



ISSN: 2538-5240 E- ISSN: 2783-3216

The Evolution of the Veiling Discourse from the Constitutional Revolution to the End of Pahlavi I Era (1906 - 1941)*

Zeinab Aalami ¹⊠ (□), Mehdi Hoseinzadeh Yazdi ²⊠ (□), Qasem Zaeri ³⊠ (□

- 1. Ph.D. Candidate in Muslim Social Knowledge, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran. Email: Z.aalami@ut.ac.ir
- 2. Associate Professor of Islamic Social Sciences, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran. (Corresponding Author) Email: Ma.hoseinzadeh@ut.ac.ir
- 3. Assistant Professor of Sociology, University of Tehran, Tehran, Iran. Email: Qasem.zaeri@ut.ac.ir

Article Info	ABSTRACT
Article type:	The issue of unveiling has been one of the most pressing socio-cultural challenges
Research Article	in Iranian society. Beyond its incompatibility with Iranian-Islamic cultural values,
	it has generated significant social, political, and national consequences for the
	Islamic Republic. Understanding this phenomenon within its historical context—
	particularly its early manifestations in Iran—is therefore of critical importance.
Article history:	This study explores the discursive transformations of veiling from the
Received: 22 September 2024	Constitutional Revolution to the end of the reign of Reza Shah, within the
Received in revised form: 07	framework of discursive conflict. The study adopts a discourse analysis approach
January 2025	grounded in the theory of Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe. The findings
Accepted: 08 January 2025	indicate that during the early Constitutional era, a pro-veiling discourse prevailed.
Published online: 21 March	However, anti-veiling voices increasingly framed Western-style dress reform
2025	around four central themes: freedom, chastity, education, and religious
	reinterpretation. This framing destabilized the dominant discourse, leading to the emergence of five defensive sub-discourses: Qur'anic-jurisprudential veiling,
	Weakness-Oriented veiling, Woman-Centered veiling, socio-political veiling, and
Keywords:	Legalistic veiling. A central binary emerged—"domesticity and veiling" versus
Anti-veiling discourse,	"social participation and unveiling"—reflecting the deepening discursive
Constitutional Revolution,	polarization. With the rise of the Pahlavi regime, the anti-veiling discourse gained
Pahlavi I, Pro-veiling	institutional support, especially through civil registration and public education
Discourse, Veiling	systems. The 1935 Mandatory Unveiling Law effectively neutralized public debate
Transformations.	by coercively imposing one side of the discourse.

Cite this article: Aalami, Z.; Hosseinzadeh yazdi, M. and Zaeri, Q (2025). The Evolution of the Veiling Discourse from the Constitutional Revolution to the End of Pahlavi I Era (1906 - 1941). *Journal of Social Theories of Muslim Thinkers*, 15(1): 42-63. https://doi.org/10.22059/jstmt.2025.382237.1734



© The Author(s).

DOI: https://doi.org/10.22059/jstmt.2025.382237.1734

Publisher: University of Tehran Press.

^{*} This article is derived from the first author's PhD dissertation titled "Developments in the Hijab Discourse in Iran after the Revolution".

1. Introduction

The transformation of the hijab has been one of the most contentious socio-cultural issues in Iran's modern history. This study investigates the discursive evolution of hijab from the Constitutional Revolution (1906) to the end of the first Pahlavi era (1941), a period that witnessed the initial confrontation between the traditional hijab discourse and the emerging anti-hijab discourse. The developments of this era had profound implications for later debates on hijab in Iran.

2. Research Method

This study employs discourse analysis based on the theoretical framework of Laclau and Mouffe. According to this model, discursive transformations unfold through five phases: crisis of the dominant discourse, competition over new myths, discursive hegemony, consolidation of a new social order, and the emergence of internal otherness (Hoseinzadeh, 2016). Key concepts such as availability, credibility, instruments of power, and antagonism were used in the analysis (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2022).

