

Political Violence Against Women And Its Effective Factors In Iranian History Before The Revolution

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Abstract

The use of violence against women has a long history. With all the widespread propaganda to characterize the traditional society with the violence, it also exists in today's civilized societies in various forms. Any physical harassment against the human being to cause injury, suffering or harm is called violence. It can be said that the issue of political violence against women is a global issue rather than being a domestic, local, urban, or national issue. The current paper aims at investigating political violence against women and its effective factors in Iran's history before the revolution. Having expanded the conceptual framework of the subject, the study explores the importance of the role and participation of women and the impact of violence on their performance. This is a descriptive-analytical paper. Data was collected using library sources. The findings of the current paper indicate that the isolation of women in the field of politics was subject to the desire of the ruling power social forces before the Islamic revolution, which was mainly due to the political-legal structure of societies and centralized regimes in contemporary Iranian history.

Key words: Women, Iran, Violence, Political violence

INTRODUCTION

Political rights and participation in government are based on political freedoms. There is no place for citizens to enjoy political rights whenever the political freedoms are not recognized by political and value system governing the community. Even if political rights are included in basic laws, these rights are always subject to loss. The political rights and political activity of women is one of the types of these rights, and the failure to comply with these rights for women leads to a kind of political violence against them. Therefore, it should be noted that political violence is exercised by the practice of levers of official power, i.e. government, against women. This kind of violence is reflected in the neglect of human rights of women in legislation and it appears as a lack of support for equality of rights of women and men in policy making, especially in the cultural planning of the state. In other words,

political violence against women has been strengthened and expanded on the basis of specific perceptions of religion and social norms. We will also look at the factors and reasons that affected this kind of violence in the political structure of the Iranian society before the revolution.

DEFINITION OF POLITICAL VIOLENCE

Violence

Violence against women is an expert term used to describe the general violent acts against women. This form of violence is applied against a specific group of people, and gender is the main source of violence. The United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) defined violence against women as "any gender-based violence that could lead to physical, sexual or psychological harm to women", which includes "threats to these deeds, acts of violence, or the arbitrary deprivation of liberty whether in society or in personal life. " The 1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women states that this violence may be applied by people of the same gender, family members, and government. So, with regard to this definition, political violence can be applied with the function of the levers of official power, that is, the government against women. This kind of violence is reflected in the neglect of women's

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human rights in legislation, and it manifests in the form of lack of support for equality of rights of women and men in policy making. It derives from the cultural performance of the state and has been strengthened based on specific perceptions of social norms and religion¹.

Analyzing the position of women in different schools and religions and their political-participatory role

Human is intrinsically social and therefore, his life is also dependent on his social participation². Contrary to social participation that took place very early in human life, political participation is a more recent phenomenon because there were no concepts of state and political structure in the early days. The reason for this must also be the abundance of natural resources, population shortages and the lack of a struggle for survival. The struggle for freedom of the individual and the power of the state are the most prominent feature of ancient history³. During this period, the social distance between the citizens and the authorities was much higher than today. The general public was far from the competition and their opinion did not matter. They tolerated and accepted what was happening, but they did not participate. In the West, the Servage feudalism system was ruled and in such difficult circumstances many people were slaves⁴. The same situation was observed in most periods of Iranian history. This situation continued in the West until the Industrial Revolution and in Iran until the Constitutional Revolution. But in the Islamic world, the participation in the political and social affairs dates back to the early Islamic years. The role and position of women in civilizations and religions depends on their philosophical and ontological outlook on women. In some religions, such as Jews and Christianity, women are disdained and they are deprived of the most basic rights, let alone political participation or activity. Similarly, in some other religions, such as Islam, women have political, social, cultural and economic rights, and, consequently, can have active participation in political affairs. In confirmation of the above, we can look at this topic from Hegel's point of view. According to Hegel's, the reason for Jewish people not attracted to democratic societies and live in closed spaces is their ontologists view. The Jew calls God as the master that man has to obey. Thus, they propagate this model to the political arena and thus cannot attract democratic communities based on equality of all human beings. Thus, Hegel considered politics of every nation its own religion and its religion as its own policy⁵. This Hegel theme can also be explained to women, since the ontological outlook of a religion or a people in understanding the high status or decline of a woman's position is very influential. Some religions and civilizations do not have an ontological look at women and consider women as goods whose work is merely serving men and society. In this philosophical way, women do not have the

status, rights, inheritance, the right to divorce, participation and political activity, therefore, no stance can be considered for women. Hence, the study of the status of women from the point of view of schools and religions is very important. Accordingly, we understand women's rights and their participation in affairs or, conversely, their lack of interference in political, economic, social and cultural activities that will help us in the following chapters on the grounds of political violence against women.

