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Master's Thesis of Textiles, Merchandising and
Fashion Design

Iranian Women's Attitude Towards Hijab

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Abstract

Iran is a country with a rich cultural history and unique customs, one of which is the traditional practice of veiling for women. The Islamic Republic of Iran has set specific laws regarding veiling, and the country has seen a variety of changes in these laws over the years. Despite these legal changes, the choice of attire and attitude towards veiling among Iranian women remain complex and diverse. Therefore, the aim of this study is to determine the impact of veiling and unveiling laws on Iranian women's clothing choices and attitudes towards veiling among different generations. The study provides valuable insights into the complexities of Iranian women's choices and attitudes towards their attire and veiling, and the ways in which these are shaped by the laws and cultural norms of the country.

In Iran, the choice of attire for women has been heavily influenced by political and religious factors. In the early 20th century, Reza Shah set a law mandating the unveiling of women as a way to distance Iran from Islamic beliefs and create a more westernized society. This mandatory unveiling law had significant effects on women's choice of clothing, as they were forced to abandon traditional dress.

In subsequent generations, there has been a resurgence of the hijab, worn by many Iranian women as a symbol of resistance against westernization and as a manifestation of their religious beliefs. In the analysis of Iranian women's choice of attire, it is important to understand the differences between the generations of women who lived during the revolution (1965–1995) and the youth

generation (1996–2022). Both laws and religion play a crucial role in shaping women's attitudes towards clothing in Iran. The mandatory unveiling law set by Reza Shah to distance women from Islamic beliefs had a profound impact on women's clothing choices, as did the hijab trend that took hold in the aftermath of the revolution. Today, women in Iran face limitations in their clothing choices, but this has not deterred them from seeking ways to express their individuality through fashion. It is essential to examine the purpose behind Iranian women's clothing and hijab choices, which may be influenced by a desire to assert independence, demonstrate religious devotion, or simply express their personal style. While, understanding the motivations behind these choices will provide valuable insights into the changing attitudes of Iranian women towards their attire.

Explanation of the 16 female participants chosen from different cities in Iran, and how they were selected to participate in the study justification for using qualitative research method, as it allows for the exploration of women's perceptions and experiences in depth, providing a rich and nuanced understanding of the subject matter. The use of qualitative methods such as individual interviews, focus group discussions, and ethnographic observations provides a deeper understanding of the complex cultural, social, and personal influences on Iranian women's choice of attire and attitude towards it. The qualitative approach enabled the researcher to capture the rich, diverse and multifaceted experiences of the participants, providing a comprehensive view of the topic.

The results of the study provide a unique insight into the

complex relationship between Iranian women and their choice of attire, particularly in regards to the veiling rules set by the government. By conducting qualitative interviews, the study uncovered the various factors that influence women's clothing choices, including laws, religion, culture, and personal beliefs. The findings highlight the differences in the attire choices and attitudes towards veiling between generations of women who lived through the revolution and the youth generation, as well as the ways in which the limitations on clothing have been perceived and responded to by women. The results of this study offer a valuable contribution to the understanding of the interplay between society, politics, and personal agency in shaping the clothing choices of Iranian women.

The results shed light on the experiences and perspectives of Iranian women and how these have changed over time, as well as how they continue to evolve. This information can help to inform policies and actions aimed at promoting equality and freedom of expression for women in Iran and other parts of the world.

During the rule of Reza Shah, most Iranian women covered their faces with Chadors and wore hijab, despite the law mandating them to remove it. Some women tried to keep their hijab by wearing hats and long socks, while others ignored the law and faced the consequences. Women from higher-class households were more likely to comply with the law. The compulsory unveiling law caused women to adopt a more European and American style of clothing, such as coats, skirts, hats, and boots. The sudden implementation of the law caught people off guard, but it also gave women more

freedom and engagement in society. Women who removed their hijab felt more satisfied and had more courage to choose what they wanted to do. However, the law took away the freedom of choice.

On the other hand, during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah, women had the freedom to choose their hairstyle and dress, including wearing hijab if they desired. Women had complete control over their appearance and style, resulting in individuality in their appearance. Some chose not to wear hijab while others did, with religious women opting to wear the Chador. Before the revolution, it was not uncommon to see people wearing bikinis along the coast and others wearing Chadors, accepting each other's clothing choices and hijab.

After the revolution, wearing hijab became mandatory for women in all public spaces, including schools, businesses, and offices. After the Islamic revolution, the concept of hijab underwent a transformation and came to encompass full-body coverage, whereas prior to the revolution hijab varied in terms of shape, pattern, color, and extent of coverage. The results represent that some families in Iran's society have become more aware of the diversity in people's religious and cultural views as a result of awareness of other cultures and the impact of social media. Approximately 15 years ago, society as a whole didn't know much about diverse civilizations and the diversity of people's religious and cultural views. With the advent of social media, which connected people all over the world including those in Iran and other nations, awareness of these things began to grow. One of the things that people frequently doubt is religion which in Iran's case expanded

society's way of thinking and perspective on the matter. As a result, those who doubt overcome the limitations and mental framework that society has imposed on them in relation to the Hijab and culture in general.

Clothing styles in Iran have evolved since the Islamic revolution. Initially, many women began wearing full-body coverings like the chador, manto, and hijab, which were typically black in color. However, over time, women started opting for less restrictive clothing such as knee-length mantos and pants. The younger generation, in particular, has pushed back against the mandatory wearing of hijab and now more women are choosing to wear less hijab in public places like parks and restaurants. The color of clothing worn in Iran varies, with some people wearing black and cream, while others picked dark colors like dark green, blue, or grey. Family background and religious beliefs can impact a woman's choice of hijab and clothing. In more liberal families, women have more freedom to choose their attire. Currently, many Iranian women wear short pants, knee-length mantos with short sleeves, and hats instead of scarves. Those who are forced to wear hijab often try to express their individuality by wearing colorful scarfs, short coats, skinny pants, and slightly short sleeves.

Compulsory veiling law has a negative impact on society. For example, if you weren't forced by the law to buy a scarf, you wouldn't have to pay money for it. Therefore, hijab counts as an extra expense for women who don't want to wear hijab and are wearing hijab only because of the compulsory veiling law. In the past revolution, the government used to catch women that didn't

have enough hijab or refused to wear Chador, so the government police tortured these women, beat them, put them in the car by force, and take them away to the police station. Due to religious and cultural beliefs, some women cannot hold a certain profession due to compulsory veiling's negative effects on women in society. Considering the negative effects of compulsory veiling, some women cannot attend a university due to the unfavorable atmosphere for women there. One drawback of mandatory veiling is that it prevents women from living in a place they enjoy or from even doing something as simple and fundamental as going to a park.

Keyword: Iran, Hijab, Women Attitude, Islamic Revolution, Veiling, Unveiling

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Study Background

Veiling, whether by choice or with force is accounted as a part of some countries culture and religion less and more. While in most countries the matter of veiling is a free choice of oneself, in some countries there are strict laws regarding veiling. Some of these countries ban veiling in specific facilities. Some countries support veiling and set laws to make sure people wear the veil as expected from a Muslim woman. The current research plans to demonstrate the laws set regarding veiling in Iran and how these laws have effected women's choice of clothing and therefore attitude towards the veiling rules. Iran is a country that has experienced mandatory unveiling, freedom of veiling and mandatory veiling periods. Therefore, a deeper analysis is required to examine and extract the specific reasons behind Iranian women's choice of attire. Introducing a brief understanding of the mandatory unveiling law, freedom of veiling and mandatory veiling law is a necessary knowledge for understanding this research purpose and achievements.

First off, the compulsory unveiling law was set with the primary purpose of changing women's style of clothing from wearing hijab to wearing European style of the clothing during 1930s, which was without any form of veiling. Reza Shah implemented the compulsory unveiling in 1936, to change women's status in society and to redefine the image of "modern" Iran (Sedighi, M., & Dick, v. G, 2019). Similar to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk [President of Turkey], Reza Shah attempted

to reduce the influence of religion and Islamic thoughts in the everyday life of Iranians (Amin, 2002). The problem with Reza Shah's unveiling law was that it did not recognize the right to veil, which was directly connected to mass majority of Iranian's religion, Islam. Women who refused to unveil or whose guardians refused to allow them to do so were withdrawn from schools and educated at home (Gould, 2014). Working-class women for whom unveiling was the equivalent of public nudity were compelled to leave their jobs and spend the rest of their lives confined to domestic spaces (Hoodfar, 1997).

The forced unveiling of women, lasted until the day when Reza Shah reigned, and his son Mohammad Reza Shah took the power in his hands. Mohammad Reza Shah's policies were different from his father. After Reza Shah, under the reign of his son, Mohammad Reza Shah, veiling was not banned in public anymore (Nasehi, 2017). The Shah had allowed women to decide their own use of the veil and therefore, some women and especially those from the conservative families went back to wearing their Chadors and other coverings (Wilking, 2020).

The last Shah of Iran, the son of Reza Shah, Mohammad Reza Shah stayed in power from 16 September 1941 until his overthrow by the Iranian Revolution on 11 February 1979 (Shirazi, 2019). After Mohammad Reza Shah left Iran and the political power passed to the hands of Islamic republic government and the most important political figure of the revolution, Khomeini. It had been a year since the revolution when the whisper of the compulsory veiling arose and for the first-time women employees of the departments were included. Khomeini implemented the compulsory veiling law to start an Islamic-

based government. Since then women have been forced to wear hijab and obey Islamic government-based laws. Although, these days, the fight against compulsory veiling is not a subset of the social or political struggle that paves the way. Therefore, this paper aims to mention the changes in Iranian women's attitude towards the previously mentioned compulsory unveiling law, free veiling, and compulsory veiling law. Meanwhile stating the accrued modifications in women's way of clothing from the start of the compulsory unveiling law era until the present.

2. Purpose and Research Questions

By the changes materialized in Iranian women's lives and wears during the years after the Iranian revolution of 1997 and the way of life that these women had adapted before 1979, the phenomenon of Iranian women's social life changes occurred is a gap that needs to be filled to give a better understanding regarding the struggles these women have been through. Consequently, the aim of this study is to determine the changes that have been implanted in women's clothing in result of the laws of veiling and unveiling in Iran.

While emphasizing the effect of the aforesaid laws on women's attitudes and the pattern of their responses to the legislation. Some similar researches carried out on Iranian Revolution and veiling, such as research by Toubia Jacqueline Rudolph, Winn, Meredith Katherine have had similar results. Although, Toubia Jacqueline focused on distinct effects of the Iranian Revolution on women and the family, the revolutionary activities which seemed to have created some limited opportunities for the development of egalitarian attitudes between males

and females and finally, the Revolution so appears to have had disruptive effects on the family (Touba, 1985). The paper by Winn, Meredith Katherine provided an in-depth analysis of the role the Islamic Revolution played in the changing the roles of women in society, and focused primarily on the positive developments for women's education in Iran following the establishment of the Islamic Republic (Winn, 2016). Which is not relevant to the matter of clothing and free choice of veiling.

Nashat Guity, in her book titled "Women and revolution in Iran" focused on understanding of women's support for the revolution in spite of the effort of the regime of the Shah to champion the cause of the women and in spite of the Islamic religious limitations imposed on the role of women outside the household in three parts including: general historical perspective of women's role and their statues in the teachings of Islam and the evolution of the position of women in society, recent changes in the women's role and the reasons for the participation of women from urban and from rural areas in the revolution and examined the condition of women since the revolution and some of the policies enacted by the current regime (Nashat, 2021).

Focusing on women's role after the revolution only. This next paper by Razavi Sahar, argues three distinct but interconnected nodes of conflict converged in the period between World War II and the end of the Iran-Iraq War, and within these realms of conflict the New Clergy outmaneuvered their opposition in order to consolidate power and reshape the political sphere to their benefit and the aim of this project was to show how Iranian industrial labor shaped the relationship between labor and the state in Iran, and how this relationship played a

primary role in influencing the outcome of the 1979 revolution (Razavi, 2017).

In case of another paper with the title of “Lived Experiences of Iranian Professional Women Considering the Government, Policy Changes, and the Islamic Revolution of 1979” written by Parsian Nasrin, aimed investigate the root of the limited range of freedoms the Islamic State is willing to provide for its female constituency and the expanding range of rights based on needs of the modern Iranian woman (Parsian., 2021). Mentioning another volume by Sreberny Annabell, and Massoumeh Torfeh, explores some of the cultural production currently popular and available inside the Islamic Republic as well as various novel forms of social resistance to the attempted imposition of a tough Islamic code (Sreberny, A. & Torfeh, M., 2013).

Meanwhile, Koo Gi Yeon delve into the cultural meanings of the hijab in urban Iranian society by examining the ways in which Iranian Muslim women use it. With two goals of examining the subjective act of wearing certain kinds of veiling as symbolic performances and to grasp the political meaning of the ‘green hijab’ as a symbol of resistance during the Green Movement in 2009 (Koo, G., 2014). In another paper by Koo Gi Yeon, this time alongside Ha Eun Han, they compared the veiling policies of Turkey and Iran. They explored the significance of the hijab as an emblem of the state ideologies and policies of Iran and Turkey and the significance of the hijab policies of Iran and Turkey as a manifestation of their nationalist ideologies (Koo, G., & Han, H., 2018). It has also explored women’s movements along with these policies (Koo, G., & Han, H., 2018). In both papers by Koo Gi Yeon, the main target

was based in deeper roots of Islam's point of view of hijab and the comparison of politics regarding hijab in the two countries of Iran and Turkey. Moving on to a study by Minoo Derayeh, focusing on the image of woman in relation to the concept of God, obedience, deception, and the process of human creation in the Quran and the Zoroastrian texts and analyses the contribution of the story of human creation to the construction of the institution of hijab and gender roles as well as gender discrimination.

Minoo Derayeh again mentions the religious side of hijab, in poetry and articles written by Iranian women since the turn of the twentieth century, and its connection with women in various ways (Derayeh, M., 2011). Another research in the familiar field written by Hamzehei Pegah, analyzed self-representation of Iranian women in Facebook relating to the mandatory veil case study with the target to investigate and analyze Mandatory Veil Diaries campaign on the Woman and Man Facebook pages (Hamzehei, P., 2014). This paper is a case study that focuses on Facebook particularly and explores specific details.

Mentioning an article by Shirazi-Mahajan Faegheh, examines the selection of different styles veiling in post-revolutionary Iran through the lens of dramaturgy and tries to offer possible explanations for what messages these styles convey (Shirazi-Mahajan, F., 1995). Another paper that relays' on fiqh in their research is Mir-Hosseini Ziba's paper which traces the genealogy of this new juristic position from notions of hijab in classical Islamic jurisprudence (fiqh). It documents how jurisprudential positions and notions of hijab in Iran evolved in response to socio-political factors and highlights wider implications of

the new juristic position on hijab for establishing common ground between secular feminist and Islamic discourses (Mir-Hosseini, Z., 2007).

While, the focus of this thesis is to analyze and determine the aftereffects of the Compulsory Veiling Laws in Iran's history on Iranian women attitude and examine the effect of these Compulsory Veiling Laws on Iranian woman's choice of denying or following the compulsory veiling and unveiling laws. None of the papers and books mentioned above, focused on the matter of Compulsory Veiling Law nor its effects on women's attitude regarding the law. Therefore, this master thesis is based on the struggles and the ups and downs that Iranian woman went through when the Compulsory Laws regarding hijab were set.

The main focus here, is regarding the choices of clothing and attitude that followed and was influenced by the Compulsory Veiling law after the Islamic revolution. The results of this study are predicted to highlight the issues which are believed to be the outcomes of forcing in wearing and removing hijab, that Iranian women are going through. While examining and comparing the attitude of women whom choose to follow and ignore law's regarding hijab and clothing.

Academic questions:

1. How did Iranian Women' s style of dressing changed from a religious wear to a fashion wear?
2. How did the Iranian women' s attitude toward hijab change to nowadays?

Chapter 2.Theoretical Background

1.Hijab in Iran

1.1 Meaning of Hijab

Today, the term hijab refers to the veil worn by Muslim women. It is important to note that "veiling" causes confusion and alters the meaning of hijab. Prior to any conversation, it is necessary to examine the meaning of hijab. What does hijab mean? hijab, in general, refers to "the entire ensemble a woman wears in front of non-intimates that cover her whole body – except for her face, hands and [for] some, feet – in loose, opaque, non-distinctive clothing" (Faraz, 2008). Based on the dictionary.com the word "Hijab" is originally an Arabic word. According to Islam, which is the religion that the Iranian current government is set on, women's bodies should be shown modestly to the public, without sensuality or temptation. This is because, for Islamists, hijab is a saintly command by God to protect women from men' s gaze and persecution, and a means to define their role in society (Al-Saji, 2010; Bullock, 2002).

According to many Muslim scholars, although hijab is a religious phenomenon, it is also strongly influenced by geo-culture (Byng, 2010). It would be wrong to suppose that hijab was not prevalent in the Islamic world before the Islamic revolution in Iran, but this historical event created a turning point in the image of hijab as presented in the West (Guindi, 1999).

The notion of the hijab represents a Muslim woman's dedication to

modest attire. Veiling is a term which usually refers to a range of cloth coverings of the head, including the hijab, burqa, and nikab, head scarfs and shawls, all conflated as “veiling” (Renne, 2013). While a hijab is a sort of veil used by Muslim women to conceal them from males and establish a barrier between men and women, which is how it differs from a veil. In this paper, the term “Hijab” is preferred because of its massive use in Iran instead of veil.

Although there are some similarities among Islamic countries, such as the required presence of a male guardian (e.g., father, husband, or brother) whose permission is needed for a woman to make the most basic life decisions (Human Rights Watch, 2015; Quamar, 2016), now there are few Islamic countries that force women to wear hijab. Indeed, among those who favor hijab, the practice is viewed as a symbol of modesty used to guard a woman’s reputation because she controls what others interpret about her morality from her appearance (Siraj, 2011).

Veiling has its roots in a history that precedes the emergence of Islam. The practice of veiling is as ancient as the Roman Empire, where the free women had to veil themselves when walking out in public places (Guindi, 2000)

In Islamic references, the veil comes in many different names, and not only hijab; and each of these names has its peculiar associations and connotations. Veiling is only one part of the many laws that girls should follow, beginning from the five daily prayers and the fasting of Ramadan. Shirazi believes that in a Muslim country like Iran, women should be as modest and decent as possible since it is the norm; but in the Western

countries, there is no problem in wearing a form of veil that does not cause “embarrassment” to the Muslim women, and that does not cause direct attraction to her as something extraordinary and strange (Shirazi, 2019). However, further exploration in some instances in the codification of law during the early 1980s complicates this assumption and shows that the post-revolutionary law was codified at “the intersection of political necessities, social realities, religious consideration, and legislative initiatives,” rather than as “a simple imposition of Islamic law” (Ghamari-Tabrizi, 2013: 239).

A more detailed history of the Iranian revolution resulting in compulsory veiling and the kingdoms before the revolution resulting in compulsory unveiling and free hijab is provided in the next section.

1.1.1 Compulsory Unveiling Law (Reza Shah Era)

Reza Shah took power in 1925 and put clerics on the defensive by establishing a modern judiciary and enacting civil laws that drew on both Islamic law and modern legal practice (Kar, M., 2007). Further, Reza Shah mimicked Turkey by imposing compulsory unveiling of women, causing backlashes that resulted in fierce opposition and bloody confrontations with the pious. Reza Shah's earlier moderate prime minister had proposed replacing the Chador with dignified overalls leaving the face uncovered, but Reza Shah insisted on complete Westernization of dress (Houchang E. Chehabi, 1993).

The government tried to prepare people, and obliged the upper classes to set the example by unveiling first (Ettehadieh, Mansoureh, and Kaveh Bayat, 1993). First, members of the royal family, ministers,

high-ranking officials and Majlis representatives were present at social events with their unveiled wives (Koyagi, Mikiya., 2009). It was in the year of 1928 that the police received orders to allow women to frequent public places unveiled, and in Tehran a number of women availed themselves of this permission, in spite of clerical opposition (Haig, Wolseley, 1931).

The official beginning of unveiling in January 8th, 1936 and men uniform in 1928 regarded as two important events in Iran's history (Mir, Omolbanin, and MEHR Amir Dabiri., 2014). While compulsory unveiling law was a force and this means that women who decide to disobey the law will be punished by the forces monitoring unveiling with tearing the women's Chador and sometimes sentencing them to lashes.

1.1.2 Free Hijab (Mohammad Reza Shah Era)

Reza Shah abdicated from the throne and his son; Mohammad Reza Shah rose to power in 1941. The reign of Mohammad Reza Shah remained a period in which clothing ceased to be an issue of direct state policy and instead became largely a matter of personal choice (Houchang E. Chehabi, 1993). During Mohammad Reza tenure, all political figures who had faced disgrace during his father's administration were restored to their former status, and the 1936 imposed policy of compulsory unveiling, implemented by his father, was reversed.

