CHAPTER III

THE FAMILY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The family is the most important institution in society. Before the onslaught of industrialization the family remained the basic institution through which man satisfied his most significant educational, 'affectional' and other sort of experiences. It was thought that industrialization would sweep away this powerful institution. But the family as one of the toughest institutions survived many physiological, social and economic changes. It always adapted to the ever changing environment and recreated itself.

Traditional socialologists have seen 'Family' and 'industrial' society as opposed to each other. This opposition is formalised in Parsons' writings which characterise the family as a social group organised around a set of values which are logical opposites (or contradictories) of those around which the industrial society as a whole is organised. This characterisation stems from a view of industrial society a 'rational one',.
this rationality being contrasted with the 'traditional' character of early social forms of which 'the family' is a survivor. Industrialization, though not able to destroy family as a new institution, it affects family in various ways. The traditional family gives way to various types of changes within the family due to the impact of industrialization. The traditional feudal sort of family changes into different types where the traditional relationships within family take new shapes. Many times we witness in modern industrialised family changes in the relationships between husband and wife, parents and children. For example the father in the house enjoyed many absolute rights in a traditional family. But in modern industrialized society, children as well as the wife challenge his superiority in the family. Due to various factors accompanying industrialization, the status of women within family is also undergoing a change.

We find significant differences between traditional family and modern industrialised family in the context of the status of women.

It is said that industrialization has shattering affects on family. Industrialization has given rise to
different types of families and kinship structures in the context of wider culture of the society.

Many Third World countries are experiencing the impact of westernization and its accompanying phenomenon i.e. industrialization. Families in these countries have become selective in adopting Western culture. They have accepted some of the Western values and norms and at the same time they are trying to retain their old traditional anchor of their culture which is rooted deeply in the soil.

In the present chapter, we want to discuss the effects of industrialization on the Iranian family. Industrialization affects the family in a very complex way. So our concern here is to understand the complex nature of the modern family which is the result of industrialization. The family responses to the process of industrialization in a mixed way. While it retains certain traditional cultural components, at the same time, tries to adopt modern Western elements which come along with industrialization.

This chapter unfolds the impact of industrialization on Iranian family structure in the following way:
1. Changes in Traditional Family -
   a) types of family
   b) marriage and forms of marriage
   c) age at marriage

2. Status of women within family.


4. Impact of Westernization on Iranian family.

1. **CHANGES IN THE TRADITIONAL FAMILY**

The Iranian family before industrialization exhibited different characteristics. It was somewhat different from the type of family which has emerged in modern times due to the influence of industrialization.

Arasteh (1964) says: "Iranian society, as far back as Zoroastrian times, continually favoured the extended family unit, because such a family structure has tended to strengthen the pre-dominantly agricultural economy. Islam, evolving as it did out of the tribal clan system, added further support to the large family unit."

In the traditional patriarchal family, the father expects his sons, when married, to bring their wives to
live in his household, which ultimately consists of the first generation, i.e. parents, their single children and married sons with their wives and children. After the father's death the brothers generally establish a separate households, and the eldest son assumes responsibility for providing for his widowed mother, unmarried siblings and any other widows and their children surviving his father.

The old style Persian houses are so designed that they can accommodate a number of families. The larger houses consist of two adjoining units, the men and women's quarters, separated only by a door or curtain. Most of the rooms open into a central courtyard where there is a small pool and garden. Rivalry between wives is greatly reduced when each has her own apartment and personal possessions. Moreover, polygyny allows each woman a chance to get married and have children and it makes spinsterhood relatively unknown. In a nation where public welfare is virtually unknown, the family looks after its aged and needy members.

Suratgar has commented on Iranian family in the following way:
"In the wider sense Family Feeling is much stronger than in most European countries. It is quite astonishing to what lengths family loyalty and charity will go ... I do not know what an English wife would say if her husband brought his mother, his widowed sister and her brood of children to share his home. In Persia she is expected to treat them as honoured guests."²

J. Behnam also states that: "The traditional Iranian family was the organization of both the production and consumption. It means that the family was self sufficient. Of course it was practiced not only in the rural areas but also in the cities. The social position of women was worthless and they were supposed to produce children, manage the household affairs, and help her husband in agriculture and farming. The children were supposed to maintain the family name as well as family traditions."³

It is difficult to make a comparison between the nuclear family originated in the West and the one which has been introduced in Iran. In the industrial European and American countries, children start living separately after the age of puberty. It might be due to the economic assurance that their government provides them
with, and many facilities which helps them to stand on their own feet such as, unemployment allowance, educational aid etc. There are social welfare agencies as well as educational organizations to look after the youngsters who want to be on their own. But conditions in Iranian society are different from that of European and American societies. These difference are probably due to the lack of such facilities, hence children are depended on their parents for their essential needs, till they are employed and married.

In this regard Touba (1972) gives an example of a nuclear family in a place undergoing industrialization in Iran. She says, a nuclear family includes those persons related by blood or marriage living in the same unit and eating at the same SOFREN or table. Although one of these members might be temporarily absent from his place or residence for purpose of work, education, vacation, sickness, visiting, shopping or military service, the other family members assume that he will return and will rejoin them.

So we see that till the children are married they stay with their parents.
William J. Goode says: "In all parts of the world and for the first time in world history all social systems are moving fast or slowly toward some form of the conjugal family system and also toward industrialization. In agreement with the intuition of social analysts for over a century is the finding that with industrialization the traditional family systems—usually, extended or joint family systems, with or without lineages or clans—are breaking down." 4

The same points of view have been described by Neil J. Smelser who says: "The characteristic type of family in the modern industrial society is the nuclear family. While the extended family is the typical form of family in all traditional societies. He believes that in developing nations in the familial sphere 'extended kinship units lose their pervasiveness'." 5

Generally by an extended family we mean a family made up of a husband and wife, and unmarried children and married children with their wives who live under one roof and they all may eat from the same kitchen. Usually the eldest male member in the family is the head of the family.
With Goode and Smelser's discussion about the breaking down of the extended family due to industrialization, as we mentioned earlier, in Iran a house is usually a compound with many rooms arranged around a central courtyard. Often sons, brothers, and sisters as well as non-relatives, may live within the compound and are, therefore, considered as part of the dwelling unit. Sometime due to the polygyny law which was allowed in the pre-Iranian society (traditional family), number of wives and children used to live in the same house and eat at the same SOFREH, or table. But after the banning of polygyny which was introduced after the nationalization of oil industry and particularly after 1960, the period which the government spent all its energy on industrialization of Iran, there was structural changes toward nuclear family. Before the introduction of industry in Iran, a man could take an additional wife at any time without the consent of his first or other wives. However, with passing of the Family Protection Law (FPL) in 1968, the authority was handed over to the court in which the permission of the court, as well as obtaining the first wife's consent was required. The court was supposed to investigate the husband's ability to treat each wife equally and makes the final decision.
"A study of the effect of this new law on marriage forms in Tehran indicated that within the first three months after the new law was passed, only 14 men took a second wife, as compared to 456 cases reported for the same period of the previous year."