FACTORS AFFECTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN IRANIAN HISTORY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

Political violence against women is a very important issue of a long history clearly evident in all societies. Political violence against women can be categorized into two categories of factors affecting women's lack of political participation (political violence): the category of factors includes the structure of societies and their view of women, and the second is related to the performance and characteristics of women themselves. We are trying to examine these two issues in this chapter.

CHARACTERISTICS AND PRACTICE OF WOMEN AS THE AFFECTING FACTORS ON POLITICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

This article addresses the psychological characteristics of women, which has prevented their interest in and participation in political affairs. Dr. Bashirieh has categorized this in the book of Political Sociology, and believes that, in general, based on research women are less politically conscious than men and are politically more indifferent, or in the case of participation in political life they are more inclined towards right-wing and conservative parties than men. He observes the attributes of obedience of women to their husband, women's non-attraction to politics, women's traditionalism, and their political conservatism among the factors that have prevented women's political participation, and that women themselves are the key to this attitude to political behavior⁶.

WOMEN FOLLOWING THEIR HUSBANDS IN POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

One of the scholars has said: "The almost full agreement between husband and wife [in political affairs] is the result of the domination of men in the political arena⁷," according to another. "In many cases, women's political attitudes are merely the same attitude of their husbands⁸. According

to significant evidence, women in politics follow their husbands (sometimes the opposite presents), or at least the husband and wife are usually support the same parties or candidates. Accordingly women's participation in political life is not independent, but depends on the male-dominated interests that exist everywhere in political life. In other words, politics is "masculine business". It is also argued that "only women are aware of the political views of their husbands [as a result of having consulted with them]. Men do not feel they should consult women about politics. At least one of the main determinants of women's political vote is the vote of their husbands⁹.

Political conservatism

According to research, "women tend to vote like their husbands, although they are generally more conservative.¹⁰" Indeed, the tendency to the political views of husbands, though these uncomplicated opinions; they entail a kind of conservatism. According to Lipset research "In almost all countries where information is available about them, women support conservative parties more than men," meaning that the number of women supporting such parties is more than men¹¹. In general, based on evidence, the difference between the support of women and men from conservative parties was about 7% on average; that is, women voted for such parties 7% more than men. On the whole, women are somewhat more straightforward than men, but such an inference does not illuminate a particular historical situation. In France, for example, the right-wing and monarchist parties were more supported by women than men, while the fascist right-wing parties in Italy and Germany were more supported by men. The relationship between religious affiliation, conservatism, and being woman in different researches has been emphasized. Some authors have found the root of the relative trend of women to the right-wing parties in their religious affiliations.

Women's political aversion

Research shows that an average of one third of women have stated that politics is unrelated to their lives. The interest of educated women in the university to politics is on average the same as that of men. In general, the rate of interest of women in politics among those without academic education has been lower than average among men. Women's participation in the election is lower than that of men. For example, in France, the 2/3 of those who do not vote is women. The women following their husbands in their political life, their conservatism, and their traditionalism also imply this general tendency. Such inferences, of course, are often based on limited research and are therefore debatable. In such studies, it has been argued that women are less politically motivated. As far as women are concerned, they are more ethical than realistic.

According to such research, politics is considered to be the pursuit of personal interests through male-dominated competition and struggles, while: "women vote for moral motives, not from favor and ambition.¹²"

Political duality in Iranian society as cause of political violence

In societies like Iran, with around a hundred and fifty years since its introduction into the modern world, the root cause of problems is the superficiality of modernity and the appearance of modernization and lack of absorption and understanding, that is, not institutionalizing the basic principles of modernity in the economic context of culture and politics. Accordingly, the main obstacle to achieving deep and comprehensive degrees of modernism is the lack of rule of law, democracy and civil and political freedoms. In other words, the political dimension of modernity has become more urgent than other dimensions for the community. The development of capitalism and class formation in Iran developed by foreign domination and religious ideology led to the uneven political, social and economic development. The government, which played a major role in the accumulation of capital, created a special social relationship not only in economic relations but also in social relations. On the one hand, these social relations strengthened the class relations of capitalism and, on the other hand, the patriarchal relations of gender relations.

