Das Buch umfaßt insgesamt drei Teile, wobei Teil II mit Text und Kommentar des Tohfe-ye shahi den Kern der Studie ausmacht. Die Dokumentation des persischen Textes (S. 37-71) und seine deutsche Übersetzung (S. 72-93) belegen die Intention der Handschrift: eine statistisch-deskriptive Bestandsaufnahme vor allem der nomadischen Bevölkerung Irans sowie eine Zusammenstellung über die Steuerabgaben der einzelnen Landesteile zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts. Sie wird ergänzt durch eine kurze Übersicht über die Steuereinnahmen des Landes im Jahre 1215H/1800. Fazit der Dokumentation für das frühe 18. Jh.: "Die Bevölkerung Irans, die in jener Zeit geschätzt worden ist, betrug 16 110 000 Familien an Nomadenstämmen. 28 290 000 Familien sind bei der Stadt- und Dorfbevölkerung geschätzt worden, so daß die Gesamtbevölkerung Irans auf 44 400 000 Familien geschätzt wurde. Wenn eine Familie auf fünf Personen geschätzt wird, dann ist die Gesamtbevölkerung mit Männern, Frauen und Kindern in der Zeit bis Märtyrersultans auf 220.000.000 geschätzt worden" (S. 89/90).

Der ausführliche Kommentar von Marina Kunke (S. 94-154) versucht, unter Hinzuziehung archivarischer Quellen der India Office Library in London sowie vor allem anthropologischer Fachliteratur, den Inhalt des historisch einzigartigen Dokuments zu bewerten und kritisch zu analysieren. Wenn es auch schwierig ist, die z. T. sehr allgemeinen Angaben der Handschrift exakt zu lokalisieren sowie die geradezu phantastisch-spekulativen Zahlen über die Größe der verschiedenen Stämme zu bewerten, so bleiben die kommentierenden Ausführungen doch weit hinter den Möglichkeiten zurück. Nicht nur Archivmaterial und Reiseliteratur, sondern mehr noch das umfangreiche aktuelle Schrifttum von Historikern, Geographen und Ethnologen werden nur ansatzweise und punktuell ausgewertet — ganz zu schweigen von rezenten iranischen Statistiken zum Nomadismus des Landes in der Gegenwart.

Kursorisch bleiben auch die Teile I und II der Publikation. Ethnologen und Geographen werden sich nicht mit den terminologischen Ausführungen zu den Begriffen "Nomadismus" und "Stamm", Historiker nicht mit denen zur Rolle der "Stämme in der Geschichte Persiens bis 1722" zufriedengeben (Teil I). Gleiches gilt für die abschließenden Bemerkungen des Teils III "Zur politischen Rolle der Nomadenstämme". Dieses aber sind wohl auch nicht die zentralen Anliegen dieser Publikation.

Der Wert der hier angezeigten Arbeit liegt vielmehr in der Dokumentation einer authentischen Quelle des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts. Als solche vermittelt sie einen Einblick in die Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des ausklingenden Safavidenreiches und zugleich einen Eindruck vom Verwaltungsaufbau des Landes. Insofern wird man der Verfasserin voll zustimmen, wenn sie kommentierend konstatiert, daß "der Text im Grunde eine Art Statistik" sei, dessen Sinn und Zweck in der Auflistung von Bevölkerungszahlen, Steuerabgaben und Stammesstrukturen liege — mit all den traditions- und zeitbedingten Defiziten eines solchen Dokuments. Gerade diese Perspektive macht die Edition und Publikation dieser Quelle indes so verdienstvoll: sie enthält wichtige Details zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts in Persien, vermittelt Einsichten in das Selbstverständnis der zerfallenden safavidischen Herrschaft und beleuchtet Rolle wie Bewertung nomadischer Stämme im gesamtstaatlichen Kontext. In diesem Sinne stellt der hier angezeigte Band eine wichtige Bereicherung unserer historischen Kenntnisse dieses Raumes dar.