Mohammad Reza Shah was aiming to develop the role of women in the society. Therefore, an institution named "Organization of Democratic Women" was developed in 1949, and renamed again in 1951 as the "Organization of Progressive Women" (Sahimi, 2010). Activities of

women and the education for girls spread all over the country including the rural areas (Esfandiari, 2009). In media, women were shown by fashionable clothes including short skirts (Baneinia & Dersan Orhan, 2021). With the prohibition no longer being enforced legally, women from conservative families started wearing their Chadors again (Sombol Mokhles & Minna Sunikka–Blank, 2022).

Even so, Muhamad Reza Shah’ s administration continued to regard the hijab as an obstacle to the modernization of the state (Gi Yeon Koo & Ha Eun Han, 2018). This effort toward modernization during Mohammad Reza Shah’s reign resulted in a cultural gap in the Iranian society. While educated upper–middle class women in urban centers started to discard their hijabs in favor of western clothing, those of lower class and/or religiously conservative patriarchal families continued to wear them (Gi Yeon Koo & Ha Eun Han, 2018).

1.1.3 Compulsory Veiling

After Reza Shah’s abdication in 1941, veiling became a matter of choice. However, this state of affairs lasted only 38 years. On February 13, 1979, the Iranian Revolution came to an end with the Shah leaving Iran and Khomeini (the leader of the revolution) returning to Tehran (Foroutan, Ghazal., 2021). Currently, Islamic dress is obligatory for women in Iran. After the revolution numerous laws were enacted to follow more Islamic regulations. On March 7, 1979, Khomeini announced that bareheaded women could not go to Islamic ministries. In 1979, and again in the name of ‘women’s emancipation,’ Iranian women were this time forced to take the veil by the decree of Ayatollah Khomeini

(Derayeh, Minoo., 2011). His ruling on veiling calls for full covering of the body; the only excluded parts are the hands and the oval portion of a woman' s face (Khomeini, 1984, p. 15). The compulsory veiling in Iran means women need to cover their head hair with a headscarf and wear a long, loose cardigan (Manteau or Chador) along with long pants to cover their bodies completely (Foroutan, Ghazal., 2021). According to published documents and newspaper articles from 1980, the inception of compulsory hijab was observed in March 1980, within a span of few months after the triumph of the revolution. By the June 1980 Ayatollah Khomeini declared that women must wear the hijab at their workplaces and many women who resisted were promptly dismissed (Hoodfar, Homa., 1999). Conversely, women from the lower middle class coming from traditional families benefited the most from compulsory hijab as they found access to new educational and employment opportunities (Moghaddam, 1993:142).

Throughout the years after the revolution, women (and men), depending on political atmosphere and the extent of suppression, resist the limitations as far as they can (Jalili, Jaleh., 2020). During the 1980s and 1990s, and specifically Rafsanjani's presidency starting from 1989 all the way until 1997, women began pushing the boundaries of the state-imposed hijab, and the chador became a less common clothing choice as it was increasingly considered a fundamentalist practice among society (Mir-Hosseini, Ziba., 2007). Although by 2005, the new president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad allotted a significant amount of power to and expanded the mandate of the "Morality Police" for the purpose of regulating every aspect of Iranian social life (Warrington, Sydney.,

2018). When president Hassan Rouhani, took the office in 2013, Iran' s reintegration into the global economy took effect in January 2016 following the lifting of sanctions, which greatly enhanced women' s ability to purchase Western clothing and export their own designs (Shima Houshyar & Behzad Sarmadi., 2017).

1.2 Protest Regarding Hijab

In Iran, there are Morality police forces whose only responsibility is to find women who defy hijab laws. Over the years, Iranians, both men and women, have sought to reject laws about mandatory hijab and to demand the right to choose what to wear, either as part of planned campaigns (Koo, 2014) or as a result of daily activities (Asgari & Sarikakis, 2019). In Iran, activists who protest against the mandatory hijab face up to 15 years in prison (Iskandarani, 2020). The initiation of protests against the mandatory veil law took place shortly after its implementation. However, with the outbreak of the Iran–Iraq war, the presence of street protesters against the enforced hijab diminished gradually.

Although, compulsory veiling law is not the only reason for Iranian women to wear hijab. Hamzehei (2014) highlighted family, education, employment, decency, honor, maintaining a social life, the fear of being evaluated by others, and the fear of sexual harassment as other significant motivators for wearing hijab (Hamzehei, Pegah., 2014). In the aftermath of the revolution, various women's clubs and organizations devised plans to commemorate International Women's Day by organizing modest celebrations at educational institutions and other organizations.

The suppression of the protests that took place over the course of six days in March 1979, and which began in reaction to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's call for women to wear the veil in state ministries, has been widely interpreted with the historian's benefit of hindsight, as the end of the revolution's initial and short-lived period of exuberance and the rapid march towards the consolidation of a populist-hierocratic state (Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, Eskandar., 2013). As BBC NEWS mentions in an article; Since December 2017, more than 35 female protesters against compulsory veiling have been arrested in the capital Tehran alone, while this number is increasing since more protests and cases against the force of veiling are happening (BBC NEWS, 2019, February 8).

During the years after the revolution, brave women have fought against the forced hijab in many ways. A demonstration by female individuals occurred in January 2018, challenging the compulsory use of hijab that has been mandated in the Islamic Republic following the revolution. The protest began with a defiant act by a young Iranian woman named Vida Movahed, who in the first days of the protest, took off her hijab in front of policemen in Tehran and waved it at them (Zimmt, Raz., 2018).

However, the protest against the compulsory veiling law have been taking place in various ways over the past few years. Lately, the death of Mehsa Amini a 22-year-old Iranian woman who died after being arrested by Iranian moral police in Tehran due to wearing an inappropriate hijab (Puspitasari, Renny Ayu, et al., 2022). The death of Mahsa Amini started a new wave of protests in Iran. Not just regarding

the compulsory unveiling law, but overall the concept of an Islamic government ruling the country.

2. Religion and beliefs

The practice of modesty or “covering” known as hijab, which is not limited to wearing a headscarf or even modest dress has become one of the most visible and controversial elements of Islamic practice in the twenty-first century (cooke, 2007). For over 40 years, the Iranian regime has sought to incorporate Islamic religious values into all aspects of society, including education, criminal justice, the media, and popular culture (Kazemipur & Rezaei, 2003; Yarshater, 2004; Mehran, 1997; Mehran 2007). The imposition of hijab is crucial for the regime, its image as an Islamic nation, and its Islamic religio-political ideology using the image of Iranian women as the ideal image of the country and as a visual display of their political ideology (Zahedi, Ashraf., 2007).

According to Marzouk Heba Omar (2021), there are two verses in the Quran in which Almighty Allah talks about the issue of decency and hijab, as listed below.

First verse (verse 30 of chapter 24, Surah an-Nur):

“Say to the believing men that: they should cast down their glances and guard their private parts (by being chaste). This is better for them”

Second verse (Chapter 33, also known as Surah al-Ahzab, verse 59):

“O Prophet! Say to wives, your daughters, and the women of the believers that: they should let down upon themselves their jalabib.”

Along with the hadiths—which record the behaviors and teachings of

the Prophet Mohammed and his Companions – these verses from the Quran have formed the basis for scholarly opinions on the appearance and practice of dress for hundreds of years, even as styles, aesthetics, and cultural influences have changed dramatically (Akou, Heather Marie, 2010).

3. Clothing and Makeup

3.1 Iranian Clothes Categories

Veiling forms have different "names" and "forms" in various cultures and regions. Although the majority of clothing in Iran is similar to that of Europe and the rest of the globe, few pieces might seem unfamiliar. Therefore, the common forms of hijab, worn by Iranian women are explained later in this chapter separately and in details. To provide a clearer picture of the type of clothing that is often worn in Iran, more detailed explanations are followed by images of the aforementioned dress types.

Iranian women as well as the foreigners who enter Iran are forced to wear a form of clothing, including: Chador, Manto Or a $\frac{3}{4}$ sleeve tunic dress over their inner clothes with full length pants and a loose scarf covering the hair. Fig.1 represents different forms of veiling with the forms used by Iranian women marked by a flag and the names which are mostly Arabic terms.

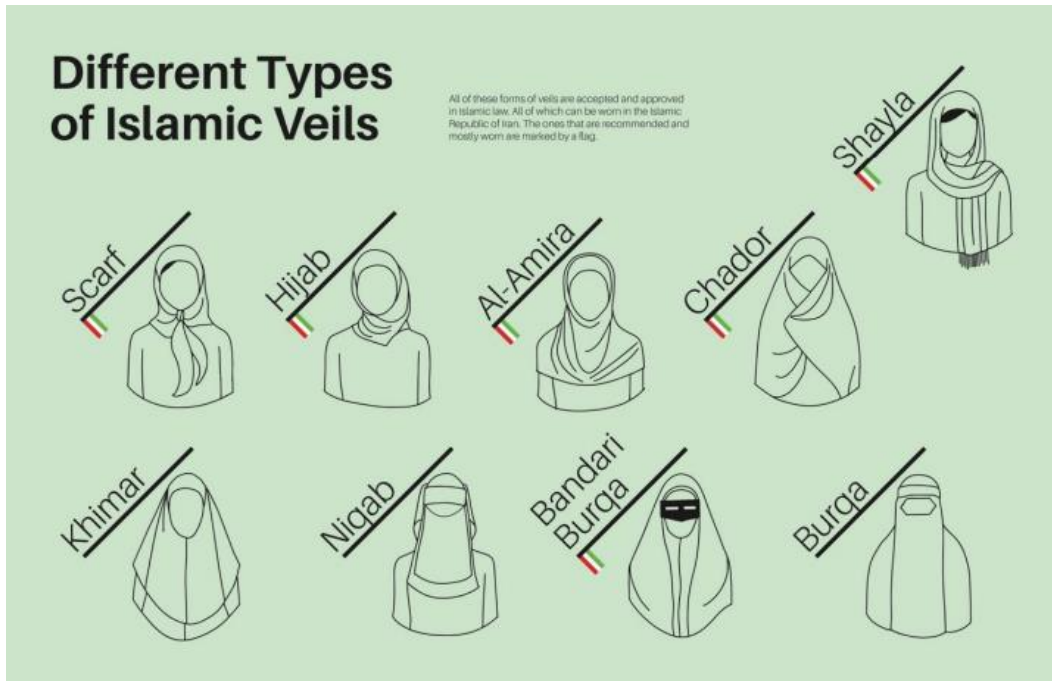


Fig. 1: Infographics on different types of veils. From “Visual Explorations in Response to Compulsory Hijab for Iranian Women” by Foroutan, G., 2021, Doctoral dissertation, Oklahoma State University. Copyright by Oklahoma State University

3.1.2 Manto:

A thin, loose-fitting garment worn over other clothing is referred to as a "Manteau" in French, thus the name "Manto" is regarded as a female form of hijab in Iran. A mantua (from the French manteuil or "mantle") is an article of women's clothing worn at the late seventeenth century common form of an affluent European woman's dress (see Fig. 2) (Ewing, Elizabeth., 1984). The mantua was thought to display silk designs to their best advantage, as they were draped rather than cut; as such, it is believed the garment was named after mantua in Italy, where expensive silks were produced. However, it has also been suggested that the name derives from manteau, the French term for a coat (Purchase et al., 1991). The "Manto," may be worn as an alternative to

the Chador to cover the torso which extends from the shoulders to the knees. Manto is a must wear garment as school and university uniforms by female pupils. Additionally, Iranian women dress conservatively at formal events and in the workplace.

Mantos were worn in a different form at the early revolution than they are worn today. At the beginning of the Islamic revolution mantos were worn front-closed, in long length and only dark colors (see Fig. 3). Although, over the past decade this has changed. Recently, the form and the length of mantos have changed to shorter and front-opened, in various forms and colors (see Fig. 4).



Fig. 2: Mantua, women's clothing worn at the late seventeenth century by European women. Mantua and petticoat of bizarre silk brocade, British, c.1708. From Metropolitan Museum of Arts, (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/81809>) copyright from Metropolitan Museum of Arts

Fig. 3: Manto, the early revolution and formal form of manto. By Digikala (https://dkstatics-public.digikala.com/digikala-products/117335903.jpg?x-oss-process=image/resize,m_lfit,h_800,w_800/quality,q_90), copyright by Digikala

Fig. 4: Manto, latest form of manto worn by Iranian women. 2020, by an interview participant (Vid, 1973)

3.1.3 Scarf and Shawl:

Scarfs and shawls are used in diverse designs and colors in Iran by the majority of Iranian women. Sometimes they are worn in traditional patterns of tiles or paisley shapes and at times in more modern designs. The Shawl is a sort of veil consisting of a long rectangular scarf wrapped over the head to conceal the hair and neck (see Fig. 5) (Monkebayeva et

al., 2012). Latest trends of shawl tend to be the most exposing, since it may be worn loosely so that a significant section of the hair and neck are exposed; hence, the shawl is the most frequent type of head covering among women who like to show more hair and neck. The meaning of shawl is defined differently in Iranian culture. Accordingly, the shawl Iranian's wear around their neck is called a neck Shawl, without any veiling purpose.

Most common Shawl size starts from about 2 meters to 3 meters long. In variety of fabrics, Silk: mostly used for formal scarfs and is suitable for spring and summer, Satin: also used for luxury and formal occasions in both cold and warm weather, Jacquard: high quality shawl with designs seen as a whole, Span: Polyester yarn which is very suitable for summer, Acrylic: synthetic and fluffy yarn suitable for winter.

Scarfs in Iran are worn in different sizes. The average size of the scarf and the most widely used sizes are 120 x 120cm and 90 x 90cm scarfs (see Fig. 6). On the other hand, Mini Scarfs which are accounted as the latest trends of 2021 and 2022, are made in 75 x 75cm size and it is mostly produced in luxurious materials such as silk and satin which exposes most of the hair and neck (see Fig. 7). In smaller size, 65 x 65cm sized scarfs are mostly used as a style decoration and around the wrist or neck.

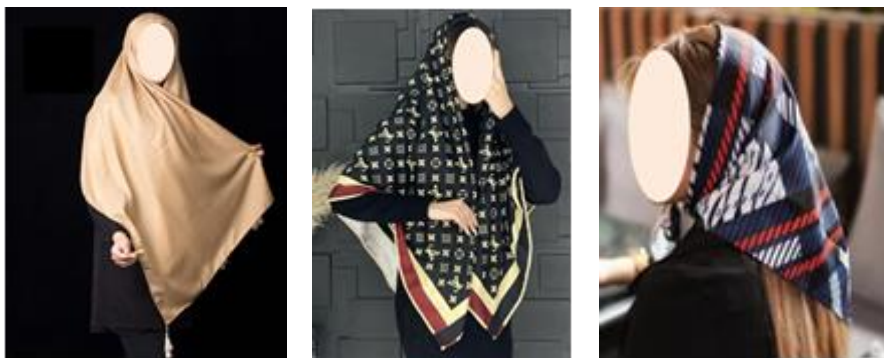


Fig. 5: Shawl, the most common size and shape. With 2 meters' length. 2022 (<https://marsin.ir/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/%D8%B4%D8%A7%D9%84-%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%AF%D9%87-%D9%BE%D8%A7%DB%8C%DB%8C%D8%B2%D9%87-%DA%A9%D8%AF-65-%D9%86%D8%A8%D8%A7%D8%AA%DB%8C-min-scaled.jpg>)

Fig. 6: Scarf, most widely used sizes 120 x 120cm. (<https://satisho.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/scarf-satishocom11.jpg>)

Fig. 7: Scarf, 2020~present trend in 75 x 75cm size. (<https://silva-shop.ir/uploads/products/5f10e4.jpg?m=thumb&w=1280&h=800&q=high>)

3.1.4 Maghnae

A formal version of the veil, usually worn in darker colors like black and navy blue (see Fig. 8). Usually, female students and staff on formal occasions and in offices wear Maghnae.

The Khimar or Maghnae is a form of headscarf that is deemed more acceptable than the Shawl due to the additional coverage it offers. Certain occupations and organizations in Iran require personnel to wear the Maghnae (e.g., schoolteachers and students, university students and employees, those who work for the government or have federal jobs).



Fig. 8: Maghnae, 2022 (<https://arga-mag.com/file/img/2022/02/dream-interpretation-maghnea-4.jpg>)

3.1.5 Chador

Chador is an Islamic outer garment. This form of body covering encompasses everything from the head to the toes (see Fig. 9). In fact, it's an open cloak that covers the body shape. A Chador is essentially a garment that covers the head and entire body except the face and hands to the wrist (Monkebayeva et al., 2012). The wearers of Chador are called Chadori and "being Chadori" is a requirement for some organizations in Iran. The material is often thick to accommodate Iran's frigid climate. On the street, religious women who wish to appear more moderate wear black Chadors. The colorful ones are typically utilized in front of guests at home. The Chador is the most religious form of the veil in Iran and is the traditional Iranian version of Islamic women's clothing.



Fig. 9: Chador. An Islamic outer garment, head to toe length. 2019, (<https://scarfbank.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/%D8%A7%DB%8C%D8%B1%D8%A7%D9%86%DB%8C.png>)

3.2 Fashion and Makeup in Iran

As one of the creative industries that could help Iran's economy grow in a sustainable way, the fashion industry has been on the agenda

of the Iranian government, relevant institutions, and organizations for the past ten years. In the 21st Century, the Iranian women's fashion industry has an increasingly significant presence on the international stage (Warrington, Sydney., 2018). The number of boutiques, free trade zones, modern shopping malls, and official imports of Western clothes show that the fashion industry in Iran is very commercialized (Shahani, 2010, p. 120). Meanwhile, lower class Iranians are frustrated with their economic constraints, which prevent them from living lifestyles comparable to the hyper-wealthy elites that often flaunt their wealth via social media and have significantly more freedom of expression as a result of their class and connections (Warrington, Sydney., 2018).

On the streets of Tehran, in its cafés and places of commerce, women utilize their attire to make claims about what qualifies as both fashion and piety. Among Iranian youth, passive resistance manifested in women's innovative clothing—bright colors, exposed hair, more form-fitting Manteaus (Warrington, Sydney., 2018). The desire for self-expression through fashion is more intense among the younger generation, and they have taken the lead in changing the meaning of the Manto, long gone are the dark-color loose jackets, dark stockings, and big scarfs (Zahedi, Ashraf., 2007).

In Iran there is the word “poor hijab” is used for women who wear less hijab try to show more of their hair and skin. Due to the law of compulsory veiling and the punishments of disobeying the compulsory veiling law in Iran, many designers have struck a balance between fashionable style and the regime's code of Islamic attire (Zahedi, Ashraf., 2007).

As Rhonda P. Hill the founder of E D G E fashion intelligence website states, the art of fashion – artistry; craftsmanship; attention to detail; creativity; innovation; bold and daring vision – defines fashion. While Clothing is what most of us wear – it’s homogenized, generic, common, familiar, and functional (RHONDA P. HILL. 2016). Accordingly, in this paper, the term clothing is more highlighted for the purpose of representing a deeper connection of clothing and hijab than hijab and fashion. In other words, the term “fashion” as a phenomenon beyond just clothing and hijab is only briefly mentioned in this paper, compared to form of clothing.

An in-depth interview with 45 Iranian women done by Ghafaryanshirazi (2016) found out the reasons behind “Iranian women’ s heavy make-up and it attempted to determine the relationship between the over-usage of make-up and the undergoing of cosmetic surgeries, with the perception of beauty standards, the use of the body as a sign of existence in the society, and the use of the body as a message against the sociopolitical ideology of the government” (Ghafaryanshirazi, 2016). They also believed that the harsh behavior of morality police could be a good reason for Iranian women heavily make-up.

The result of this issue _morality police_ is how Iranian women communicate with other in different ways such as express themselves as beautiful, protest; fill their lack of self-confidence or asking for freedom (Ghafaryanshirazi, 2016). Fatema Farmanfarmaian in her article argued about the history of heavy make-up among Iranian women. As she states: “In Iran before the Islamic revolution, women used make-up

and beautified themselves. However, after Islamic revolution women have started to wear heavy make-up which in Persian is referred to as “haft qalam arayish” (the seven items of cosmetics)” (Farmanfarmaian, 2000). Furthermore, Jafari and Maclaran, in their article “Escaping into the world of make-up routines in Iran” argued that Iranian women wear make-up every day in order to express themselves and identify themselves. According to Jafari and Maclaran “everyday usage of make-up gives Iranian women this opportunity to spend their time in the cosmetics’ fantasy world instead of bored routine life” (Jafari & Maclaran, 2014 cited in Ghafaryanshirazi. N, 2016).

Chapter 3.Methodology

1. Phenomenological Study & Literature Review

According to the aim of the research, the characteristics of the women's choice of clothing and their attitude and reaction towards the limitations in clothing as they would like to impress is appointed to be conducted. Analysis, or the breaking up or down of qualitative data, requires that they be prepared in a way that will accomplish the purposes and intended product of the research project (K. A, 1994). Although data preparation is a distinctive stage in qualitative work where data are put into a form that will permit analysis, a rudimentary kind of analysis often begins when the researcher proofs transcripts against the audiotaped interviews from which they were prepared (K. A, 1994). Accordingly, the choice of qualitative for withdrawing the raw data matches the aim of the research. Since, a qualitative research is a research methodology for understanding and exploring various social and humanitarian issues and it is a proper research method for deducing the meanings for the course of experience (Padgett, 1998).