Thus, this government as a capitalist -patriarchy system determined the status of women on the community. In different historical periods, the access of various social classes to material assets, religious values and political power were different influenced by the role of capital and religion government. Whenever the power of the Pahlavi government was weakened, women's struggles began and the government was forced to make reforms, such as the protest of educated women in electoral law during the administration of Dr. Mosadeq in the form of sending letters and complaints. On December 24, 1952, women working at Iran Insurance Company wrote a letter to the Prime Minister:

"We women definitely have thought that in Iran ruled by you we would not be taken as subordinates and insane; fortunately, we have a national government and we would get free from these shackles of servitude. We do not want to be taken as "Zaifeh" and seriously demand our rights".

However, after suppressing the uprising of June 6, 1963, the regime allowed women to vote in parliament in order to democratize themselves by adopting a single article in 1964, allowing women to vote and be selected. Meanwhile, people who fully complied with the promise of official policies approved by the security institutions could enter councils

and legislatures. As a result, women in the parliament were deprived of the support of women belonging to various political spectrums and could not gain the image of the entire population of women in the country. They were ironically called the appointed elected representatives, so that women came to the parliament were wandering figure with no history of “political work” in a male-dominated society, and deprived from the experience of democracy for the lack of civil society, therefore they did not achieve the necessary communication forces, and the heterogeneous layers of the fabric of the women’s population were not linked, they were always regarded as representatives of a certain class of women and their presence in social-political scenes was described symbolic. In the transition from this era, the crucial issue of women’s participation in political affairs was raised and gradually this belief was strengthened in the clear minds of the time that the enjoyment of the right to vote and representation in the parliament cannot be synonymous with the participation of women in the political life of the country. It is the civil society that allows them to escape from the fence of home life and the circle that has been living for centuries, and the possibility of compensating for deprivation of political work and gaining political experience in the domain of general authority outside the domain of government authority and indexation in independent organizations and associations of women and democratic institutions as well as the active participation of women’s movement and access to parliament. From this perspective, the presence of men and women in the legislatures of the years 1962 to 1978 in the Pahlavi reign was not based on democratic elections, and the reality of the society of that day their mere presence is not synonymous with the participation. The Second Pahlavi move to allow women to attend the election and even selected in parliament, as a representative could not be taken as the elimination of women’s deprivation in the political arena because despite the fact that women enjoy the right to vote and the right to enter parliament, it becomes possible to become a government leverage and instrumental in the hands of governments, and under the certain circumstances dictate its rule with a few of the women talking about the women rights. In fact the Pahlavi regime created political and social values, as well as laws and institutions that limited the scope of political decision to its desired issues; in this case, without the application of one-dimensional power, compulsion was pre-embedded within the construction of the community. Coercion in Iranian society was directed at various classes and divisions, including women, because it is obvious that if the elite and power and the upper class interact and adapt, the independence of the state will be reduced, and this will be in the Iranian society in favor of keeping the gender gap inactive. In other words, gender gap in our society should

be kept semi-active based on patriarchal culture so that it could not engage independently or with other social gaps in making changes in the politics of the community. Hence, what is not considered in the absence of associations and independent women’s groups is the strengthening of the will of half of the population of the country (women) in the process of political decision making and the impact of this process. The women in such a government will not be effective and they will be eliminated in the advent of anti-women group power. The most prominent feature of the government that claims resolving deprivation of women in the vacuum of democracy and civil society is the transient decision made by the political power for women.

Gender gap

It is believed that society is divided on the basis of various gaps such as class, religion, race, ethnicity and local interests, and each one leads to the emergence of groups and categories affecting political life. One of the lasting, historical and structural gaps in our society is the gender gap. This gap is inactive in the traditional society due to the political affiliation of women with husbands, and in the modern societies, too, it is activated due to widespread social change. However, these gaps are sometimes inactive or active in transient societies; especially it appears very active as collides with the gap between political factions. Thus, women in these societies are also recognized as the mainstay of political and intrusive movements. Therefore, in these societies, women are also recognized as the basic force of political and intrusive movements that are tense with the cultural divide of tradition and modernity as well as the aristocracy and clergy and petty bourgeois classes, and workers and peasants against the new bourgeoisie and intellectuals and laborers. They play a role in the political scene.

