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«مقاله پژوهشی»

نگره‌پردازی تئوری حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب برپایه روش زمینه‌ای (گرندد تئوری)

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چکیده

زمینه: سخنی در حوزه حجاب مطرح شد که در اذهان مردم نگاه جدیدی را ایجاد نمود و دری را در جهت بیداری مردم گشود و آن حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب بود.

هدف: این مقاله با این فرضیه که حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب ریشه در آیات قرآن دارد و مطابق با قرائن تاریخی است، به دنبال نگره‌پردازی(تئوریزه)کردن نظریه حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب، می‌باشد.

روش: پژوهش از روش نظریه‌پردازی داده محور استفاده نموده و ابتدا آیاتِ قرآن، کدهای لازم را دریافت، سپس سایر منابع از جمله احادیث، مقالات علمی، گزارشات و قرائن تاریخی کشف و کدگذاری شده و با کشف مقوله‌های فرعی نسبت به مقوله اصلی این مدل شکل گرفته است، لازم به ذکر است در اینجا روش گرندد تئوری بیشتر بر مبنای منابع محکم تاریخی و پژوهش های مبسوط، عمیق و دقیق دینی صورت گرفته است نه پژوهش هایی که غنای کافی ندارند.

یافته‌ها: با بررسی داده‌ها در کدگذاری محوری علاوه بر مقوله اصلی، سه مقوله محوری، وجوب شرعی حفظ حجاب به دو صورت حداقلی و حداکثری در قرآن، و حجاب به عنوان قانونی اجتماعی، برای همه کشورهای اسلامی و برای همه شهروندان کشور اسلامی استخراج گردید.

نتایج: مقوله هسته‌ای «قابلیت تئوریزه شدن حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب» با فراهم شدن بسترهای لازم، پیامدهای خوبی را جهت التزام افراد به اجرای قانون حجاب با فهم ریشه‌دار بودن حرمت سیاسی کشف حجاب در آیات قرآن ایجاد می‌نماید و بالطبع موجبات جلوگیری از قبح‌شکنی را با بیشتر می‌نماید. با این وجود برای دست یافتن به پیامدها به صورت کامل، راهبرد برنامه‌ریزی دقیق در مقابله با کشف حجاب به عنوان ابزاری جهت خدشه بر حکومت اسلامی نه فقط به عنوان یک واجب شرعی بلکه به عنوان علامت و شاخص نظام اسلامی توصیه می‌گردد.

واژه‌های کلیدی

کشف حجاب، حرام سیاسی، شعائر الهی، گرندد تئوری.

Quran and Religious Enlightenment

O R I G I N A L   A R T I C L E

Theoretical Framework of the Political Sanctity of Hijab Unveiling Based on Grounded Theory Methodology

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A B S T R A C T
Background: A discourse emerged concerning hijab, creating a new perspective in public opinion and opening a path towards public awakening; this was the political sanctity of hijab unveiling. Objective: The present study, based on the hypothesis that the political sanctity of hijab unveiling is rooted in Quranic verses and aligns with historical evidence, aims to theorize the concept of the political sanctity of hijab unveiling. Methodology: This paper employs a data-driven theory-building approach. Initially, Quranic verses were coded. Subsequently, other sources, including hadiths, scholarly articles, reports, and historical evidence of unveiling, were identified and coded. Sub-categories were then identified in relation to the main category to form this model. It is noteworthy that here, the grounded theory approach was primarily implemented through robust historical sources and extensive, in-depth, and precise religious research possessing sufficient richness.
Findings: Through axial coding of the data, in addition to the main category, three core categories were extracted: the religious obligation of maintaining hijab in both minimal and maximal forms as mentioned in the Quran, and hijab as a social law applicable to all Islamic countries and all citizens of an Islamic country. Results: The core phenomenon, "The theorizability of the political sanctity of hijab unveiling," with the provision of necessary conditions, yields positive consequences towards individuals' commitment to the hijab law by understanding the deep-rooted sanctity of hijab unveiling in Quranic verses, and consequently, increases the prevention of transgression. However, to fully achieve these consequences, a strategy of meticulous planning to counter hijab unveiling as a tool to undermine the Islamic government is recommended, not only as a religious obligation but also as a symbol and indicator of the Islamic system.

