

Introduction

Changing Masculinities in a Changing Iran

Sometime in 1945, renowned author and playwright Sadeq Hedayat published one of his most popular works, the biting satirical play *Haji Aqa* (Mr. Haji). The protagonist is Haji Aqa Abu Turab, an elderly and old-fashioned wheeler-dealer who lives in Tehran during the last years of Reza Shah's rule (1925–1941). Haji Aqa stands for all that is corrupt, immoral, and harmful in Iranian society. He is a “fixer” who helps men of various social strata and origins to succeed in business or in politics in order to advance his own goals. He does not hesitate to cheat and lie, always preferring to swindle others than to be swindled himself.

Haji is the son of a tobacco merchant who made a fortune from hoarding during the Tobacco Revolt of 1891–1892, profiteering from what is usually considered the inaugural event of the Iranian nationalist movement. Despite his wealth, Haji himself is stingy, especially when his family is concerned. He has several *'aqdi* (permanently married) wives as well as two temporary ones and numerous children, all of whom he regards with equal distaste. His wives repay him by having affairs, which result in more children Haji pretends are his own. Haji's appearance is unattractive: he has “stubby, hairy calves” and hands, “saucer eyes,” and he wears “grubby canvas shoes” and a threadbare camelhair cloak. His deteriorating physical condition is further manifest in his “swollen testicles,” the result of orchitis that makes him sterile.

Haji has little regard for modern knowledge and education. Uneducated himself, he did send his son to study in Europe, but this turned out to be a waste of money as the son proved to be a good-for-nothing dandy, who nevertheless found himself a comfortable position as a driver in court. Haji Aqa sees the effects of modernization in Iran as nothing more than the spread of debauchery and indecency. Moreover, he pretends to be pious and religious while in fact he neglects the most basic duties of a Muslim. In short, in looks and beliefs, in morals and

family life, Haji Aqa is the absolute opposite of all that a “good” or “proper man” is supposed to be.¹

Notwithstanding his glaring shortcomings, Haji is highly regarded by townspeople, bazaar merchants and even government ministers. Men who go on pilgrimage entrust to him the care of their property, their wives, and their children, even though he often proves to be unworthy of this trust. He claims that his word is so valuable in the bazaar that he can “pawn” a hair of his mustache and get 50 million tuman worth of goods for it. His acquaintances (but not members of his household) believe Haji to be a *javanmard*: a trustworthy and honest man to whom all may apply for help, an ideal man. Thus, Hedayat suggests that underneath the respectable and pious façade of Haji Aqa (and, implicitly, men like him) lie thoroughly rotten bodies and characters. The fact that Haji’s ailment is located in his testicles further stresses the infirmity of his masculinity.

As *Haji Aqa* is a satire on Iranian society, Haji’s figure represents a masculinity that by the 1940s had become outmoded and engendered reproach and ridicule: that of the prominent bazaari, who clings to conservative views and lifestyles and pretends to be an exemplar of decency and respectability. For Hedayat, this is what Iranian men ought not to be. Yet in nineteenth-century Iran, when the protagonist was born, many of his characteristics were part of a widely acceptable notion of an appropriate masculinity. Age, a large family and a big household, business acumen and the ability to mediate and influence people’s careers and fortunes, religiosity and conservatism were all deemed essential to the construction of honorable masculinity. Even the ridiculed canvas shoes and camelhair cloak were worn by respectable men. How, then, did it transpire that by the 1940s these laudable qualities came to be denounced as a source of all that was evil in Iranian society? How did another ideal of masculinity that presented the opposite of Haji Aqa – a young, patriotic, educated, westernized, and monogamous man – emerge and develop since the late nineteenth century?

¹ Sadeq Hedayat and Introduction by Lois Beck, *Hāji Āghā: Portrait of an Iranian Confidence Man*, trans. G. M. Wickens (Austin, TX: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1979); Mino Moallem, *Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister: Islamic Fundamentalism and the Politics of Patriarchy in Iran* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005), 71–72.