In Iran, the reaction to the traditional situation of women began from the time of the constitution and the connection with Europe. In fact, the democratic culture of the traditional Iranian society humiliated women and lacked a political element and limited their activities to take care of husband and house. With the onset of the modernization process, Iranian society had the right to educate women, their presence in some movements albeit in isolation and often in support of other social groups such as clerics. In the 1979 Islamic Revolution, this gender gap was activated by the participation of women in the demonstrations, and presidential elections campaign of June 2, 1997. Of course, this activity was not spontaneous, but rather took place as a consequence of congestion, given the views of the clerical or political factions.¹³ However, in contrast to pre-revolutionary societies, it can be said that the Islamic Revolution opened a new space for the presence of women in various fields of collective and political life and raised

women as human identities. According to the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, all people, including men and women, are equally eligible to vote, and there is no difference in voting and being elected between men and women. Nonetheless, women's participation in Iran is largely limited to the presence in election to cast their votes which is the lowest cost form of participation¹⁴.

TRADITIONAL COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL CULTURE AFFECTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN IN IRAN

Iran, despite the ancient civilization and culture, was almost a medieval society with a strong national and religious prejudices on the spirit and thought of the vast majority of this society, the people had strictly adhered to the customs and traditions and religious rituals of any kind and influence of the new way of living and Western civilization were left out. The lack of contact with Europeans simply kept them from communicating with their neighbors only because of the strengthening of religion and the severe demonstration of religiosity and prejudice, and they considered westerners their enemies only because of the tradition. These were the issues associated with the livelihood. On the basis of this system, the person does not have the power and place. Individual rights are subject to collective rights. The obedience of the tribal chief is a matter of principle, and individual creativity is subject to the vote of the head of the tribe. The assignment of roles in the social system and the political system is based on kinship affiliation. On the other hand, new phenomena in Iran have also been met with maladaptive reactions¹⁵. For example, James Justinian Morier, writes that in the winter of 1811-12, the British delegation was trying to get people acquainted with vaccination, and in order to achieve this, the cow pox was brought from Istanbul, and about 300 were vaccinated, but it seems that this made the Iranian doctors incompatible with the government's suspicion and thus the government prevented from continuing the vaccination. There are also more significant limitations against modernization in the country Army, and as it appears from the writings of Kotzebueh, the conflicts been from the people; he says:

“One who knows the interest of Iranians in maintaining their old customs knows that new changes are unpleasant in the eyes of the people, and that the Crown Prince has to bear on the hardship that has so far reached [the modernization of the army]¹⁶.” In such a culture, in this context, individual capabilities do not appear to be emerging. In the words of “the citizen is alone against the state and political institutions ...”¹⁷. In this system, “any change is considered as a distortion and a breach of tradition.”¹⁸ The features of this political culture are: elimination of rivals,

the method of repression for resolving disputes, distrust of each other, absolutism, law aversion, lack of job security and the rule of kinship bureaucracy, the assignment of key positions to incompetent individuals. The tribe leaders did not tolerate any criticism or opposition to themselves, and their opposition to the protesters was carried out militarily. “... This was why the tribe's leaders usually opposed to the creation of the national army.”¹⁹ In Iran, the structure was absolute power and there was no obstacle to its will and sovereignty. Everything belonged to the king, and no one could oppose him. The king, with the will of God, was the owner of his people life and ruled absolute tyranny²⁰. At this time, “there never was an opportunity for the aristocracy to be independent and to have legal rights that could legally constrain the king's power.” Such a system naturally follows the pattern of “the relation of traditional power in Iran to the rule and obedience from the top to bottom, and has consolidated with mythical and religious concepts and acquired its legitimacy from various sources²¹.” The nature of the civic system is an obstacle to the achievement of political unity. One of the reasons that makes any kind of political reform in society unsettled is the existence of such a system in which the sovereign king rules. His tyranny does not embrace any idea of superiority. He considers himself above the law and considers the duty of others to be pure obedience to his will. Therefore, in such a society, it is the only “obedience culture” that grows²². Some scholars believe that, given the authoritarian power of Qajar era, Iran's reactions have also been different, and include the most prominent of these behaviors: “obedience, flattery, politics aversion, distrust of political elites ...”²³. So we can say that in the traditional Iranian power structure, we see the transfer of tribal culture in the political structure. Movements resulting from the domination of the pattern of political culture and the emergence of new tribal forces in different periods of this important historical period caused great social damage to the Iranian society. Political absolutism was the most important feature of the tribal rule in the political power structure. In these circumstances, there were two main principles within the Qajar nature that could be referred to as the political culture foundation: the traditional or legal constraint for the exercise of the power of the rulers on the one hand the extent of their arbitrary power. The Shah was in this structure the center of power, so that all the dismissal and appointments of government agents and all the minor affairs related to the intervention of the state took place with its signing and based on their personal desire to issue a decree to seize and seize personal property²⁴. The formation of such a structure and culture with these qualities and absolute power, the lack of accountability of officials, secretary clerks, and states did not leave a room for women's activity. In this culture, this traditional society a woman is considered to be second-class citizens who is nothing but household, child

