

Women and the Islamic Republic

Based on extensive interviews and oral histories as well as archival sources, *Women and the Islamic Republic* challenges the dominant masculine theorizations of state-making in postrevolutionary Iran. Shirin Saeidi demonstrates that despite the Islamic Republic's nondemocratic structures, multiple forms of citizenship have developed in postrevolutionary Iran. This finding destabilizes the binary formulation of democratization and authoritarianism that has not only dominated investigations of Iran but also regime categorizations in political science more broadly. As non-elite Iranian women negotiate or engage with the state's gendered citizenry regime, the Islamic Republic is forced to remake, oftentimes haphazardly, its citizenry agenda. The book demonstrates how women remake their rights, responsibilities, and statuses during everyday life to condition the state-making process in Iran, showing women's everyday resistance to the state-making process.

SHIRIN SAEIDI is Assistant Professor of Political Science at the University of Arkansas. She has published articles in journals including *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *International Studies Review*, and *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*. She is a member of the Editorial Board of the journal *Citizenship Studies*.



Cambridge Middle East Studies

Editorial Board

Charles Tripp (general editor) Julia Clancy-Smith F. Gregory Gause Yezid Sayigh Avi Shlaim Judith E. Tucker

Cambridge Middle East Studies has been established to publish books on the nineteenth- to twenty-first-century Middle East and North Africa. The series offers new and original interpretations of aspects of Middle Eastern societies and their histories. To achieve disciplinary diversity, books are solicited from authors writing in a wide range of fields including history, sociology, anthropology, political science, and political economy. The emphasis is on producing books affording an original approach along theoretical and empirical lines. The series is intended for students and academics, but the more accessible and wide-ranging studies will also appeal to the interested general reader.

A list of books in the series can be found after the index.



Women and the Islamic Republic

How Gendered Citizenship Conditions the Iranian State

Shirin Saeidi

University of Arkansas





CAMBRIDGEUNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi- 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316515761

DOI: 10.1017/9781009026574

© Shirin Saeidi 2022

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2022

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Saeidi, Shirin, 1980- author.

Title: Women and the Islamic republic: how gendered citizenship conditions the Iranian state / by Shirin Saeidi.

Description: Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Series: CMES Cambridge Middle East studies | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021034733 (print) | LCCN 2021034734 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316515761 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009013000 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009026574 (epub)

Subjects: LCSH: Women–Iran–History–21st century. | Citizenship–Iran–History–21st century. | Iran–Politics and government–21st century.

Classification: LCC HQ1735.2 .S225 2021 (print) | LCC HQ1735.2 (ebook) | DDC 305.40955/0905–dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021034733

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021034734

ISBN 978-1-316-51576-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



With honor and gratitude for the people of Iran, especially

Katayoun Alaedin, Nur Sadat Mousavi, and Aslan Saeidi



by the witness and what is witnessed wa shahidin wa mash-hud (Quran 85:3)



Contents

| | Acknow | vledgments | page ix | | |
|---|--|--|---------|--|--|
| 1 | State Formation and Citizenship: An Investigation beyond a | | | | |
| | Eurocentric Gaze | | | | |
| | | Introduction | 1 | | |
| | 1.2 | Postrevolutionary Conflicts: Numbers and Logistics | 2 | | |
| | 1.3 | Intersections between Ambiguous Citizenry Structures and War in | a | | |
| | | Hybrid Regime | 9 | | |
| | 1.4 | 1 | 17 | | |
| | 1.5 | | 0.1 | | |
| | 1.6 | Political Science | 21 | | |
| | 1.6 | | 24 | | |
| | 1.7 | and Understanding Subtle Interventions and Remaking Categories: Fieldwork on Iran' | | | |
| | 1.7 | 1980–1988 History | s 27 | | |
| | 1.8 | • | 34 | | |
| | 1.0 | Structure of the Book | 27 | | |
| 2 | Reflecting on an Idealized Past: Memory and Women's Rights | | | | |
| | Struggles in Postrevolutionary Iran | | | | |
| | 2.1 | 3 | | | |
| | | for Activism from 1980 to 1988 | 42 | | |
| | 2.2 | Iran's Hezbollah and Remembrance of Marzieh Hadidchi Dabbaq: | | | |
| | | From Superwomen to Equal Women | 53 | | |
| | 2.3 | Rejected Essays and New Possibilities for Equality between Men | | | |
| | | and Women | 61 | | |
| | 2.4 | Conclusion | 66 | | |
| 3 | Revolu | tionary Citizens: The Confrontation of Power | | | |
| , | and Spiritual Acts of Citizenship from 1980 to 1988 | | | | |
| | 3.1 | <u>-</u> | 67 | | |
| | 3.1 | | 07 | | |
| | 5.2 | and the Embodiment of Khomeini's Political Thought | 70 | | |
| | 3.3 | 5 | 80 | | |
| | 3.4 | • | 80 | | |
| | 5.1 | for Women of the Left | 88 | | |
| | 3.5 | | 95 | | |
| | 3.6 | _ = | 105 | | |
| | 5.0 | | 103 | | |