Qualitative approaches to credibility and data quality, it is essential to acknowledge that particular philosophical underpinnings, specific paradigms, and special purposes for the qualitative inquiry will typically include additional or substitute criteria for assuring and judging quality, validity, and credibility. The qualitative researcher has an obligation to be methodical in reporting sufficient details of data collection and the processes of analysis to permit others to judge the quality of the resulting product (Patton M. Q, 1999). According to the descriptions of

the phenomenological study, this research method is most fitted to the purpose of this study.

2. Construction of Research

The following section clarifies the way that study collected the raw data and analyzed the data. Explaining, the method and the factors that the research were selected upon, the method that the interview was structured and the method that the interviewees were selected.

2.1 Subject of Research and Composition of Interview Participants and Questions

The subject of the research included two generations of Iranian women who have lived, between the years 1965 to 1995 (the generation during the revolution) and 1996 to 2022 (the youth generation) who have lived in Iran. 16 female participants were selected as the main target of this research since the laws set regarding hijab have affected women more than men. The participants of the research were residents of different cities of Iran, which gives a wider image of the characteristics, cultural and religious belief of the participants. The images that the interview participants shared in this research were conducted with the interviewees consent, while the faces of the participants were covered to keep the participants right of privacy and safety. Name of research participants is not collected. Instead, the participants are pointed in nicknames and their birth year alongside. The information on the interview participants are listed below in <table 1>.

<Table 1> Participants information

Nickname	Year of Birth	Level of Education	Occupation Status	City of Birth
Kim	2000	Bachelor	Student	Zanjan
Has	1995	Bachelor	House Wife	Tehran
Momf 2	1942	Diploma	Teacher	Mashhad
Nas	1968	Bachelor	Employee	Sanandaj
Zeim	1967	Diploma	House Wife	Tehran
Nik	2004	Diploma	Student	Sanandaj
Peak	1994	Bachelor	Employee	Tehran
Nilu	1991	PHD	Student	Tehran
Vid	1973	Diploma	House Wife	Tikab
Iran	1963	Diploma	House Wife	Tikab
Padi	1997	Bachelor	House Wife	Isfahan
Ze	1998	Master	Student	Karaj
Momf	1975	Bachelor	House Wife	Mashhad
Shar	1988	Master	Employee	Sanandaj
Aida rel 1	1955	Bachelor	Teacher	Tehran
Aida rel 2	1964	Bachelor	Teacher	Qom

Iranian women recruited for this study are recruited via Instagram posts as other social media apps such as Facebook and Twitter are filtered in Iran. Figure 10 demonstrates the screenshot of the story posted on Instagram both in Persian (Farsi) and English.

سلام به همه!

من در حال انجام تحقیقی در مورد تأثیر قوانین وضع شده در مورد حجاب در ایران برای پایان نامه کارشناسی ارشد خود هستم و در حال جذب شرکت کنندگان برای مطالعه هستم! برای علاقه مندان به شرکت و یا اطلاعات بیشتر در مورد تحقیق، می توانید در اینستاگرام به من پیام دهید. اطلاعات بیشتر در مورد تحقیق در زیر ذکر شده است:

عنوان: تأثیر انقلاب ایران بر زندگی اجتماعی زنان ایرانی - تمرکز بر قانون حجاب اجباری قبل و بعد از انقلاب -

موضوع مطالعه: 20 زن ایرانی 13 تا 24 ساله بین سال های 45 تا 95 و 1375 تا 2022 ساکن ایران.

نحوه و مکان: مصاحبه 1:1 شامل محقق و شرکت کننده انجام می شود. مصاحبه به صورت آنلاین از طریق جلسه Zoom انجام خواهد شد. (دوربین شرکت کنندگان قابل خاموش شدن است)

محقق مسئول: پریسا حسینی

دانشگاه ملی سنول

دیارتمن منسوجات، بازرگانی و طراحی مد

دوره مشارکت: تا تاریخ 09/04/22 باز است

How and where: 1:1 interview will be conducted including the researcher and the participant. Interview will be placed online through Zoom meeting. (participant's camera can be turned off)

The researcher in charge: Parysa Hosseini Social national university Dep. Of Textiles, Merchandising and Fashion Design

Period of participation: open until 09/04/22

Fig. 10: Participant Recruitment posted on Instagram

It is thought that acquaintances with similar characteristics can be

introduced from the recruited group. In other words, the snowball sampling method of reintroducing nearby acquaintances to the research participants who were recruited through objective sampling was used in parallel to recruit research participants who met the criteria of a specific group to be investigated in this study. Before the interview process begins, the study participants are provided with a Participant Information Sheet and a Participant Consent form in a pdf version by e-mail, and further the files will be returned to the main researcher by e-mail after the participant reads the explanation and the consent form. The participants willing to partake in this study first have to read all the information, sign the written consent form, and send it to the researcher by e-mail. This research was reviewed by the Seoul National University Institutional Review Board (SNU IRB) before the interview process and received the approval with the following serial number (IRB No. 2204/004-017).

According to Creswell (2009), as qualitative research is carried out to obtain in-depth knowledge about a specific phenomenon, this study is conducted using a 1:1 in-depth interview method. Through a 1:1 interview, we intend to reveal the thoughts, perspectives, and experiences of the research participants about hijab and their attitude towards hijab. Data in this research is collected by audio recording of the interview so that the data can be used in more detail. Few of the interview questions for both the 2nd and the 3rd generation are different since both of these generations have been through different timelines and therefore different experiences, different situations and different occasions. The following two tables <Table 2> and <Table 3> contain the

interview questions and the supporting questions for the 2nd and the 3rd generation.

<Table 2> 2nd Generation Interview Questions

Interview Questions for the 2nd Generation		Supporting Questions
1	What year were you born in?	–
2	Did any kind of political or cultural events occurred during the years you were growing up? Were these events related to Hijab or women' s wear in Iran?	–
3	Please describe the environment you were raised in. Did this environment changed through the years you were growing up?	_According the environment you were raise in, what is the meaning of women? What should she wear? What Hijab is she expected to have? What are the factors that influenced the environment in this point of view?
4	How would you describe the religion and cultural beliefs of the society you were raised in? Did any of the religion and cultural beliefs of this society changed throughout time? What are the reasons for these changes in your opinion?	_How did that society define the meaning of women? How is she expected to behave? What characteristics is she expected to have? What she wears? What Hijab is she expected to have? Would you consider this as a result of religious aspect of the society? _What factors inspire the ideal image of a woman in this society?
5	How different or similar is your family' s definition of Hijab and women' s wear in regards the society' s point of view? How has your family member' s point of view changed throughout the time?	_Do your family members all share the same opinion regarding Hijab and women' s wear, considering their religious and personality differences? _How would you define a woman with Hijab? How should she wear Hijab according to the religion? _What were some of the factors that influenced your opinion regarding the meaning of Hijab? How did they influence your thoughts? What is your reason for choosing these factors specifically? _In your opinion who should be wearing Hijab? Why do you think so? _Why do you believe that Muslim women should wear Hijab?
6	How effective do you believe education is on peoples point of view towards women' s Hijab and way of clothing?	_How educated are your family members and friends? Do you think their level of education effected their point of view point of view towards women' s Hijab and way of clothing? _Was their point of view influenced by their religious believes or cultural believes somehow?
7	Throughout your life have you experienced living in big cities or smaller cities?	_Do you think that geographical aspects such as the size of the city can influence cultural and religious beliefs in Iran? How different can cultural and religious beliefs be in different cities of Iran? What is the reason behind these differences? _How effective can geographic factors, rural–urban and the location of the city be in Iranians point of view toward women' s Hijab and clothing? Why are these factors important? In comparison to the older generations of Iranians, is the new generation living in Iran, more flexible and open to new cultures and religious beliefs? _How would you define the cultural and religious differences between the Iranian generation living through the Islamic revolution and today' s generation? What was the cause for this generation gap? _How have this gap affected the cultural life of the young generation? _How have the younger generation responded to this gap between the generations?
8	How much do you care and spend time on your way of clothing?	_Where would you usually buy your clothes? Why there? _Can you name some of your favorite fashion brands? What characteristic your favorite fashion brands have? How do these brand characteristics describe you?

9	Do you usually wear makeup? How often?	<p>_What is your main motivation for wearing makeup? Or not wearing makeup?</p> <p>_How would you describe the way you wear makeup? What are the factors that influences the way you wear makeup?</p> <p>_How much time do you usually spend on your makeup? What part of your make up do you usually pay extra attention and spend more time on? What is the importance of that specific part to you?</p> <p>_Do you try to match your makeup with the way you wear clothes? Is there a connection between your makeup and the way you wear clothes?</p> <p>_What image or character do you expect your makeup represent of you? How in contrast is this image that you want to show through make up, with your own characteristics?</p>
10	Do you consider the majority of Iranian people stylish and trendy?	<p>_What percentage of Iranian women follow fashion trends? How about the rest? How do they usually choose their clothes? What are some the factors that influences their way of clothing?</p> <p>_Do you remember any fashion trends in Iran while you were growing up? Did you followed any fashion trends that you can describe? Why were you following that specific trends only?</p> <p>_How old were you when you first tried to follow the fashion trends? What style of clothing was trendy at those years? How did you tried to follow the trend?</p> <p>_How did you access the fashion trends?</p>
11	How old were you when you reached your puberty?	<p>_How did you felt emotionally and reacted when you reached puberty and you had to wear Hijab?</p> <p>_Did you felt effected anyhow by the fact that you cannot be in the society without Hijab anymore?</p> <p>_when you reached puberty, did you experienced any physical changes in your body? What were these physical changes?</p> <p>_How did the physical changes you experienced when you reached puberty made you feel emotionally? Why?</p> <p>_Did you changed your way of clothing when your body made physical changes? Why did you felt like you had to change your way of dressing? How did you change your way of clothing?</p>
12	When and where was Hijab first introduced to you? How did this introduction happen? Why did it happen at that time and not sooner or later?	<p>_How did the introduction of Hijab effected your opinion on Hijab? Did this made you start wearing Hijab? Why?</p>
13	How would you describe your Hijab?	<p>A. I wear Hijab fully (Chador):</p> <p>_Please explain what kind of Hijab you wear and what way of clothing do you wear under your Hijab?</p> <p>_What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes to wear under your Hijab? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you?</p> <p>_Are you wearing Hijab with your own willingness?</p> <p>_What is your reason for wearing Hijab? (Ex: Islam and religion, community perspective)</p> <p>_What advantages and disadvantages wearing Hijab have had for you?</p>

		<p>B. As much as the majority of the society (covering majority of the hair and skin):</p> <p>–How would you describe the Hijab and the way of clothing of majority of women in the society? What do they wear? What colors or pieces?</p> <p>_Under what reasons and influences the majority of Iranian women have chosen this way of clothing?</p> <p>_Who are these majority of women in your opinion? What are their religious and cultural beliefs?</p> <p>_Are you wearing Hijab the way that the majority of Iranian women wear, with your own willingness?</p> <p>_Please describe your way of clothing and the way you wear Hijab.</p> <p>_What kind of clothes do you wear under your Hijab? What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you?</p> <p>_Under what kind of influences have you chosen to wear Hijab the way that the majority of Iranian women wear?</p> <p>_In your opinion, what advantages and disadvantages wearing Hijab have had for you?</p> <p>C. Ignore the Hijab rules in Iran as much as possible:</p> <p>_Please describe your way of clothing and why do you think your way of clothing is considered Ignoring rules regarding Hijab? According to whom your way of clothing is considered Ignoring Hijab rules in Ira?</p> <p>_What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you?</p> <p>_Why have you chosen to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran? _How have you managed to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran?</p> <p>_How much have you succeeded in Ignoring the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran?</p> <p>_Do you ignore the mandatory Hijab rules all the time? Or you only ignore them in specific situations and places? How do you choose where to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules?</p> <p>_In your own opinion, what advantages and disadvantages ignoring mandatory Hijab rules in Iran have had for you?</p>
14	Have you ever changed your style of clothing and degree of wearing Hijab in your life? When was this? How did you decide to change? Under what circumstances?	_Would you share a picture of the after and before of your way of dressing?
15	Do you believe that one' s Hijab and the way of dressing is a personal matter or it concerns others opinion?	<p>A. It's a personal matter:</p> <p>_Were your family or your friend' s way of clothing influenced your way of clothing? How? Did they share their opinion on your way of clothing? How would you react to this?</p> <p>_Have you ever experienced others (family, friends, stranger, etc...) interference and committing on your way of dressing anyhow?</p> <p>_If yes, how has this effected your way of dressing? Please, share any personal experiences regarding the question.</p>

		<p>B. Other people in the society can interfere in your way of clothing and Hijab:</p> <p>_Why do you believe others can comment on your Hijab and way of clothing? What and how would this help you?</p> <p>_What factors qualify a person to comment on others way of clothing and Hijab? What is your reason for choosing these specific factors matter?</p> <p>_Have you ever given your opinion on any women' s way of dressing or Hijab to them? How? Why do you believe your opinion matter to them?</p> <p>_Have you witnessed others commenting on another women' s way of clothing or Hijab? -How would you describe their reaction toward the interference?</p> <p>_How do you believe others interference in women' s way of dressing and Hijab effects their personality and characteristics?</p>
16	Have you ever experienced any sexual, physical or emotional harassments or incidents related to your way of clothing?	<p>_Please describe what you were wearing at that moment?</p> <p>_Why do you think that incident happened to you?</p> <p>_How did you reacted to the situation? How did your reaction influence the situation at that moment?</p> <p>_In your opinion how could you have prevented that incident from happening?</p> <p>_Are you wearing Hijab to prevent any possible physical and emotional harassments?</p> <p>_How did that experience changed or influenced your characteristics and personality?</p> <p>_In your opinion is it possible that the mentioned experience has any connections with mandatory Hijab rule?</p>
17	How do you respond when someone else approaches or comments on your way of dressing?	-
18	What are your thoughts on the laws of unveiling that were set by Reza Shah? And why?	<p>_In your opinion, how did mandatory unveiling rule affected the social, educational and emotional lives of the women living in that era?</p> <p>_How do you think the mandatory unveiling rule affected the styles of the women living in that era?</p> <p>_What were the cons and pros of the mandatory unveiling rule?</p> <p>_Do you think that the mandatory unveiling rule influenced the cope of Reza Shah?</p> <p>_What was the reason for Reza Shah setting the mandatory unveiling rule? Did he successfully achieve his goal?</p> <p>_Wat part of the society agreed and what part disagreed with the rule of compulsory unveiling? How did they show their objection or support?</p> <p>_Were the people who willingly unveiled satisfied with this rule?</p> <p>_What were the religious statues of Iranians during Reza Shahruling era? How did this impact the clothing in the society?</p> <p>_Considering Iran' s religious statues during Reza Shahruling era how happy were Iranian people with the rule of compulsory unveiling?</p> <p>_Do you know anyone who had mentionable experiences with the Force of Unveiling?</p>

19	How important is the freedom in way of clothing is to you?	<p>How would you define the freedom in what you wear?</p> <p>How would you define the freedom in wearing Hijab in a society?</p> <p>Do you prefer having freedom in the way of clothing and Hijab in the country you live in? Or, in your opinion there should be specific rules or uniforms for everyone in the country you live in? what are these rules? What is the reason for choosing these specific rules? What are the factors that influenced these rules?</p> <p>How have the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran imprinted you or someone you have known's social life what kind of impacts has it had on their future decisions? How did you or they managed to deal with these effects?</p>
20	How ready is Iran's society for having the freedom in their Hijab and way of clothing? What percentage of Iranian men and what percentage of Iranian women would agree with the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran? How about the rest? Why will they disagree with the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran?	<p>What are some of the ways to help preparing Iranian people emotionally and culturally for freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran? Why is this preparation important and how will it help change Iranians point of view towards the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran?</p> <p>Do you think that it is possible for the women who wear Hijab and the women who don't wear Hijab in Iran to live in the society by accepting each other's Hijab?</p> <p>If Iran had the freedom of clothing and Hijab how would the society accept this freedom, according to different degree of religiousness, cultural differences and different point of views toward Hijab and women's way of clothing among Iranian people?</p> <p>If there weren't any rules regarding Hijab in Iran, would you still wear it the way you do today? Why?</p> <p>What is the factor that divides Iranian people in their point of view towards women's Hijab and clothing?</p>
21	Overall is there anything else you would like to add? (optional)	Do you have any suggestive questions or opinions to improve this questionnaire?

<Table 3> 3rd Generation Interview Questions

	Interview Questions for the 3rd Generation	Supporting Questions
1	What year were you born in?	—
2	Did any kind of political or cultural events occurred during the years you were growing up? Were these events related to Hijab or women's wear in Iran?	—
3	Please describe the environment you were raised in. Did this environment changed through the years you were growing up?	According the environment you were raise in, what is the meaning of women? What should she wear? What Hijab is she expected to have?
4	How would you describe the religion and cultural beliefs of the society you were raised in? Did any of the religion and cultural beliefs of this society changed throughout time? What are the reasons for these changes in your opinion?	<p>How did that society define the meaning of women? How is she expected to behave? What characteristics is she expected to have? What she wears? What Hijab is she expected to have? Would you consider this as a result of religious aspect of the society?</p> <p>What factors inspire the ideal image of a woman in this society?</p>
5	How different or similar is your family's definition of Hijab and women's wear in regards the society's point of view? How has your family member's point of view changed throughout the	<p>Do your family members all share the same opinion regarding Hijab and women's wear, considering their religious and personality differences?</p> <p>How would you define a woman with Hijab? How should she wear Hijab according to the religion?</p> <p>What were some of the factors that influenced your opinion regarding the meaning of Hijab? How did they influence your thoughts? What is</p>

	time?	<p>your reason for choosing these factors specifically?</p> <p>_In your opinion who should be wearing Hijab? Why do you think so?</p> <p>_Why do you believe that Muslim women should wear Hijab?</p>
6	How effective do you believe education is on peoples point of view towards women' s Hijab and way of clothing?	<p>_How educated are your family members and friends? Do you think their level of education effected their point of view point of view towards women' s Hijab and way of clothing?</p> <p>_Was their point of view influenced by their religious believes or cultural believes somehow?</p>
7	Throughout your life have you experienced living in big cities or smaller cities?	<p>_Do you think that geographical aspects such as the size of the city can influence cultural and religious beliefs in Iran? How different can cultural and religious beliefs be in different cities of Iran? What is the reason behind these differences?</p> <p>_How effective can geographic factors, rural-urban and the location of the city be in Iranians point of view toward women' s Hijab and clothing? Why are these factors important?</p>
8	In comparison to the older generations of Iranians, is the new generation living in Iran, more flexible and open to new cultures and religious beliefs?	<p>_How would you define the cultural and religious differences between the Iranian generation living through the Islamic revolution and today' s generation? What was the cause for this generation gap?</p> <p>_How have this gap affected the cultural life of the young generation?</p> <p>_How have the younger generation responded to this gap between the generations?</p>
9	How much did you cared and spent time on your way of clothing?	<p>_Where would you usually buy your clothes? Why there?</p> <p>_Can you name some of your favorite fashion brands? What characteristic your favorite fashion brands have? How do these brand characteristics describe you?</p>
10	Do you usually wear makeup? How often?	<p>_What is your main motivation for wearing makeup? Or not wearing makeup?</p> <p>_How would you describe the way you wear makeup? What are the factors that influences the way you wear makeup?</p> <p>_How much time do you usually spend on your makeup? What part of your make up do you usually pay extra attention and spend more time on? What is the importance of that specific part to you?</p> <p>_Do you try to match your makeup with the way you wear clothes? Is there a connection between your makeup and the way you wear clothes?</p> <p>_What image or character do you expect your makeup represent of you? How in contrast is this image that you want to show through make up, with your own characteristics?</p>
11	Do you consider the majority of Iranian people stylish and trendy?	<p>_What percentage of Iranian women follow fashion trends? How about the rest? How do they usually choose their clothes? What are some the factors that influences their way of clothing?</p> <p>_Do you remember any fashion trends in Iran while you were growing up? Did you followed any fashion trends that you can describe? Why were you following that specific trends only?</p> <p>_How old were you when you first tried to follow the fashion trends? What style of clothing was trendy at those years? How did you tried to follow the trend?</p> <p>_How did you access the fashion trends?</p> <p>_Did you follow the fashion trends before the Iranian Revolution?</p>
12	How old were you when you reached your puberty?	<p>_How did you felt emotionally and reacted when you reached puberty and you had to wear Hijab?</p> <p>_Did you felt effected anyhow by the fact that you cannot be in the society without Hijab anymore?</p> <p>_When you reached puberty, did you experienced any physical changes in your body? What were these physical changes?</p> <p>_How did the physical changes you experienced when you reached puberty made you feel emotionally? Why?</p> <p>_Did you changed your way of clothing when your body made physical changes? Why did you felt like you had to change your way of dressing? How did you change your way of clothing?</p>

