Within the dynamic context of Iran’s shifting economic, cultural, and political changes in the decades between the 1963 ‘White Revolution’ and the 1979 Islamic Revolution that brought down the Pahlavi monarchy, Liora Hendelman-Baavur explores the interactions between global aspects of modernity and local notions of popular culture by focusing on the history of Iranian women’s magazines and their formation of the modern woman. Arguing against the idea that weekly magazines intended for women were mere conveyors of state ideology and/or capitalist consumerism, this sustained examination of the complexities, contradictions, and ambivalence gleaned in the pages of these publications draws on the rich array of their textual and visual content to reveal how they were instead the very site of contestation for forming and articulating the idea of the modern Iranian woman. By offering this important new perspective on Iranian cultural history in the late Pahlavi era, Hendelman-Baavur also challenges the seemingly intractable dichotomy between high and low culture that has dominated scholarly studies of modern Iran.

Liora Hendelman-Baavur is the head of the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies and Lecturer in the Department of Middle Eastern and African History at Tel Aviv University. She is co-editor, with David Menashri, of Iran: Anatomy of Revolution (2009) and editor of Iran Then and Now: Society, Religion and Politics (2017).
The Global Middle East

General Editors

Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, SOAS, University of London
Ali Mirsepassi, New York University

Editorial Advisory Board

Faisal Devji, University of Oxford
John Holbton, University of Sheffield
Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, University of Pennsylvania
Zachary Lockman, New York University
Madawi Al-Rasheed, London School of Economics and Political Science
David Ryan, University College Cork, Ireland

The Global Middle East series seeks to broaden and deconstruct the geographical boundaries of the “Middle East” as a concept to include North Africa, Central and South Asia, and diaspora communities in Western Europe and North America. The series features fresh scholarship that employs theoretically rigorous and innovative methodological frameworks resonating across relevant disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences. In particular, the general editors welcome approaches that focus on mobility, the erosion of nation-state structures, travelling ideas and theories, transcendental technopolitics, the decentralization of grand narratives, and the dislocation of ideologies inspired by popular movements. The series will also consider translations of works by authors in these regions whose ideas are salient to global scholarly trends but have yet to be introduced to the Anglophone academy.

Other books in the series

1 Transnationalism in Iranian Political Thought: The Life and Times of Ahmad Fardid, Ali Mirsepassi
2 Psycho-nationalism: Global Thought, Iranian Imaginations, Arshin Adib-Moghaddam
3 Iranian Cosmopolitanism: A Cinematic History, Golbarg Rekabtalaei
4 Money, Markets and Monarchies: The Gulf Cooperation Council and the Political Economy of the Contemporary Middle East, Adam Hanieh
5 Iran’s Troubled Modernity: Debating Ahmad Fardid’s Legacy, Ali Mirsepassi
6 Foreign Policy as Nation Making: Turkey and Egypt in the Cold War, Reem Abou-El-Efad
7 Revolution and Its Discontents: Political Thought and Reform in Iran, Eskandar Sadeghi-Boroujerdi
8 Creating the Modern Iranian Woman: Popular Culture between Two Revolutions, Liora Hendelman-Baavur
Creating the Modern Iranian Woman

Popular Culture between Two Revolutions

Liora Hendelman-Baavur
Tel Aviv University
Contents

List of Figures page vii
Acknowledgments viii
Notes on Transliteration ix

Introduction 1

Why Iranian Women’s Commercial Magazines? 8
Who Is the Modern Woman? 15
Chapters Outline 19

Part I Magazines in the Making 23

1 The Press and the Legacy of the Past 25
The Emergence of an Independent Press 28
New Language, New Public Space 32
The Harbingers of Women’s Journals 40

2 Circulation, Commercialization, and State Intervention 49
Circulation Rates and the Struggle for Survival 54
Tehran’s Twin Giants: \textit{Ettela’at}, \textit{Kayhan}, and the Press Lords 60
Framing State–Press Relations and Gender Policy 65

3 Reproduction, Patronage, and Readership 83
Expensive to Produce, Cheaper to Reproduce 85
Publish or Perish: Marketing and Innovation during Crisis 92
Patriarchal Paternalism: Readership and Authorship 99

Part II Agents of Correlation and Change 113

4 Family Guidance, Domestic Technology, and the Modern Housewife 115
Women’s Magazines as Family “Problem Solving” Experts 119
Family Protection and Its Discontents 127
Home Technology: Labor-Saving or Enslaving? 138
Bearers of National Progress 148
## Contents