Polygyny was practiced in Iran for many reasons.

As we know according to Islamic law a man can take up to four wives, but he must be able to provide equal economic and psychological conditions for all. Since Iran was predominantly a traditional agricultural society, polygyny was encouraged to insure a large number of children to satisfy the manpower in agricultural activities. Secondly to provide necessary female manpower for looking after the flocks. Due to the lack of proper sanitation, improper hygienic house condition and scarcity of medical facilities, infant mortality was very high. As a result fertility rate was also very high. There was another reason for high rate of fertility, i.e. to increase the strength of the family support. There is a proverb in Iran saying: "The one who gives teeth, gives bread also", it means that God who gives the children will also provide them with food and other necessities, so, the family should not worry about having number of children.
The family in Iran was characterized as extended family which was dominated by the male.

William J. Goode in his book 'World Revolution and Family Patterns', analyses changes in the family pattern in several industrializing societies. His basic conclusion was that similar cross-cultural trends are apparently emerging in the wake of modernization, but that these family changes taking place within the societies will vary as a result of the unique features of each culture. So, many comparative family studies have observed the same phenomenon. Analysis of the Iranian family patterns reinforces this conclusion. So far we have discussed the extended family in Iranian society. But this family pattern has broken down up to certain extent as a result of different factors as follows:

1. Numerous migrants shifted from rural to urban industrial centres of Iran.

2. Government upgraded the status of women in Iran. Government supported this factor by providing them with suitable jobs without their husband's prior consent.
3. Women were treated like men and had the same status and more emphasis was laid on women's education in Iran.

4. Growing industrialization in Iran brought with it a high standard of living which was only possible with the earnings of female members, therefore the female was prompted to become the bread-winner of the family.

These factors were the causes in which extended family was replaced by nuclear type of family which was the inheritance of industry.

Polygyny was also replaced by monogamy type of marriage due to heavy costs and the growing sense of women's rights. And the rural immigrant family was forced to stay in apartment, contrary to the traditional Iranian house.

As a result of the impact of industrialization, the figure given by Iranian statistical Centre, in 1968, says 73 percent of both urban and rural population were nuclear families. In fact this figure indicates higher rate of nuclear family in urban areas, which have been affected more
by industry. Changes which have taken place in the functions of the family has altered the structure of the Iranian family. The surge of government growth and its consequent expansion of influence have led to more government aid programmes, e.g. increase in educational facilities and more industrial jobs. In fact, this increase of government activity have fostered a move from extended to the more nuclear independent family pattern. There will be more security from government and expanding industrialization, which will provide more services to the family.

Jamshid Behnam has divided the nuclear family which is the consequence of the influence of industrialization on family structure in Iran into the following three types:

1. Independent conjugal units with no other relatives.

2. Independent conjugal units with dependent aged parents.

3. Family of immigrants in urban areas.

(A) **Independent Conjugal Units with no other relatives:**

The head of the family is either occupied in a high or in a middle position in the government office, or he may run a business. Belonging to such
a kind of family is based mostly on being educated or having a good income. So the highly posted government officers or businessmen who have got good incomes (Physicians, advocates) or the personnel of private companies come under this type of family. Usually the head of the family is educated. The wife is also educated but she usually has a lower degree than her husband. She may be employed out of the house too. The wife is very interested in enjoying good prestige and personality in the society. In daily affairs, the husband and wife both take equal part in decision making. This has created many problems and differences in the family and it usually is considered as one of the causes of separation followed by divorce. The main responsibility and important decision is as to how many children they should have and how to bring them up.

The style of living is very much westernized and the family tries to have luxurious facilities in the house. Living in apartments has become a common phenomenon, however those who have high incomes prefer to have their own bungalows.
Consumption of luxury facilities and good food among 'the independent conjugal family with no other relatives' is much more than the other two types i.e. (1) independent conjugal units with dependent aged parent, and (2) family of the immigrants in Urban areas. The family cares for sanitation, clothing and annually vacations. In this type of family both the husband and the wife spend their incomes together. This family is less attached to kinship relations. They are almost concentrated in Tehran and some other big industrialised cities.

Pam (1986) has rightly described this type of family in the following words: "This comparatively small class of the society with the largest share of the GNP enjoyed a very luxurious life. In many cases their affluence was incredible. It was marked by palatial houses, rich lavish food, latest fashion in dresses, latest automobile models, and kinds of entertainments, like night clubs, casinos, hotels, either inside the country or in Europe and America."
In modern Iran many times we come across independent conjugal nuclear families exhibiting the characteristics of the Western family. But this family is not without its problems. In such families we often see conflict between traditional values and modern values.

(B) **Independent Conjugal Units with dependent Aged Parents:**

Industrialization has affected family in such a way that different types of family patterns are emerging. In modern Iran, along with conjugal nuclear family, we find independent conjugal families with additional members in it. Many times these additional members are the dependent aged parents of the husband in the family. In this way Iran has retained still its old type of family, that is patriarchal joint family.

J. Behnam states: The Head of the family is occupied in the low government services or being a skilled labourer. He is not highly educated. The wife is mostly busy in house activities. The husband has superiority in the house and all the
important decisions will be taken by him only, in which his wife is obedient. There will not be any limit on the number of children and basically they are interested to have more children. They are very religious, and may be strictly traditional. The family is independent for the wealth, and usually stays in a house having two or one bedroom. Male and female have separate entertainment.⁹

As the wife is an obedient household lady, and respects her husband, so she has no right to refuse to stay with her in-laws. The husband can ask his aged parents to come and stay together with them.

(C) Family of the immigrants in Urban areas:

Behnam also describes his views on this type of family and states that: This type of family is the immigrant from the rural or small towns who seek jobs in the industrial cities of Iran. But they have not yet been absorbed by the urban society. They usually live in the shanty towns on the periphery of industrial cities. They are usually unskilled labourers who work in building constructions...
and so on. The family has no social responsibilities because they have no contact with their kinsmen. They also feel home-sick. The head of the family is often illiterate and has dominant authority in the house. The houses are constructed of very poor raw materials and many families live together in such houses.

a. Types of Mates Selection in traditional and modern Iran:

In traditional Iranian society endogamy was very often practiced. There is a proverb saying that the hands of first cousins are united in marriage in heaven. (Behnam: 100).10

Endogamy is also stimulated by a desire to keep wealth and property within the family.