13	When and where was Hijab first introduced to you? How did this introduction happen? Why did it happen at that time and not sooner or later?	<p>_How did the introduction of Hijab effected your opinion on Hijab? Did this made you start wearing Hijab? Why?</p>
14	How would you describe your Hijab?	<p>A. I wear Hijab fully (Chador): _Please explain what kind of Hijab you wear and what way of clothing do you wear under your Hijab? _What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes to wear under your Hijab? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you? _Are you wearing Hijab with your own willingness? _What is your reason for wearing Hijab? (Ex: Islam and religion, community _What advantages and disadvantages wearing Hijab have had for you?</p> <p>B. As much as the majority of the society (covering majority of the hair and skin): _How would you describe the Hijab and the way of clothing of majority of women in the society? What do they wear? What colors or pieces? _Under what reasons and influences the majority of Iranian women have chosen this way of clothing? _Who are these majority of women in your opinion? What are their religious and cultural beliefs? _Are you wearing Hijab the way that the majority of Iranian women wear, with your own willingness? _Please describe your way of clothing and the way you wear Hijab. _What kind of clothes do you wear under your Hijab? What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you? _Under what kind of influences have you chosen to wear Hijab the way that the majority of Iranian women wear? _If there weren't any rules regarding Hijab in Iran, would you still wear what the majority of women in the society wore? _In your own opinion, what advantages and disadvantages wearing Hijab have had for you?</p> <p>C. Ignore the Hijab rules in Iran as much as possible: _Please describe your way of clothing and why do you think your way of clothing is considered Ignoring rules regarding Hijab? According to whom your way of clothing is considered Ignoring Hijab rules in Ira? _What are your reasons for choosing these sort of clothes? Based on what factors? Why are these factors important to you? _Why have you chosen to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran? _How have you managed to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran? _How much have you succeeded in Ignoring the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran? _Do you ignore the mandatory Hijab rules all the time? Or you only ignore them in specific situations and places? How do you choose where to ignore the mandatory Hijab rules? _In your own opinion, what advantages and disadvantages ignoring mandatory Hijab rules in Iran have had for you?</p>
15	Have you ever changed your style of clothing and degree of wearing Hijab in your life? When was this? How did you decide to change? Under what circumstances?	<p>_Would you share a picture of the after and before of your way of did dressing? _How has your style of clothing changed from the years of before revolution to the years after the revolution in Iran? Can you share a photo of your style from before the revolution and after the revolution and try to explain the differences? _What was the reason that you changed your style of clothing? Under what sort of influence? Were these influences resulted from society' s point of view, cultural changes or the laws set regarding Hijab after the Iranian Revolution?</p>

16	What was your reaction and feelings regarding the mandatory Hijab rule when it was first set after the revolution? Why do you think you felt that specific way and not another way (depending on the answer)?	<p>_Do you still have the same point of view you had at the early days of revolution regarding the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran? How?</p> <p>_How did the fact that you didn't had the freedom in your way of clothing anymore made you feel emotionally?</p>
17	Can you describe the atmosphere and the reaction Iranian women showed after the mandatory Hijab rule was set? How long did this reaction last? What influences their reaction had on the mandatory Hijab law?	<p>_What kind of consequences followed women's reaction to the compulsory Hijab rule?</p> <p>_Did the reaction Iranian women showed towards mandatory Hijab rule changed over years? How would you describe these changes? Under what sort of consequences did their reaction change?</p>
18	Do you believe that one's Hijab and the way of dressing is a personal matter or it concerns others opinion?	<p>A. It's a personal matter:</p> <p>_Were your family or your friend's way of clothing influenced your way of clothing? How? Did they share their opinion on your way of clothing? How would you react to this?</p> <p>_Have you ever experienced others (family, friends, stranger, etc...) interference and committing on your way of dressing anyhow?</p> <p>_If yes, how has this effected your way of dressing? Please, share any personal experiences regarding the question.</p>
		<p>B. Other people in the society can interfere in your way of clothing and Hijab:</p> <p>_Why do you believe others can comment on your Hijab and way of clothing? What and how would this help you?</p> <p>_What factors qualify a person to comment on others way of clothing and Hijab? What is your reason for choosing these specific factors matter?</p> <p>_Have you ever given your opinion on any women's way of dressing or Hijab to them? How? Why do you believe your opinion matter to them?</p> <p>_Have you witnessed others commenting on another women's way of clothing or Hijab?</p> <p>_How would you describe their reaction toward the interference?</p> <p>_How do you believe others interference in women's way of dressing and Hijab effects their personality and characteristics?</p>
19	How do you respond when someone else approaches or comments on your way of dressing?	—
20	Did you experienced any sexual, physical or emotional harassments or incidents related to your way of clothing both before and after the Iranian revolution?	<p>_Please describe what you were wearing at that moments.</p> <p>_Why do you think that incident happened to you?</p> <p>_How did you reacted to the situation? How did your reaction influence the situation at that moment?</p> <p>_In your opinion how could you have prevented that incident from happening?</p> <p>_How did that experience changed or influenced your characteristics and personality?</p> <p>_Are you wearing Hijab to prevent any possible physical and emotional harassments?</p>
21	What are your thoughts on the laws of unveiling that were set by Reza Shah? And why?	<p>_How do you think the mandatory unveiling rule affected the styles of the women living in that era?</p> <p>_What were the cons and pros of the mandatory unveiling rule?</p> <p>_Do you think that the mandatory unveiling rule influenced the cope of Reza Shah?</p> <p>_In your opinion, how did mandatory unveiling rule affected the social, educational and emotional lives of the women living in that era?</p> <p>_What was the reason for Reza Shah setting the mandatory unveiling rule? Did he successfully achieve his goal?</p> <p>_What part of the society agreed and what part disagreed with the rule of compulsory unveiling? How did they show their objection or support?</p> <p>_Were the people who willingly unveiled satisfied with this rule?</p> <p>_What were the religious statues of Iranians during Reza Shahs ruling era? How did this impact the clothing in the society?</p>

		<p>_Considering Iran' s religious statues during Reza Shahs ruling era how happy were Iranian people with the rule of compulsory unveiling?</p> <p>_Do you know anyone who had mentionable experiences with the Force of Unveiling? How important is the freedom in way of clothing is to you?</p> <p>_How would you define the freedom in what you wear?</p> <p>_How would you define the freedom in wearing Hijab in a society?</p> <p>_Do you prefer having freedom in the way of clothing and Hijab in the country you live in? Or, in your opinion there should be specific rules or uniforms for everyone in the country you live in? what are these rules?</p> <p>What is the reason for choosing these specific rules? What are the factors that influenced these rules?</p> <p>_How have the mandatory Hijab rules in Iran imprinted you or someone you've known social life what kind of impacts has it had on their future decisions? How did you or they managed to deal with these effects?</p>
22	How ready is Iran' s society for having the freedom in their Hijab and way of clothing?	<p>_What percentage of Iranian men and what percentage of Iranian women would agree with the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran? How about the rest? Why will they disagree with the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran?</p> <p>_What are some of the ways to help preparing Iranian people emotionally and culturally for freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran? Why is this preparation important and how will it help change Iranians point of view towards the freedom of clothing and Hijab in Iran?</p> <p>_Do you think that it is possible for the women who wear Hijab and the women who don' t wear Hijab in Iran to live in the society by accepting each other' s Hijab?</p> <p>_If Iran had the freedom of clothing and Hijab how would the society accept this freedom, according to different degree of religiousness, cultural differences and different point of views toward Hijab and women' s way of clothing among Iranian people?</p> <p>_If there weren't any rules regarding Hijab in Iran, would you still wear it the way you do today? Why?</p> <p>_What is the factor that divides Iranian people in their point of view towards women' s Hijab and clothing?</p> <p>_How effective can geographic factors such as the size of the city, rural–urban and the location of the city be in Iranians thoughts and point of view toward women' s Hijab and clothing? Why are these factors important?</p>
23	Overall is there anything else you would like to add? (optional)	<p>_Do you have any suggestive questions or opinions to improve this questionnaire?</p>

In–depth interview is conducted by processing anonymously, and the entire research process will also be recorded with an anonymized alias. Interview is conducted 1:1 –In–depth interview is conducted non–face–to–face using Zoom due to the situation of COVID–19. Conduct the interview according to the convenient time of the research participants based on the semi–structured questionnaire, the interview process is flexibly adjusted according to the flow of the interview and the content of the answers. During the interview, the individual's interview duration is expected to be around 50–70 minutes. If necessary,

additional interviews will be held 2–3 times, each taking about 3–40 minutes.

After each interview is recorded with the consent of the participants, the main information collected is documented and recorded on the company–wide record for data processing and organization. At this time, only audio will be recorded for the interview, and no video material will be recorded. Also, the participants will be informed that after the main research all the data collected from the researchers will be destroyed.

In–depth interview content is recorded, transcribed, and translated into English. The coding process is performed according to the qualitative research and analysis method of the transcribed contents. This study will utilize Thematic Analysis as an analysis method, which is used to 'discover, analyze, and report patterns in data', as a rigorous thematic approach can produce an insightful analysis that answers particular research questions (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

An in–depth online interview including questionnaires regarding the experiences and reactions of two generations of Iranian women, the generation during the revolution and the youth generation who have lived in Iran. Ergo, the way hijab affected their life, and the differences between these generations will be conducted. The following research target for the in–depth interview as research participants are from two generations of Iranian women after the revolution and during the revolution. Since the research aims to clarify the choice of clothing and attitude towards veiling laws, in case of the mandatory unveiling law, the

timeline goes back to 1933~1941 recruiting participants for interview was difficult.

This research aims to understand Iranian women's attitude towards hijab while give an understanding on how can force in clothing, during the compulsory unveiling law era (Reza Shah), compulsory veiling era (after the Islamic revolution of 1979) and freedom in choice of hijab during the freedom of hijab (Mohammad Reza Shah) Influenced Iranian women's clothing.

Therefore, this chapter determines to present the results of the data, which were collected from the In-depth interview answers of 16 Iranian interviewees that were both born and raised in Iran, during two generations of; any time before/during the beginning of the 1979 revolution, pointed as '2nd generation' and today's youth generation pointed as '3rd generation' . Unfortunately, due to the old age and not having access to the women who lived in the compulsory unveiling era, pointed as '1st generation' , conducting an interview was currently impossible.

The interviews were conducted in two languages, mostly in Persian or Farsi (Iran's main language) and a few interviews in Kurdish (Kurdistan providence language). The reason for collecting the interviews in Farsi; is that this language is the main language used in Iran by the majority of the society, also, the mother tongue of the most of the participants. The second language, Kurdish, is the language of a few west side providences of Iran and the mother tongue of some of the interviewees. Since the researcher is fluent in both languages, the interviews were recorded in the mentioned languages, and then

translated to English by the researcher. After translation and transcription of the interviews, the transcript of each interview was broken down and analyzed.

After breaking down the data into different unites, dividing the data to two age groups and in the two research questions, in total of four sets of data were formed. The data was analyzed, and a total number of 256 superordinate themes and 119 subordinate themes from all the four data sets were collected.

Chapter 4. Iranian Women' s Clothing and Attitude Towards Hijab

1. 1ST Generation Women's Clothing and Attitude Towards Hijab

1.1 Compulsory Unveiling Era Clothing

Both table 4 and table 5 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, regarding the Compulsory Unveiling Law Era clothing, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 4> 2ND GENERATION: Compulsory Unveiling Law Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	category
some women adjust to the new style of clothing slowly	women adjust to the new style of clothing slowly, wearing European and American	new style vs Chador
some women started wearing European and American such as.....women started to wear coats, skirts, boots and hats gradually		
some elderly women kept wearing Chador	keep wearing Chador	

<Table 5> 3rd GENERATION: Compulsory Unveiling Law Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	category
modernization by compulsory unveiling	purposes of the compulsory unveiling	motivating point for compulsory unveiling
development by compulsory unveiling		
motivate women to get education with compulsory unveiling	abandoning Islamic clothing following turkey	
distancing from religion		
setting compulsory unveiling following Turkey and middle east countries	change to European style	started wearing European style
Reza Shah succeed in changing Iranian's style		
establish compulsory unveiling law to be like Europeans	start wearing coats, skirts, hat, without hijab	
European style entered Iran via tourists		
change to European style (coats, skirts, hat, without hijab)	high class acceptance and religious people declined	compulsory unveiling, both denied and accepted
some religious tried keeping hijab within the difficulties		
high class families accepted and adapted to compulsory unveiling		

men's religious jealousy on women taking off hijab	force to unveil within men's religious jealousy	
women forced to take off hijab		
compulsory unveiling the reason for Reza Shah coupe	Reza Shah overthrown	

(1) Motivating Point for Compulsory Unveiling

Reza Shah had few purposes for setting the compulsory unveiling law. His first and most important purpose was to modernize the society. Reza Shah was thrilled by the social and economic improvements made under Ataturk, as well as the increased engagement of women in public affairs. Under Reza Shah's modernization program, wearing any hair-covering cloth in public, apart from European hats, was announced illegal.

Reza Shah believed that modernization and religion deny each other. Therefore, he tried to remove the culture of wearing religious garments and replace the Islamic hijab with modern societies way of clothing. Therefore, the compulsory unveiling law was set to motivate Iranian women to distance their religious beliefs and therefore their hijab. This meant, removing any Islamic and traditional type of clothing. Reza Shah aimed to convince Iranian people to abandon Islamic clothing following turkey and European countries. Believing that Chador is an Arabic garment and therefore it is not for Iranian women to wear it.

In my opinion, Reza Shah thought that modernization and religion were against each other and that's why he tried to remove the Islamic hijab. (HAS, born 1995)

According to what I've read about the compulsory unveiling law, Raza Shah believed that Chador is something Arabic and Iranian women should not wear it. (NILU, born 1991)

The matter of religion and policy have been tangled many times,

throughout history. Although, in the case of Iran, Reza Shah believed that the government and policy are quite different from concerns of religion and that there shouldn't be any relationship between religion and policy.

Reza Shah believed that the government and policy are very different from religion matters and that there shouldn't be a connection between religion and policy. (NILU, born 1991)

Reza Shah had the idea to make it mandatory for women in Iran to uncover their faces, following the lead of Turkey and other middle eastern countries. He wanted Iranian women to remove their hijabs, exactly as women in Turkey. Although, in the same way as in other Muslim nations in the Middle East that do not compel their citizens to wear the hijab, there are both people who choose to wear the hijab and people who do not choose to wear the headscarf.

Just as other Muslim countries in the Middle East which are not forcing hijab, there are people who wear hijab and people who have choose not to wear hijab. (ZEI, born 1998)

Another reason for instituting the mandatory unveiling was to contribute to the country's overall growth. Reza Shah held the belief that women are an essential component of society and that they play a significant part in the progression of the nation. By instituting the mandatory veiling regulation, Reza Shah sought to advance both the civilized standing of the Iranian people and the nation as a whole.

Reza Shah was aiming to make Iranian people and the country more developed by setting the compulsory unveiling law. (PADI, born 1997)

The Shah was of the opinion that in order for women to contribute to the growth of society, it was necessary for them to have access to

higher levels of education. Women were forced to confine themselves to their homes and observe hijab because some families forbade their daughters from interacting with outsiders. Because of this, women were restricted from obtaining an education. Reza Shah's goal in instituting the regulation of mandatory revealing was to encourage the Iranian people to further their education and become more cultured.

I believe Reza Shah's intention in establishing the compulsory unveiling law was to motivate Iranian people to become more educated. (PEAKY, born 1994)

(2) Compulsory Unveiling, Both Denied and Accepted

As a result of the religious nature of Iran and particularly during the reign of Reza Shah, the majority of Iranian women used to cover their faces and wear Chadors. Some of the women attempted to maintain their hijab despite the fact that it was made mandatory for them to remove it. They did this by hiding their hair with hats and covering their legs with long socks. While, some women just ignored the compulsory unveiling law with facing the harsh consequences.

I remember my aunt used to tell me in the days before the revolution she used to wear full coverage hijab. even though she used to live in a city that people there didn't like hijab. So, they would torture her, take off her hijab and tore her Chador. (PADI, born 1997)

People from wealthier parts of the city and members of society's uppermost stratum who had been to other countries were more likely to be among those who approved of the mandatory unveiling law and removed their head scarfs. In other words, higher-class households

were more likely to comply with the law that required them to uncover their daughters and remove the headscarf.

The people who welcomed the compulsory unveiling law and removed their hijab or the upper side of the city and the highest class in society, who had seen other countries. (ZEI, born 1998)

A sense of religious competition emerged with the compulsory unveiling law implement. Religious resentment on the part of men toward women who remove the headscarf. The majority of men suffered from a form of religious envy, which manifested itself as men asking one another, "how do you let your women, your wife, or your mother lose her hijab?" This highlights the impact men had over women in their families, which is not limited to the compulsory unveiling period only. In Iran, the role of men in women' s choices and the differences in both sexes freedom and value is still visible in the society.

Women were not allowed to choose whether or not to wear hijab while the compulsory unveiling law was in effect. While, if women were free to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to wear a hijab, then there would be no need for women to be forced to remove their head scarfs. Women in case of freedom in way of clothing and injection of western style of clothing, would have probably choose to remove their hijab over time freely.

So, if force of losing hijab did not take place, and so women could choose themselves whether they wanted to remove their hijab or not. (PADI, born 1997)

(3) New Style vs. Chador

Women responded to the mandatory unveiling law in two different ways as soon as it was passed. First, the women who chose to adapt their dress choices in accordance with the law requiring mandatory unveiling. Second, the religious women who chose to defy the legislation requiring them to remove their Chador and refused to do so.

Many switched to Western dress after imposing the compulsory unveiling law, while a few older provincial ones preferred to stay at home. The women who made the choice to conform to the mandatory unveiling law began wearing a new style of attire that did not require them to wear a hijab. As more time passed after the establishment of the mandatory unveiling law, the new form of attire became increasingly prevalent in Iran's cultural landscape. Despite the fact that this transformation in style of clothing from wearing the hijab to wearing clothes without the hijab took place in the culture gradually, it was a significant shift. Women who stopped wearing the hijab typically started covering their hair with hats rather than continuing the practice of hijab.

Because of this force of unveiling, women began to dress following the Europeans and Americans style, donning the same coats, skirts, hats, and boots that were most commonly seen on Europeans at the time. Meanwhile, some women continued to wear the Chador.

This force of unveiling made women wear clothes exactly like Europeans, like coats and skirts, hats and boots that Europeans mostly used to wear. (VID, born 1973)

I remember my mother used to tell me at first when they set the compulsory unveiling law, my grandmother used to wear Chador. (AR, Born 1955)

(4) Started Wearing European Style

The restriction that women must uncover their hair in public caused a shift in the traditional dress of the Iranian people. to the European style of attire, which includes wearing coats and skirts, accessorizing with hats, and not covering their heads with hijabs. As depicted in movies, periodicals, and photographs of the time, when the mandatory revealing was established, people began to dress in highly fashionable clothing, such as skirts, blouses, short jackets, hats, and other feminine items.

Consistently, as time went on, the mindset of women living in Iran during the reign of Reza Shah shifted toward a more European way of life. Reza Shah wanted the people of Iran to look more like Europeans, but he didn't know how to accomplish this.

1. 2 Attitude Towards Compulsory Unveiling Law

Reza Shah's, forcefully unveiling had negative impact on the population for the most part. The religious class used the decree to discuss the shameful act of making women naked in the public to please men. Obviously, being unveiled in public was a sensitive issue in a conservative society like Iran.

The unveiling law and its harsh enforcement failed to liberate some religious women, but sequestered them and forced them to rely on their husbands, sons, and male relatives for public tasks which for devout women, the veil was a sign of decorum and a method of protection against the frightening stares of male strangers; hence, for the vast

majority of Iranian women, removing the veil constituted a grave sin and dishonor. However, the significance of the veil varied according on socioeconomic status and regional customs. In general, metropolitan women wore the veil, but rural and tribal women used long, broad scarfs to hide their hair. Some women appreciated the proclamation. Less culturally and emotionally tied to the veil than their mothers, the generation of daughters shown a wider tolerance for uncovering; many of them were delighted to leave their Chadors. Since gender policies necessitated minimizing the clerics' influence, women who had long been engaged against the veil and their backward condition were now faced with the option of emancipation and uncovering.

