic imperatives of growing urbanization and educational attainment among women have also helped such transformations. As reported by Poya.1999, "Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, more and more families have been relying on auxiliary or solely female earnings. New emerging factors such as inflation, male unemployment, and the war economy have increased women's active participation in the workforce." [6] In their real lives and practices, Islamic women needed more compatible role models than Fatima (daughter of Prophet Mohammad and wife of first Imam Ali). A study by Iranian scholars shows that, women’s rights advocates of this period had been trying to establish an international dialogue, especially to normalize public attitudes toward Western women and to shatter the prevalent negative stereotypes on both sides of "Western feminism" and Muslim women. Most women intellectuals, political activists, and feminists in Iran have been interested in global trends and international events, particularly the international women's movement. Women activists in Iran, including many religious activists, have not limited themselves to allying only with women of the Muslim world. They have shown much curiosity about the discourses, struggles, and achievements of their non-Muslim and nonreligious sisters in the West and in the developing world [7] another study by the group show that, direct or indirect impacts of global feminism resulted in opening up of small spaces for intellectual and spiritual reflections and religious and ideological debates and revisions. Secular activism, especially by women, began to be seen in artistic films and in literary creativity, critical journalistic writings, and the scholarly revisiting of Iranian women's history and identities [8]. Among all other factors that have also been playing prominent role in shaping our views on feminism was women’s increasing contact with the transnational women NGO’s and UN sponsored conferences on women’s issues. Most of these conferences resulted in mobilizing international pressures against violations of women’s rights. helped women to manifest their deteriorating conditions and transformed deidealized open individuals willingness to engage in dialogue with rest of the world. This new trend of feminism never supported by predominantly, influential conservative male politicians. These conferences helped women to access different literature, materials and scholarly researches on women’s issues, some which are translated and published in Iran. Additionally, such contacts also provided exposure, learning, and dialogue. Feminist scholars like Nayerah Tohidy, 1995, explains her take on international conferences. “The diversity in the cultural and civilization component each side of this third division (Islamic world) is an interesting challenge to simplistic and stereotypical formula of the East verse the West or Islam verses the Christianity. But, as usual the mainstream media preferred the “clash” of Islamic delegation with European once, playing down the interaction and even collaboration between representatives of supposedly “clashing civilizations.” [9]. The very small number of opponents of Islamic regime in Iran claim that, reformist’s eras ended with controversial victory of Conservative candidate Ahmadinejad in 2005. Women faced with more oppression. Secularist’s feminist challenges were intertwined with their political opposition to Ahmadinejad’s re-election in 2005, (Green movement). according to their view, Green movement was a real display of political struggle of anti-regime groups from different sectors of the society. Muslim women aboard of non-Muslim wearing green color scarfs symbolizing peaceful protest against bedevil. Strategically, women needed evolution since the revolution was impossible under prevalent circumstances then. It was a rare opportunity provided by green movement to oppose fundamentalism, backwardness, irrelevancy of 15 century gender policy to women’s current demands and needs. According to study by group of Iranian scholars “Women did respond to conservative clerical prescriptions for a restrictive and homogeneous gender identity, women have been successful in the construction or configuration of more inclusive, multiple, and fluid identities based on the creative synthesis of Iran's local pre-Islamic, Islamic, and modern and western or global influenced aspects of history and culture.”