This book deals with the construction and development of a new model of masculinity that began to evolve in Iran in the late nineteenth century, and subsequently became hegemonic during Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign. The book traces the ideals and images that formed the new hegemonic masculinity, its representations and the practices and experiences of Iranian men who embodied, articulated, imitated, or rejected it. Being considered a "real man" meant completely different things in late-nineteenth-century and mid-twentieth-century Iran. In Reza Shah's period men lived, dressed, and behaved in a new fashion, and held new notions and beliefs regarding science and education, patriotism, love, marriage, sexuality, and their own bodies. These changes were not coincidental, as masculinity is not natural but historical and changing; they were contingent on specific sociocultural and political dynamics, and were culturally produced and actively promoted by individuals and groups, as well as through state indoctrination and coercion. This book looks at the men advocating and embodying the new masculinity and at how the cluster of images, ideas, and practices associated with it served their material and ideological interests. It also looks at the men excluded from the new masculinity and how their different masculinities were portrayed and imagined.

Tracing the formation and changes of hegemonic masculinity in Iran is important in and of itself. This book offers more, however. Investigating changing male ideals, representations, practices, and norms also allows us to reexamine some of the most important and widely researched processes in the history of modern Iran from a new gendered perspective, one that does not place women at its center. During the period studied here, Iran has experienced the rise of nationalism, the emergence of a new urban elite, and the related emergence and development of new forms of education. It has witnessed various projects of modernization from the establishment of a centralized government, state bureaucracy, and army, through the building of transportation and communication infrastructure, to the introduction and adoption of Western dress, leisure practices, and family models. Whereas many studies from recent years have considered the gender aspect of these processes, usually their focus has been on women, or on the impact modernization processes had on women's lives. This book aims to complement these studies, by focusing on the masculine side of the gender equation.

The extensive changes mentioned above had their origins in the early nineteenth century, but became prominent and accelerated during the last quarter of that century. Even earlier, political and military defeats by imperialist powers such as Russia (in the Russo-Persian wars of 1804–1813 and 1826–1827) and Great Britain (in 1856–1857), alongside technological and diplomatic developments, increasingly exposed Iranians to the changing world outside their country's borders. Communications technologies were imported and a first telegraph line connected Tehran to the Russian border in 1868. In 1872, a concession granted to the British Baron Julius de Reuter launched a period of concession hunting by the colonial Western powers. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Iran experienced the growing spread of Persian-language newspapers as well as of photography.²

Humiliated by defeat and emboldened by the introduction of new technologies, reforms aiming to enhance Iran's international status were suggested and debated, and sociocultural changes took hold mostly among educated, urban, elite Iranian men – the chief historical actors in this book. They were the ones most exposed to modern education and European ideas and practices. They were also the main advocates of modernizing reforms, many of which shaped and were affected by notions of masculinity and femininity.

One such reform was the introduction of modern, Western-style education beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.³ Modern education and the press had an important role in introducing nationalism and patriotism to the Iranian public, and the turn of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence and growth of an Iranian nationalist

² Peter Avery, "Printing, the Press and Literature," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin R. G. Hambly, and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 815–869; Donna Stein, "Three Photographic Traditions in Nineteenth-Century Iran," *Muqarnas* 6 (1989): 112–130.