Mai 1995 E. EHLERS

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AFKHAMI, Mahnaz and Erika FRIEDL (eds.) — In the Eye of the Storm: Women in Post-Revolutionary Iran. I.B. Tauris, London, [1994] (22 cm, XII, 227, tab.). ISBN 1-85043-782-3: £ 10.95.

This collection of nine articles presents current research on the often contradictory circumstances of life for Iranian women in the Islamic Republic.

Mahnaz Afkhami gives a historical overview of the changing position of women in Iran. It is intricately bound up with Shi'i Islam and its elite of male clerics who used innumerous traditions to limit women's rights. Nevertheless, nineteenth century western ideas on equality, freedom, human rights and economic development, also for women, entered Iran as a feature of the colonial process. Women participated in the struggle which led to the Constitutional Revolution of 1905-6, demanding a separation of religion from government, but in general women's rights were just a minor issue. During the Reza Shah period the government did little more, and even that under loud protests from the clergy, than remove the veil and encourage education for young girls. After 1941 morals and discipline were less strictly enforced and pluriform opinions and behaviour patterns were established. A number of women's groups became active in education and charity work and demanded the right to vote which was obtained in 1963. Women's organizational power expanded in the 1960s and 1970s, women's groups defined and defended women's issues resulting in the Family Protection Law, and larger numbers of Iranian women found their way into the public domains of law, politics or technology. Many of them were confounded at first by the Islamic leadership because in their model the central feminist virtues of equality, freedom, and respect for the human person were coopted. The feminist activists paid dearly once the Islamic Republic was established. "The new regime tried to force women out of the job market in a variety of ways, including early retirement of government women employees, closing of childcare centers, segregating women and enforcing full Islamic cover (*hejab-e islami*) in offices and public places, and closing nearly 140 university fields of study to women". Women lost government support, but not their stamina. Since then women have resisted in various ways their resocialization in fundamentalist norms.

The other articles all elaborate on this theme of how on the one hand the government imposes laws and rules and how on the other hand women evade, oppose or accomodate them. The descriptions of women as victims are balanced with descriptions of women as agents, the descriptions of misogyn rules are complemented with discussions of their unplanned and occasionally contradictory effects due to wider societal processes. A second theme is continuity, as several authors suggest that conditions and practices affecting women adversely today are not so much the result of the policies of the Islamic Republic, nor of the Pahlavi governments earlier, but are rooted more deeply in Iranian culture.

Patricia Higgins and Pirouz Shoar-Ghaffari show this continuity for women's education in the Islamic Republic. Despite the belief that males and females differ in fundamental ways and have different roles to fulfill, education for them continues to be largely the same. The policy to change coeducational schools into single-sex schools has a limited impact because most schools were already single-sex schools. Moreover, studies on the effects of single-sex education elsewhere raise doubts about its supposed detrimental effects for girls. Notwithstanding a general decline in school enrollment especially in secondary schools, and nothwithstanding that women still lag behind in literacy and in going to school, the yearly increase in proportion of girls in school and the closing of the gender gap which started in earlier periods are continuing. The content analysis of new textbooks confirmed the expected decrease of visibility of women and disappearance of positive character traits for women, but also led to the interesting finding of a significant increase in gender neutral descriptions and depictions of characters. The Persian language is well suited to create gender neutrality as it lacks the distinction between 'he' and 'she' and considers such words as 'student' or 'doctor' as grammatically gender neutral. I am less optimistic than the authors, however, that this use of unmarked terms will enable also girls and women to identify with them. After citing that one of the basic goals of education is 'protecting the sanctity and stability of family relations based on Islamic rights and morality' it is surprising that the authors do not discuss more extensively the disappearance of homemaking from the secondary school curriculum and of home economics as a college discipline and the possible effects this might have had on the increase of women choosing natural science.

