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Abstract:

This article discusses the gender character of displacement. Using the example of the Iranian female diaspora, it argues that women's experience of displacement is relatively more positive than that of men, and women, generally, are more prepared and make more efforts to build a home away from home. However, the pressures for cultural resistance against the dominant culture and the institutional racism in the host country may counterbalance the impact of women's positive experiences. Under the banner of 'cultural resistance', patriarchal values and sexist norms are revitalized within the family as well as in the community, and the voices of dissent are muted and dismissed as outside influences.

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Patriarchy is a structural and ideological system of domination which produces, sustains and reproduces authoritarian, asymmetrical sexist values and practices. The material conditions of life - that is, political, economic and social institutions and relations in a given society - can make patriarchal values and structures appear natural, or, at least, inevitable and inescapable, if not fair and just. Conversely, changes in these conditions can effectively challenge patriarchal domination and expose its smothering impact on women (and men) - and by so doing, mobilize a society in the direction of change.

In this article, drawing upon the experience of the Iranian diaspora(1), I argue that displacement and distance from one's native land, and the sense of banishment from a historical location, heritage and culture associated with diasporic existence, often provide the necessary ingredients to perpetuate gender power structures and patriarchal relations and ideologies, even though diaspora conditions may have been transformed in directions conducive to change. Living 'in the territory of not belonging' (Said: 1993) can shift social and political priorities and individual aspirations in favour of maintaining communal dignity and cultural identity at the expense of gender equality and democratic rights.

The information used in this article was gathered from observations made while participating in several support groups for Persian-speaking abused women in Toronto, and from individual interviews with some of the group members. Oral interviews conducted with Iranian diaspora females in Vancouver and Montreal and content analysis of Persian language newspapers supplemented the data.

PATRIARCHAL FAMILY AS THE SITE OF CULTURAL RESISTANCE

Often, for a minority community in a predominantly white, 'western' society, the only means available to keep distance from the alien and alienating values and practices of the dominant culture is association with one's own culture, reconnecting with it-hence, 'cultural resistance'. Resentment against the dominant culture and the values it represents turns the indigenous culture into a pole of resistance. Cultural resistance becomes a refuge against class and racial discrimination.

There are, however, two sides to cultural resistance. Marginalization and exclusion may make the minority culture more resistant to change than under normal circumstances. It creates grounds for a solidarity and bonding that would not necessarily exist in the home-country. For example, by creating unwarranted loyalties and uncritical acceptance of male-defined cultural norms and values, racism and class disadvantage may

reinforce sexist values and patriarchal power relations within a diasporic community. Views, attitudes, and practices which fall beyond the frontiers of the indigenous culture are felt to belong to the 'outside' world and are dismissed. Instead of joining social struggles in the host country to establish a more humane society, the subordinate minority turns on itself, and wrestles, obsessively, with challenges to its culture and collective identity. This obsession with the native culture and traditions impresses upon the individual an exaggerated concern for social acceptability. It coerces her/him into conformity, and makes her/him anxious about the response of fellow expatriates to her/his views, behaviours and actions. In this way, cultural resistance may suppress individuality, the right to choice and critical thinking for individual community members.

Moreover, cultural values often embody gendered - if not overtly misogynist - beliefs, practices and relations. A renewed attachment to and reverence for cultural traditions can therefore negatively affect women and gender relations within an ethno-racial minority. Patriarchal values which regulate relationships and interactions between the sexes and which assign and oversee culturally acceptable sex roles, behaviours and interactions are revitalized and banalized under the pretext of cultural resistance. The role of the family is crucial in this process.

Family relations and gender roles are central to all cultures, be they European or non-European, Eastern or Western, Northern or Southern. But the importance of sustaining the status quo within the family increases greatly for diaspora communities. To an uprooted and displaced people, the old, familiar relationships within the family, that is, clearly-defined sex-roles, gender power and authority, represent the lost and the desired past which was dramatically different from the present. The family, in a sense, stands in for the culture under seige as a result of displacement. It represents the native culture which has been overshadowed and is constantly put down by the structural racism of the host country.