K E Y W O R D S
Hijab Unveiling, Political Prohibition, Divine Symbols, Grounded Theory.

Introduction

One aspect seemingly crucial to the issue of hijab is its political dimension, a matter long considered by the reformist movement in its opposition to the hijab. This has led to the formation of a discourse on hijab, gradually altering its commonly understood religious meaning. This movement gradually gave way to political and social campaigns against the hijab, such as "Stealth Freedoms" and "White Wednesdays." (Zibiyeh Nejad, 2019) Recently, a statement by Supreme Leader Khamenei regarding the hijab emerged, declaring the removal of the hijab not only religiously forbidden but also politically prohibited. He further stated: "If they knew who is behind this action they are undertaking, they certainly would not do it. I know. Many of them are religious, devout, observe Ramadan, and engage in prayer and supplication; they do not realize who is behind this policy of removing the hijab and fighting against it. The enemy's spies, the enemy's intelligence agencies are behind this. If they knew, they certainly would not do it. In any case, this issue will certainly be resolved." (Ramadan meeting of regime officials with the leader of the revolution https://khl.ink/f/52384, 2023-04-04) This approach created a new perspective on the hijab in the minds of many people, opening a door towards divine knowledge to awaken the public. This raised the question for many: 'What does it mean for the removal of the hijab to be politically forbidden?' 'How does this divine obligation differ from other obligations that it becomes a political prohibition?' Furthermore, 'Does this ruling have a Quranic basis?' The main question this research addresses is 'whether the Quran addresses the political prohibition of removing the hijab?' In this regard, it is necessary to answer the following questions: Firstly, 'What is the meaning of political prohibition?' Secondly,

'What are the underlying factors contributing to the political prohibition of removing the hijab?' 'What are the contributing and facilitating factors in this matter?'

Initially, it must be stated that "Politically Forbidden (*Ḥarām*)" is not a new or recent term; because "*Ḥarām*," meaning something whose commission is prohibited, has a clear meaning and can be used in various fields, such as religious law (*Sharī'a*), political, social, cultural, and economic matters. Just as there are "*Ḥarām*" actions in the aforementioned areas, there are also actions considered obligatory in the political, social, cultural, economic, etc., spheres… (Eazidi, 2023)

Therefore, in brief, the term "Politically Forbidden" can be defined as: "An action considered unlawful from a political (social and governmental) perspective," and this concept is customary in every governmental and social system worldwide ("The article 'Discovering the forbidden political or religious hijab?' Afog Hozha Weekly, 2023: No. 750, p. 5).

1. Research Background

Regarding the ambiguities raised concerning hijab, numerous articles and books have been written. Among them are:

- "Hijab in Verses and Narrations," a critique of the book "Islamic Hijab in the Prophet's Era" by Hossein Soozanchi. In this work, the author, in two main sections—"Critique and Review of the Book's Content" and "Examination of Examples of the Book's Claims and Arguments"—critiques the book "Islamic Hijab in the Prophet's Era." In the final section, he examines the viewpoints of jurists on Islamic hijab and attempts, through a historical analysis of authentic Islamic texts, to explain Islam's perspective on women's hijab in society.

- "Women's Dress in the Prophet's Time" by Majid Dehghan and Ashayerifard. The author of this book addresses the factors behind women's nudity in pre-Islamic (Jahiliyyah) literature and during the pre-Islamic Hajj pilgrimage, and the transformations in dress during the early Islamic period, which in a way also answers the ambiguities rose regarding dress in the Prophet's era.
- "Hijab from the Perspective of the Quran and Sunnah" by Fathiyeh Fattahizadeh. The author of this book aims to present a history of hijab, free from bias and emotion, and then discusses the measures Islam has taken to preserve and promote modesty in society.
- "Hijab in the Quran" by Mohammad Javad Fazel Lankarani. In this book, which is the result of this esteemed scholar's examination of all verses related to hijab, it is mentioned that the idea that hijab arose from complex jurisprudential ijtihads and is subject to new ijtihad in our time is false. This is absolutely not the case.