In an article on the social status of women and girls Akbar Aghajanian analyses the 1986 government census and its data on female literacy and girl's school enrollment — leading to some overlap with the preceding article — and on women's employment opportunities and health situation. Economic activity of women declined between 1976 and 1986, and the difference with men increased. This decline is partly due to pressures on women to withdraw from the workforce when overall unemployment ran high during the Iran-Iraq war. The table on the rate of paid employment is confusing due to the unjustified parallelism with the preceding table and the inaccurate definition of the content of the table as the percentage of gainfully employed males and females ten years and older in the population instead of as the percentage of males and females among all gainfully employed. The other indicators of female status researched by the author are differential mortality rates due to differential allocation of food resources and less access to health care. Female infants and toddlers show especially in rural areas a significantly higher mortality rate, and unlike most other countries of the world, life expectancy for men is higher than for women in Iran. A study about attitudes toward food distribution of 576 women in Shiraz showed that a large majority of women thought husband and sons needed the best and the most food. Employment and education tended to make mothers less discriminatory towards their daughters and themselves.

Haleh Esfandiari discusses how women's issues were debated in the Assembly of Experts during the writing of the new Constitution and in the first and second parliaments (1980-88). The few women representatives found themselves in a double bind. They were seen as spokespersons for women, but at the same time as defenders of the new regime. The women deputies emphasized the rights and privileges women have under Islam, and often referred to the great women in Islamic history as examples. The debates on the sanctity of the family reveal how much law-makers were preoccupied with their wish to keep women in the home, to restrict the participation of women in the workforce and to maintain the separation of the sexes in society. The author must be credited with showing the wide range of views of Iran's new legislators. She gives a fine analysis of how the more conversative forces find a counterweight in the pressures of the general female public which does not want to give up earlier acquired rights and in the efforts of the revolutionary government, which does not want to alienate half of its constituency, to project a positive image of the Islamic Republic in which Islam and women's rights are compatible.

Fatemeh Moghadam describes how female sexuality is treated as a regulated commodity, a tradeable object in the marriage contract, which leads to discrimination and segregation of women in the labour market. The secularization policies of the 1960s and 1970s led to decommoditization and growing labor participation but later the re-emergence of Islamic ideology in the post-revolutionary period created opposite tendencies. The eagerness of the author to prove her point, however, brings her into some muddy waters, especially if she argues that not unveiling but veiling leads to commoditization because it denies women the potential to assume relative autonomy in marketing their sexuality. Anyone who pays attention to veiled women can observe that many are expertly able to market their sexuality. Hamid Naficy, one of the two male authors in this volume, confirms this impression when he says that in practice women have a great deal of latitude in how they present themselves to the gaze of the male onlookers, involving body language, eye contact, types of veil worn, clothing worn underneath the veil, and the manner in which the veil is used to give signs. These contradicting observations, that the veil not only desexualizes but also sexualizes female bodies, do not necessarily invalidate Moghadam's argument, but they do ask for more nuances and more attention for the complexities involved. Elsewhere the author shows that she can incorporate apparent contradictions, when she discusses how the regulation of sexuality on the one hand works against women in the labour market, but on the other hand also leads to limited employment possibilities because women in a system of segregation have to cater to other women in education and healthcare. The commoditization of female sexuality in Shi'i Islam is exemplified in the temporary marriage discussed by Shahla Haeri. As a sequel to her excellent book *Law of Desire: Temporary Marriage in Shi'i Iran.* (1989 Syracuse) she compares here the state's rejection of temporary marriage under the Pahlavis (1925-79) with the state's support under the Islamic Republic. President Rafsanjani started a public debate when he mentioned temporary marriage as an Islamic solution for the sexual needs of war widows and youngsters in a Friday sermon in November 1990. In the resulting debate, especially mullahs continued to defend the practice as before; they also said that it was a period in which a couple could get to know each other before contracting a permanent marriage, or that it was a

better solution than prostitution to satisfy human instincts. Especially middle class women and some men argued against this institution which they considered detrimental to women and children and general morality. Lower-class women, who more often have practiced temporary marriage, were quicker to see the theoretical advantages of such a marriage in terms of love and freedom of choice for women, despite some disappointments in practice. Rafsanjani and the defenders of temporary marriage reaffirmed the Shi'ite discourse on temporary marriage against Sunni opposition; a fundamental change however was that by acknowledging female sexuality and the sexual unrest of the growing group of youngsters who are sexually but not yet socially mature this ancient tradition was placed in a modern social context.