True, Iranians are not always identifiable by skin colour as a non-European ethnoracial minority. But a variety of other factors, including national origin, culture, names and accents, make them identifiable as immigrants of Third World origin. In Canada, as throughout the West, distorted and exaggerated images about Islam and Muslims accentuate Iranians''otherness'; these perceptions make them subject to individual acts and practices which work to exclude, inferiorize and discriminate against persons conceived, as the external Other. In this sense, Iranians suffer from what some commentators have identified as the 'new' racism - that is, a form of 'cultural racism', a 'differentialist racism', in which 'cultural difference replaces the earlier and now scientifically discredited biological theorization.' (Rattansi, 1994:55)

The pain and the anger that racism causes encourages members of the diaspora family to take refuge in their own culture, to stick together and to suppress disharmony, no matter what form it takes. In this context, sustaining the native culture and identity manifests itself in maintaining beliefs and practices pertaining to men-women relationships within the family and to culturally acceptable masculine-feminine values and roles. In some diaspora family, we find more rigidity in this area; in others, constant struggles, conflicts and break-ups. But, either way, as an inevitable result of life in exile, struggles between men and women and between parents and children emerge and are fought out under the banner of preserving ethnic and racial identity and cultural survival.

'Cultural survival' and gender roles within Iranian community

With the exception of a minority of working-class and lower middle-class individuals, the vast majority of the Iranian diaspora shares an urban and modern(2) middle-class background, with secular, non-traditional life experiences and behavioural patterns. Some have been members or supporters of various political parties and organizations in opposition to the Islamic government. A large group are intellectuals whose world views, life-styles, and in some cases, professions, were deemed counter-revolutionary in the anti-intellectual frenzy which the Islamists promoted. Many more left the country to escape the Iran-Iraq war or cultural repression, including the rigid Islamic code of conduct, enacted and strictly enforced by the government since the 1979 revolution.

One might expect that the hold of religious and non-religious patriarchal values, male-centred suppositions and culturally prescribed masculine-feminine roles and acceptable behaviours would not be strong among these categories of Iranians. Moreover, it could be expected that these attitudinal and behavioural patterns would weaken, if not disappear, as a result of life in exile. After all, the majority of the exiled population from urban middle-class origins left Iran in objection to cultural and gender oppression and discriminatory practices of the post-revolutionary government - practices which are rooted, or, are perceived as having their roots, in the Islamic moral code and its belief system. Furthermore, life away from home has altered gender roles as far as economic conditions are concerned. Many have experienced economic decline and, along with it, deterioration in social status. Often, women feel the brunt of uprootedness more than men. For Iranian women who benefited from the support of all-female networks in times of hardship and from the support of male relatives in curbing the power of their husband in marital conflicts, uprootedness means a loss of the security and support which they enjoyed at home.

Yet, Iranian women, generally, demonstrate more capability than men, a greater readiness to cope with displacement, and more flexibility and resourcefulness in adjusting to new conditions. The gender difference in accepting displacement is rooted in the experience of displacement caused by marriage. As expressed by an Iranian woman in Toronto, in Iran, many young women have to move in with the husband's family after their marriage - at least for a couple of years before the young couple can afford to have their own home - and many even have to move to another town. Women, therefore, have previous experiences with displacement and learn to deal with it.,(3) Therefore, adjusting to a new habitation, acculturation, and looking more to the future than to the past can be seen as female qualities which help women from Iran deal with exile with relatively less difficulty than men. Studies of Iranian migrants in France (Nasehi, 1995) and in England (Shafii, 1994) note differences between the outlooks of females and males and of parents and children in dealing with exile. As Nasehi (1995) says, men live in the past, women in the present, and children in the future.(4)

Many women, previously involved in only affairs of bedroom and kitchen, have been drawn to paid work - employed, often, in low-paid, dead-end jobs to contribute to the family upkeep. Those who lack the specific language skills and training needed for employment in the larger, English-speaking community have been forced, instead, to establish their own home-based businesses, restricted, mainly, to serving the Iranian community (Dallalfar: 1990). For those who have always worked outside the home, change has meant involvement in professions which include the exercise of power, authority or autonomy - or simply more interaction with the outside world, independent of their men. In some cases, skilled Iranian women get a tiny share of Affirmative Action, which, ironically, acts against their men. These women are often the sole wage earners in the family. For others, the legal and social support system - child custody, the welfare system, and shelters for abused women - provide protection and new possibilities, and, to a certain degree, act to reduce male prerogatives and power. By going back to school, by establishing relations with the host country through volunteer work and through involvement with women-centred organizations and activities, many women try to take their place at the centre of life in their adopted country. By contrast, men tend to remain in the periphery, 'the suburb of life.'(5) Generally, women in the diaspora demonstrate enormous resilience and moral courage in coping with change.