³ For a discussion of modern education see David Menashri, *Education and the Making of Modern Iran* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); A. Reza Arasteh, *Education and Social Awakening in Iran* (Leiden: Brill, 1962); Monica M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2001); Afshin Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran: Culture, Power, and the State, 1870–1940* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2008); Soli Shahvar, *The Forgotten Schools: The Baha'is and Modern Education in Iran, 1899–1934* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009); Mikiya Koyagi, "Creating Future Soldiers and Mothers: Gender and Physical Education in Modern Iran, 1921–1941" (MA Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 2006).

movement that succeeded in mobilizing crowds in mass events such as the Tobacco Revolt and the Constitutional Revolution (1905–1911).⁴ Rising nationalism engendered a heated debate on the benefits and dangers of westernization. Western objects, ideas, knowledge, and practices had been entering Iran at an accelerated pace since the late nineteenth century – and their adoption or rejection caused strife and enmity among different sections of Iranian society.⁵ This book critically applies the analytical tools of masculinity studies to a history of Iranian masculinities, and to their development and interrelations with the significant processes of modernization outlined above.

⁴ On the Iranian nationalist movement see Mangol Bayat, *Iran's First Revolution: Shi'ism and the Constitutional Revolution of 1905–1909* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Vanessa Martin, *Islam and Modernism: The Iranian Revolution of 1906* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1989); Ali M. Ansari, *The Politics of Nationalism in Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Marashi, *Nationalizing Iran*.

On the gendered aspects of Iranian nationalism see Janet Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution, 1906–1911: Grassroots Democracy, Social Democracy, and the Origins of Feminism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Afsaneh Najmabadi, *The Story of the Daughters of Quchan: Gender and National Memory in Iranian History* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1998); Afsaneh Najmabadi, “The Erotic Vatan [Homeland] as Beloved and Mother: To Love, To Possess, and To Protect,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 39, no. 3 (1997): 442–467; Afsaneh Najmabadi, “Zanha-Yi Millat: Women or Wives of the Nation?,” *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 1 (1993): 51–71; Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Frontier Fictions: Shaping the Iranian Nation, 1804–1946* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999); Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, “From Patriotism to Matriotism: A Topological Study of Iranian Nationalism, 1870–1909,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34, no. 2 (2002): 217–238; Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, “Refashioning Iran: Language and Culture During the Constitutional Revolution,” *Iranian Studies* 23, no. 1 (1990): 77–101.

⁵ Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, *Refashioning Iran: Orientalism, Occidentalism and Historiography* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001); Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998); Mehrzad Boroujerdi, “The Ambivalent Modernity of Iranian Intellectuals,” in *Intellectual Trends in Twentieth-Century Iran: A Critical Survey*, ed. Negin Nabavi (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2003): 11–23; Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, “Inventing Modernity, Borrowing Modernity (Tajaddod-e Ekhtera’i, Tamaddon-e ‘Ariyati va Enqelab-e Ruhani),” *Iran-Nameh* 20, no. 2–3 (2002): 195–235; Mehrzad Boroujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West: The Tormented Triumph of Nativism* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Guity Nashat, *The Origins of Modern Reform in Iran, 1870–1880* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982); Farzin Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2002).

Modernization and westernization were taken a step forward during the reign of Reza Shah, who, together with a government and a bureaucracy manned by supporters of reform, wished to make Iran and Iranians the equals of westerners, and did not shy away from coercion in order to promote this aim.⁶ When Reza Shah was forced by the Allies to abdicate in 1941, a distinct change could be detected in Iranian notions and perceptions of masculinity. The model of masculinity, whose bearers now represented the country's new professional, political, and cultural elite, reached a hegemonic position in state and society. The late 1930s was also the period when Western or Western-style education began to spread beyond the narrow ranks of elite groups. In the following decades, as more and more strata of society got access to higher, scientific education, new social groups with new resources of power began to take their place in the national arena. Furthermore, the spread of mass media technologies such as the radio (from the late 1930s) and television (from 1958) contributed to the dissemination of Western norms, ideas, and practices among wider audiences.⁷ Starting in the 1940s, new politics drew participants from hitherto uninvolved segments of Iranian society. All of these were to eventually contest the hegemony of elite men with Western education and some of the traits of masculinity that these men represented. Accordingly, the book ends in 1941 although, naturally, masculinities in Iran continued and still continue to evolve and change.