Ahmadinejad’s era began with total domination of Congress (Majlas) by more conservative hardliners who favored and supported Islamic gender identity for women. From their perspective, reform is a path for deviation from Islam and an invitation for foreign cultural values. For them, globalization is a window to outside free world. This kind exposure is a big threat to foundation of theocracy. Globalization process empowers women of Islamic societies to become conscious of their inferior condition which terrifies conservative societies like Saudi Arabia. The conservatives argue that, they can’t protect women participants at international conferences from the bad influence of the west. From their point of view, for example, the rise of the divorce rate resulted by the impact of Western feminism. According to them, those influenced by the "Western model of woman" cannot appreciate Islamic family values and Muslim women's primary responsibilities as mothers and wives. As Kadivar Mohsen, 2008 claims, “Conservatives Hardliners believe women are affected by many adverse effect of globalization throughout the world such as “the trade in heroin and cocaine, and sex tourism and international traffic in women account for some of the main adverse effects of globalization that concern many feminists in all around world, particularly in the global South, formerly known as the Third World [11]. Conservatives in Islamic societies and theocracy in Iran are worried about growing impact of transnational feminism challenging Islamic version of women’s rights. Advocates of women’s right in Iran believe that. Conservatives will eventually take women to where Taliban describes an ideal place for male society. Many Iranian Muslim reformers have identified the views, especially the gender attitudes of conservative Islamists in Iran, with those of the Afghan Taliban. For instance, Shahla Sherkat, one of the women parliamentarian reacted strongly against proposed law for sex segregation of hospitals, began with this polemic: "The path you have taken ends in Afghanistan." [13] Reform-oriented Islamic women, as well as secular feminists in Iran, have emphatically opposed the Taliban. Millions of the Afghani women are resisting to Taliban rule and practice. Evidently transnational feminism has reached Taliban who imposes the most rigid interpretation of Islamic ideology on women. Women for example are not allowed for education in Taliban controlled districts of Afghanistan. Another piece of evidence of the controversies encompassing various contradicting interpretation of Islamic ideologies is related to the argument led by Mohsen Sa'idzadeh. A prominent cleric known for his support for women's rights and feminist theology, Hojjat al-Islam Sa'idzadeh was imprisoned and defrocked for writing a newspaper article critical of the conservative clerics in Iran who teach and preach a Taliban-like version of Islam in the Qom seminaries. His more subtle and damning point was that Islam is open to many...
interpretations, including the Taliban's version; hence a choice of how to interpret Islam is just that, a choice [14].

**CONCLUSION**

Islamic religion has deep root in Iranian society. Shah’s 50 years of modernizing policy didn’t weakened fundamentalism in Shi’a majority Muslim country. Muslims who resisted transformation and replacement of norms and values that regulated their private and social life for more than 15 centuries. The alteration of 1979 proved that, Shah has failed to transform and westernize enthusiastic pious Muslim. Shah succeeded to separate religion from polices and he managed to keep off mullahs from mingling with state’s affair but he was completely defeated in his ideological confrontation with Islamists. The Pahlavi’s isolation of Islamists (mostly clerics) resulted in Mullah’s alliances with different opposition groups and other non-organized oppressed individuals who had no affiliation to any political factions such as Communists or Democrats. The opponents of Shah’s regime adopted more passive resistance and other forms of underground anti-regime activities. People’s economic complications, poverty and inequality were believed to be key elements boosting pro-revolution movement. Because contrary to what Islamists scholars claim, the initial objectives of 1979 revolution in Iran wasn’t to establish Islamic political system but to replace the despotic monarch with democracy that could optimize economic prosperity and equal social-political status for all citizens. Globalization affected positively women awareness in many ways. Secularist had been trying to establish international dialogue, especially to normalize public attitudes toward western women and to prevent the spread of negative views on Western feminism. Most women’s intelligence, political activists and feminists in Iran have been interested in international women’s movement. Women activist in Iran have been trying to reach out for global discourses, struggles and achievements of their non-Muslim activists in the West and in the developing world. Iranian women who live overseas have began to help bridge the gap between Western and Iranian feminists through international conference that included speakers from inside Iran as well as those living abroad. Among the most internationally active and vocal feminists are Shahla Lahijani and Shirin Ebadi (The only Iranian women who won Noble Peace Prize). While pro-feminist activists has been trying to make international contacts, the conservative hardliners were trying to give only Islamic identity to women, for instance, Fatima’s (daughter of Prophet Mohammad and wife of first Imam Ali) birthday has been declared as “women’s day” in Iran. This change viewed by many, as an attempt by conservatives to eliminate all the social practices inspired by west or has western culture origin. Nowadays Cable Programs and increased numbers of Satellite Dishes on roofs of every single building and houses are clear indication of government’s incapability to confront the free flow of information, entertainment programs and any other accessible internet material harmful to our family values. Another world, there is no society that are immune to global influences of western cultural values. Now, the increased numbers of Satellite dishes on the roof of almost every single buildings, houses and Cable programs is clearly display of growing opposition to conservatism in Islamic political structure. It is also signs of growing tendency toward western cultural values. Contempt fact that secularism has no place in Islamic Iran but, these new developments are alarming Iranian officials to stop so called “cultural invasion”. Women, including religious once, have constructed diverse identities, mostly through a pragmatic and selective synthesis of the traditionalism and modernism, and the Islamic and Western.
REFERENCES