For many men, the opportunity to start a new life or to rebuild a new home seems to be nonexistent. This is particularly true of men who have left behind a well-developed career and good income. The community knows about and passes around information concerning Iranian physicians who sell hot dogs on the street, or have been forced to live on welfare; former university professors who are now on-call translators; former government bureaucrats who are cab drivers. Not only are men's chances of finding employment in their own profession more limited than women's, but men are reluctant to work in low-paid, part-time, dead-end jobs-typically, the domain of female workers. Differences between men and women in their adaptability to uprootedness impacts differently on their psychological and emotional well-being. As noted by an Iranian psychologist working with the community in Toronto, women are not only more prepared for displacement,

adjusting with relatively less emotional and psychological difficulties. But women, also, are healthier mentally than their male counterparts, and are more stable in day-to-day affairs.(6)

However, frequently the difference in the manner in which men and women cope with exile becomes a source of conflict within the family. The preoccupation with self, the negative power of nostalgia - obsession with the past and the overpowering force of memory - along with the decline of economic status and men's authority and power, make many men resentful of women's readiness to adjust to new conditions. As a woman complained, 'the more dependent he becomes on me and the money I bring home, the more aggressive his behaviour becomes.'(7) Often a woman's struggle to build a new home away from home is taken by her partner as an indication that she is turning her back on the homeland, signalling her intention not to return home-something frantically desired by the man.(8) The experience of isolation and displacement, as Edward Said (1990: 364) has observed, 'produces the kind of narcissistic masochism that resists all efforts at amelioration, acculturation and community. At this extreme the exile can make a fetish of exile.... To live as if everything around you were temporary and perhaps trivial is to fall prey to petulant cynicism as well as to querulous lovelessness.' This cynicism can get so strong that, as some Iranian women point out, buying flowers can become a source of disagreement and conflict within the family.

But if women's experience of displacement is relatively more positive than that of men, and if exile entails transformative experiences in terms of women's economic status and more social flexibility and independence, then why are the structures, relations and ideology which foster and promote male authority and male power - within the family, and outside it - not accordingly transformed in favour of more egalitarian relationships and attitudes - or, at least, why are these not transformed to the same extent as changes in material conditions?

This is, perhaps, one of the major contradictions in the life of women of colour in exile. The structural racism of the host country and its interaction with patriarchy within and without the family (and the community) is central to the diasporic experience, counterbalancing the transformative potential of exile for women. Structural racism becomes a cover for patriarchal relations within the family and for sanitizing the power relations', to use Homi Bhabha's (1992) term. For men, it provides the pretext to push back challenges to male-power, to protect the 'culture' against 'Western values' - even though the culture that is to be maintained and nourished is deeply undemocratic and patriarchal. This is not to suggest that exile does not entail transformative experiences for women (and men). In a peculiar way, exile for many Iranian women has opened a space for a democratic challenge to patriarchal Islamic and secular values which inform Iranian culture. Many women are now drawn towards women-centred oppositional politics, particularly against the violent disregard of Iranian and Islamic culture for women's basic human rights. The publication of an impressive number of feminist journals in Persian and the contribution of feminist voices to other Persian language publications in North America underline this fact. My point, however, is that the structural racism of the host society and the Iranian patriarchy merge to create a shell against the transformative impact of exile for Iranian women. Racism initiates a need for cultural belonging, an ethnic identity which is masculine and which struggles to regenerate the status quo ante. Sexism and moralistic attitudes are given cultural force and are camouflaged, suppressing expressions of individuality and individual choice. Women, for example, are blamed for the disintegration of the family. Women, are supposedly 'getting overwhelmed and over-exited (Zough-Zadeh) by the opportunity of living a life free of men's interference, like Western women do'; they do not know how to cope with difficulties of diasporic life [resulting from men's changing social and economic status]'(Samakar, 1993:38). Notwithstanding changing economic conditions and gender roles in the family, Iranian women are pressured not to use their newly acquired personal liberty and self-autonomy against men's traditional power and autonomy.

The forces of change, however, are irresistibly powerful. Sometimes they are expressed through increased family tensions, domestic violence and growing divorce rates - a major concern of the Iranian community in North America and Europe. We have, of course, no evidence which suggests that domestic violence and divorce rates are direct consequences of life in exile. It is reasonable to assume, however, that life in exile

brings the previous conflicts and tensions to their unfortunate conclusion. Neither can we conceive of particular cultural or social factors among the Iranian community which are different from the structural and ideological factors that promote violence against women everywhere. Surely, as in other communities, economic hardship and men's loss of control and power in certain areas, like money spending and children's conduct - symptomatic of challenges to male authority and power - add to the sense of cultural loss and insecurity, promote tension and disagreement within the family, and, at times, promote men's violence against women.