vii



viii Contents

| 4 | The Bo | ody in Isolation: Morality and the Reconstruction of the | | | |
|---|--|---|------------|--|--|
| | | in Wartime | 106 | | |
| | 4.1 | | 106 | | |
| | 4.2 | The Islamic Republic of Iran at War: Nation-Building, Heteronormativity, and War Tactics | 109 | | |
| | 4.3 | - · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · | 110 | | |
| | 4.4 | | 118 | | |
| | 4.5 | | 122 | | |
| | 4.6 | | 125 | | |
| | 4.7 | · · | 134 | | |
| 5 | The Aftermath of War: Wives and Daughters of Martyrs | | | | |
| | and the | e Post-1988 State | 136 | | |
| | 5.1 | Introduction | 136 | | |
| | 5.2 | Temporal Tensions and Unpredictable Acts: | | | |
| | | Institutional Construction | 142 | | |
| | | Redefining Statuses | 146 | | |
| | 5.4 | Intersections of Times and Acts of Citizenship Today: | | | |
| | | "If Shahid Was Chosen, Then So Was I" | 154 | | |
| | 5.5 | Conclusion | 161 | | |
| 6 | Iran's Hezbollah and Citizenship Politics: The Surprises | | | | |
| | of Islamization Projects in Post-2009 Iran | | | | |
| | | Introduction | 163 163 | | |
| | 6.2 | Post-2009 Renewal of Hezbollah's Cultural Institutions | 165 | | |
| | 6.3 | The Contours of Citizenship in the Islamic Republic's | | | |
| | | Formal Discourse | 168 | | |
| | 6.4 | . 8 . () . 8 | | | |
| | | Iranian Constitution | 174 | | |
| | | Case Studies: Islamization of the Social Sciences | 177 | | |
| | 6.6 | = | | | |
| | | Movement Post-2009 | 181 | | |
| | 6.7 | Conclusion | 187 | | |
| 7 | Conclusion: Gendered Citizenship and Conditioning | | | | |
| | of the State | | 189 | | |
| | 7.1 | Summary of Chapters | 189 | | |
| | Bibliography | | 195 | | |
| | Index | | 216 | | |



Acknowledgments

This project began as a doctoral dissertation at Cambridge University. My supervisor, Glen Rangwala, read many versions of the manuscript and offered insightful comments that empowered me to move freely toward my own intellectual ideals.

I have presented sections of this book in different venues, including the Centre for Global Cooperation Research in Duisburg, Germany, and the University of Oklahoma. I am grateful to all the participants who provided feedback during these presentations. Abbas Edalat, Vahid Jalili, Seyedeh Azam Hosseini, Najib Ghadbian, Pearl Dowe, Joel Gordon, Ted Swedenburg, Mohja Kahf, Rania Mahmoud, Fatemeh Delavari Parizi, Zahra Abbasi, Shohreh Pirani, Amirhossein Vafa, Omid Azadibougar, Salvador Santino Regilme, and K. Soraya Batmanghelichi were intellectual inspirations as I wrote this book with their erudite interventions, but they were also dear friends who nurtured and sustained me. Anne McNevin, Paola Rivetti, Manata Hashemi, Amirhossein Vafa, Mateo Mohammad Farzaneh, Nayereh Tohidi, and Gamze Cavdar all read portions of this manuscript and offered critical feedback. My colleagues in the Department of Political Science at the University of Arkansas have supported my research by creating a collegial environment, and I'm most grateful for their presence. I owe a special thank you to Paola Rivetti, who taught me so many things, but above all her loving friendship enabled me to write through a frightening time.

Many thanks to Engin Isin and Peter Nyers for their scholarship and support of junior scholars in the discipline. Shahla Talebi commented on this project in various stages and offered invaluable support during my ethnographic and archival research on the Iranian left. Interviewees in the United Kingdom, Germany, and Sweden opened their hearts to me by recounting leftist experiences in Iran before and after the 1979 revolution. I thank them for those unforgettable moments we shared; I continue to reflect upon them.

I refined my arguments and curbed my passion because of interactions with students and faculty members at the University of Tehran, and

ix



x Acknowledgments

I appreciate their patience and engagement with my research. It was at the University of Tehran where I developed my teaching skills shortly after completing my doctoral degree. My experiences as a visiting assistant professor in the political science department also transformed the connection I made between my research and teaching agenda. This book came into existence due to the support of many individuals in Iran and abroad that sacrificed their time to not only make me feel at home in Tehran but also facilitate my research. I am unsure how to express gratitude for such acts of generosity and selflessness. I can only hope that the analysis offered in this volume demonstrates my commitment to the pursuit of scholarship that can be read in multiple languages. It is my wish that as my interlocutors and those who supported the production of this book skim through the following pages, they can see how intensely I thought about our conversations long after we parted ways.

Aslan Saeidi and Katayoun Alaedin, my parents, dealt with a very unruly daughter. This book would have been impossible without your capacity to let go. You encouraged me to not only think about, but also search for, freedom. You are my first teachers and greatest inspirations. I am blessed to have Nur Sadat in my life. Your light has made me stronger, and I thank you.