3. Findings

During the Constitutional period, four major intellectual currents emerged regarding the hijab:

- 1. **Western-oriented intellectuals** (e.g., Akhundzadeh, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, Sedigheh Dowlatabadi) advocated for full abandonment of hijab and the adoption of Western cultural norms.
- 2. **Moderate reformers** (e.g., Nasim-e Shomal, Mokhber-ol-Saltaneh Hedayat) supported selective reforms like women's education but maintained a more reserved stance on hijab.
- 3. **Modernist clerics** (e.g., Mohammad Sadegh Fakhr al-Islam, Seyyed Asadollah Kharaghani) sought to reconcile Islamic values with modern concepts like freedom and equality.
- 4. **Traditionalist clerics** opposed change, allowing only limited education for women in religious and domestic affairs.

These currents sparked discursive struggles along four principal axes:

- Freedom and Equality: Anti-hijab advocates described hijab as a symbol of imprisonment, though thinkers like Akhundzadeh retained patriarchal assumptions by supporting freedom for unmarried women only. Hijab proponents responded in two ways: some (e.g., Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri) rejected Western liberty altogether, while others distinguished between unrestricted freedom and Islamic human-centered liberty.
- **Education**: Critics portrayed hijab as an obstacle to women's intellectual development. Proponents accepted education but restricted it to areas aligned with domestic and religious duties.
- Chastity: Anti-hijab discourse redefined chastity as a moral quality unrelated to clothing. Defenders emphasized a strong link between hijab and chastity, citing moral decay in Western societies as cautionary examples.
- **Religion and Clergy**: While some critics challenged the religious legitimacy of hijab, others attempted theological reinterpretation. In contrast, defenders cited Qur'anic texts and traditions to assert hijab's integral role in Islamic practice.

These debates led to the development of five sub-discourses within the pro-hijab camp (Jafarian, 2001):

- 1. **Qur'anic-Jurisprudential Veiling** Emphasized religious legitimacy through scriptural sources.
- 2. **Weakness-Oriented Veiling** Highlighted natural gender differences.
- 3. Woman-Centered Veiling Portrayed hijab as protective of women's dignity and rights.
- 4. **Socio-Political Veiling** Cast hijab as a cultural defense mechanism against Western imperialism.
- 5. **Legalistic Veiling** Advocated for state enforcement of hijab regulations.

With the ascent of Reza Shah, anti-hijab discourse gained practical traction through state mechanisms such as the Civil Registration Office (requiring unveiled photos) and girls' schools. The 1935 unveiling decree marked the height of this institutional effort, enforced through a combination of cultural influence and coercion.

4. Conclusion

The discursive struggle over hijab during this period resulted in a polarized framework: hijab symbolizing domestic seclusion and unveiling associated with public participation. While the anti-hijab discourse found some traction among urban middle-class circles, it failed to gain widespread societal acceptance. Instances of resistance—from the Goharshad Mosque uprising to everyday acts of defiance during the unveiling mandate, and the mass return to hijab following Reza Shah's abdication—demonstrate the discourse's limitations (Zaeri & Yousefinejad, 2019). Its failure to reflect the pluralistic realities of Iranian society and its confrontational stance toward religion and the clergy ultimately facilitated the resurgence of the prohijab discourse.

Funding: This research received no external funding.

Ethical Considerations: This article is derived from the first author's PhD dissertation titled "Developments

in the Hijab Discourse in Iran after the Revolution".

Data Availability Statement: Not applicable. **Informed Consent Statement:** Not applicable.

Conflicts of Interest: The authors declare no conflict of interest.

References

Abiar, Z., Karami-Pour, A., & Sharifi, S. (2020). Theoretical challenges of hijab in post-revolutionary Iran: An analysis of existing approaches to hijab and modesty. *Journal of Islam and Social Sciences*, 12(23), 238-217.

Akhundzadeh, M. F. (1955). Letters of Kamal al-Dawlah to Prince Jalal al-Dawlah. Tehran: Bina.

Adamiyat, F. (1978). Thoughts of Mirza Agha Khan Kermani. Tehran: Payam.

Ashna, H. (1992). Violence and culture. Tehran: The National Library and Archives of Iran.

Emami, S. M. (2013). A critical framework for policy research on the issue of hijab in the Islamic Republic of Iran, based on the theory and model of secularization of Iranian society. *Journal of Islam and Social Studies*, 1(1).

Farmanfarmaian, M. M. (2004). *Under the father's gaze - Memoirs of Mehrmah Farmanfarmaian from the inner courtyard*. Tehran: Kavir.

Jafarian, R. (2001). Hijabi treatises: Sixty years of scientific efforts against the innovation of unveiling. Qom: Dalil Ma.