What is important to recognize, however, is that the experience of victims of family violence is 'racialized'. This fact exposes us to the practical ways that patriarchal and racist structures and ideologies in the host county serve male- domination and aggression within an ethno-racial minority. For instance, very often when a complaint is launched, it takes several days before police decide to press charges against the abusive husband.(9) In one case, after the police were called in, their investigation took several hours, simply because the woman's broken nose and bruised body and the testimony of the neighbours about the history of abuse could not out-weigh the husband's justification of his crime on cultural and religious grounds. Influenced by the man's account of the incident, the police officers were reluctant to press charges. Only following the interference and protest from the community worker were the police convinced that beating women is not a'harmiess'and'culturally acceptable' marital practice in IslamicIranian culture.(10)

In this way, racism and the patriarchal values of the law enforcement system reinforce gender power within the minority community, and cultural perceptions and mis-information banalizes a criminal act. Consequently, minority women are deprived even of the minimal support that their white sisters may enjoy. This double victimization of women - once, at the hands of the abusive partner and the second time, by structural racism within the police force - does not end here. To paraphrase Homi Bhabha (1992), cases of family violence remove the 'figleaf from the private part of a non-European community.' By taking a 'private' matter to the public, the abused woman exposes the most vehemently concealed truth in her culture - that, when it comes to the misogyny and sexism which authorizes violence against women, the 'subordinate' culture is as flawed as the 'dominant' culture. By going to the police, the abused woman implicates not only her own man, but all men from her community. By discouraging women to take the matter to the courts, the community, under the banner of fighting cultural domination and racism, tries to protect its 'honour' This is patriarchal bondage. It explains why common knowledge of abuse does not assist in its eradication. Quite the opposite. 'It is precisely the protection of this common guilt that binds a community of abusers in a kind of sadistic solidarity, in a conspiracy of knowing and unknowing that protects and propagates the banality of evil.' (Bhabha: 1992,232-33). Hence, activist women who refuse to take sides with abusive men and who do not sweep under the rug the reality, within their own culture, of male-violence and gender oppression, are portrayed as encouraging family break-ups, dishonouring the community and putting into disrepute the 'national identity'. After all, as a caller to a radio talk show on domestic violence told me, 'an occasional friendly slap on the face is not worth all the screaming, going to shelters and causing family break up.'

In this context, the response of the community to counter-hegemonic voices in the community - be it in the form of anti-sexist, gender-egalitarian demands of feminists or anti-authoritarian, counter-culture attitudes and behaviours of youth - becomes self-defeatingly intolerant. These voices are branded as 'subversive', 'westoxicated' and corrupt. Gender-conscious women who struggle for integrity and autonomy are viewed as personifications of the dominant racist culture and of an enemy who threatens family 'harmony' and cultural identity. Women who refuse to regulate their personal life according to male-defined values are demonized. For some families, the fear of 'insubordination' and cultural 'mis-conduct' is so grave that they choose to return to Iran to protect their teen-aged daughters from the danger of 'moral corruptions'.(11) Evidently, for most parents, particularly for fathers, the danger of moral and sexual 'corruption' primarily threatens girls. Indeed, teen-age boys are free to have sexual relations (with girls) provided this does not negatively affect their school work, and they take necessary precautions against sexually transmitted disease.'(12)

Letters written to Persian-language publications expose the anxiety-ridden men who condemn women's

liberation for its corrupting influence on Iranian women who are 'leaving the sanctuary of the Iranian family' and are 'giving in' to sexual freedoms in the West. They deserve to be punished - even to get killed for such behaviour (Iran Times, 1993). Others even call upon women to observe the Hejab (head-cover) to protect themselves against society's corruption.(13) Women are advised not to have sex before marriage and to 'protect their dignity' by preserving the sanctity of their virginity.(14) The more self-composed men allude to the dangers threatening the Iranian family by discussing the problems of family life in the west. They resort to 'iranian culture' and the 'national heritage' - supposedly, more humane in character - when relations between the spouses is concerned. They warn women against excesses.(Shahrvand: 1995)