bearing and taking care of husband let alone other business and political participation, because active and political participation depends on the constraints of the ruling power, dynamic civil society, legislative and non-legislative bodies, which have not been seen before the revolution in Iran's contemporary culture and history.

LACK OF POLITICAL INSTITUTIONALIZATION IN IRAN AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The necessity of political institution-building from top managers to create formal channels of participation is found here that sees itself with closed political system as a result of social and economic modernization, and in particular the emergence of groups and the increasing desire for participation and competition, and for avoiding the entry of damage to the construction of a power station is forced to create formal institutions from within. Such institutions, of course, do not have the necessary independence from building power in order to be able to respond to the growing demand for political participation from outside. Its features are also spread to all institutions and organizations when the government is built up vertically.

Constitutional movement in Iran is an important step in limiting the king's powers and decentralization of power structure. Constitutional government theorists emphasize the limited authority of the state. According to Sheldon S. Wolin, constitutional systems have characteristics. First, there are legal procedures for the division of power among various authorities, the second there are effective limitations to curtail the exercise of power, third, they entail organizational procedures to ensure accountability of government officials; fourth, they have a legal system that empowers citizen's. The government in these states has a pluralistic origin and powers are distributed among various institutions. The parliamentary parties are controlling independent press releases and various associations of executive power, rarely happens when the same ruling party controls both executive and legislative forces.

The lack of commitment of the Pahlavi regime constitutional government to the above-mentioned institutions led to the totalitarian system that, by rejecting social determinism, overlooked the principles of the pluralism of power. Its function well confirmed Theda Skocpol theory that:

Governments are revenues collectors, cultural authority centers, and force-enforcement independent agencies because they are organizations with resources and authority; they do not pay attention to the priorities of any social group.

Accordingly, women's organizations and associations under the rule of the Pahlavi regime were mostly under the influence and supervision of government figures. Pahlavi's government, claiming to lead the country towards the advancement created major changes in the status of Iranian women. But since these changes were largely made in a top-down way without regard to the needs and wishes of the general public, they did not play a fundamental role in the cultural transformation of the general public. It may be argued that women of the classes were drawn to those neutral political and informal activities, while the lack of national aspirations delayed the formation of a spontaneous, coherent movement in the defense of women's rights. Therefore, the ruling political system aimed at institutionalizing women's participation and claiming support for their political-social rights to establish organizations in this field. Fred Holliday writes about the formation of these organizations under the authority of Pahlavi II: "The Iranian government has shown itself to be the hero of women's rights, but, like land reform and trade unions, the intention was to make changes in Iranian society to facilitate the work of the government and prevent the emergence of independent state-run movements that can take on serious demands. In 1965, the High Council of Women's Organizations, formed by a number of independent women's organizations, dissolved in the interests of greater integrated and controlled organization known as Organization of Iran Women. The organization was headed by Princess Ashraf Pahlavi and deputy manager Farida Diba (mother of the Queen). The Central Council of the Organization of Women consisted of Farrokhrou Parsa, the Minister of Education (the first female minister of Iran), and nine men who served as Senate Presidents, the Speaker of the Parliament, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Economy, the Ministry of the Interior, the Ministry of Health, the Tehran Municipality and the Tehran Police Directorate. It was the second official women's organization that emerged from the Constitutional Revolution, while its leadership was with men. It was not supposed that no one, even a government organization and affiliate, such as the Women's Organization, would interfere in the political decision-making process, since this difficult and serious task was for the second Pahlavi himself. The organization's responsibility was to promote the beliefs and policies of the regime. As such, "the women's organization of Iran became an affiliated, hierarchical and non-democratic entity, suffering from the inherent deterioration and corruption of such institutions." With the establishment of this organization, both women's goals and activities were subject to the instructions given by authorities, especially because no other independent organization was allowed to exist. Clearly, when women's movements lack organizational autonomy, they are used