5 Youth Culture and the *New Bi-Hejab Girl*  
Gender and the Generation Gap  
The Subjugating Freedom of Feminine Visibility  
Disciplined Corporeality: Sound Mind, Healthy Body  
From “Spring Girl” to “Meritorious Girl”  
Serving King and Country: The Revolutionary Corps-Girls  

6 Exogamy, Brain Drain, and the Western Woman  
Endogamy and International Marriages  
Migration of Talent and Marrying-Out  
Alienation, Mobility, and Devaluation of the Foreign-Educated Iranian  
The Iranian Man and Female “Others”  

7 Queen, Working Mother, and the Making of the Royal Family  
Mission for His Country and the Gender Factor of Legitimacy  
Crafting the Image of the Pahlavi Family  
Working Queen: Mediating Public Duty and Family  
Ashraf Pahlavi: The Queen’s Antagonist and Access to Political Power  
Shahbanu in Iran, Farah Diba Abroad  

Conclusion and Summary  

*Bibliography*  

*Index*
Figures

2.1 Reza Shah on the Cover of Tehran Mosavar, 336, January 13, 1950. page 69

2.2 Caricature of Iranian Women’s Organizations, Zan-e Ruz, 79, September 3, 1966. 71

3.1 Ettela’at-e Banuvan’s Logo in 1957 (on the Left), and in 1971 (on the Right). 95

4.1 Ettela’at-e Banuwan’s “Family Guide” Logo, 1957. 120


5.1 The Cover Pages of Zan-e Ruz, 148, January 17, 1968, and Zan-e Ruz, 645, September 10, 1977. 174

5.2 White Revolution Logos, Retrieved from Ettela’at-e Haftegi, 1161, January 24, 1964 (on the Left) and Ettela’at-e Banuwan, 812, January 24, 1973 (on the Right). 198

6.1 Caricatures of Prime Minister Hoveyda, Zan-e Ruz, 40, November 27, 1965. 234

7.1 The Pahlavi Royal Family on the Cover Pages of Zan-e Ruz, 189, October 26, 1968 (on the Left) and Ettela’at-e Banuwan 739, August 25, 1971 (on the Right). 261

7.2 Advertisements for Nivea, Retrieved from Ettela’at-e Banuwan, 49, February 25, 1958 (on the Left), and for Shahrazad Tea, Retrieved from Zan-e Ruz, 100, July 2, 1966 (on the Right). 280
Acknowledgments

This book benefited from the support and assistance of many to whom I am grateful for having faith in my work. I would like to thank David Menashri, Billie Melman, David Yerushalmi, and Meir Litvak for their intellectual guidance and moral encouragement, particularly during the early and most crucial stages of my research. I am especially indebted to my friend and colleague, Camron Michael Amin, for his constant support, and for convincing me that Iranian women’s magazines are legitimate and deserving venue for scholarly research.

During the very many stages of writing this manuscript, I have also benefited from valuable suggestions of many experts and colleagues—Goel Kohan, Jasamine Rostam-Kolayi, Kamran Talattof, Mahnaz Afkhami, Janet Afary, Firoozeh Kashani-Sabet, Hasan Javadi, and Afsaneh Najmahadi. I am tremendously grateful to Homa Sarshar, Homa Ehsan, Haleh Esfandiari, Mansureh Pirnia, Abdol-Majid Majidi, and Farah Pahlavi for kindly dedicating their time to interviews pertinent to this study.

I would like to thank the Alliance Center for Iranian Studies at Tel Aviv University for providing me with financial support, which helped me fund the early stages of my study. This research would not have been possible without the hospitable archives and helpful staff of Princeton University Library, Columbia University Library, the New York Public Library, and the Foundation of Iranian Studies. I am especially grateful to Azar Ashraf and Abigail Jacobson for their essential archival assistance.

I would also like to thank the staff at Cambridge University Press, especially the dedicated Maria Marsh and Abigail Walkington, and the editors of The Global Middle East series, Ali Mirsepassi and Arshin Adib-Moghaddam, for their support of this project, and finally the anonymous reviewers for their kind and useful comments.

I reserve my deepest gratitude for my family—my mother, Miriam, my husband, Nissim, my children, Eidan and Nadav, and my brother, Eli—whose unconditional love and endless support enabled and encouraged me to complete this project. I dedicate this book to my late father, Shraga, who was an amazing storyteller.
Notes on Transliteration

The transliteration of Persian words and names follows the system suggested by the *Iranian Studies Journal*, with two exceptions. For individuals’ names their own preferred transliteration was used. In general, omission of ‘ayn and *hamza* was preferred when the name is commonly transliterated without the signs.