Although first cousin marriage on either the mother's or father's side of the family is desirable, mate selection from the father's side is preferred. When someone eligible was available within the kinship group, the arrangements for the marriage could easily be made. When there is no one suitable within the kinship, partners are found by means of 'KHASTEGARI' (an arranged proposal
of marriage). In this stage a go-between was required who was called 'MASHATEH'. Mashateh was a lady's hair dresser acted as a go-between, she went from house to house performing her service and so was able to seek out attractive brides from well-to-do families.

The 'Mashateh' would see the girl and report her physical features and other information concerning her family to the prospective groom or his parents.

But at the present time, due to industrialization and its effects on the family structure, mate selection has undergone change.

Now in urban industrial cities of Iran many of the young persons have had college education, and are working in white collar occupations, and enjoying more economic independence. These young persons often do not like the traditional type of mate selection. They may meet each other and fall in love, which is contrary to pre-arranged marriage practice in traditional societies. And instead of traditional go-between (Mashateh), family friends often help in selecting the mate. However the investigating and reporting aspects still take place by a family member or a friend.
Touba states that: "At the most traditional end of the continuum, neither the girl nor the boy in question is consulted, all arrangements being made by the parents. If the family is somewhat less traditional, the boy may accompany his parents to the home of the girl or to see the girl. If the parents of the girl are less traditional, she may be given the opportunity to reject the proposal. If the parents are still less traditional, they give the couple the opportunity to see each other before the final decision is made."^11 If the parents have been educated in Western society or are very progressive in their thinking, they may accept the selection of their children.

So we observe how in the traditional Iranian society the children's right in mate selection was limited. In so many cases both the partners never saw each other before the marriage. Marriage took place in the form of arranged marriage. But the condition has entirely changed in industrialized society due to the more rights given to women in mate selection.

b. Marriage:

With the introduction of Islamic law in Iran, the customs which already existed got a boost especially the
significance of the family as a social unit.

The Qoran laid stress on the value of marriage life to that of celibacy. "And marry such of you as are solitary ... (Qoran XXIV 32)."

The Prophet Mohammad also said: "I approve of marriage and I have no use for those who dislike it. Wed and multiply, and thereby increase the glory of my community over others."\textsuperscript{13}

Imam Ja'far Sadegh encourages young eligible men to marry good ladies and bear children. He states marriage is an important institution. In his words: "A wife is like a fetter around a man's neck and should not be chosen carelessly. It is a sin to marry a woman for her beauty or her property. She should be selected for her piety and worth trusting that God would bestow upon her the beauty and wealth desired."\textsuperscript{14} He also insisted that it was as important for the bride to have good hair on head as it was for her to be religious.

In most of the traditional Iranian families, it was the parents who selected partners for their boys and girls. Usually, the old custom states that they are
betrothed at a very young age in some cases even in infancy and very rarely, before the child is born. Lately laws have been introduced to fix a certain minimum marriage age.

For a proposal, the boy's mother and close relatives call on the mother of the prospective bride and offer the marriage proposal, if the girl's family is interested in the proposal, they should pursue the matter further and discuss the dowry (Mahriye) and agree on a suitable amount. The bridegroom's family promises to pay that amount to the father of the bride-selected. At a later fixed time, the engagement is marked by the presentation of gifts but the actual marriage ceremony takes place later on as agreed upon by the two families.

Whatever dowry is there, belongs solely to the wife who uses it as per her wishes. In few cases, an additional sum is set aside for the wife, in case that she is divorced. A marriage is legal only if the girl's father or guardian agrees to the marriage and arranges for the dowry (amount) to be given to the bride at the time of the wedding. However, in the days of modern Iranian industrial society, the young men and women belonging to
upper and middle class select their own partners, even then the families settle the dowry matter.

**Forms of Marriages**

Traditionally Iranians have accepted three types of marriages: Sigheh, Polygyny and Monogamy. Of these 'Sigheh' is a temporary kind of marriage while Polygyny and Monogamy are permanent forms of marriage.

**Sigheh:**

It is a temporary type of marriage which is contracted by mutual agreement between the spouses. This type of marriage implies a situation in which the wife has inferior status. "This type of marriage is called temporary because the duration of the union is decided upon by the couple and written into the contract. It can range from few hours to ninety-nine years." 15

'Sigheh' is no doubt, against any kind of human right in the values of marriage and family and it results in the breaking of a family.

Dr. Sayyed Reza Nagavi writes: "The Iranian family law explicitly recognizes a temporary marriage as legal and the relevant rules are contained in sections 1075-1077."
This type of marriage was stimulated in number of cases. "It is hardly more than an institutionalized form of prostitution. The children are recognized as legitimate, but no inheritance may be expected by the wife. Secondly it may be a way of testing male virility in case no child resulted from a permanent marriage."\(^{17}\)

But in modern Iran, because of the impact of the industrialization and the development of science and technology educated people are no longer adopting to this type of marriage. The importance of such type of marriage has been reduced in modern times.

**Polygyny**:

According to Islamic Law, polygyny is allowed if the husband provides equally economic and psychological benefits to all his four wives. "The Koran also gives men the privileges of plural marriages but denies it to women (Koran IV 3;9)."\(^{18}\)

This type of marriage was much practised in traditional Iranian society and was the cause of the extended family system. The right of polygyny, for men has not been prohibited even after industrialization. But it was somewhat
decreased with the restriction law of 'Family Protection Law' (FPL), that was introduced in 1968.

Industrialization has changed even the traditional ideology, for example, Family Protection Law puts some restriction on the liberty of men about the number of wives they can marry.

In the year 1968 the 'FPL', put some restriction on the liberty of men to have more wives than one. With the passing of the 'FPL', the man must seek the permission of the court to take another wife, as well as obtain his first wife's consent if he wishes to get married to a second wife. The court investigated the husband's ability to treat each wife equally and makes the final decision. "According to sub-section 3 of section 11 of the Act, the first wife may apply to the court for issuing her a certificate of non-reconciliation if her husband married another woman without her consent."^19

But after the industrialization of Iran due to the high standard of living, high expenses, education and literacy of men an women, mutual understanding of spouses, liberation of women, economic conditions, good sanitation and less mortality of infant children, monogamy has
succeeded polygyny type of marriage in Iran.