Both table 6 and table 7 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, attitude regarding the Compulsory Unveiling Law, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 6> 2nd GENERATION: Compulsory Unveiling Law Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
modernization by compulsory unveiling	to achieve modernization	a modernization unlatching the culture
setting compulsory unveiling law was ambitious	ambitious & violent compulsory unveiling law	
compulsory unveiling law was forced violently		
not culturally ready for compulsory unveiling law	culturally against the law	
compulsory unveiling law negatively impacted the society	negative compulsory unveiling law	compulsory unveiling law had negative & positive impacts
compulsory unveiling law as a negative law		
Chador was forced in some religious families	compulsory unveiling helped some women remove hijab	
women found courage with compulsory unveiling to remove hijab		
mostly didn't accept compulsory unveiling law for religiousness	religious women wore hijab and stayed home	
compulsory unveiling law limited women to stay home		

compulsory unveiling law allowed women to express themselves	compulsory unveiling helped women develop and raise value	
compulsory unveiling law allowed women to choose all occupations freely		
compulsory unveiling law allowed women to develop		
compulsory unveiling law helped women receive education		

<Table 7> 3rd GENERATION: Compulsory Unveiling Law Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
avoid learning about compulsory unveiling	avoid compulsory unveiling	limiting and negative compulsory unveiling
compulsory veiling & compulsory unveiling both negative laws	force hijab is negative	
forcing in negative and wrong		
force doesn't help development	force harm culture	
force hurt the society culturally		
women wearing hijab had to stay home, give up education and occupation	religious women stayed home and gave up education/ occupation	
religious families prevented women from going outside		
playing with the tore Chadors on the street	outcomes of force, as a kid	
cultural knowledge was required for compulsory unveiling	cultural knowledge needed before compulsory unveiling	compulsory unveiling ignored society culture & religion
compulsory unveiling was sudden for religious people	compulsory unveiling ignored religious	
compulsory unveiling ignored religious beliefs		
believing in religious magic for not being educated		
compulsory unveiling law freed some women	compulsory unveiling law free women	compulsory unveiling law freed some and limited others
if compulsory unveiling not set, women had free choice of clothing	women should have free hijab	
people should be given the freedom to choose hijab and style		
men shouldn't force hijab		

(1) A Modernization Un Matching the Culture

Reza Shah instituted the compulsory unveiling of women in order to bring the Iranian people into the contemporary era in an extremely short length of time. Raza Shah argued that the best way to get women to remove their headscarf was to implement the unveiling law. As much as setting compulsory unveiling law was ambitious.

Compulsory unveiling law made women wearing hijab fear engaging in

the society because of the soldiers who took off the women's hijab. (ZEI MOM, born 1967)

Women who wore the hijab feared engaging in society since troops were obliged to remove their head scarfs in accordance with the mandatory uncovering law. The practice of forcefully removing women's hijabs by means of beatings and other types of physical violence in accordance with the compulsory unveiling legislation has a devastating effect on society. The regulation requiring women to remove their head scarfs was extraordinarily severe, which had a profoundly destructive effect on the lives of Iranian women.

The compulsory unveiling law was very sudden and people were not culturally prepared for this kind of law. People were caught off guard by the mandatory unveiling requirement, and their culture did not adequately prepare them for the implementation of such a legislation.

(2) Compulsory Unveiling Law Had Negative & Positive Impacts

The obligatory unveiling legislation had a detrimental influence on society as a result of the society's inability to accept the loss of their hijab during the reign of Reza Shah. As a result, the law of forced unveiling had a negative impact on the society and pressed the society. The law of compulsory unveiling was analogous to the law of compulsory veiling in that both of these practices had a detrimental impact on society.

And compulsory unveiling law and force behind it Impacted lives of people who wanted to have hijab very negatively. The problem with the law of compulsory unveiling was that during Reza Shah era lots of women were under pressure because of their husbands or their fathers'

religious beliefs and how they forced their women to wear Chador.

Some families expecting women Wearing Chador completely covers her body and keeps her at home all the time, and I believe this is due to societal ignorance rather than religious beliefs. (SHAR, born 1988)

Therefore, the compulsory unveiling law helped some women drop the headscarf by the support of the government. But, when the compulsory unveiling was first set, women in religious families found the courage to lose their hijab and take off their scarf and Chador. Over time, the compulsory unveiling law gave women more freedom. On the other hand, the religious people mostly didn't accept the compulsory unveiling law since it was against their religious beliefs. Religious women hid their faces with the headscarf and did not leave the house.

But overall, I don't think that most of the people accepted compulsory unveiling law because people at that time were more religious and believers of Islam. (NAS, born 1968)

Reza Shah era, the compulsory unveiling law was beneficial to the development and value of women. The law requiring women to reveal their faces gave them the opportunity to express themselves. Accordingly, women who removed their hijab during the unveiling law felt more satisfied with their lives and more courageous to choose what they wanted to do regardless of their religion. Reza Shah era, and the compulsory unveiling had the privilege for women to choose the occupation, whether to become a policeman, a military woman, or even enter the politic field. Women who removed their hijabs during the compulsory unveiling law felt more content with their lives and more courageous to choose what they wanted to do regardless of their religion.

This was because the law allowed women to choose any occupation they wanted, regardless of their religious affiliation.

The compulsory unveiling law began to make women feel better and more evolved, which led to a rise in their worth in the community. The law that required women to unveil, encouraged personal growth and active participation in society. In my perspective, the regulation that required women to expose their bodies publicly was something that was really beneficial to the progression of women. Likewise, the compulsory unveiling law had an effect on women's education, women went out and got educated, and the government was supportive of their education and development.

(3) Limiting and Negative Compulsory Unveiling

Some women try to avoid passed occasions to avoid the negative psychological and emotional impact. The matter of force, even if you do it for something that might seem right, still is something very negative in a society. Force, overall is not something good and people should be able to live in the society without any kind of force and that the compulsory unveiling law.

I believe that compulsory veiling and compulsory unveiling have are both force and therefore negative. (ZEI MOM, born 1967)

(4) Compulsory Unveiling Ignored Society Culture & Religion

Compulsory unveiling law was sudden for religious people because, during the Reza Shah era people were much more religious. Therefore, people thought that compulsory unveiling law was against their religious beliefs and Reza Shah was not respecting their beliefs.

Most of the people during the Reza Shah era, were not educated enough and didn't have primary education levels, and when you don't have education, you might believe in something like praying or anything magical related to religions.

(5) Compulsory Unveiling Law Freed Some and Limited Others

During Reza Shah era (freedom of hijab) women were more involved in society and participated more in places and situations in Iran. Within all the negative factors, the compulsory unveiling law, could be right to some extent because it made women freer and more engaged in the society by removing their hijab.

Meanwhile, if force of losing hijab didn't take place, and women could choose themselves whether they wanted to remove their hijab or not.

I believe that if compulsory unveiling law wasn't imposed during the Raza Shah era, women would have simply established the cultural difference in their clothing and started taking off their hijab one by one. (ZEI, born 1998)

Although, the matter of force, gets the freedom from people to choose what they want to wear and what they want to do in their lives. Everybody has different mindset and personality. After all women are also humans just like men, it doesn't mean just because the genders are different, others can allow themselves to interfere in a very simple matter of women's hijab.

2. Changes in Iranian Women's Clothing During Free Veiling Era and Compulsory Veiling Era

After analyzing how Iranian women's dress styles have evolved and how their attitudes regarding hijab have evolved; hijab seems to be more than just an article of clothing and a religious practice. Hijab is an old Iranian tradition that has evolved into a culture.

The political issue of force over the wearing and removal of the veil in Iran has altered the culture of both Iranian men and women. According to the transcription of the interviews, a number of topics were established that would aid in reaching the conclusion. It is vital to describe how Iranian women were influenced by these variables in order to explain how they have been able to modify their clothing over time and how these changes have occurred. For answering this question, a comprehensive examination of Iranian history is necessary. This study examined the law's sat regarding hijab and fashion in different generations, and the trend of the moment that women were influenced by in order to define the purpose behind Iranian women's clothing and hijab choices. Consequently, the next section examines the influences that led to women's choice of clothing or hijab.

2.1 Free Veiling Era Clothing

During the Mohammad Reza Shah era, the compulsory unveiling law was overturned and women were giving the freedom to choose whether to wear hijab or not. Therefore, some women choose to start wearing hijab again as they did before the compulsory unveiling law, while others kept on wearing European style of clothing.

While, some believe that European tourists were responsible for introducing aspects of the European way of life and fashion to Iran under

the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah. A number of factors were concluded to be influential in Iranian women's choice of attire and hijab, further explanation is followed.

Both table 8 and table 9 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, regarding the Free Hijab Era clothing, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 8> 2ND GENERATION: Free Hijab Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	category
mother's hijab was completely different with today's hijab	free will in wearing hijab	she could decide wearing hijab or nor/she could decide what to wear
didn't wear hijab		
wear hijab		
uniqueness in their looks	Unique and stylish looks	
some women wore mini skirt		

<Table 9> 3rd GENERATION: Free Hijab Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	category
women wore miniskirts, blouse and even bikini	free and stylish clothing	free hijab choice
women had freedom to wear as they wished		
some women wore Chador	wearing Chador	

(1) She Could Decide What to Wear

During Mohammad Reza Shah era, women had the freedom to select any hairstyle or dress they like, in addition to having the option to wear the hijab if they wished to. Women in this era had complete autonomy over their appearance and choice of style. Therefore, women had individuality in terms of how they look. Some women chose not to wear the hijab while others chose otherwise. A number of religious women started to wear the hijab again, in form of the Chador.

Although, the form of hijab worn before the revolution looked very different from the hijab form which is worn today; before the revolution hijab included more vibrant colors and shapes.

When I looked at my mother's pre-revolution photos, I see that she wore bright color hijab. (ZEIM, born 1967)

Even before the revolution, some families had a preference of being in between and having a balance in their way of dressing and hijab. Some families believed that the women in their family should wear hijab and cover their body to prevent disgrace and shame to the family's religious image. Accordingly, some women didn't want to display quite as much skin as they do now and other women wished to wear European style of clothing while exposing their hair and skin. However, before the revolution, the appearance of each person was distinctive in their own way due to the freedom in choice of clothing and therefore variety of styles and unique looks were formed in the society.

The forms of clothing which were trendy before the revolution include, loose fit pants, bell pants, high heels, very long hair and extremely form-fitting blouses with wearing makeup instead of getting gel nails, Botox, or undergoing beauty surgery.

(2) Free Hijab Choice

Free hijab Choices of clothing that are both modest and fashionable were considered as the most desired form of clothing. Common practice for both students and teachers attended school, dressed in miniskirts, blouses, styled their hair and applied makeup during Mohammad Reza Shah era. Immediately prior to the revolution, and for the first time,

people could be seen strolling along the coast while wearing bikinis, while others wore Chadors could just pass alongside each other with no problem and accept each other's way of clothing and hijab.

Women before the Iranian revolution could decide for themselves on how to wear what they wanted. While the royal family of Iran really cared about their clothing and they were always famous for their beauty and their style of clothing pre-revolution, which also became a motivation for especially young part of the society to try to follow them in fashion trends as a role model.

I remember our neighbor telling me that exactly before the revolution. At the seaside you could see people wearing bikinis and some people wearing Chador and they could just pass alongside each other with no problem and accept each other's way of clothing and hijab. (MOMF1, born 1942)

2.2 Hijab Changes during the Compulsory Veiling Law

Both table 10 and table 11 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, regarding the Compulsory Veiling Law Era clothing, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 10> 2ND GENERATION: Compulsory Veiling Law Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
style changed	after revolution style changed, wearing Chador/ Manto/ scarf/ hijab	revolution made my style change by veiling in my teens
after revolution wearing Chador/ Manto/ scarf/ hijab		
wearing black Chador	black/full/covering all body	
wearing full hijab outside of house		
covering all body except face		

in my teens veiling law set	Teen years and force influences heavily on hijab choice	
after giving freedom it is hard to take off hijab		
if not the law, I should choose my style		
family influences the way of dressing	family vs. family not	family influences
family should not control the way of dressing		
after early days family don't really care	Family avoided forcing hijab	
more freedom in the society	more freedom and remove hijab	more freedom given after
less hijab compared to the early days		
lately remove hijab/ Chador/ scarf		
after more than 10 years people adapted Manto, pants and scarf	after 10 years Manto, pants and scarf	
set my style	set my own style	
women wore traditional or skirts and blouse with Chador on top	traditional vs skirts and blouse, Chador	I set and enjoy my fashion style
matching the clothes under my hijab/Manto with pants	under my hijab/Manto matching style	
wearing make-up	Favor or avoiding make-up	
work and education in the industry		
not having make-up		
light make-up		

<Table 11> 3rd GENERATION: Compulsory Veiling Law Era Clothing

Sub-theme	Theme	category
forming of special forces monitoring hijab	monitoring compulsory veiling	government formed hijab policy
post revolution hijab was mandatory		
less focused on compulsory veiling during Khatami presidency	different government veiling policies	
not wearing hijab isn't hurting anyone	free hijab, safe and important	compulsory veiling negative impact on the society
free hijab importance		
hijab hides my personality	compulsory veiling has negative impacts	
limitations in teen years took the experience away		
disobeying compulsory veiling delivers abundance from the society		
hijab doesn't have advantages	hijab advantage	
received compliment for wearing hijab		
family impacted my choice of hijab	family influenced clothing	family influence on hijab
family asked me to wear hijab for my safety		
family didn't interfere in choice of hijab and gave freedom	open-minded family gave free choice of hijab	
open-minded family		
gap between generation made families force hijab	generation gap was formed	
majority of women's wear (Manto, pants, scarf)	majority wear Manto, pants, scarf	majority wear simple (Manto, pants, scarf)
same level of everyone else		

simple and minimal clothing	wearing simple and minimal	
some environments require simple clothes (ex: university)		
match length of the clothes with height	matching length and colors	choice of color and matching clothes
match clothes in colors		
women wear darker colors to match colors		
like and wear bright colors	use of bright colors	
choosing shopping malls for trendy and high-quality shopping	high quality shopping	
choosing boutiques for trendy and high-quality shopping		
prefer quality to quantity	quality vs quantity	spend time and money on quality
prefer quantity to quality		
clothes quality has decreased in Iran		
spend more time preparing for special occasions	spend time on clothing	
spend a lot of time and money on clothing		
style preferences and boundaries	prioritizing way of clothing	
importance of size in shopping		
shop online	choosing specific way of shopping	choosing specific brands and character in clothes
shop randomly for diversity		
choose specific boutiques for unique designs		
choose Turkish or Spanish fast fashion brands for both quality and good price (Bereshka/Pull&Bear)	choosing fast fashion brands to match preference	
no interest towards fashion brands		
matching clothing brands with preferences (Tommy Hilfiger/Lacoste/Bereshka/ Pull&Bear)		
trendy clothes draggers positive attention	trendy clothes are attractive	
access to other countries lifestyle via social media rises following trends	follow fashion trends via social media	
follow and avoided some trends		
Iranians follow each other in trends		
Iranians follow fashion trends even with the limitations of compulsory veiling		
no one hates being trendy	not avoiding trends	
avoiding fashion trends meant falling behind		
following a trend depends on the kind	mostly follow simple trends	trendy clothes choice
people follow simple and familiar trends more		
followed a trend with hate	follow vs hate trend	
don' t like following fashion trends for being temporary and to stay unique		
no fashion trends at teen years	baggy pants, legging trend alongside trendy Chador	
bell pants with converse		
loose-fit baggy pants trend		
leggings trend		
Egyptian hairstyle' trend		
Chador can be trendy with stones and glitter in various		

colors		
don' t like makeup	don' t wear makeup	wear and ignore makeup
don' t wear makeup		
limit makeup to special occasions		
wear makeup outside	wear makeup	
wear makeup mostly		
doesn' t spend time on makeup	max 15–30 min on makeup	
takes 15–30 minutes		
wear sunscreen	wear sunscreen/ lipstick/brush/mascara	
Wear lipstick/brush/mascara		
matching makeup with the mood	balancing clothes with makeup	
matching harmony between clothes and makeup		
minimalism impact on choice of make up	minimal character makeup	makeup and character
makeup makes prettier	makeup impacts the character	
makeup makes strong and valuable		
pay attention to oneself with makeup		
makeup boosts confidence		
wear simple and basic makeup	light makeup style preferred	light make with highlights
wear light and natural makeup		
wear nude makeup		
don' t like bright makeup	eye and lip makeup highlighted	
prefer to show off eyes with mascara		
lipstick is sustainable and needs retouch		
feeling alive wearing lipstick		
no favorite makeup part		

(1) Revolution Made My Style Change by Veiling in My Teens

After the revolution, fashion shifted, and women began to wear Chadors, Mantos, scarfs, and hijabs that were in full black, covering all of their bodies. Some styles evolved as a result of the revolution, as did the extent to which women wore the hijab over the years. some in order to avoid the offensive looks of other people started to wear hijab.

After the revolution, women began to wear the Chador, Manto, scarf, and hijab. Following the revolution, it became mandatory for women to cover their hair and wear the hijab. Additionally, after the revolution, when the mandatory veiling law was established, women began to wear black Chador outside of the home. Even some women who had not previously worn the hijab began doing so after the revolution, joining the

majority of women in society in wearing hijab.

Most of People started wearing hijab after the revolution. (MOMF2, born 1942)

When compulsory veiling law was set, I started wearing black Chador. (IRAN, born 1963)

Following the revolution, it became mandatory for women to cover their hair and wear the hijab everywhere, including in schools, businesses, and offices. Women wore the hijab with a great deal of tension and didn't let any hair out of their scarfs at all at those early days of the Islamic revolution. As well as the early days of the revolution, women wore the Chador more frequently than they do now. The society was more religious and obedient of the new regime which was based on Islamic morals. Therefore, the majority of the women in the society chose to obey the veiling law and start wearing chador to cover all of their hair and most of their body.

In the early days of the revolution we didn't show any hair out of our scarf at all. (ZEIM, born 1967)

After the revolution hijab meant covering all the body, with the exception of the face, which this type of hijab was only formed after the revolution. Before the Islamic revolution the form of hijab had diversity in shapes, patterns and colors with variety of different amounts of body coverage. Following the revolution, children as young as seven or eight were required to wear uniforms that covering their whole bodies except for their faces. The girls attending school and academies were assigned to wear full hijab in school and academic sites. The compulsory veiling law influenced some teenagers heavily in their dressing habits. By

forcing hijab and leaving the teenagers with no other choice but to accept the compulsory veiling law, teenaged girls started wearing chador at a young age and lost their choice of free veiling and the miniskirts that they previously used to wear at school.

After the revolution, 7 or 8-year old kids had to wear uniforms that covered all of their body except their faces. (VID, born 1973)

The obligatory law has a significant impact on the manner in which people dress. Some women initially began wearing hijab by wrapping a scarf very tightly around their head. Mostly started wearing hijab for the first time when the law was set.

It is difficult for some women to remove the hijab in case hijab goes free. Therefore, even if the hijab becomes a free choice in Iran, women will not be able to do so in such a quick and straightforward manner and to make such a dramatic switch in their choice of attire. whereas for some, if wearing a hijab wasn't a requirement in Iran and they were free to choose what they wore, they wouldn't have worn hijab in the first place.

If wearing hijab was not compulsory in Iran and we had freedom in clothing, I probably wouldn't have wear hijab. (MOMF, born 1975)

personally, believe that a pair of pants and T-shirt is what I should be waring If I wasn't forced to wear hijab. (VID, born 1973)

(2) Family Influences

The way a woman dresses is often determined by her family in Iran, and while some families do not place much importance on the hijab for their daughters, other families do. While some families are stricter about

how their daughters should cover their hair, others believe that doing so brings disgrace on the family. The opinions of families on whether or not their daughters should wear the hijab have also evolved throughout the years. Today, the families care and interfere less in their daughter's and wife's hijab and they respect women's free choice of attire and hijab overall much more than the beginning of the Islamic revolution.

Families shouldn't be allowed to dictate what their children wear, and they shouldn't make their female members wear the hijab against their will. Instead, parents should let their children choose what they wear and let them express their individuality. Although, families don't really care about their kids' hijab these days, compared to the early days of the revolution. In comparison to the early days of the revolution, families today do not particularly worry about the hijab that their children wear. This is in stark contrast to the situation during the early days of the revolution.

My mother thought if my sister loses our hijab, this can shame the family. (IRAN, born 1963)

(3) More Freedom Given After

Some women started to change their way of dressing to be freer in the society. In comparison to the early days of the revolution, now women have chosen to wear less hijab frequently. In recent years, women have begun taking off their hijab, Chadors, and scarfs, and younger women have begun taking off their hijabs and scarfs in public places like parks and restaurants (see Fig. 11, 12 & 13). The young generation of women pull off their scarfs or their Manto and say things like "now I can breathe" and "now I am free." The majority of modern

women, when they walk outside, try to remove their head scarfs even though it is required by law for them to wear hijab. Today the youth generation act much more courageous than the older generations of women in the society. The youth generation have started to stand against the force of wearing hijab and remove her forced hijab in any possible position to feel free.

The young generation now remove their hijab and scarf in parks and restaurants. (MOMF2, born 1942)



Fig. 11, 12 & 13: Removing hijab in a public place by the 3rd generation participants

Iranian women started wearing Manto, pants, and scarfs after more than ten years had passed since the revolution. After the revolution and the passage of some years, it became more likely for women to begin wearing Manto and pants in replacement of chador. Accordingly, today a Manto, a scarf, and slacks are what the majority of women wear in Iran.