Jafarian, R. (2004). *The story of veiling in Iran before the revolution*. Tehran: Islamic Revolution Documents Center.

Javadani Moghaddam, M. (2019). An examination of the evolution of hijab discourse in the sphere of politics and culture in Iran. *Nashriyeh Sepehr Siasat*, 6(2), 133-210.

Javadi, H., Marashi, M., & Shekarloo, S. (1992). The encounter of women and men in the Qajar era (Two treatises on the education of women and the faults of men). Tehran: Jahan.

Jorgensen, M., & Phillips, L. (2022). Discourse theory and method (H. Jalili, Trans.). Tehran: Nashr Ney.

Khalili, M. (2006). Hijab and the thought of hijab. Tehran: Pazhooheshgah Farhang va Andisheh Islami.

Kermani, M. A. (2000). Three letters (B. Choubineh, Ed.). Essen: Nima Verlag.

Kermani, M. A. (n.d.). One hundred speeches (M. J. Mahjoub, Ed.). Bijaa: Sherkat Ketab.

Kasraei, M. S., & Pouzeshi Shirazi, A. (2009). Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory as an effective tool in understanding and explaining political phenomena. *POLITICAL QUARTERLY*, *39*(3), 678-713.

Motahari, M. (2009). Sexual ethics in Islam and the West. Tehran: Sadra.

Motahari, M. (2016). The issue of hijab. Tehran: Sadra.

Mousavi, S. (2021). A theoretical introduction to critique of historiography on women. Tehran: Golazin.

Najmabadi, A. (2017). Women with moustaches and men without beards: Gender anxieties in Iranian modernity (A. Kamel & I. Vaghefi, Trans.). Tehran: Tisa.

Rezvani, H. (1983). The decrees of Agha Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri. Tehran: Tarikh Iran.

- Rowbotham, S. (2011). Women in struggle: Feminism and social action (H. Sabaghi, Trans.). Tehran: Shirazeh.
- Salami, G., & Najmabadi, A. (2010). *Nahzat Nesvan Shargh*. Tehran: Shirazeh.
- Salah, M. (2020). *The unveiling of hijab: Backgrounds, consequences, and reactions*. Tehran: Institute for Political Studies and Research.
- Sadeghi, F. (2017). The unveiling: A re-reading of a modern intervention. Tehran: Negah Mosaer.
- Shakib Rokh, F., & Zandieh, H. (2021). The evolution of the thought of hijab protesters from the Nasserite era to the second Pahlavi (1227-1320 SH). *Islam History*, 44, 62-87.
- Sanasarian, E. (2005). The women's rights movement in Iran: Revolt, decline, and suppression from 1280 to the 1979 revolution (N. A. Khorasani, Trans.). Tehran: Akhtaran.
- Taj al-Saltaneh. (2023). Memoirs of Taj al-Saltaneh (M. Hosseini, Ed.). Tehran: Chehel Kalagh.
- Talebov Tabrizi, A. (2018). Masalek al-Mohseneen. Tehran: Entesharat Omid Farda.
- Torkaman, M. (1983). Letters, announcements, and newspapers of the martyred Sheikh Fazlollah Nouri. Tehran: Rasa.
- Tavakoli-Targhi, M. (2016). Native modernity and rethinking history. Tehran: Pardis Danesh.
- Vafaee, E., Kaveh, A., & Saeed, S. (2019). Discourse analysis of the hijab issue using PADM method in the press of the constitutional era (With emphasis on the Iranshahr newspaper). *Journal of Islamic Studies of Women and Family*, 10, 173-192.
- Zaeri, G. (2014). The Archaeology of Bi-Hijābi (Unveiling) in Iran. Woman in Development & Politics, 12(2), 153-186.
- Zaeri, G., & Yousefinejad, F. (2019). An examination of the revision of the "unveiling" law in the period of 1320-1322 focusing on individual and institutional resistance. *Woman in Development & Politics*, 17(2), 173-192.
- Zahed, S. S., & Kaveh, M. (2012). National Discourses on Dress in Iran. *Quarterly of Social Studies and Research in Iran*, 1(4), 49-74.
- Zahedi, Z. (2011). Factors and consequences of unveiling. *The Islamic Journal Of Women and The Family*, 4(9), 131.