⁶ Touraj Atabaki and Erik J. Zürcher, eds., *Men of Order: Authoritarian Modernization under Ataturk and Reza Shah* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004); Stephanie Cronin, *Soldiers, Shahs and Subalterns in Iran: Opposition, Protest and Revolt, 1921–1941* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Houchang E. Chehabi, "Staging the Emperor's New Clothes: Dress Codes and Nation-Building under Reza Shah," *Iranian Studies* 26, no. 3–4 (1993): 209–233; Stephanie Cronin, ed., *The Making of Modern Iran: State and Society under Riza Shah, 1921–1941* (London: Routledge, 2003); Bianca Devos and Christoph Werner, eds., *Culture and Cultural Politics under Reza Shah* (London: Routledge, 2014); Touraj Atabaki, ed., *The State and the Subaltern: Modernization, Society and the State in Turkey and Iran* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2007); Stephanie Cronin, *Tribal Politics in Iran: Rural Conflict and the New State, 1921–1941* (London: Routledge, 2007); Ali M. Ansari, *Modern Iran Since 1921: The Pahlavis and After* (London: Pearson Education, 2003).

⁷ Peter J. Chelkowski, "Popular Entertainment, Media and Social Change in Twentieth Century Iran," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 7, ed. Peter Avery, Gavin Hambly, and Charles Melville (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 808–810.

Gender and Masculinity in the Middle East

From the 1990s and to a greater extent since the early 2000s, historians began to explore masculinities in Western and non-Western societies.⁸ Scholars of Middle Eastern history called for greater inclusion of masculinity studies in scholarship on gender in the Middle East, but it seems that little has been done so far and most research on gender history in the Middle East still focuses on women and femininity.⁹ In recent years, there has been a trickle of articles and doctoral dissertations on various aspects of the history of Middle Eastern masculinities,

⁸ George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Michael S. Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Kam Louie and Morris Low, eds., *Asian Masculinities: The Meaning and Practice of Manhood in China and Japan* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003); Christopher E. Forth, *Masculinity in the Modern West: Gender, Civilization and the Body* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2007); Robert A. Nye, *Masculinity and Male Codes of Honor in Modern France* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Barbara Evans Clements, Rebecca Friedman, and Dan Healey, eds., *Russian Masculinities in History and Culture* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002); Kam Louie, *Theorising Chinese Masculinity: Society and Gender in China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Mrinalini Sinha, *Colonial Masculinity: The "Manly Englishman" and the "Effeminate Bengali" in the Late Nineteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995); Victor M. Macías-González and Anne Rubenstein, eds., *Masculinity and Sexuality in Modern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012); Lahoucine Ouzgane and Robert Morrell, eds., *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan and University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2005).

⁹ Deniz Kandiyoti, 'The Paradoxes of Masculinity: Some Thoughts on Segregated Societies,' in *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies*, ed. Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper (London: Routledge, 1994), 196–212; Joanna de Groot, 'Gender, Discourse and Ideology in Iranian Studies: Toward a New Scholarship,' in *Gendering the Middle East: Alternative Perspectives*, ed. Deniz Kandiyoti (London: I. B. Tauris, 1996), 45; Deniz Kandiyoti, ed., *Gendering the Middle East: Emerging Perspectives* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1995); Beth Baron, *Egypt as a Woman: Nationalism, Gender, and Politics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Lila Abu Lughod, ed., *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Fatma Müge Göçek and Shiva Balaghi, *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity, and Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith Tucker, eds., *A Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999).

but the field is still in its infancy.¹⁰ A notable exception is Wilson Chacko Jacob's study of masculinity in Egypt.¹¹ Two multidisciplinary edited volumes on Middle Eastern and Islamic masculinities preceded his work, but were mostly not informed by masculinity studies or theory, and did not offer a coherent body of knowledge.¹² One field of study that did attract the attention of numerous historians is the history of male homosexuality in the Middle East, on which several books were published.¹³ The historiography of sexuality in the Middle East and in Iran has focused mostly on marriage and the family, but considerably less on male heterosexual sexuality or on women's sexuality.¹⁴ Studies of Middle Eastern masculinities in disciplines outside