First time I took off my Chador was when I followed my husband for a morning walk and I left my Chador at home and I followed him without the Chador, and only wearing my Manto, pants and scarf. So, my husband asked me where my Chador is and I replied that I am not going

wear my Chador anymore just like the old days that I was young.
(MOMF2, born 1942)

(4) I Set and Enjoy My Fashion Style

In Iran, some people wear black and cream colored clothes, while others wear dark shade color clothing such as dark green, dark blue and dark grey. Outside, some people choose to wear darker colors in their clothing. These days, women who work outside the home choose to wear garments in dark colors. The colors that some people pick for their hijabs change with the seasons. During the summer, for example, hijabs should be brighter colors that don't attract the heat. Sometimes, people will match the garments that are worn under the hijab with the clothes that are worn on top, while others will strive to match the style and color of their clothes so that they are all the same tone.

At summer I choose brighter colors that doesn't attract the heat for my hijab. (VID, born 1973)

Chadors were worn on top of skirts and blouses, and women did not wear scarfs or any other head coverings underneath the Chador (early revolution). The practice of dressing in one's traditional garb was something that was highly common in some cities of Iran; such as Kurdistan (early revolution) (see Fig. 14).



Fig. 14: Wearing Traditional Kurdish clothes by the 2nd generation participants

(5) Government Formed Hijab Policy

Although right after the revolution there were special forces who were really hard on women's wears and hijab. The government sat very strict laws regarding women's hijab after the Islamic revolution. During different timelines and different presidency periods, in Iran's history, the compulsory veiling law has loosened up. Different government veiling policies with few differences in their hijab freedom policies have formed in Iran. The forces monitoring the form of hijab Iranian women wear across the country have changed names and expand of their duties and amount of the interfere they are allowed to have in Iranian women's choice of hijab according to the political and social events of the time.

Yes, I remember during the presidency of Khatami, he was willing to give much more freedom in women's choice of clothing and hijab compared to the early days of the revolution. (MOMF, born 1963)

(6) Compulsory Veiling Negative Impact on the Society

The freedom in way of dressing and hijab is very important to most

women in the society. But, the compulsory veiling law takes away women's independence in choosing their style of clothing with freedom. Compulsory veiling has several other negative impacts on the society and specially women. Hijab can hide one's personality and character and imitating her experiences. While disobeying compulsory veiling can result in abundance from the society and being misunderstood in Iran's society.

My hijab and way of dressing can't hurt anyone, so why should the government or anyone else interfere in my way of dressing? (NILU, born 1991)

I personally believe that I hadn't had teen years' experiences as teenagers should actually have because when I was a teenager, everything was so limited. (NILU, born 1991)

Interestingly, none of the participants believed that wearing hijab can have any advantages for the person or the society. Since compulsory veiling have had negative impacts on the lives of majority of Iranian women, they don't consider force of veiling as a benefit and advantage.

(7) Family Influence on Hijab

Factors such as marriage and growing in a religious family can strongly influence women's choice of hijab and clothing. In some cases, families directly or indirectly ask the female members of their family to wear hijab. The reasons behind this demand can be different. Naming some of the factors, risky environment of the smaller cities of Iran, personal safety, to prevent any kind of harassment from society and therefore not to draw much attention with way of clothing.

The way that I've grown up in a religious family and their mindset have also affected my way of wearing. (PEAKY, born 1994)

I remember my cousins that if I, for example kept on asking my cousin to cover absolutely all of her hair, it would show some sort of complexity for them and how they used to listen to their parents and they didn't do what they really wanted to do at that moment. (NILU, born 1991)

On the other hand, families with an open mind permitted the free choose of hijab to the women in their family and didn't interfere with hijab decision and offered freedom and allowed women to choose their own clothing and hijab. The more open minded families with experience of foreign travels and flexible to new cultures and mindsets, respect the personal choice of attire by the female members of their families.

My family was more accepting of diversity than other families in the city where I grew up. I believe that my family is somewhat open minded. (PADI, born 1997)

(8) Majority Wear Simple (Manto, Pants, Scarf)

Today the majority of people wear Manto, trousers, and a scarf in Iran (see Fig. 15). The majority of Iranian women now wear short slacks (90 centimeters in length), Mantos with short sleeves, and hats instead of scarfs. Basic women's attire in Iran consists of a knee-length Manto and pants, predominantly long pants, along with a plain scarf. just like every other woman in our culture, and the vast majority of them, of course. Women now wear the same level hijab as other women in the society and follow each other in style and way of clothing.

when I just want to go to university, I usually wear something simple because of the university environment. (KIM, born 2000)

Due to the academic setting, I typically wear something basic when I just want to go to school. But still maintaining my minimalism and simplicity. Overall, I choose simplicity and minimalism in my wardrobe style. As previously said, I love purchasing clothing with a minimalistic aesthetic. I choose the simplest clothing since I am a minimalist.

Certain settings demand basic clothing (ex: university). In certain situations, and locations in Iran, formal attire is optional. Universities are locations where plain attire is required just for the purpose of studying, in my opinion. In order to avoid drawing people's notice, I feel compelled to wear something really plain and black so as not to stand out. This is another influence of the society and community I reside in. (KIM, born 2000)



Fig. 15: Wearing Manto, Pants and Shawl by the 2nd generation participant

(9) Choice of Color and Matching Clothes

Complementing the height and body with the appropriate length of the Manto Iranian women frequently try to coordinate colors and

patterns in their clothes. While match the color palette of the clothing, some women choose darker hues since they are simpler to complement with lighter accessories, such as a scarf, Manto, or slacks. While some women find that darker colors look better with other colors when they wear. According the observations, the vast majority of Iranian women choose to dress in darker colors, including black, grey, navy, or dark blue. Even among the youth generation, there are some who lean toward darker colors than brighter tones. Some individuals preferred darker tones since it seems less difficult to match their pieces of clothes (scarf, Manto, and leggings) together.

(10) Spend Time and Money on Quality

Devote Time and Resources to High-Quality Shopping Choosing shopping centers for fashionable and superior shopping. In general, though, Iranian women shop at shopping centers with contemporary clothing, with high equality clothes. Choosing boutiques for contemporary and high-quality shopping in practically all of the fashion shops in the city, you could observe and acquire the latest trends.

but in general, I shop at shopping malls that have trendy clothes and I also know that the equality in those places is high. (ZEI, born 1998)

when shopping, some women prefer to buy the best quality because, they consider clothes as the first thing that someone pays attention to when they look at you. Some appreciate variety in wardrobe, which is why some people aim to purchase as many pieces of clothing as possible rather than just one piece of clothing with higher price. Although, unfortunately, the quality of clothes in Iran has decreased significantly

through the past years because of Iran's economic crisis. This is another reason for Iranians to pay less for clothes and instead use their money on more crucial daily needs.

As a result, rather than buying several cheaper clothes, I prefer to buy one dress that has higher quality from a brand. (PADI, born 1997)

(11) Choosing Specific Brands and Character in Clothes

Some fashionable Iranian women attempt to stay within society's cultural norms. They shop for items that match their body type and pay attention to sizing. While others choose stores for their distinctive designs. Specific local brands and unique stores can attract significant costumers.

I normally buy in Ekbatan neighborhood, where I prefer a specific store's designs. It's a little local brand, but their clothes complement my taste because of their colors and uniqueness. I like a local business because of their designs and manufacturing. (PEAKY, born 1994)

On the other hand, Turkish or Spanish fast fashion labels such as Bereshka and Pull&Bear offer affordable clothes with good quality. Therefore, a suitable choice for Iranian people economically. Mentioning that even the fast fashion and mass production global brands can still be unaffordable to some classes. Although, for the wealthier part of the society, high quality is the main factor for choosing clothes since they don't have the limit of financial issues.

When I shop, I normally go somewhere I know has high quality and would take our brand, although their things are usually more expensive. (PADI, born 1997)

I enjoy Bereshka and Pull&Bear because they have reasonable prices for high-quality, expensive items. (NIK, born 2004)

(12) Trendy Clothes Choice

Wearing trendy clothes draws, a positive attention which most people like to receive. Nowadays, access to other countries lifestyle via social media rises following trends. While, some people might not visit other countries, but with access to social media and Internet, they can see other countries' lifestyles and maybe adapt to that lifestyle, these days.

The new generation has proven to be trendier and to wear better clothes because of trend awareness on Instagram and social media. By following some fashion trends and avoided the other trends, Iranian youth try to keep their style unique. Iranians follow each other in trends. For example, if something is trendy and someone wears it, most of the people try to follow that person and wear what that person is wearing, this can result in likeness of thoughts and cultural beliefs in Iran. Iranians are usually interested in how everyone else is dying their hair, or how they wear hijab and to what extent they wear hijab.

Even with all the limitations in Iran's way of clothing, hijab and the fact that Iranian women clothes should be long and loose, in the society lots of people wear different types of clothes in different styles. Although, it usually depends on the trends of the day how much people follow it. Some simple and familiar clothes become trendy which more people decide to wear.

I also remember this sort of shoe that was trendy when I was in

elementary school. Although I hated that shoe, I asked my parents to buy it for me so I can show it to other girls in my class and tell them that I also have the shoe to gain my friends approval. I wore the shoe only once and then threw it away. (KIM, born 2000)

Meanwhile, there are also people who don't like following fashion trends as they consider fashion trends being temporary and with the desire to stay unique in their style of clothing. Some Iranians believe that some things get so trendy that you can see it everywhere in the city and in all the stores, even if you don't follow the trend it will slowly find a way to your style of clothing without you even noticing it.

I prefer having uniqueness in my clothing instead of becoming one with the fashion trends and society in my way of dressing. (NILU, born 1991)

(13) Like light makeup

Some people really like putting on makeup and the way it makes them feel when they do so. Lipstick, foundation, and eyeliner are common beauty products for women in Iran. Women also frequently use sunscreen and wear perfume in any other situation. At this moment, various practices that were not really utilized before the revolution such as gel nails, Botox, and aesthetic operations are becoming increasingly common. When applying makeup to make the eyes appear bigger, the step that is considered to be the most crucial is applying mascara. Since eye makeup is considered to be the most significant aspect of various types of makeup, I use eyeliner and eyeshadows in my eye makeup.

I remember when I was 18 and my aunt bought me a purple lipstick,

I really loved that lipstick, and it was kind of motivating for me to wear makeup. (MOMF, born 1975)

When applying makeup to make the eyes appear bigger, the step that is considered to be the most crucial is applying mascara. Since eye makeup is considered to be the most significant aspect of various types of makeup, I use eyeliner and eyeshadows in my eye makeup.

Always try to match your outfits and cosmetics to the same color family and range of tones. Use makeup that is mostly pink or brown in tone since these colors complement the complexion more than others do. Some people don't really spend too much time on their makeup even though it takes approximately five to ten minutes. While some women cannot really spend that much time on their makeup, so they try to seem natural and use very minimal makeup in order to look good and avoid changing persona too much with makeup. Generally, very little or no makeup is worn with using very light makeup.

(14) Wear and Ignore Makeup

Women throughout the early revolution did not often apply cosmetics. Although, after the Iran Iraq war, women started applying heavy makeup using bright colors of cosmetics. For women who choose to not wear makeup on daily basis, on special occasions, they spend extra time applying more makeup than usual. Meanwhile, some women choose to wear makes up every day, spending about 15–30 minutes on their makeup.

personally, I'm a bit lazy, that's why I don't usually put enough time on my makeup and clothing. (ZEI, born 1998)

Iranian women mostly put on makeup consisting of sunblock, lipstick, blush, and mascara. While, some women put more emphasis on their eye makeup, and keep the lipstick simple. Finding the right balance between clothing and makeup to one's disposition and often, while wearing something casual and a really comfortable type of clothes, women do not wear a significant amount of makeup, opting instead for perhaps a small amount of concealer and cream. Wearing a lot of eye makeup is something that a lot of women wear when they are going for a more ferocious look. Iranian women generally adjust their cosmetics to reflect their feelings at that particular moment. Striking a balance between one's attire and their cosmetics the colors of one's garments and the intensity of one's makeup need to be complementary to one another.

And I feel like there should be a harmony between my clothes and my makeup in both colors and extent. (NIK, born 2004)

When I go out and I feel like having some sort of savage style, I wear lots of eye-make-up. (NIK, born 2004)

(15) Match Makeup with Character

The image that a person's style of applying makeup represents, can define and impact the person's personality and expressions. Simplicity and minimalism in the character can be well shown in style of wearing makeup as well. Therefore, women should find the right look for their Personality. Some people choose not to use makeup because they want a more natural look. Some expect makeup to gives them more value and feel stronger while having makeup on. Pay attention to oneself through the use of cosmetics. Putting on makeup gives the impression that we

have paid attention to ourselves, as well as spent money and time on ourselves.

Wearing makeup gives me self-confidence and I feel like I've taken care of myself. (ZEI, born 1998)

(16) Light Makeup with Highlights

While some women have a specific style for applying their makeup. There are also some Iranian women who don't have any particular part of makeup to care more about than the other parts of their makeup. Emphasizing the eye and lip makeup, with a preference for highlighting the eyes with mascara and having a vibrant experience when wearing lipstick shows the interest Iranian women have in applying eye and lip makeup than other parts of their makeup.

Feel like I can't change my nose shape by makeup. (NIK, born 2004)

But even if I wear makeup, I really like to put on lipstick because it makes me look more alive and not pale. (NILU, born 1991)

3. Iranian Women's Attitude towards Hijab During Free Veiling Era and Compulsory Veiling Era

3.1 Attitude Towards Free Veiling Era

Both table 12 and table 13 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, attitude regarding the Free Veiling Era clothing law, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 12> 2nd GENERATION: Free Hijab Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
pre-revolution women developments and restored value	free hijab helped women development	free choice of hijab
women work alongside men		
support receiving education		
free hijab choice		
freely choose clothing		
cared more about culture and history	had free hijab	
pre-revolution meaning of womanhood changed	government influenced the society	society is influenced by culture, history& religion
more religious beliefs	forming religious beliefs	
influenced by religion at school		
clueless about hijab	hijab unawareness	
women with and without hijab respected each other’ s choice	respect for choice of hijab	
wearing hijab felt ashamed at gatherings	ashamed of hijab	

<Table 13> 3rd GENERATION: Free Hijab Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
Iran was developed economically	Iran economic development	Iran's development alongside women's freedom and value
free hijab helps women development	free hijab development	
Started going outside freely	women value and	
pre-revolution educated women were valued	freedom started to grow	

(1) Free Choice of Hijab

Prior to the revolution, women had begun to acquire a greater value in society, and they were making considerable strides toward expanding their role within that society. While society was really starting to change, and give more value to women. Therefore, women began to grow and develop, become more educated, and overall become much more valuable in society as the time passed.

Pre-revolution women began to grow and develop, become more educated, and overall become much more valuable in society. (AIDA REL 1, born 1955)

Another, advantage of free hijab was that women felt really good to make their own decisions and the freedom to choose what they want to wear. Giving women the freedom to wear hijab or European style of

clothing freely was a turning point for Iranian women. Opening a gate to freely express oneself and freely choose style of clothes which could lead to greater opportunities for women in that era.

Before the revolution, people who had completed their education were held in high esteem, and others respected them because of it. Women started getting a better education and their families were beginning to come to terms with the idea that it was appropriate for their daughters to receive an education and study alongside their sons.

I remember before the revolution, the families were starting to accept that their daughters should be educated and study alongside the boys. (ZEI MOM, born 1967)

(2) Society is Influenced by Culture, History& Religion

Culture, history, and religious beliefs all have an impact on society, not to mention how much the government has shaped it. Prior to the revolution, the government of Iran showed a lot greater interest in Iranian history and culture than it does today. The concept of womanhood as well as respect for women went through significant shifts in Iran in the roughly five years leading up to the revolution. People were considerably more religious and believers in Islam before the revolution. Ahead of the revolution, everyone had their own individual level of regard for the tenets of the religion. For the 2nd generation, the religious and Islamic environment of the revolution impacted their way of clothing as a child. This impacted imprinted the sense of respect for religion and cultural beliefs of the society. Therefore, the 2nd generation is considered to be more religious and wears more hijab than the 3rd generation who have been less involved with religious events.

(3) Respect and Shame Towards Hijab

In the days before the revolution, women who wore and did not wear the hijab respected one other's decisions. People who wore the hijab and people who wore miniskirts used to coexist peacefully in times past. Although, the revolution changed all of that. After the revolution and the start of the compulsory veiling law, women had to wear hijab no matter the circumstances. With the force that women who were against the compulsory veiling law were sensing in the society, they no longer felt safe and respected by the society if they disobeyed the compulsory veiling law and losing their hijab.

I even remember my sister's wedding (pre-revolution) Which both men and women participated. women with or without hijab attended the wedding and no one judged anyone and no one humiliated anyone. therefore, all the guests respected each other's choice of clothing. (AIDA REL 2, born 1964)

'I was very ashamed of my Chador (pre-revolution). (MOMF 2, born 1942)

(4) Iran's Development Alongside Women's Freedom and Value

Iran's Development Alongside the Development of Iran's Economy and the Rise in the Value of Women Prior to the revolution, Iran had already reached a developed stage on the economic front, and Iran was quite developed. Iran benefited from the increase in the price of oil, which was a boon for the country.

Free hijab improves women development. The freedom to wear the hijab also contributed to women's increased advancement in society. While some women were prohibited from going outside, and she was not

even permitted to leave the house or attend outside events such as weddings or picnics. In the years leading up to the revolution, not only did women hold far more value than in the past, but they also worked and received an education in significantly greater numbers than in the past. However, just prior to the Islamic revolution, the government placed a very high emphasis on educated citizens.

My neighbor says that years before the revolution, women used to work and get education more than before. (MOMF 2, born 1942)

3.2 Changes in Iranian's Attitude Towards Compulsory Veiling

Both table 14 and table 15 contain the Sub-theme, Theme and the Category of both 2nd generation and 3rd generation, attitude regarding the Compulsory Veiling Law, conducted from the interview script. Each category is explained in detail to deliver a clear sense of the research questions results.

<Table 14> 2nd GENERATION: Compulsory Veiling Law Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
family's political statues prevented going outside	family's relation with the revolution	society's relation with revolution
some family members supports, some were against revolution		
Kurdistan people against the new government/religion	Kurdistan people against religion and revolution	
Kurdistan people religious beliefs vanished and restored weekly		
Kurdistan people's beliefs created desire of simplicity in culture		
Kurdistan people's beliefs led to traditional clothing and culture		
government set and advertised compulsory veiling law	government force and support women	government support and policy in implementing compulsory veiling
government supported women occupation and education with hijab		
government forced hijab at workplace		
women distanced womanhood by protesting for the revolution	matter of sex became highlighted	
matter of equality between men and women rose		
government made women misogynist	government impact	

government set on sexual point of view	women lives	
wearing chador gave power (post revolution)	powerful chador	
people protested against the compulsory veiling law	protested to gain free hijab right and remove compulsory veiling law	fighting for free hijab
Iran-Iraq war stopped protests and development		
protests didn't change the compulsory veiling law		
protests against the compulsory law continued		
a campaign against the compulsory veiling was formed		
Iranians are ready for free hijab	choice of hijab should be free	
choice of hijab is personal		
religious people might disagree with free hijab	religion doesn't support	
compulsory veiling makes me feel sad and unpleasant	sad and unpleasant compulsory veiling	limiting and negative compulsory veiling
7 or 8-year old kids difficultly accepted hijab		
compulsory veiling law is negative	negative compulsory	
women refusing hijab, lost jobs and captured	compulsory veiling is limiting	
hijab is an extra expense		
commuting to places, working, University, wearing hijab keep woman under pressure		
intolerable hijab in hot weather		
hijab can prevent wearing prettier, brighter clothes		
compulsory veiling limits choice of sports by limiting movement		
risk of sexual harassment by the employers	risk of sexual harassment	possibility of sexual harassment
avoided sexual harassment	Avoided sexual harassment	
avoided sexual harassment influencing personality		
don't wear hijab to prevent sexual harassment	not wearing hijab is not sexually tempting	
drop hijab (wear blouse, pants) in case of safety		
little hair is not sexually tempting		
mostly follow fashion trend	follow trend	fashion trend connection with social media and economy
30%-70% follow fashion trend		
30%-70% don't follow fashion trend	don't follow trend	
don't follow fashion trends		
younger generation accept and follow trend more than older generation	social media inspires young generation	
social media and satellites inspires the young generation		
some don't care to follow trends	economic crisis impact on following trend	
economy situation impacts following fashion trends and priorities		
second hand clothes in case of economic crises		

<Table 15> 3rd GENERATION: Compulsory Veiling Law Era Attitude

Sub-theme	Theme	Category
hijab at work was mandatory past revolution	hijab at work	compulsory veiling initiate limitations
some quite their job	compulsory veiling limit occupation & education	
disadvantage of compulsory veiling limiting occupation		
disadvantage of compulsory veiling, preventing higher	compulsory veiling, unsafety & sexual harassments	
disadvantage of compulsory veiling, unsafety at public places		
men's harassment based on women's hijab	negative compulsory veiling	
compulsory veiling law is negative	free hijab is positive	Free hijab
free hijab is positive		
government should free hijab		

most of population educated	education was valued	educated Iranian population
education was valued in all the eras		
men don't support women's right	gender discrimination in Iran	sex and age direct relation with religion
women and men have different safety and freedom		
society's point of view of women has changed	women's behavior and choices	
women have behavior boundaries (not laughing long		
some wear hijab to drag attention		
(2nd) generation more religious than (3rd) generation	(2nd) generation more religious and protective	
(2nd) generation is more protective than (3rd)		
some don't think independently	knowledge provide independent thoughts	independence, development and awareness by knowledge
knowledge creates independent mindset	development and religion with awareness	
with awareness, the diversity and culture develops		
doubting religion with awareness and knowledge		
20%~40% don't follow fashion trends	don't follow trends	following trend is not economically a priority
don't follow fashion trends have other problems that prevents	fashion trend, not a priority	
following fashion trend depends on economy situation	following fashion trend and relation with economy	
following fashion trends requires money		
focus on clothing and economy prevents development		
women at Kurdistan follow each other makeup	follow trends and makeup	religion and passion for trend
80%~60% follow fashion trends		
religious people wear trend at private gatherings	religious people fashion trends	
religion and fashion not connected		
love to see trendy people	love and insignificance towards trend	
elderly care about clothes less than young generation		
don't care to follow fashion trend		

(1) Society's Relation with Revolution

While some family members support, some were against the revolution. Some cities contained more people against or in favor of compulsory veiling as well. One providence that was mentioned the most in the results is a western providence of Iran called "Kurdistan". Kurdistan people who were called "Kurd", were mostly against the government's religion (Islam) and revolution in general.