Monogamy:

Monogamy has become the accepted pattern for the most of the Iranians instead of polygyny in modern times.

With the advent of industrialization, due to various reasons, monogamy became the favoured type of marriage. And polygyny started receding. This is a permanent type of marriage which is practiced by the majority of couples in Iran today. The changing economic situation, as well as changing legal forms and tradition are promoting an increased incidence of monogamy.

In large cities like Tehran, Esfahan, Tabriz, Shiraz, etc., people prefer monogamy to polygyny because of the influence of industrialization. In rural areas where we find the impacts of industrialization is less, polygyny is still prevalent there.

C. Age at Marriage:

In traditional Iran, parents often arranged the betrothal of their children at an early age. Although both boys and girls, in many instances got married even before the age of puberty, the marriage was never consummated until they had attained physical maturity.
Before industrialization not only in the villages but also in the cities parents tried to find a proper life partner for their daughter, from the time she reached the age of 10. Article, 1041 of the C.C. (Civil Code) sets out "an age limitation for marriage to prevent the traditional arbitrariness of the father's (or Wali's) will in arranging marriages for daughters regardless of their young age." The same Civil Code states "the minimum age for marriage is 15 for girls and 18 for boys."

At the present time, the legal age for marriage is eighteen for girls and twenty years for boys. If a girl wishes to marry before the age of eighteen, legally she must not only have the permission of her parents, but also must be examined by a court doctor to establish whether she has reached the age of puberty (Ministry of Justice, 1971: 121). If a girl is under fifteen years of age and marriage results in her becoming deformed or ill, her spouse can be imprisoned. It was thirteen a few years ago.

During the period of industrialization and particularly after 1960 the age of marriage went up gradually. "Most of the marriages took place between the
age of 15 and 20 for girls and sometimes it was increased even up to 25 years. However, there are instances of late marriages for boys between 25 and 30 years. The main reason for this change in the age of marriage apart from the restrictions of law, is the economic factors. Boys want to get married at a later age when they start earning on their own and they will no longer need financial help from their parents.

Another reason for late marriages is the higher education of males and females as they have to spend so many years of their life in the universities to get higher education to become qualified, to find proper jobs that would enable them to support their independent family.

2. STATUS OF WOMEN

In all traditional patriarchal families women are given low status in the family. She is just regarded as the property of the husband. She never enjoys any rights in the property of the family. In many traditional patriarchal families polygyny is permitted. Under this type of marriage women naturally suffer a lot. Because they can be deserted, divorced, and harressed by their husbands at any time. They have no rights to revolt.
against the domination of the men in the family.

Due to her inferior position in the family, many times we find women were deprived of any formal education, also they were economically dependent on men.

All these factors affected women in such a way that many times they were exploited by men and they have been forced to accept the lower position in the family.

Now let us examine the status of women in the Iranian family in its historical context and then the status of women in modern Iranian family.

**Status of Iranian women in the pre-Islamic era:**

To provide a historical and structural analysis of the changing societal status of women in Iran we have to first look at the status of women in the pre-Islamic period and proceed to the changes that have taken place in Iran due to industrialization.

M. Sedghi and A. Ashraf say: "Islamic history bears the marks of its Arabian origin; cultural values and social norms determining the social status of women in Islamic societies can be traced back to the pre-Islamic
practices of ancient Arabian tribes. The burial of unwanted girl children at birth was being practiced and women were barred from holding important position in public affairs. With the advent of Islam, the Great Prophet Mohammad introduced fundamental and profound changes in tribal practices concerning the status of women. Among the most revolutionary instructions of the Mohammadan Golden Age were abandonment of the tradition of women's burial after birth; allowance of woman's participation in public affairs, granting of private property rights to women (British women were given such rights in the 1930s); upgrading maternity status; and setting up rules and regulations concerning marriage and divorce, in order to protect women's social and economic rights."

From the above quotation it is clear that in pre-Islamic times the status of women in the family was very low. But with the advent of Islam her position in the family was improved.

"Later invasions, especially that of the Mongols, pushed women to a position of powerlessness due to illiteracy, ignorance of social affairs, superstition, and a limited defined role within the family. With no knowledge of social matters, women became dependent on their
husbands to make major decisions for the family. In addition children especially girls, had no voice in deciding their future."\textsuperscript{24}

Therefore the above quotation clearly reveals that the status of women in the family deteriorated during the invasion of Mongols.

As it is expressed in an Iranian novel, "women were 'imperfect' among the created beings and, in consequence capricious and of ill repute, regarding this world and the next for the sake of a moment's desire..."\textsuperscript{25}

A survey published in 1951 described the status of women in the following words: "Women at least in towns and centres of any importance, used to be veiled and took little part in economic and social life. Their status was determined by Muslim religious law, and their lot remained unchanged for centuries: they were completely dependent on their husbands, and had hardly any rights, either political or social."\textsuperscript{26}

This denigration and dark view of women's nature served a two-fold functions in social relations. First, it denigrated women's position both socially and
psychologically. Second, it created a situation in which men were granted the authority to use women as instruments of fulfilling their sexual desires. The maintenance of this taboo is dependent upon the organization of family promoted through marriage. Marriage as a process of transference of authority from father to the husband over women, reinforces male domination.

Hence the status of women in the traditional historical Iranian society almost remained the same till the beginning of the second half of the 20th century.

**Status of Iranian women in modern times:**

In the traditional Iranian family the position of the woman was as stated by A. Reza. Arasteh (1962) in the following words, "traditionally Iranian women confined themselves to their home, leaving it only to go to the bath, the mosque or to visit friends. The mother devoted almost all her time to caring for her husband and children, supervising the household and entertaining."\(^{27}\)

Changing Iranian family structure in the post half century was slow and quiet but decisive. Long ago there was a form of family which sociologists called extended
family. It was a family based on Islamic principles and agricultural activities. The family had a regular organisation in which the father or the oldest male member was the head of the family.

The confinement of women by the traditional cultural barriers remained intact until the beginning of the second quarter of the 20th century when Iran underwent an intense period of industrialization, modernization and Westernization.