¹⁰ Samuel Dolbee, "Mandatory Bodybuilding: Nationalism, Masculinity, Class and Physical Activity in 1930s Syria" (MA Thesis, Georgetown University, 2010); Stacy Fahrenthold, "Sound Minds in Sound Bodies: Transnational Philanthropy and Patriotic Masculinity in Al-Nadi Al-Homsi and Syrian Brazil, 1920–32," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 46, no. 2 (2014): 259–283; Wilson Chacko Jacob, "Overcoming 'Simply Being': Straight Sex, Masculinity and Physical Culture in Modern Egypt," *Gender & History* 22, no. 3 (2010): 658–676; Joseph Massad, "Conceiving the Masculine: Gender and Palestinian Nationalism," *The Middle East Journal* 49, no. 3 (1995): 467–483; Hanan Kholoussy, "Monitoring and Medicalising Male Sexuality in Semi-Colonial Egypt," *Gender & History* 22, no. 3 (2010): 677–691.

¹¹ Wilson Chacko Jacob, *Working Out Egypt: Effendi Masculinity and Subject Formation in Colonial Modernity, 1870–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press Books, 2011).

¹² Mai Ghousseub and Emma Sinclair-Webb, eds., *Imagined Masculinities: Male Identity and Culture in the Modern Middle East* (London: Saqi Books, 2000); Lahoucine Ouzgane, ed., *Islamic Masculinities* (London: Zed Books, 2006).

¹³ Stephen O. Murray and Will Roscoe, eds., *Islamic Homosexualities: Culture, History, and Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Afsaneh Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards: Gender and Sexual Anxieties of Iranian Modernity* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2005); Joseph Massad, *Desiring Arabs* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Khaled El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World, 1500–1800* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Joseph A. Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2014). See also a dissertation by Wendy Noel DeSouza: "Scholarly Mysticism and Mystical Scholars: European and Iranian Intellectuals at the Dawn of Modern Sexuality and Gender" (University of California Los Angeles, 2010).

¹⁴ Janet Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Willem M. Floor, *A Social History of Sexual Relations in Iran* (Washington, DC: Mage, 2008); Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi, eds., *Islamicate Sexualities: Translations across Temporal Geographies of Desire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 2008);

history such as sociology, anthropology, and literature explored contemporary societies, with somewhat greater focus on their practices, images, and ideals of masculinity.¹⁵

Historical studies on Iran suffer from a similar imbalance. Many important studies on modern Iranian women have examined women's changing status in the political, legal, social, and cultural spheres.¹⁶ Women's roles in the country's political upheavals have been brought to the fore and their importance in national and political symbolism scrutinized, as well as their struggle for legal rights and better positions in the public and private labor markets.¹⁷ Camron Amin has described

Dror Ze'evi, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East, 1500–1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006).