Feminism, and for that matter, the idea of women's liberation, cause much resentment and hostility. The backlash against feminism in the West is even more profound among some Iranian men. Feminism is claimed to have negatively influenced the behaviour of Iranian women in North America. It is blamed for transforming the self-perception of women and for promoting Iranian women's growing demand for change. However, the critique of feminism is more an act of self-defense than an intelligent and informed evaluation of an ideal and ideology which, inevitably, has influenced - negatively or positively - the lives of the Iranian diaspora. It is not feminism as an ideology, a movement and a lifestyle that is critiqued for its excesses or deviations or for its inability to speak to the experiences and needs of disadvantaged women. Rather, it is what is understood and interpreted as 'feminism' embodied in the acts of individual women who have stopped playing the 'feminine' roles to which they have been assigned by the force of culture and traditions. These critiques of 'feminism', are, in fact, the laments of individual men, whose authority, power and privileges have eroded or, at least, been challenged in their home.

The exposure to feminist ideas and involvement in other new social movements, while influencing women's self-perception, has encouraged more critical thinking among many Iranian women. But they are very selective in adopting new values and ideas. They feel they have something to say that may influence and correct the imperfections they see in Western feminism. Many women I have talked with expressed their appreciation for feminist ideas and identified themselves as feminists. Most, however, separate themselves from 'feminism' as a movement, which they identify as Western and ethnocentric and non-responsive to their experience as non-European women of colour.

Iranian women, like their sisters from other areas in the peripheral world (Agosin: 1994, Lai: 1992), resent the lack of tolerance and racist structures, perceptions and practices in their adopted home-countries, about which they and, particularly, their children have first-hand, painful knowledge. Many women, after living in the West for ten, fifteen, or twenty years, still find it hard to communicate with and to establish a mutually beneficial and enjoyable relationship with women and men outside their own cultures. Many Iranian women talk of having given up hopes or illusions of ever being fully accepted as citizens of their adopted counties. They find it impossible to develop a meaningful and lasting friendship with individuals outside their own culture, including feminists.

The hostility towards feminism and feminist ideas among Iranian men sometimes has an ideological grounding - although this does not necessarily exclude distinctive, personal and self-serving reasons. In fact, some of the more aggressive critics of feminism include Iranian intellectuals with active commitments to the struggle for democracy and social justice. Anti-feminist sentiments and discourses are more pronounced among political activists from the traditional left, whose notion of democracy, with rare exceptions, does not include more than a superficial commitment to gender democracy and the elimination of patriarchy and power relations between men and women. Feminism, by talking about the oppression of women as women, and not necessary as members of the proletariat, is, in their view, "harmful to the women's movement against social oppression", since 'as a movement against women's oppression, it discriminates against men.' (Hambastegi 1993)

Of course, this disturbing dynamic is not unique to Iranian diasporic culture. Indeed, racism and discrimination coming from the larger society make it easy for a non-white and non-European community not to see sexism and homophobia as serious problems which require serious attention. As Cynthia Orozco

(1990:11-18) observes, when feminists in the Chicana movement in the United States raised the issue of male domination, 'both the community and its intellectual arm, Chicano Studies, put down the ideology of feminism and put feminists in their place.... Machismo was disregarded. Activists defined racism and capitalism as fundamental problems, but such issues as equal pay for equal work, sex segregation in employment, and rape were hardly considered "basic".

Along similar lines, focusing on the Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas case, Kimberle Crenshaw (1992:402-403) exposes the force of racism in suppressing dissent and other counter-hegemonic practices and voices within the African-American community in the United States. Crenshaw observes that through their failure to break ranks with their men on the issue of misogyny, African-American women, historically, have contributed to 'the maintenance of sexist and debilitating gender practices' within the community. They allowed these practices to be identified as 'harmless,' accepting them as means to affirm cultural unity. In this context, Crenshaw argues, white supremacy is manifest 'in relationships not only between dominant whites and subordinate blacks but among blacks as well.'

The transformative democratic challenges coming particularly from younger generations of women of colour is bound to impact upon the patriarchal structures and relations in their communities. The Iranian community is no exception. Younger Iranian women not only show remarkable resilience and resourcefulness in dealing with the diasporic experience, but are also going through a process of transformation and liberation from the tyrannical influence of a patriarchal culture and a troubled political culture which, for decades, has muted women's needs and demands for gender equity in favour of national liberation.(15) The 'subversion' of these women may assist the demystification and defetishization of Iranian culture and expose its deep seated authoritarian and patriarchal content. Although this highly-politicized and politically-involved brand of feminism is still numerically small, it is an effective force for the democratization of Iranian culture. It challenges male power not only in the 'private' sphere of the family but in the 'public' realm of politics.