When I was a teenager, the revolution happened and in Kurdistan (providence) there were political parties that made the young generation living in Kurdistan stay away from religion which was kind of value not to care about religion in Kurdistan. (NAS, born 1968)

Kurdistan people's religious beliefs were vanished and restored

weakly. The religious beliefs that Kurdistan's people had vanished after the revolution because they didn't have a positive point of view regarding the new government. But after the political parties at Kurdistan (providence) were destroyed by the government at early years after the revolution, Kurdistan became more religious but not the religion that people actually accept and liken believe. But in Kurdistan people's beliefs against religion and Islamic revolution, did not create any sort of unrest but created desire of simplicity in people's culture.

Kurdistan people's beliefs led to traditional clothing and culture. But in Kurdistan people's beliefs (being against religion and Islamic revolution), made almost all the girls to wear their traditional Kurdish clothes and get closer to their native and traditional culture. Speaking the local language, wearing traditional clothes was something very common at Kurdistan during the early days of the revolution which was kind of a value and excellence.

(2) Government Support and Policy in Implementing Compulsory Veiling

The government set the compulsory veiling law after about a year from the revolution. After the revolution you could see Banners that were written 'women have to wear Islamic clothing (hijab) to inter this place' at stores, restaurants and etc. The government continued this pattern until all women had no choice but to start wearing hijab. After the revolution, the government still valued women and supported them in occupation and education but they forced hijab in work places and eventually everywhere else in Iran. Although, the past revolution

government didn't let women to work if they refused to wear Chador. But the culture that woman should not work or they shouldn't be educated was still visible in the society after the revolution.

While, the matter of sex became highlighted after the 1979 revolution. Since, women also come and protest against the previous government and the Shah. For a while, they stay away from their womanhood and purity. Therefore, get used to the cruelty and being equal with men. Matter of equality between men and women rose. Also, because the revolution was very political, the matter of equality between men and women was highlighted. Since there used to be a lot of difference between women and men's mindsets.

The revolution government's system made people misogynist, and so they expected women to be obedient. However, after the revolution, the government was set on a more sexual point of view regarding women. While the government was trying to inject more power into wearing Chador. Since, after the revolution wearing Chador gave power, more improvement and getting to higher levels of power in the government related facilities. This was another policy by the Islamic government to encourage women to wear more Chador.

(3) Free Hijab

Although not in Islamic Iran's definition, but hijab may be beneficial to some women. However, the government should allow women the freedom to wear whatever they wish rather than imposing a certain style of clothing on them. Women and girls who have chosen the hijab themselves and do not feel compelled by the family or the government

cope with it, accept the consequences, and seek compensation for their unmet needs through over-makeup or cosmetic surgery. But those who are forced to wear the hijab try by all means to show that their action was forced: from nail polish to putting a scarf outside the headscarf, from colorful scarfs to complete abstinence from the chador (Islamic Republic of Iran's superior hijab form), from Short coats to skinny pants, from slightly to partially open breasts to slightly to partially short sleeves.

(4) Fighting for Free Hijab

Women who were against the compulsory veiling law went out to the streets and protested against this law when it was first set. Saying: 'wearing hijab wasn't the reason that we started the revolution' 'We don't want compulsory veiling'. Protests against the compulsory veiling law lasted almost a year. But then people were more involved in the Iran-Iraq war, and they sort of lost interest in the compulsory veiling. These protests didn't have any change much about compulsory veiling law. People who protested against the compulsory veiling law, couldn't change anything because they didn't have that much power.

Iranian people have always protested against compulsory laws of hijab. Accordingly, people continue to protest against compulsory veiling law in various ways. For example, several years ago, there was a campaign called White Wednesdays, in which ordinary people would go out, remove their hijab to show their disparagement of compulsory veiling.

But right now, the new generation's boys and girls have been

through so much Impasse and they have been forced to wear some clothes and hijab now they want to be free. Accordingly, Iranian people believe that they are ready for the freedom of hijab because everyone feel so frustrated of the forces they have experienced through all of these years after the revolution. Since wearing hijab or not wearing hijab it is a personal matter, women should be able to choose hijab freely and under no kind of force. While people who disagree with the freedom of hijab will probably disagree because of their own religious beliefs, and how they feel even more at ease being around women who are wearing hijab.

(5) Independence, Development and Awareness by Knowledge

Reading and seeking for knowledge broadens way of thinking and in general might help someone think more deeply. A person may become more autonomous in their thinking, which can really cause them to doubt anything. If a person seeks more information and reads more they will be more likely to gain an independent way of thinking which can make anything possible for the brain to leash its borders and imagine higher possibilities.

Some families in the society may have become more aware of the diversity in people's religious and cultural views as a result of awareness of other cultures and the impact of social media. About 15 years ago, the society as a whole didn't know much about diverse civilizations and the diversity of people's religious and cultural views. With the advent of social media, which connected people all over the world including those in Iran and other nations awareness of these things began to grow.

One of the things that people frequently doubt is religion. Therefore, if a person has doubts about anything, they expand their way of thinking and perspective on the matter. As a result, those who doubt, overcome the limitations and mental framework that the society has imposed on them with relation to the Hijab and culture in general.

(6) Limiting and Negative Compulsory Veiling

Some women's reaction to the compulsory veiling law was that they got very sad when Iran's society (women) were forced to wear what they might not want to wear and the government had gained the right to tell Iranian women what to wear and how to wear it.

Even though I wear hijab myself, compulsory veiling law makes me sad and unpleasant (NAS, born 1968)

Compulsory veiling law has negative impact on the society. because, for example, if you weren't forced by the law to buy scarf, you didn't have to pay money for it. Therefore, hijab counts as an extra expense for women who doesn't want to wear hijab and are wearing hijab only because of the compulsory veiling law.

And I believe that hijab is just extra expense that we don't really like to pay for, especially right now in this economic crisis in Iran. (IRAN, born 1963)

The past revolution government used to catch women that didn't have enough hijab or refused to wear Chador, so the government police tortured these women, beat them, put them in the car by force and take them away to police station. Therefore, the women working in the government affiliated facilities either just went back to work wearing

hijab or left the country and immigrated to other countries that had freedom in hijab. Because in Iran it's not just hijab that keeps a woman under pressure. There are thousands of other stuffs like commuting to places, working, University and so on... that keeps a woman under pressure with wearing hijab.

When I first started wearing hijab, I could feel that wearing Manto was limiting me and wearing a scarf in hot weather is really intolerable. (NAS, born 1968)

Another disadvantage of wearing hijab is that it's usually very hot when you wear hijab. Also, you can't move around easily and carry stuff with you easily without your hijab falling off of your hair. While, wearing hijab keep a young person who wants to wear prettier clothes, brighter colors, limited. Another limitation of compulsory veiling law is that women are not free in sports and working out.

I admit that doing sports with hijab is really hard for me and when I do sports with hijab, they keep moving around and making me uncomfortable in my movements. (VID, born 1973)

(7) Compulsory Veiling Initiate Limitations

Due to religious and cultural beliefs, some women cannot hold a certain profession due to the mandatory veiling's negative effects on women in society. Considering the negative effects of mandatory veiling, some women cannot attend a university due of the unfavorable atmosphere for women there. It is believed that it might not seem proper for the family, society, or the boys who are in the park for the woman to be there at that time if a woman wishes to simply stroll or exercise in the park since at that particular time some boys could be there. One

drawback of mandatory veiling is that it prevents you from living in a place you enjoy or from even doing something as simple and fundamental as going to a park because of other people's opinions or males who could sexually assault women there.

Because when males see a female wearing less hijab, they automatically have the right to condemn her, tell her she's a bad girl, and perhaps a prostitute, or both. This manner of thinking may be a result of the environment in which the person was raised, as well as the cultural and religious beliefs of that environment. Even the younger generation of males, who think that a woman's attire shouldn't violate the Sharia law, are free to act whatever they choose and harass women. For Iranians and their beliefs, the need to wear hijab was a very bad law. Nonetheless, this requirement for wearing hijab wasn't beneficial. However, Iranians could not find anything favorable in the requirement to wear hijab.

(8) Educated Iranian Population

Iran, in my opinion, is a country with a 90% literacy rate. However, I think that after the revolution those who had completed their educations weren't given enough value by the government. Both Reza and Mohammad Reza Shah placed such a high value on education for the next generation that they both established various scholarships for students to pursue their educations abroad.

(9) Possibility of Sexual Harassment

One of the main reasons that some women adapt hijab, can be fear of sexual harassment in the society and the workplace. For example, you see employers with lots of expectations and sometimes maybe even

something out of the work frame, which can, of course, be women at risk of sexual harassment. While some women believe that wearing hijab cannot prevent sexual harassment and a little bit of hair can't be that tempting for any man sexually.

If I was sure that the society is not sick minded and men won't harass me and hurt me in any way, I wouldn't probably wear hijab. (ZEI MOM, born 1967)

(10) Sex and Age Direct Relation with Religion

Even men who assert that they support women's rights and think that both sexes are created equally, not always take action in response to the current events in Iran that are connected to the issue of inequality of Iranian women and men's degree of freedom and security in the society.

The society's perspective on women has changed significantly through the recent years. Women in Islamic countries were always expected to exhibit specific behaviors, such as being primarily family-oriented and not laughing out loud or for long periods of time.

The purpose for wearing the veil can be different; some women may even wear the hijab to attract attention from men by concealing their bodies and pique their curiosity. the majority of the community used to that women who don't cover themselves adequately or expose too much skin are only doing so to draw attention from males.

In general, the Iranian elder generation (2nd) is more religious than the third generation (3rd). In contrast to today's youth generation (3rd), the early revolution's youth generation (2nd) apparently experienced a

considerably more religious upbringing, which had impacted on their way of thinking. Consequently, the early revolution's youth generation stronger religious convictions than today's youth generation. In comparison to the 2nd generation, the elder generation in Iran (the second) generally makes more protective choices (3rd).

(11) Following Trend Is Not Economically a Priority

It is believed that 20% to 30% of Iranians don't follow fashion trends. Regarding the 20% to 30% of the society who don't follow fashion trends have additional issues that hinder them from being trendy. The people who don't follow fashion trends do so because of differing goals or other issues that keep them from becoming trendy.

While the economic situation in Iran may be one of the reasons why some Iranians are unable to follow fashion trends since they feel that they have more vital concerns than investing in new clothing. When individuals follow fashion trends, it brings up the situation of the economy in society and how they lack the resources to do so.

Fashion trend followers and non-trend followers have different spending habits. People who don't follow fashion trends are worried about their spending habits because doing so often demands a strong economy in the nation as people need money to keep up with fashion trends quickly. Yet, there are some who believe that economic situation or dress style, doesn't really matter and such they divert attention from personal growth. Accordingly, individuals can overcome it and become more evolved if they put their thoughts and brains into their growth.

(12) Religion and Passion for Trend

In contrast to Tehran which is the capital of Iran, where residents have a variety of viewpoints, other cities of Iran such as Kurdistan, people attempt to imitate one another's dress and cosmetic tastes sporting very identical makeup.

About 60% to 80% of Iranians follow fashion trends, even devout individuals follow fashion trends when they are in private settings. Although some women wear the headscarf and fervently practice Islam, some religious people I know nevertheless make an effort to dress fashionable. However, being religious or having a high level of religiosity is related to wearing the latest fashions.

Some Iranians choose not to wear the latest fashions because they are simply the elderly, and the elderly don't give as much care to their attire as the younger generation does. On the other hand, some parts of the society don't care much about how their clothes might represent them, therefore they don't follow fashion trends.

(13) Fashion Trend Connection with Social Media and Economy

The amount of people who follow fashion trends have mostly increased significantly nowadays, and try to follow other countries' trends, some claim that about 30% of the society follow fashion trends, while some believe otherwise, claiming that 70% of the people follow fashion trends these days.

Today, the younger generation more accepting of different styles than the older generation. The younger generation choose their clothes and know about the fashion trends mostly following fashion trends. in Iran, people who are older don't care about their clothes and fashion trends as much as the younger generation.

Social media have been given access to outside Iran and so the younger generation started following fashion trends get inspired from social media and other trends in the world. These days' social media satellites and such stuff make the new generation even more against the beliefs of the government and cultural beliefs.

On the other hand, economic matters are effective in a society's way of clothing. Therefore, people who have other priorities economically try to spend their money on other stuff rather than fashion trends. While, some even have enough money to buy trendy clothes, they rather don't really care about fashion trends, which is why they don't spend their money on them. Some don't follow trends because they have higher end and other higher priorities, such as the economic situation in Iran, which is why people mostly care about what they eat rather than what they wear.

Chapter 5.Conclusion

With the emerge of different religious, political and cultural changes in Iran' s history through the years before and after Iran's 1979 Islamic revolution; different generations in Iran have gone through many changes both religiously and culturally. These changes with the emerge of social media and internet have had variety of different impacts resulted from the reaction of the generation that was raised and been through an Islamic revolution and start of compulsory hijab law and the generation that was raised in a less religious and diverse society. But, before the Islamic revolution in Iran some laws related Iranian women hijab were set. Accordingly, during the Raza Shah ruling era women were forced to remove their Chador. Which, before setting compulsory unveiling law, the majority of Iranian women used to cover their faces and wear Chadors. This resulted in deprivation of women who refused to take off their hijab from education and engaging in the society. When faced with orders to clear the streets of veiled women or be reprimanded, the government affiliated agents frequently assaulted women physically and tore off their safe or Chador. While, a small number of elite and intellectual women supported and benefited from the unveiling law, and welcomed the change, taking advantage of some of the educational and employment opportunities offered by the modern state. However, because the state had little presence in the countryside, and since most rural women dressed in their traditional clothing, the law had little immediate impact on their lives.

During the compulsory unveiling law women started to wear

European style of clothing including, coats, skirts and hat. Many switched to Western dress after imposing the compulsory unveiling law, while a few older provincial ones preferred to stay at home. but by the end of spring in 1936, the government issued orders to the local authorities to stop this practice or face the repercussions. At first, many women reacted by donning long gowns and head scarfs, While the women who refused to obey compulsory unveiling by hiding their hair with hats and covering their legs with long socks. Meanwhile, some women continued to wear the Chador. These women just ignored the compulsory unveiling law with facing the harsh consequences. The unveiling law and its harsh enforcement failed to liberate some religious women. Religious part of the society believed that compulsory unveiling law was against their religious beliefs and Reza Shah was not respecting their religion.

By the time that new government took the seat of policy under the rule of Mohammad Reza Shah, hijab and clothing became a free choice for women. some women choose to start wearing hijab again, or keep on wearing European style of clothing. This freedom gave women the opportunity to wear their Chador again since the majority of the society believed in Islam. Although not everyone choose hijab. Some decided to wear miniskirts and shirts. This freedom continued for several years until, the start of the Islamic revolution.

Although, after the Iranian 1979 Islamic revolution and the start of the compulsory hijab law, all women started to wear Chador just like the era before the compulsory unveiling law. The government continued marketing and advertising for hijab until all women had no choice but to

start wearing hijab. Meanwhile, after several years of the revolution passed and Iran Iraq war was over, women started to look for trendier clothes. This was the time that they started wearing Manto, scarf and pants, instead of the simple black Chador look. Until today, the majority of Iranian women now wear short slacks (90 centimeters in length), Mantos with short sleeves, and hats instead of scarfs.

About 20 years ago, Iranian People first got the easy access to the world outside Iran through satellites. Within the emerge of this new window to new cultures and fashion trends, Iranian women started to develop their way of clothing and getting more interested in fashion. Since then Iranian women have shortened their Manto, started wearing shorter pants to show their ankles, and started showing more hair while wearing scarfs. The youth age generation today have got the courage to take off her hijab in public and ignore wearing hijab and compulsory veiling law, so, they remove their scarfs when they go outside. The youth generation participants in this research have replied that they lose hijab and take off their scarf in darkness, some out of the city, some in less crowded places, some in their car, and overall wherever they feel safe and mostly when they are with their families. This might be result of emerging social media and everyday growing understanding and acceptance of each other' s hijab and way of clothing and decrease of morality police. Also, lately it is believed that people have started to wear bright colors rather than mostly worn dark colors more than several years ago.

Comparing to the early tears of the revolution, during the early years of the revolution people had no access to the world outside Iran

and they were more religious and therefore had more limited mindsets. Education is believed to be effective on way of clothing and hijab. Although the meaning of this education is defined as knowledge and awareness. This knowledge and awareness are result of observing different cultures, people, and their way of clothing. Which is possible by either travelling to those countries or through social media.

Compared to the generation who lived through the Islamic revolution in Iran the new generation has grown in different environment than the older generations and they have had access to social media and internet since their young ages. This is believed to be the main reason for the new generation to want to gain their freedom in clothing just like women in other foreign countries. The new generation replies and defends herself when someone tries to harass her sexually or intrude in her way of clothing. Thus, the reaction and changes in the new generations attitude towards compulsory veiling law depends on the city they are living in. bigger cities like Tehran has more freedom of clothing since there are diversity in clothing and mindsets in Tehran. Meanwhile, a city like Mashhad and Qom is more closed and religious. Therefore, women in those cities are under more pressure for having a full hijab.

While the time passes more Iranian people start to understand that the matter of hijab is a personal choice and having force in this matter can result in serious psychological issues. But, for speeding the process of Iranian people understanding the privacy of women and giving them the right to choose their choice of hijab, education is required. These educations can either be in frame of family, or school and university.

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3. Online Materials

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<Appendix 1> Instruction and consent form in English

Consent Form

Research Title: The Effect of Iranian Revolution on Iranian Women's Social Life -
Focusing on the Compulsory Hijab Rule Pre and Post Revolution -Researcher:
Parisa Hosseini (Master's Course, Dept. Textiles, Merchandising and Fashion Design,
Seoul National University)

1. I have read this participant information sheet and discussed it with the researcher in charge.
2. I was informed about the risks and benefits and got a satisfactory answer to my questions.
3. I voluntarily agree my child to participate in this study.
4. I agree any information about my child obtained from this study to the extent permitted by current laws and the Institutional Review Board to be collected and processed.
5. I agree to confirm my child's personal information that remains confidential when the researcher or delegated representative conducts research or manages results, and when the national institution and Seoul National University Institutional Review Board conduct a fact-finding survey.
6. My child can withdraw their participation in this study at any time and I am aware that this decision will do them no harm.
7. I agree with the audio recording process during the one-on-one interview.

Agree ☐ Do not agree ☐
8. My signature means that I have received this consent form and I will keep the consent form with the signature of the researcher who is receiving my consent_

Please sign the consent form for children.

name: Parisa Hosseini phone & email: 010-0000-0000

parisa@snu.ac.kr

If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant at any time,
please contact the Seoul National University's Institutional Review Board:

서울대학교 생명윤리위원회 (SNUIRB) phone: 02-880-5153 email: irb@snu.ac.kr

Instruction and Consent for a Research Participant (for Children)

Subject of a research: The Effect of Iranian Revolution on Iranian Women's Social Life -
Focusing on the Compulsory Hijab Rule Pre and Post Revolution -
Principal Investigator: Parisa Hosseini

This instruction may include words that are not easy to understand. If not understandable, please ask the researcher (*Parisa Hosseini, parisa@snu.ac.kr*) about the difficult words and information.

1. Why do you study this? (What is the goal of the study?)

Prof. Jisoo Ha and the researcher (Parisa Hosseini) do the research because they want to know about the tensions of hijab in Iran between generations. We will explain this research to help you understand it and ask you to help with the study.