as a means to advance the ends of others not to retain the women rights.

The so-called women's rights campaign in defense of their rights in many countries is in the form of affiliated organizations that operate under the name of the women's organization. The responsibility of these organizations has been to spread beliefs and policies of the ruling system among women. In practice, such groups are becoming the attachments to the system, whose main goal is to expand the number of its fans. Protecting the interests and aspirations of women also depends on the state program's priorities.

In Iran, though women's organizations were expanding, they did not have a massive relationship with the masses, neither among females and female students, nor among women's lawyers, and so on. Women were active in organizations that often had close ties with political and power circles. They were usually shaped by the efforts of middle-class or relatively wealthy women who had the education and leisure to engage in a relatively "elitist" activity. Most of the activities of the Women's Organization of Iran emphasized on the promoted women's education, and the provision of facilities for women to enter the labor market - within the framework of the ideology of the great civilization of the Shah. The organization has expanded greatly in organizational terms, so that by 1978, twelve years after its establishment, had developed a network of four hundred branches and one hundred fifteen centers, and fifty-one affiliated organizations, including religious minorities, professional associations and other groups with special interests. The scope of the organization was limited to certain sections of the cities and did not affect rural women in any fashion.

The women's organization attempted to amend some discriminatory laws towards women including the Family Protection Act of 1967 and its amendment is usually seen as the achievement of the organization's efforts. Some, of course, argue against this claim and take it the result of women's struggles and efforts in the decades before. Fred Haley day comments on the legal reform of the 1960s stating that, the Act of 1967 condemned only the worst misuses of the existing regime at that time, but still left Iran inequalities in terms of family and economic life. He considers the dominance of Iranian men over women as the state of control and excellence, and believes that there is still no widespread change in the economic and social life of women to eliminate this discrimination. Strong and effective action in this area required the persuasion of a king whose national role was the symbol of patriarchy.

The patriotism culture and political violence against women

Patriarchy or the word close to it (Masculism), by Max Weber, is used to represent the system of power in traditional societies. In Patriarchal societies and in the form of households, authority is transferred by the inheritance of the male members of the family. The patriarchy of Weber is described as feudal societies and gender-unrelated. The father in the father's family is domiciled over all family members, including males and females²⁵. The word "patriarchy" was first used in the 70s in feminist literature as a concept that is of political significance²⁶. This term means the system of male authority that oppresses and suppresses women through family, social, political and economic institutions²⁷. In all manifestations of history, patriarchal society, whether feudal, capitalist or socialist, gender, and economic discrimination operate simultaneously, the origin of male-dominated, more and wider men's access to resources and privileges of domination structures, both inside and outside the family. Therefore, some feminists used the general concept of patriarchy to show the domination of the patriarchal system that has penetrated all aspects of life, even in the most personal relations between men and women, since they think that there is no relationship with men and women unless it is based on sexual oppression and a strong power relationship. Therefore, with regard to the above mentioned theory, patriarchal culture is one of the manifestations of authoritarian culture in Iran that maintains and continues its stability despite the changes in political systems in Iranian history and in order to control gender participation by the sexual split of developmental society politics. Accordingly, in Iran, due to social and legal conditions, political repressions and legal failures of self-wakeful movements did not emerge from women, and therefore any change occurred under the influence of new imported ideas and decision makers modernist views. In the meantime, the Pahlavi government legitimized itself with a concession to patriarchy, and, accordingly, set up specific gender roles and identities that created a special division of labor based on which women continued to be under control of men. However, the beginning of the second Pahlavi reforms and the increase in the number of educated women as well as the expansion of urbanization in Iran promoted women's demands, especially their participation.