Summary

Any community whose sense of identity is collectively denigrated by the structural racism of the larger society feel the need (and is pressured) to mute dissenting voices which challenge its sense of homogeneity, common fate and common cause. This resistance to change is more profound in the area of women's rights and gender relations. Women's demands challenge men's prerogatives in the family which is often the only stronghold of men's power in exile - where men can still feel in control and enjoy the sense of empowerment which gender power arrangements secure for them. In this way, racism further marginalizes women of colour and their interests and needs. They are pressured to suppress their commitment to gender equity in favour of 'racial' solidarity.

In this context, challenges to ever more apparent sexist and paternalistic behaviours and actions within the community are discouraged as 'outside' influences. The 'national' culture becomes the standard of a 'higher culture,' a more humane culture and a source of pride. The utopia of 'return' to one's culture and traditions acquires new currency. It must, however, be recognized that there is always a danger that the sentimental treatment of one's own culture lends support to nationalism and, along with it, the glorification of the home country, even to racism in reverse. Faced with a deepening, seemingly permanent structural racism in the West, some diasporas, knowingly or unknowingly, may end up legitimizing a 'home' state from which they have taken refuge. This trend is already observable within the Iranian diaspora.

Nonetheless, young Iranian women (and men), through their involvement in the women's movement and in anti-racist, anti-poverty, and other social movements in their adopted home countries, will inevitably bring to their community more awareness about social problems in the host country, and may inspire new commitments for it and force the community to get more involved in the struggle for social justice. Women who define themselves as internationalists, as an increasing number do, may even instigate in their partners a move from the periphery of life to the centre. And they may take the message to them that being away from

'home' sometimes may be the only way one can look at 'home' critically, dispassionately and with reason. Indeed, as Said (1990:365) argues, 'in a secular and contingent world, homes are always provisional. Borders and barriers, which enclose us within safety of familiar territory, can also become prisons, and are often defended beyond reason or necessity.' By taking these messages to their community, the younger generation within the Iranian diaspora may yet get the community to face racism - and, instead of taking refuge in its own culture, get it to join anti-racist battles and collective struggles in the host country for the elimination of racist and patriarchal structures and relations.

1 Throughout this paper I use the term diaspora to refer to communities of immigrant, exiled and self-exiled Iranian women, who despite cultural, economic and political distinctions, share the experience of separation from home about which they have a collective memory. This broad use of the term, diaspora, is based on William Safran's definition of the term. For Safran-as cited by James Clifford (1994)-diasporas are 'expatriate minority communities' that (1) are dispersed from an original 'centre' to at least two 'peripheral' places; (2) maintain a 'memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland'; (3) 'believe they are not-and, perhaps, cannot be-fully accepted by their host country'; (4) see the ancestral home as a place of eventual return, when the time is right; (5) are committed to the maintenance or restoration of this homeland. Finally (6), a diaspora group's consciousness and solidarity are 'importantly defined' by its continuing relationship with the homeland.

2 I use the term 'modern' to distinguish this section of the Iranian middle class, which was the product of the economic and social reforms of the 1960s and 1970s, from its 'traditional' counterpart with roots in the Bazaar and long-standing connections with Islamic leaders and institutions.

3 Interview with Parvin, Toronto, May 1995.

4 For a discussion of forms of adaptation of Iranian immigrants in France, see Nasehi's article, 'Iranian Immigrants in France,' in Fathi, A. (ed.) (1991).

5 I have borrowed this term from Jerky Queencake (1956), 'In the Suburb of Life,' The Pen in Exile: a Second Anthology. Tabori, Paul (ed.), The International P.E.N. Club Centre for Writers in Exile.

6 Bagher-Zadeh, M. Sharhrvand, September 20, 1994.

7 Interview with Minoo in Toronto, March 1996.

8 This has been a recurring point in oral interviews with Iranian women in Canada.

9 Interview with an abused Iranian women in Toronto, July 1995.

10 Interview with a community worker from the Family Services Association of Metropolitan Toronto, April 1995.

11 Interview with Iranian women in Vancouver, February 1995.

12 interview with iranian high-school and university students in Toronto, Zan-e Irani (Iranian Woman) 6 (4 Spring 1991).

13 Iran Times, No. 1117 (April 10, 1993).

14 Emrooz, cited in Hambastegi (October 1993).

15 On the status of women in the movements for national liberation in Iran, see Moghissi, H. (1994), Populism and Feminism in Iran: Women's Struggle in a Male-Defined Revolutionary Movement, London: Macmillan.

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