R. Arasteh states: "In traditional exceptional upper-class women occasionally gained power in governmental and business affairs, and some became outstanding literary figures, most urban women, however, concerned themselves with household matters, although those of strong will were able to influence their husband's decision. The Constitution Movement of 1906 aroused the fervor of a small but active group of urban women from the upper and middle classes. They wrote newspaper articles and took direct action when they felt the situation demanded it. From his own experience in Iran in 1911, Shuster recounted how the many women's secret societies kept abreast of political happenings, staged dramatic protests or conducted skillful intrigues behind the scenes. On one
occasion three-hundred veiled Tehran women, some of them armed, marched to the Majlis and demanded to see the President of the Assembly. When he received a delegation of them, they told him that they would kill all their husbands, sons and themselves if the Majlis insisted on bowing to Russian demands. The women won their point.\textsuperscript{28}

But the real liberation of women came into existence after the coup of Reza Khan in 1921 who became the Shah of Iran in 1925. Along with the setting up of industry the government started granting rights of freedom to women, in order to convert Iranian women, who form half of the population, from a traditional status to a modern, and encourage them to take part in the country's affairs.

As discussed earlier women in Iran recently have gained some rights. Increase in women's literacy and education among urban women have also furthered their activities outside the house. "Hailed as one of the most outstanding modern literary figures in Iran, the poetess, Parvin T'tisami wrote on social issues and championed women's rights in the 1930s.

It is as if the woman in Persia was not a
Persian before. She had no pursuit other than misfortune and distraction.

She lived and died in a solitary corner. What else was a woman in those days if not a prisoner? No one like a woman dwelt in darkness for centuries.

No one like a woman was sacrificed in the temple of hypocrisy.29

In addition, many Iranian males were adamantly opposed to giving equal status to women, since they believed that women should stay at home and merely bring up children. Any enlightened person could clearly see that such a situation was not only contrary to modern principles of equality and justice, as expressed in the 'Declaration of Human Rights', but also constituted a big obstacle to Iran's economic, social, cultural and political development as well as running counter to Islamic law.

E. B. Harvey states that: "In traditional societies, system of religious belief provide a major source of social stability."30

On the basis of Harvey's statement, Arasteh opines
that: "In Iran separated from the older generation and largely defying conventional behaviour, the modern urban family encounters many situation which threaten its stability. Religious standards of conduct are being discarded in favour of greater freedom of social behaviour, patterned on Western ideas. Competition for white collar jobs is particularly strong in the cities where such employment provided the principal means of increasing social status. Family relationships are affected."³¹

In harmony with Arasteh, M. Sedghi and A. Ashraf give their statement and say: Among the various historic measures that have been adopted in Iran's modern history to liberate Iranian women from traditional restrictive practices, some are worthy of mention. The first is the 1935 decree that banned the wearing of a Chador³² and Chaghchur (veil and baggy trousers) and for this purpose the police was ordered to unveil the unwilling ones forcibly.

This decision was put into practice by Reza Shah's regime. This literally opened up a new vistas to Iranian women. But M. R. Vaghefi says: "to the satisfaction of the clergy, at least, with the departure of Reza Shah in 1941 the entire attempt fell apart and many women went
back to the veil as a way of life."^{33}

"The second is the granting of suffrage to women in 1963, as well as the right to run for, and be elected to the national legislative bodies and to the provincial and local elective councils all across the country."^{34}

As a result there were a few female judges and diplomats as well as a number of female members of various urban arbitration councils, rural houses of equity and provincial, district councils.

In the beginning of 1969, 1975 and 1976, the following important social, political and administrative posts were held by Iranian women.

Table 3.1: ADMINISTRATIVE POSTS HELD BY WOMEN IN IRAN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post Type</th>
<th>Jan 1969</th>
<th>Jan 1975</th>
<th>Jan 1976</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cabinet Minister</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majlis Deputies</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senators</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ambassador</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deputy Ministers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Court Lawyers</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Director Generals</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judges</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The third is the promulgation of the 1967 'Family Protection Law' (EPL)."  

With the establishment of 'FPL', it caused a decline in the polygyny type of family and increase the monogamy type of family particularly in the urban industrialized cities in which people had a better education and were the obedientes of the law.

As previously mentioned the result was "a study of this new law on marriage formed in Tehran indicated that within the first three months after the new law was passed only 14 men took a second wife, as compared to 456 cases reported for the same period of the previous years."  

This measure to change the status of women had been an attempt to reduce polygyny, with FPL protection, by requiring men to obtain written permission for their subsequent marriages. The granting of this permission is not, however, prohibited by law. "Moreover, contrary to the earlier provisions of the Civil Codes, which required women to have their husband's permission to obtain employment, the FPL, grants women the right of employment."
After the operation of the above law (FPL) urban women increasingly sought outside employment, either to satisfy their desire for a career or to supplement the family income. Hence "In 1958 there were about 150 women physicians, surgeons, dentists in Iran, about 600 professional nurses and about 400 midwives and practical nurses. For the same year over 15,000 women were employed as teachers or administrative personnel in elementary and secondary schools throughout the country. Some women also teach in colleges and universities, and a few hold administrative positions in various governmental agencies or business firms."\(^{38}\)

It makes little difference whether women's employment is categorized as 'active' or 'inactive'. It is true that there has been an increase in the female labour force, yet, compared with men, the economically active population of women numbers much less - an indication of the unequal status of women.

Table 3.2 shows how many women were employed in Iran during 1975.

Out of 33,551,000 estimated Iran's population in 1975, 16,374,000 were women. Number of employed women
in 1975 was 1,775,000 as follows:

Table 3.2: WOMEN EMPLOYMENT IN IRAN DURING 1975

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professions</th>
<th>No. of women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Agriculture</td>
<td>1,084,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Industry</td>
<td>450,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Government Services</td>
<td>86,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employment</td>
<td>74,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaching in Schools</td>
<td>1,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nursing</td>
<td>20,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical Profession</td>
<td>880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dentistry</td>
<td>248</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal Professions</td>
<td>316</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in Miscellaneous Professions</td>
<td>2,484</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Statistics Centre of Iran.

M. Sedghi and A. Ashraf state that: "looking specially at the Iranian situation, it may be noted that while the per capita income increased from $ 200 in the early 1960s to $ 1500 in the mid 1970s, female employment rose from 9.2 percent of the total population in 1956 to
"The employment of women was highest in industry, agriculture and the services in 1971. Thus 51.1 per cent of the total employed females was engaged in industry, 29.8 per cent in agriculture and 16.4 per cent in services. In urban areas, the employment of women is mostly centered around services, totally 53 per cent".

The noteworthy point in the aforementioned is the increasing trend of women's economic activity in the urban areas, for it is the urban sector that most substantially influenced by the impact of industrialization and modernization, both at the socio-cultural and economic levels.