Since some of the potential participants may feel uncomfortable with religion-related questions. We have mentioned some of the questions that are going to be asked during the interview in advance. Some of these questions include:

- 1- In your opinion, how much do you care and wear Hijab?
- 2- What is your reason for wearing Hijab? (Ex: Islam and religion, community perspective)
- 3- How effective do you believe the rule of mandatory Hijab was in your life? And, how did you manage to deal with these effects?

2. Why do I need to join in this study?

Unclear amount (until the end of recruitment) of children between the age of 13 to 18 who live in Iran will join the study all over the country. The researcher thinks you could be one of them. So they want to know whether you want to join the study or not.

3. Do I have to join?

No, you don't have to do If you don't want to. And no bad things will happen if you do not join the study.

4. What would happen if I join the study?

If you choose to take part, you will go through the following process:

- 1) First you will be asked to participate in a one-on-one interview together with the researcher in charge. The interview will be conducted in an online environment, with ZOOM being the online platform to be used. The link for the private ZOOM meeting will be sent to you by email and only you and the researcher in charge will have access to the link.
- 2) After joining the ZOOM meeting through the provided link, you will be asked to turn your microphone on and verbally answer the researcher's questions. There will be no need for your camera to be turned on.
- 3) For more accurate data acquisition the 1:1 ZOOM interview will be audio recorded.
- 4) Once the researcher has made sure there are not errors in the audio recording device, the interview will begin.
- 5) You will be asked simple questions covering topics such as the aftereffects of the Compulsory Hijab on your social lives.

5. How long the study will be?

The one-on-one interview follows an open-question format therefore an exact time cannot be stated; however, it can be estimated to last approximately 50 to 70 minutes. If necessary, additional interviews will be held 2-3 times, each taking about 3-40 minutes.

6. Could bad things happen if I join this research?

There are no disadvantages or risks of taking part. As this is a study conducted in an online environment there are no physical risks of taking part. The audio files recorded during the one-on-one interview will be discarded immediately after the researcher in charge has finished their transcription on a Word file.

7. What would happen if I don't want to join the study?

If the participant doesn't want to be in this study, they don't have to. And they can stop being in the research at any time freely and without any disadvantages.

8. If I have any questions, how can I ask?

If you have questions related to the study or if you don't understand any of the information above, you can talk to (*Parisa Hosseini, parisa@snu.ac.kr*) or your parents. They will answer any questions you have. Take the time you need to make your choice.

If you want to be in the research, please write your name below. Your parent or legal representative also has to write their name and sign, too. We will write our name too. This shows we talked about the research and that you want to join the study. We will copy this paper, so that you can keep it.

After checking all information below, if you want to join the study, please write your name.

1. I read all the instruction.
 2. I receive explanation about all questions I want to know by the researcher.
 3. I agree to join the study.
 4. I agree with the audio recording process during the one-on-one interview.
- agree ☐ disagree ☐

_____ Name of Participating Child	_____ Signature	_____ Date (year/month/day)
_____ Legal Representative (Relation w/ participant)	_____ Signature	_____ Date (year/month/day)
_____ Name of Researcher (obtaining consent)	_____ Signature	_____ Date (year/month/day)

Participant Information Sheet (Legal Guardian Use)

Research Title: Iranian Women's Attitude Towards Hijab

Researcher: Parisa Hosseini (Master's Course, Dept. Textiles, Merchandising and Fashion Design, Seoul National University)

This research aims to study and determine the aftereffects of the Compulsory Hijab rules in Iran's history on Iranian women and examine the effect of these Compulsory Hijab rules on Iranian woman's social lives. Iranian women aged 13 to 24 between the years 1965 and 1995 (in their youth during the revolution) and 1996 and 2022 (the youth generation of 2022) are encouraged to participate in this study. The study is carried out by Parisa Hosseini (010-7214-7960), a MA student at Seoul National University, and as the researcher in charge, Parisa Hosseini will provide you with an explanation about this research. The study will be conducted only with those who voluntarily express their willingness to participate, and it is important that you understand why this research is being done and what content is involved before you make your decision to take part. Please read the following information carefully, and discuss it with your family or friends if necessary. If you have any questions, the researcher will explain them in detail. Take your time to decide whether or not you wish to participate in the research.

Since some of the potential participants may feel uncomfortable with religion-related questions. We have mentioned some of the questions that are going to be asked during the interview in advance. Some of these questions include:

- 1- In your opinion, how much do you care and wear Hijab?
- 2- What is your reason for wearing Hijab? (Ex: Islam and religion, community perspective)
- 3- How effective do you believe the rule of mandatory Hijab was in your life? And, how did you manage to deal with these effects?

1. Why is this study being conducted?

The purpose of this research is to analyze and determine the aftereffects of the Compulsory Hijab rules in Iran's history on Iranian women and examine the effect of these Compulsory Hijab rules on Iranian woman's social lives.

2. How many people are participating in this study?

The study sample consists of 20 Iranian women aged 13 to 24 between the years 1965 and 1995 (in their youth during the revolution) and 1996 and 2022 (the youth generation of 2022).

3. What will happen to my child if I decide for them to take part?

If you choose for them to take part, your child will go through the following process:

1) First your child will be asked to participate in a one-on-one interview together with the researcher in charge. The interview will be conducted in an online environment, with ZOOM being the online platform to be used. The link for the private ZOOM meeting will be sent to you or your child by email and only you and your child, and the researcher in charge will have access to the link.

2) After joining the ZOOM meeting through the provided link, your child will be asked to turn their microphone on and verbally answer the researcher's questions. There will be no need for their camera to be turned on.

3) For more accurate data acquisition the 1:1 ZOOM interview will be audio recorded.

4) Once the researcher has made sure there are not errors in the audio recording device, the interview will begin.

5) Your child will be asked simple questions covering topics such as the aftereffects of the Compulsory Hijab on their social lives.

- If necessary, additional interviews will be held 2-3 times, each taking about 3-40 minutes.

4. How long will the interview be?

The one-on-one interview follows an open-question format therefore an exact time cannot be stated; however, it can be estimated to last approximately 40 to 60 minutes.

If necessary, additional interviews will be held 2-3 times, each taking about 3-40 minutes.

5. Can my child drop out in the middle of the study?

Yes, your child may quit at any time during their participation without any disadvantage. If your child wishes to stop participating in the study, please tell the researcher in charge immediately. If your child drops out, all collected data will be discarded immediately. The data collected during the interview will be used as research data only if the research participant agrees.

6. What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

There are no disadvantages or risks of taking part. As this is a study conducted in an online environment there are no physical risks of taking part. The audio files recorded during the one-on-one interview will be discarded immediately after the researcher in charge has finished their transcription on a Word file. In the meantime, all data acquired through this research will be kept on researcher's personal laptop device in folder protected by a password, disclosed to nobody else but the researcher. Moreover, when data is analyzed and published instead of your child's real name, an identification code will be used (for example Participant_1).

7. What are the possible benefits of taking part?

There will be no benefits in this research for the participants. We do hope to learn something from this research though. And someday we hope it will help solving the issues regarding rules set for Hijab.

8. Will there be any disadvantage to me if my child decides not to participate?

Your child has the freedom not to participate in this study. In addition, there is no disadvantage to your child if your child does not participate in this study.

9. Will all personal information acquired through this study be kept confidential?

The person in charge of personal information is Parisa Hosseini (010-0000-0000) of Seoul National University. Personal information collected in this study includes age and audio recordings. Other type of personal information like names and emails of participants will be used only for communication between the researcher and the participants. Audio files will be accessible to the researcher in charge Parisa Hosseini and her academic advisor Jisoo Ha (02-000-0000), and will be stored on the researcher's personal laptop device in a folder with a password, until the files are fully transcribed and then deleted. The consent forms will be stored for three years in accordance with the relevant laws and regulations, and the research data will be stored permanently in accordance with Seoul National University's research ethics guidelines. We will do our best to ensure the confidentiality of all personal information obtained from this study. Any personal information will not be used when personal information obtained from this study is disclosed to academic journals or conferences, with the exception of participants' age. However, your child's personal information may be provided if the law requires it. In addition, monitor agents, inspectors, and the Institutional Review Board can directly access the findings to verify the reliability of the research's procedures and materials to the extent prescribed by relevant regulations without infringing on confidentiality of research participants' personal information. Your signing of this consent form will be considered as an agreement that you are aware of and will allow such matters.

10. Will my child be reimbursed for taking part?

We apologize but there is no financial reward for participating in this study.

11. Contact for further information

If you have any questions about this study or have any problems during the process, please contact the researcher in charge:

국문 초록

이란 여성들의 히잡에 대한 태도

이란은 문화적 역사가 풍부하고 독특한 풍습이 있는 나라인데, 그 중 하나는 여성들이 베일을 쓰는 전통적인 관행이다. 이란 이슬람 공화국은 베일과 관련된 구체적인 법을 제정했고, 이란은 수년에 걸쳐 이러한 법에 다양한 변화를 보아왔다. 이러한 법적 변화에도 불구하고, 이란 여성들 사이에서 베일을 쓰는 것에 대한 복장의 선택과 태도는 여전히 복잡하고 다양하다. 따라서 본 연구의 목적은 베일에 관한 법률이 이란 여성의 복장에 대한 선택과 베일에 대한 태도에 주는 영향을 규명하는 것이다. 이 연구는 질적 연구방법과 이란의 다른 도시에서 온 16명의 여성 참가자들을 대상으로 한 구체적인 인터뷰를 이용한다. 이 연구는 이란 여성들의 복장과 베일에 대한 선택과 태도의 복잡성과 이들이 이란의 법과 문화 규범에 의해 형성되는 방식에 대한 귀중한 통찰력을 제공한다.

이란에서 여성의 복장 선택은 정치적, 종교적 요인에 의해 크게 영향을 받아왔다. 20세기 초, 레자 샤는 이란을 이슬람 신앙으로부터 멀어지게 하고 보다 서구화된 사회를 만들기 위한 방법으로 여성의 베일 착용을 금지하는 법을 세웠다. 이 법안은 여성들이 전통적인 옷을 포기하도록 강요하였기 때문에, 여성들의 옷 선택에 상당한 영향을 미쳤다.

다음 세대에 많은 이란 여성들이 서구화에 대한 저항의 상징이자 그들의 종교적 신념의 표현으로 착용하는 히잡이 부활했다. 이란 여성의 복장 선택에 대한 분석을 위해서는 혁명기에 살았던 여성 세대(1965-1995)와 청년 세대(1996-2022)의 차이를 이해하는 것이 중요하다. 법과 종교 모두 이란에서 옷에 대한 여성의 태도를 형성하는 데 중요한 역할을 한다. 레자 샤가 이슬람

신앙으로부터 여성을 떨어트리기 위해 제정한 의무 공개법은 혁명의 여파로 자리잡은 히잡 유행처럼 여성의 옷 선택에 깊은 영향을 미쳤다. 오늘날 이란의 여성들은 옷 선택에 한계에 직면해 있지만, 이것이 그들이 패션을 통해 자신의 개성을 표현하는 방법을 찾는 것을 단념시키지는 못했다. 자립을 주장하거나 종교적 헌신을 보여주거나 단순히 그들의 개인적인 스타일을 표현하려는 욕구에 의해 영향을 받을 수 있는 이란 여성들의 옷과 히잡 선택의 목적을 살펴보는 것은 필수적이다. 이러한 선택의 이면에 있는 동기를 이해하는 것은 이란 여성들의 복장에 대한 태도 변화에 대한 귀중한 통찰력을 제공할 것이다.

이란의 여러 도시에서 선발된 16명의 여성 참가자들에 대한 설명과 그들이 어떻게 연구에 참여하게 되었는지에 대한 설명 질적 연구 방법을 사용하면 여성의 인식과 경험을 심층적으로 탐구할 수 있어 주제에 대한 풍부하고 미묘한 이해를 제공할 수 있다. 개별 인터뷰, 포커스 그룹 토론, 민족지학적 관찰과 같은 질적 방법의 사용은 이란 여성들의 복장 선택과 이에 대한 태도에 대한 복잡한 문화적, 사회적, 개인적 영향에 대한 더 깊은 이해를 제공한다. 연구자는 질적 접근을 통해 참여자들의 풍부하고 다양하며 다면적인 경험을 포착할 수 있었고, 주제에 대한 포괄적인 시각을 제공했다.

연구 결과는 특히 정부가 정한 베일을 씌우는 규칙과 관련하여 이란 여성과 그들의 복장 선택 사이의 복잡한 관계에 대한 독특한 통찰력을 제공한다. 이 연구는 질적 인터뷰를 통해 법, 종교, 문화, 개인적 신념 등 여성의 옷 선택에 영향을 미치는 다양한 요인들을 밝혀냈다. 이 연구결과는 혁명기를 거친 여성 세대와 청년 세대 간의 베일에 대한 복장 선택과 태도의 차이와 여성들이 인식하고 대응해온 복장의 한계에 대한 인식의 차이를 강조하고 있다. 이 연구의 결과는 이란 여성의 옷 선택을 형성하는 데 있어 사회, 정치, 개인 기관 간의 상호 작용에 대한 이해에 귀중한 기여를 제공한다.

이란의 여러 도시에서 선발된 16명의 여성 참가자들에 대한 설명, 그리고 그들이 어떻게 연구에 참여하도록 선정되었는지에 대한 설명 여성의 인식과 경험을 심층적으로 탐구할 수 있고 주제에 대한 풍부하고 미묘한 이해를 제공하기 때문에 질적 연구 방법을 사용할 수 있는 연구 정당성을 제공한다. 개별 인터뷰, 포커스 그룹 토론, 민족지학적 관찰과 같은 질적 방법의 사용은 이란 여성들의 복장 선택과 이에 대한 태도에 대한 복잡한 문화적, 사회적, 개인적 영향에 대한 더 깊은 이해를 제공한다. 질적 접근법은 연구자가 참여자들의 풍부하고 다양하며 다면적인 경험을 포착할 수 있게 하여 주제에 대한 포괄적인 시각을 제공하였다.

연구 결과는 특히 정부가 정한 베일을 쓰는 규칙과 관련하여 이란 여성과 그들의 복장 선택 사이의 복잡한 관계에 대한 독특한 통찰력을 제공한다. 이 연구는 질적 인터뷰를 통해 법, 종교, 문화, 개인적 신념 등 여성의 옷 선택에 영향을 미치는 다양한 요인들을 밝혀냈다. 이 연구결과는 혁명기를 거친 여성 세대와 청년 세대 간의 베일에 대한 복장 선택과 태도의 차이와 여성들이 인식하고 대응해온 복장의 한계에 대한 인식의 차이를 강조하고 있다. 이 연구의 결과는 이란 여성의 옷 선택을 형성하는 데 있어 사회, 정치, 개인 기관 간의 상호 작용에 대한 이해에 귀중한 기여를 제공한다.

그 결과는 이란 여성들의 경험과 관점, 그리고 시간이 지남에 따라 어떻게 변화했는지, 그리고 그들이 어떻게 계속해서 변화하는지를 보여준다. 이 정보는 이란과 세계 다른 지역에서 여성의 평등과 표현의 자유를 촉진하기 위한 정책과 행동에 정보를 제공하는 것을 도울 수 있다.

레자 샤의 통치 기간 동안, 대부분의 이란 여성들은 법이 그들에게 차도르를 제거하도록 명령했음에도 불구하고 차도르로 얼굴을 가리고 히잡을 썼다. 어떤 여성들은 모자와 긴 양말을 착용함으로써 히잡을 지키려고 했고, 다

른 여성들은 법을 무시하고 그에 대한 처벌을 받았다. 상류층 가정의 여성들은 법을 상대적으로 법을 더 따랐다. 해당 법안은 여성들로 하여금 코트, 치마, 모자, 부츠와 같은 더 서구적인 스타일의 옷을 채택하게 했다. 이 법의 갑작스러운 시행은 사람들을 당황하게 했지만, 그것은 또한 여성들에게 더 많은 자유와 사회 참여를 할 수 있는 기회를 주었다. 히잡을 벗은 여성들은 더 만족감을 느꼈고 자신이 하고 싶은 일을 선택할 수 있는 용기가 생겼다. 그러나 이 법은 선택의 자유를 빼앗았다.

반면에, 모하마드 레자 샤의 통치 기간 동안, 여성들은 그들이 원한다면, 히잡을 쓰는 것을 포함하여, 그들의 헤어스타일과 옷을 선택할 자유가 있었다. 여성들은 자신의 외모와 스타에 완전한 자유가 있었으며, 그 결과 개인의 개성이 생겼다. 일부는 히잡을 쓰지 않는 반면 다른 일부는 쓰지 않는 것을 선택했고, 종교적인 여성들은 차도르를 착용하는 것을 선택했다. 혁명 이전에는 해안가에서 일부는 비키니를 입고 다른 사람들은 차도르를 입는, 히잡을 포함한 서로의 옷 선택을 받아들이는 모습이 드물지 않았다.

혁명 이후, 히잡을 착용하는 것은 학교, 기업, 사무실을 포함한 모든 공공 장소에서 여성들에게 의무화 되었다. 이슬람 혁명 이후 히잡의 개념은 변화를 겪으며 전신을 가리는 것을 가리키게 된 반면, 혁명 이전에는 히잡의 형태, 패턴, 색상, 커버리지의 범위가 다양했다. 이 결과는 이란 사회의 일부 가구들이 타 문화에 대한 인식과 소셜 미디어의 영향으로 인해 사람들의 종교적, 문화적 관점의 다양성에 대해 더 많이 인식하게 되었다는 것을 보여준다. 약 15년 전, 사회 전체는 다양한 문명과 사람들의 종교적, 문화적 관점의 다양성에 대해 많이 알지 못했다. 이란을 비롯한 전 세계 사람들을 연결하는 소셜 미디어가 등장하면서 이러한 것들에 대한 인식이 커지기 시작했다. 사람들이 자주 의심하는 것 중 하나는 이란의 경우 사회의 사고방식과 관점을 확장시킨 종교이다. 결과적으로, 종교를 의심하는 사람들은 히잡과 문화 전반과 관

런하여 사회가 그들에게 부과한 한계와 정신적 틀을 극복한다.

이란의 옷 스타일은 이슬람 혁명 이후로 발전해왔다. 처음에 많은 여성들은 차도르, 맨토, 히잡과 같은 전신 커버를 착용하기 시작했는데, 이것은 전형적으로 검은색이었다. 하지만, 시간이 지나면서, 여성들은 무릎 길이의 맨토나 바지와 같은 덜 제한적인 옷을 선택하기 시작했다. 특히 젊은 세대들은 히잡 착용을 의무화하는 것에 반대했고 이제 더 많은 여성들이 공원이나 식당과 같은 공공 장소에서 히잡을 덜 쓰는 것을 선택하고 있다. 이란에서 입는 옷의 색깔은 다양한데, 어떤 사람들은 검은색과 크림색을 입는 반면, 어떤 사람들은 짙은 녹색, 파란색 또는 회색과 같은 어두운 색을 선택했다. 가족 배경과 종교적 믿음은 여성의 히잡과 옷 선택에 영향을 미칠 수 있다. 더 자유주의적인 가정에서, 여성들은 그들의 옷을 선택할 수 있는 더 많은 자유가 있다. 현재 많은 이란 여성들이 스카프 대신 짧은 바지, 짧은 소매가 달린 무릎 길이의 맨토, 모자를 착용하고 있다. 어쩔 수 없이 히잡을 착용하는 이들은 화려한 스카프, 짧은 코트, 스킨니 팬츠, 약간 짧은 소매를 착용함으로써 자신의 개성을 표현하려고 노력하는 경우가 많다.

강제적인 베일을 씌우는 법은 사회에 부정적인 영향을 미친다. 예를 들어, 만약 당신이 법에 의해 스카프를 사도록 강요받지 않았다면, 당신은 그것을 위해 돈을 지불할 필요가 없을 것이다. 따라서, 히잡은 강제적인 베일을 씌우는 법 때문에 히잡을 쓰고 싶지 않고 히잡을 쓰고 있는 여성들에게는 추가 비용으로 간주된다. 과거 혁명에서 정부는 히잡이 부족하거나 차도르 착용을 거부하는 여성들을 잡곤 했기 때문에 정부 경찰은 이 여성들을 고문하고 구타한 뒤 강제로 차에 태운 뒤 경찰서로 연행했다. 종교적, 문화적 신념 때문에, 일부 여성들은 강제적인 베일이 사회에서 여성들에게 미치는 부정적인 영향 때문에 특정 직업을 가질 수 없다. 강제 베일의 부정적인 영향을 고려할 때, 일부 여성들은 그곳의 여성들에게 불리한 분위기 때문에 대학에 가지 못

한다. 의무적으로 베일을 씌우는 것의 한 가지 단점은 여성들이 그들이 즐기는 장소에서 살지 못하게 하거나 심지어 공원에 가는 것처럼 간단하고 근본적인 것을 하지 못하게 한다는 것이다.

키워드: 이란, 히잡, 여성의 태도, 이슬람 혁명, 베일링, 공개

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