Centralized system of authoritarianism in contemporary Iranian history and violence against women

The Qajar court was at the head of the ruling oligarchy, and the king ruled in a dictatorship of a tyrannical system. His decree of law, his will and his intentions were obligatory for the lower layers of the hierarchy of power. The government's backing was for social participation, not religious legitimacy. The Qajar rulers did not enjoy any particular charisma. Their only support

was the sword and oligarchy of the tribal system. Although during the nineteenth century, tribal structure gradually became a big court, followed by a kind of bureaucracy and hierarchy of power, but in the content of sovereignty, which was pure tyranny, there was little change in the structure of the Persian dynasties of the Qajar era. The Shah power was absolute and there was no obstacle to his will and sovereignty. Everything belonged to the king, and no one could oppose him. The king, with the will of God, was the owner of life, and properties of his people and ruled absolute tyranny. At this time, “there never was an opportunity for the aristocracy to be independent and to have legal rights that could legally constrain the king’s power.”²⁸ This issue has not only been in existence during the Qajar regime but has been institutionalized throughout Iran’s history and has been viewed as a major impediment to the political activity of women and has led to a form of political violence against women.

The theory of gender socialization in Iranian history as the cause of political violence against women

Dobawar mentions socialization of gender roles as a factor in the continued domination of men over women. He believed that the character of girls and women could be very different from the current unequal patterns, provided that the girls were initially trained with the same expectations and rewards as their brothers were trained²⁹, in fact gender socialization by institutionalizing inequality on the one hand and continuing it in future generations on the other hand can be recognized as the base for an gender- inequality. According to the pattern of gender socialization in which masculinity is valued, women are subordinate beings in the patriarchal structure of the family and are fairly confined within the family, and they face new types of violence in the realm of employment with men at the workplace³⁰. According to this theory, the process of socialization in families transmits male and female tendencies in the family and subordination of women. According to this view, violence against women and forcing them is a behavior that is learned and is usually legitimate in societies and traditional gender-based responses encourages the violence³¹. This issue is also clearly the case in Iranian history, and intensified political violence against women.

SEXUAL IDENTITY THEORY AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Michel Foucault, based on sexual identity theory, believes that in Western societies people identify their identity with their sexual identity and consider themselves sexually explicit. They associate this concept with sex

throughout their moral and traditional lives. In this sense, each person who knows how to behave and what society expects from him first considers a pattern that a creature of his gender should treat accordingly³². According to Michael Camille, masculinity is also a set of concepts that the process of our relationship with ourselves, with others, and with our worlds are made. Masculinity has a social root and is not rooted in our biology, but it is made by culture. Kamille argues that gender violence originates from three factors: 1. The unequal and unfair social power of men and, in some cases, their use of violence (against women and against other men, themselves, etc.) to maintain this power or at least strengthening the sense of power. 2. Feeling deserved power and privilege that most men experience. 3. Social, legal, and cultural permission to commit gender-based violence that is more or less present in all male-dominated cultures³³. This has also been another key contributor to political violence against women.

CONCLUSION

Political violence against women in Iran is caused by two categories of factors: the factors that make women themselves passive, politically outspoken and conservative; therefore, the political violence against them results from women’s own temperament, and the other is related to absolute authoritarianism, political dichotomy, traditional patriarchal culture, gender socialization and identity, lack of political institutionalization, and secondly, taking women as second-class citizens in politics. The factors that in Iran’s contemporary history before the revolution inflicted heavy economic, political, and social costs in the Iranian society, since it has delayed the development process, reduced the production and faced production and services with quality problems, created economic problems for women, caused governments to bear extraordinary expenses and prevented the development of societies, therefore, the importance of society, and political violence against women causes many problems for society. Therefore, the current paper concludes that: first, women as a half of society play a very important role in the developments of each society; second, the political participation of women is so important and influential that it is mentioned in both in the Qur’an and in the narrative; third, Islam does not only have no opposition to women’s political participation, but has a continuing emphasis on their presence; fourth, the presence of women in development and political participation is considered to be the denial of political violence, and fifth, political violence in the contemporary history of Iran was not due to Islamic religion and Islamic teachings, but was due to political structures and patriarchal system.

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