In terms of the distribution of female labour forces in white-collar and professional positions, the following figures may be of particular interest. "Of almost 195,000 women in these occupations, 45 per cent are in teaching - including one per cent in professorial positions - 44 per cent in clerical and administrative jobs, 10 per cent in paramedical professions, only half a per cent in the medical profession and only 38 practicing female lawyers."
Industrialization and economic development accelerated rate of educational participation, particularly among the hiterto neglected women, and the ever-widening use of mass communication facilities especially radio and television which are the products of industrialization, were all major factors that have affected women's role and status in the family and society and also will expand the rate of women's participation in production.

Regarding the changes in the status of women in Iran Ostad Mohammad (1982) recounts: "The husband-wife relationship that is different between the middle and working class is that in the latter, the roles, the expected activities, are more clearly and distinctly demarcated. There is less 'togetherness' in day-to-day activities. In the working class family, the work around the house is often separated between outside, the husband's responsibility, and the inside, the wife's, middle class couples are more apt to share responsibility for chores; it is easier to get an apron on middle class husband. The same holds true for recreational activities. The working class husband is more likely to engage in separate activities at the bar or bowling alley and even a separate vacation, such as hunting or fishing. The middle class husband might also spend some vacation time
hunting or fishing, but his vacation nearly always includes time spent with his wife.  

The push to develop Iran's industrial capacity and the already expanding gross national product will demand a ready labour force. The need for labour will overcome ideological resistance to women's employment along a broad base of the economy. Management of joint income will be a new family function, but will be handled primarily by the male with increasing numbers of both parents holding jobs. These are the factors that have improved the status of women in Iran after industry was introduced.

Divorce:

Another change that the institution of family has undergone during the process of industrialization, in any modernizing and industrializing society is a conspicuous increase in the rate of divorce. No doubt, the factors responsible for this increase are more than one and are all inter-connected with each other. Here, we are going to concentrate on the analysis of relationship between industrialization in Iran and the rate of divorce.

There is a strong agreement among sociologists that
not only does the process of industrialization require and force the spread of nuclear type of family against extended family which is a common feature of traditional society, but also it enforces the phenomenon of broken family and increases the number of divorce in the society.

William J. Goode discusses in the same vein. He writes: "There is strong evidence to illustrate that the rate of divorce and other indicators of family breakdown increase in modern and industrial societies. There is no doubt this is partly attributable to the greater levels of tension and strain which characterize such societies. However, the small size of the typical nuclear family unit doubtless serves to generate a certain intensity of relationship which can limit the number of effective safety valves for constructive release of tension." ⁴³

E. V. Schneider also investigates American society and finds out that industrialization is the major factor of increase in the rate of divorce in this society. He argues that: "Certainly, it is easy to show that the rate of divorce has increased in the United States with the rise of industrialism. Between 1867 and 1929, a period coinciding with the great growth period of American
industry, the divorce rate increased about five times as fast as the population. Between 1930 and 1963, the rate of divorce increased from 1.6 per cent (of the entire population) to 2.2 per cent."

The process of social and industrial development in the Iranian society proves the same fact. However, the ratification of 'Family Protection Law' in 1968, up to a great extent, prevented Iranian men from divorcing their wives arbitrarily, but it could not reduce the number of divorces in Iran.

J. R. Touba, gives the following statistics in connection with the rate of divorce in the largest, and most industrialized city of Iran, that is Tehran.

According to her in 1969-70 there has been 10,500 divorces in Tehran alone, while the number had increased to 11,000 in the year 1971-72 in the same city. This increase in the number of divorces can be considered a result of trend of society towards more industrialization, and its subsequent changes like, economic independency of women, and by and large more liberation of women, however meager it might be. We may conclude from Reza Arasteh's discussion in his book 'Man and Society in
Iran*, that divorce rate is highest among urban-industrial families in Iran. He refers to the 1956 national Census which reports that: "The largest percentage of widows and divorcees live in Esfahan and Tehran respectively."\textsuperscript{46}

One of the main factors for the higher percentage of divorce in the cities compare to rural areas in Iran is due to the process of industrialization in urban centres.

Mamideh Sedghi and Amad Ashraf while studying the social condition of Iranian women in their article, 'The role of women in Iranian development', observed that out of 18,000 divorces in Iranian society in general, in the year 1971, 15,000 had taken place in the cities and the rest i.e. 3,000 were in the rural areas.\textsuperscript{47} This is mainly because of the industrial development and its concomitant factors which have played a significant role.

The following tables are also expressive evidence that divorce occurs more in the urban areas due to the impact of industrialization.
Table 3.3: REGISTERED MARRIAGE AND DIVORCES (1959-1967)

(UNIT: 1,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Marriage</th>
<th>Divorce</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total country</td>
<td>Cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960-61</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-62</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963-64</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4: REGISTERED MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES (1972-1976)
(Unit: 1,000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Country</th>
<th>Cities</th>
<th>Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Marriages</td>
<td>Divorces</td>
<td>Marriages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972-73</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975-76</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Iran Almanac and Book of Facts, 1976, P.351.

To take into consideration the figure of 11,000 divorces for the year 1971-1972 only in the city given by J. R. Toube and comparing with the figure of 15,000 divorces for the total population of Iran may lead us to conclude that this great concentration of divorce in Tehran is also the result of rapid industrial changes in Tehran city, which is not only the most populated city of Iran, but the most industrial concentrated city also.

Finally one may drive to the conclusion that the processes of social and industrial changes in Iranian society has been a factor of increase in the number of broken families and divorces, as in any other industrial and industrializing society.
3. **PARENTS-CHILDREN RELATIONSHIP**

Industrialization may not have a very significant direct influence on parents-children relationship. But it indirectly affects them in several ways. Due to industrialization, the work place of the father and his residence are separated from each other. In so many instances we find that the control of the father over children is weakened, because he has to spend major part of his time outside the house. Along with this factor, there are many other factors that affect the relationship between parents and children in such a way that it becomes difficult to control the children in modern industrial family.

Children usually at a very young age go to formal institutes for education outside the home. Many of their needs are fulfilled outside the family. This gives rise to more freedom for children in industrial society. Children's more freedom has in turn affected many of the traditional behaviour patterns between parents and children in modern industrial family. For example, mate selection was done traditionally by parents, but now children choose their own partners in many cases.
William J. Goode states that: "More important, elders no longer control the major new economic or political opportunities, so that family authority slips from the hands of such family leaders. The young groom can obtain his bride price on his own, and need not concern himself about the good will of his elders. The couple need not obey any one outside their family unit, since only their performance at the job is relevant to their advancement. They need not even rely on family elders for job instruction, since schools, the factory, or the plantation or mine, will teach them the new skills. Nor do they even need to continue working on the land, still in the possession of the elders, since the jobs and political opportunities are in the city. Thus industrialization is likely to undermine gradually the traditional systems of family control and exchange. The terms of role - bargaining between the generations have been altered." 48

To examine these effects in the context of industrialization in Iran and its impact on the family, we may start with A. Momeni's discussion. He writes: "The past half century has seen a transformation in the Iranian family and the shattering of its traditional
structure. For a long time marriage followed the strict rules imposed by religions and traditions, and within this conventional environment the 'extensive family' and the authority, of the 'Father' were dominant.49

It is indicated that industrialization of Iran was initially started after 1921 and was accelerated after the Second World War, so one may conclude that it was due to the growth of industry which took place in the structure of family.