- ¹⁵ Marcia C. Inhorn, *The New Arab Man: Emergent Masculinities, Technologies, and Islam in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Samira Aghacy, *Masculine Identity in the Fiction of the Arab East since 1967* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2009); Hossein Adibi, "Sociology of Masculinity in the Middle East," paper presented in Social Change in the 21st Century Conference, Carseldine Campus, Brisbane, October 27, 2006; Andrea Cornwall and Nancy Lindisfarne-Tapper, eds., *Dislocating Masculinity: Comparative Ethnographies* (London: Routledge, 1994); Nurhayat Kizilkan, "Spaces of Masculinities: Bachelor Rooms in Suleymaniye" (MA thesis, Middle East Technical University in Ankara, 2009); Hoda El Sadd, "Imaging the 'New Man' Gender and Nation in Arab Literary Narratives in the Early Twentieth Century," *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies* 3, no. 2 (2007): 31–55; Asifa Siraj, "'Men Are Hard . . . Women Are Soft': Muslim Men and the Construction of Masculine Identity," in *Masculinities in a Global Era*, ed. Joseph Gelfer, vol. 4, International and Cultural Psychology (New York: Springer New York, 2014), 101–116.
- ¹⁶ A large portion of the study of gender in Iran concerns the periods of Mohammad Reza Shah, the Islamic Revolution and postrevolutionary Iran. See Haideh Moghissi, *Populism and Feminism in Iran: Women's Struggle in a Male-Defined Revolutionary Movement* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1996); Azar Tabari and Nahid Yeganeh, eds., *In the Shadow of Islam: The Women's Movement in Iran* (London: Zed Press, 1982); Guity Nashat, ed., *Women and Revolution in Iran* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1983); Mahnaz Afkhami and Erica Friedl, eds., *In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1994); Tara Povey and Elaheh Rostami-Povey, eds., *Women, Power and Politics in 21st Century Iran* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012); Hamed Shahidian, *Women in Iran: Gender Politics in the Islamic Republic* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2002).
- ¹⁷ Eliz Sanasarian, *The Women's Rights Movement in Iran: Mutiny, Appeasement, and Repression from 1900 to Khomeini* (New York: Praeger, 1982); Parvin Paidar, *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth-Century Iran* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Hamideh Sedghi, *Women and Politics in Iran: Veiling, Unveiling, and Reveiling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

the construction of a modern Iranian woman by individuals and the state between the mid-nineteenth and mid-twentieth centuries, showing how Iranian women were imagined and their status reformed.¹⁸ In a way, the present study attempts to do a similar thing for the modern Iranian man: looking at how this figure was imagined and reformed, by whom and for whom. My research has gained tremendously from the research of the scholars who had introduced masculinity to the historical research of gender in Iran. These are first and foremost Afsaneh Najmabadi in her studies of Qajar sexuality, Joanna de Groot in her consideration of masculinity and nationalism, and Minoo Moallem, who is to the best of my knowledge the first Iranian scholar to have referred to the concept of hegemonic masculinity.¹⁹

Hegemonic Masculinity and Its Critiques

Sociologist Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity has been a useful analytical tool in this study, and one of the most influential concepts in masculinity studies. According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity consists of the practices, traits, and behaviors that turn a male human being into a "real man." These change significantly in

2007); Afary, *The Iranian Constitutional Revolution*; Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, *Conceiving Citizens: Women and the Politics of Motherhood in Iran* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011); Lois Beck and Guity Nashat, eds., *Women in Iran from 1800 to the Islamic Republic* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2004); Sarah Ansari and Vanessa Martin, eds., *Women, Religion and Culture in Iran* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

¹⁸ Camron Michael Amin, *The Making of the Modern Iranian Woman: Gender, State Policy, and Popular Culture, 1865–1946* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2002).

¹⁹ Najmabadi, "The Erotic Vatan"; Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches*; Joanna de Groot, "'Brothers of the Iranian Race': Manhood, Nationhood and Modernity in Iran 1870–1914," in *Masculinities in Politics and War: Gendering Modern History*, ed. Stefan Dudink, Karen Hagemann, and John Tosh (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), 137–156; Moallem, *Between Warrior Brother*.

See also Mehri Honarbin-Holliday, "Emerging Forms of Masculinity in the Islamic Republic of Iran," in *Cultural Revolution in Iran: Contemporary Popular Culture in the Islamic Republic* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 59–77; Shahin Gerami, "Mullahs, Martyrs, and Men: Conceptualizing Masculinity in the Islamic Republic of Iran," *Men and Masculinities* 5, no. 3 (January 1, 2003): 257–274; Faegheh Shirazi, "Manly Matters in Iran: From Beards to Turbans," in *Critical Encounters: Essays on Persian Literature and Culture in Honor of Peter J. Chelkowski* (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 2007), 145–166.