Azar Naficy compared classicial Persian literature and the contemporary Iranian novel, and found a continuation of the contradictory images of women as victims of social injustice and women as bitches. Recent fiction in Iran is heavily influenced by the transitory nature of this era. Real and fixed images of women can no longer function when everything is questioned and when the present feels more unreal than the past. According to Naficy, the literary problem in Iran is to create fictionally real but also creatively subversive images of women, as well as a proper framework that could embody such images. Naficy argues that such a new form of narrative should be based on dialogue between the characters, because dialogue is by nature subversive. Only by allowing for the complexities and ambiguities wich surround modern women can coherent images of women be created.

Hamid Naficy discusses how women have started to play a major role both behind and in front of the camera, and how the Islamic principles of modesty and sex segregation have influenced Iranian cinema. After a period of censoring unveiled or improperly dressed women from films, and a period of domesticating, covering, segregating and immobilizing women on screen, the late 1980's saw women in films restored as active agents, able professionals or free intellectuals, as well as quite some women directors who helped to promote this image of the new woman from behind the cameras. When body forms and movements become hidden behind fabric, glances become powerful means of communication. Religious leaders understood this all too well and hurried to make regulations for looking. In the cinema, where the play between the averted look and the direct gaze had been a common form, this led to the dominance of the averted, desexualized look. Only very recently a somewhat bolder treatment of transgressive looking and love has become possible.

The last article, by Erika Friedl, deals with the contradictory images of Iranian woman as subordinate, veiled, and oppressed on the one hand and powerful and in control of the lives of the men and women around them on the other. Friedl argues that this contradiction is contrived, that people, women in this case, can be oppressed and powerful simultaneously and moreover that they can derive power from the very relations of inequality to effect changes in the lives of themselves and others. A case in point is that by adopting the male view of women as inherently weak and needing control, some women, such as female Revolutionary Guards patrolling the streets to enforce the dress code, can exert power over other women. The single most frequently used tactic of power, despite its limited benefits and high costs, is resistance. Work is another potential resource of power, although Friedl warns not to overestimate this. Lower-class women might not gain much from it, but some women can exploit the dependencies work creates or use their wages to gain decision making power. When women cannot control their income, they usually try to quit work. Also religion is used to dissimulate, justify or rationalize women's political activism, independent action or networking. To show politically correct behaviour may help women to advance in their careers. Government provides another avenue of power through politics, but here as in many of the cases mentioned, the power of some women is often to the detriment of other women. When legitimate sources of power for women become increasingly scarce, women intensify their use of the 'weapons of the weak' and in doing so often strengthen negative stereotypes about women, reinforce the male dominance pattern and help control other women. Moreover, it will seldom be possible to gain autonomy over their own lives. Friedl seems to be theoretically guided by the traditionally male power resources of resistance, work, politics and religion, which she applied to women. It could have been fruitful, however, to include other potential resources of women, such as sexuality, care giving, or familial organization.

Finally, Sima Pakzad has compiled two Appendices on legal rights and on articles of the Penal Code in order to show the differences in legal positions between men and women.

The authors have well succeeded in their aim to give a balanced view of the often contradictory circumstances of life for Iranian women under the Islamic Republic. The analyses in the first half of the book are mostly done on the basis of statistics or at the most a survey. We find an occasional reference that women write letters to members of parliament and are considered a power to be reckoned with, but this cannot completely satisfy our curiosity about the size of this power, the pluriformity of their voices and the potential strength of their subversiveness. Yet, these articles succeed in their aim to provide a frame of reference for more in-depth investigations of women's experiences. The articles of Haeri and Friedl succeed best in showing the wide range of women's perspectives. In general, this is an interesting and valuable book, covering diverse aspects of women's lives in Iran. The apt title hints at both the (social and scientific) silences about Iranian women at present as well as the storm that is going on around them and that at any moment can take women up again in a whirlwind of change. Will their many voices still be heard after the storm? When can the authors leave their shelter abroad and return to make themselves heard together with other Iranian women?

University of Nijmegen, WILLY JANSEN
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