J. Behnam says in the traditional family (extended family) "The father was the unchallengeable master of the family and money was to be spent under his supervision. No member of the family had independent money for his/her expenditure. This condition has now changed in a nuclear family in which partners and sometimes children are economic independent."50

In accordance to the Goode's definition we may derived from Arasteh that: "In upper and Middle class families in Iran children were more apt to be under the care of servants than those in traditional homes, and there were also fewer family recreational activities. Groups outside the home such as the scouts, and schools, clubs provided some substitute recreation."51
He also says: "Sons and daughters educated in Iranian colleges and abroad were generally eager to live apart from their family with little or no help from them. In turn they do not feel the same deep responsibility to their elders and kin that the more traditional-minded Iranian do."\textsuperscript{52}

In industrial urban cities, grown up children started living alone, away from their parents, due to the educational opportunities available and this proved to be a cause for the declining authority of the parents over their children.

Traditional Iranian family, was usually protected by its elder members. The father being the head of the family with final authority made all important decisions. It was he who decided the further course of children's studies and marriage affairs. The child received unwarranted punishment and at certain times unbounded love and generosity as the condition demanded. The children feared their father, respected him and looked on him for love, security and strength in relationship. They always tried to be obedient. The father taught the children to obey and respect elders, boys usually copied the power of the masculine role. Even young men were
usually dependent on their fathers. The mother was responsible for developing the gentler side of the child's character and from her, they acquired traits such as affection, trust and sympathy. Children were closely attached to mothers under the supervision of their fathers.

As we discussed earlier, marriage in the traditional Iranian family was a matter of parents' choice. Marriages were the arranged type of marriage not in term of romantic attraction, but in terms of socio-economic realities. The young generation became gradually dissatisfied with pre-arranged marriages. The children often revolted against parental authority. As a result arranged marriage was replaced by romantic love. However arranged marriages have not totally disappeared in Iranian society.

Neil J. Smelser discusses romantic love as a basis for marriage in modern societies: "We may better appreciate the social importance of 'romantic love' as the dominant basis for marriage in urban-industrial societies."53

Sjoberg has the same opinion as Smelser'. He states that "Romantic love can be a significant part of marriage (and family life) only where the women are
liberated from the harness of parental dominance and can exercise freedom of choice. It is no accident that in highly industrialized societies where women acquire economic and social independence romantic love is for large number of young people a necessary condition for marriage."\(^{54}\)

In this regard, "a study of 750 student at the Tehran University showed a preference for self-selection, while the final consent of parents was considered as important."\(^{55}\)

Pam (1986), stated that: "In progressive and educated families (in Iran)*, the young men or women seem to be free to express their preference to their parents, while in the lower class families arranged marriages are still very common and the couple (especially the bride) had no right to go against the will of their own parents."\(^{56}\) These factors gave hand and caused the decline of the fathers' control over their children in the urban-industrial cities in Iran. According to Arasteh's view: "In Iran, family tensions increased under these conditions and there is a little or no outside guidance. Older relatives hesitate to interfere, and

\(^*\) Brackets mine
even if they do, they fail to understand the nature of the grievances; nor are they, as yet, any family counselling services in Iran. Although figures are lacking, it is likely that the divorce rate is highest among these urban families."\(^{57}\)

These were all the consequences of transition from a traditional society into an industrial one.

F. Pam also says: "Both the sons and the daughters were expected to be totally subordinate to the parents in traditional families. They had no right to go against the decisions taken by their parents, especially those of the father. And the family had great control over them. Since children were better educated than their parents, and as a result of their economic activities, as well as their contact with new ideas, books and magazines, and movies, children especially sons, tried to grasp more autonomy and play some role in the realm of decision-making in the family. Finally they succeeded in doing so to some extent."\(^{58}\)

One report says: "Youth are breaking away from old religious traditions and expect more freedom of thought and movement."\(^{59}\)
So one of the major causes of the decrease in parents' control over their children in a society undergoing changes like Iran as a result of the process of Industrialization is the economic factor.

Parents lose control over their children to a certain extent, when family income is earned by both the parents and children.

In the weakening of parent's control over their children Pam (1986) recounts: "The family control over the children outside the family and in society, which in the past had been very sharp and strong, lost some of its previous strength and the family was no longer able to control the activities of children outside the family particularly in urban areas. Consequently, the young got more liberty outside the home as a result of this losing". 60

These changes, in which the parents lose control over their children, were abrupt and rapid especially during the 1960's because of the industrialization in Iran which was much faster than during the period before 1960's.
4. **IMPACT OF WESTERNIZATION ON IRANIAN FAMILY**

Industrialization was started by Western people in Iran and so we find industrialization and Westernization go ahead hand in hand in Iranian society.

It is indispensable here to mention the impact of Westernization on Iranian family.

In the last few decades the influence of industry has changed the form of family particularly in the urban areas in Iran which we are witnessing now.

In cities that experience greater industrialization there is greater influence of Western culture and tradition. The relation between husband and wife and children is spontaneously copied from Western culture. These relationship has taken a new form in which the wife gradually becomes husband's companion and partner and not an absolute subordinate.

Schools are created to help the family but many times their instructions are contrary to those of the family's traditions. In the educational institutes young people get acquainted with new ideas which put emphasise on equality between the two sexes. Furthermore,
means of communications like T.V., Radio, Cinema, newspapers, books, and magazines introduced western values to the younger generations. As a result of all these factors relation between parents and children has accepted certain changes along with the process of industrialization and westernization in the Iranian society.

Paydarfar expresses his opinion on the historical background of the impact of Westernization on Iranian family in the following words: "The major impact of Western civilization upon Iranian society has come during the past four decades of contact and interaction between Iran and the West."61

J. Momeni also expresses his point of view regarding the impact of Westernization on Iranian family and states that: "Contact with industrial civilization, the process of urbanization, and the fundamental transformation of the customary way of life have changed all this. On the one hand, conventions and legal or religious sanctions exist and are observed by the older generations; on the other hand, there is the impetus of a new generation that believes in a different scale of values and is obliged, under pressure of present social and economic changes, to
destroy traditions and create a new existence for itself in an unconventional setting. Hence there are two types of behaviour, and the antagonism between native and foreign cultural practices heightens the friction between the generations."

Banani goes further and classifies two main factors which brought diffusion of western ideas into Iran. He points out:

1. Iranian students who studied in Europe and America and then returned to Iran.

2. European and American technicians and professors who were employed by the Iranian government were the agents of spreading Westernization in Iran.

1. **Iranian Student who studied in Europe and America and then returned to Iran:**

"The Iranian students who studied in the highly industrialized Western countries in the various fields of modern ideology and technology, and who return to Iran have been significant agents in bringing new ideas and values to Iranian society. No single institution or group
of people has been more responsible for bringing Western influence into Iran than the student who had been educated in Europe and America."

J. R. Touba expresses her opinion in the same vein. She writes: "In large urban centres, contact with Western culture through returnees who studied abroad, movies, foreign books, newspaper, imported material goods, new techniques etc., is affecting relationship between the generations. Youths are breaking away from old religious traditions and expect more freedom of thought and movement."

2. **European and American experts**:

"Many European and American technicians, experts and professors have been employed by the Iranian government during the last four decades. These Western scholars and advisers have been serving in the different social, economic, military, educational, health, administrative, and industrial activities. Some of them have also taught in various colleges of Iran. Thus, it may be indicated that these scholars and experts have contributed to the modernization of Iran and have brought many new ideas and methods into Iranian society and culture."
Therefore a number of upper and middle class families who live in major industrialized cities such as Tehran, Shiraz, Abadan, Esfahan, Tabriz and some other industrial centres have adopted Western practices to varying degree. Otherwise, urban family life continued to adhere strongly to traditional practices. Strong differences tend to arise between the first and second generations when the younger people have travelled or resided abroad. Even within Iran many urban dwellers have become acquainted with Western values and practices by knowing foreign businessman, foreign industrialists, travellers and missionaries or by coming in contact with European and American products, especially movies, and literature. Movies, more than any other Western items had greatly altered the attitudes of many urban young people towards marriage and family life by introducing them to the idea of romantic love.

Urban families in Iran have been affected with Western values in different aspects. People in the industrial urban areas become very fashionable, dress like Western people and instead of their traditional garments.

F. Pam (1986) quotes from E. B. Bayne and points out that: "Most of the new concepts of design and function
that seem to be generally accepted in the city have been imported." He also introduces geographical factors as the cause of Westernization in Iran and opines: "There are historical and strategic factors which underlie the influence of the foreign models of life-style on the Iranian society. In this connection, Iran's strategic geographical location as a connecting link between Asia, and Europe, influenced the Iranian society, deserves to be noted.

In the 20th century Iran was affected by European and Western societies, in almost all aspects of social life. The middle class people were imitating the upper class fashions, which in turn were a clear imitation of American and European fashions. This aping of fashions was because of the direct contact they had with foreign societies through education, tourism, and business."67

In this regard Arasteh says: "Western influences and changes in the social position of urban women have seriously altered the family organization and value system of the small number of upper and middle class families who have broken with tradition...... the general impression is that in these families there is a tendency toward nuclear families
and a breakdown of extended family groupings." He also says: "Religious standards of conduct are being discarded in favour of greater freedom of social behaviour, patterned on Western ideas.... Family relationships are also affected.

The husband, while he may be proud of his wife's ability to hold a professional job, resents her interference in the decision-making of family affairs."  

Sometimes the government might have been the cause of spreading Westernization within the country. As Vaghefi (1975) writes: "The Shah himself pioneered reviving old habits such as the greening of cities and maintaining archeological finds. But Westernization and Western behaviour were also encouraged. Especially in urban centres, those who stuck to traditional methods of dressing were either deprived of economic and social privileges (such as loss of public notary licenses) or were at times even punished." 

The effects of Westernization was visible in various aspects of Iranian society, for instance, in dressing, fashions, behaviour, and types of entertainment. The people abandoned wearing the traditional type of Iranian baggy pants
in cities affected by Western culture. Iranian people were borrowers of American and European fashions. The same thing could be said for the women's dresses and the latest styles of make-up they used.

Westernization of Iran has always been objected to by the clergy and the common man.

The clergy objected to Westernization, because it was the cause of the breaking down of traditional and religious patterns. And the common man too, due to the extremely religious context rejected Western culture.

**SUMMARY:**

In this chapter we have discussed different aspects of the Iranian family and patterns of marriage in the traditional period as well as in the modern times. Our main focus in this chapter is to analyse the changes which have taken place in the family structure and types of marriage in Iran in the context of industrialization.

Iranian family has undergone various changes due to industrialization. The following are the changes which were brought about by industrialization:
1. The traditional extended family, especially in the industrial cities gave way to nuclear family.

2. Parents-children relationship has changed. Children enjoy more freedom in the industrial era compared to the traditional period. Parents' control over children has decreased in the present industrialization of Iranian society.

3. The structure of the family has taken the following forms:
   a) Independent conjugal units with no other relatives.
   b) Independent conjugal units with dependent aged parents.

4. Before industrialization, in Iranian society there were three prevalent types of marriages i.e. polygyny, monogamy and sigheh (temporary kind of marriage). But due to industrialization marriage patterns have changed. Monogamy has become the most dominant and prevalent pattern,
while polygyny and sigheh have decreased considerably.

5. The age of marriage has gone up in the Iranian society during the period of industrialization. It has become a minimum of 18 years for girls and 20 years for boys. Child marriage which is by and large a common feature of traditional societies has drastically decreased in the present industrializing of Iranian society.

6. The status of women in the pre-Islamic era was very low, but with the advent of Islam her position improved in the family. Industrialization has furthermore uplifted the status of women in Iranian society. Women has also started to participate in economic and social activities.

7. We have found co-relation between divorce rate and the growth of industrialization in Iran. Along with the growth of industrialization there has been an increase in the number of divorces in Iran particularly in urban industrial centres.
8. Industrialization and Westernization go hand in hand. The agents of spreading westernization in the Iranian society were:

a) Iranian students who had studied in the Western countries;

b) The European and American technicians who were working in Iran.

Westernization and Western values have also affected the Iranian family in the context of its internal relationship, behavioural patterns and so on.

The class of clergy objected to Westernization as it was the cause of breaking down of the traditional and religious patterns. Here also we find the seeds of revolution which took place in 1979, for overthrowing Western domination.
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