One of the established principles in jurisprudence is that ijtihad (independent legal reasoning) is not permissible in matters of fundamental religious obligations. This has been noted, and several books have been written examining the Supreme Leader's views on hijab. One example is the book "The Role and Mission of Women, Vol. 1, Modesty and Hijab in the Iranian-Islamic Lifestyle," based on the speeches of the Supreme Leader, by Amirhossein Banakipour, published by the Islamic Revolution Publications. However, the current work differs from other articles and books not only in its novel approach to finding answers, employing a grounded theory methodology, but also in its focus on addressing the most influential objection raised regarding hijab: The claim of its political illegitimacy. Addressing the Quranic basis of this

objection and theorizing it with sound evidence are crucial steps in resolving this issue.

2. Methodology

The main method of this research is grounded theory. Grounded theory is a qualitative research method that develops a theory from a set of data, explaining a process, action, or interaction on a broad scale. Data analysis uses three methods: Open coding, axial coding, and selective coding. In the open coding stage, initial concepts are identified; in the axial coding stage, major categories along with a core category are extracted; and in the selective coding stage, which involves careful review of the data and previous coding, the researcher analyzes the data and presents it in the form of a theory. Furthermore, other dimensions, including conditions, interactions, and consequences, are considered within a paradigmatic model (Straus and Corbin, 2008: 22).

After providing a suitable definition of political sanctity, considering the chosen grounded theory approach, we must seek data from which to extract our categories. One of the most important sources for data generation is the Holy Quran. In the data generation phase, we initially refer to the Quran and then to other sources such as published articles, reports, and interviews. In the grounded theory method, the researcher may collect data through interviews, observation, document review, or a combination of these sources. Daily notes, participant observation, formal, informal, or semi-structured interviews, documents, journals, and research literature are valid ways to generate data (Mohammadpour and Rezaei, 2008). Therefore, the grounded theory approach has the capacity to derive theory from various sources. Here, because the existing research and literature on the subject are sufficiently rich, the grounded theory method allows us to achieve more

systematic and organized results. Using this method, in each of these cases, we seek answers to the aforementioned questions from Quranic verses or extensive and precise research conducted in other documents.

To gather data, by reviewing verses related to the topic, the relevant verses received the necessary code(s). However, due to the limited length of this article, only a very brief example of the verses and their assigned codes is provided. Furthermore, both the apparent meaning of Quranic verses and interpretations from reputable scholars and experts in the field of hijab are utilized. Since finding data from the Quran to understand the political sanctity of unveiling requires understanding the relevant key indicators and general principles in the Quran, these must first be gathered, and then their proximity and relationship examined.

3. Research Findings

As stated, the aim of this research is to achieve a foundational theory on the political sanctity of hijab. The research findings are presented in a diagram comprising four main categories and one core category. Each of the four main categories is described below. What follows under each category are the concepts that led to the generation of those categories in open coding? First, the data obtained from the Quran in that category is presented, and then the data obtained from other documents is presented. An example of open coding and axial coding in determining the fourth category is mentioned.

Table 1. Open and Core Coding of the Fourth Category

Raw Data	Concept	Category
1-Data 1: "O! You, who have believed, remember Allah with much remembrance and exalt [His] praise morning and evening." (al-Aḥzāb/41-42) 2-Data 2: (al-Baqarah/267): "O! You, who have believed, spend from the good things which you have earned and from that which We have produced for you from the earth…"	Islam is a religion that is both personal and social.	The political sanctity of hijab is based on Quranic verses.
1-Data 1: (al-Ḥadīd/25): "And We sent not before you [O! Muhammad] any messenger except that We revealed to him that there is no god but Me, so worship Me." 2-Data 2: Every prophet or Imam who has been able to establish a government based on God's religion has done so.	Social religion requires a social regulator.	
Those who have believed fight in the cause of Allah, and those who have disbelieved fight in the cause of Tāghūt. So fight against the allies of Satan. Indeed, the plot of Satan is ever weak (al-Nisā'/76).	The command to fight against those who want to undermine the Islamic government.	
"Every veil that is abandoned is as if Algeria surrenders itself to the school of the master and decides to change its customs and traditions under the leadership and subjugation of the colonizer." (Frantz Fanon, 2005 AD/1384 SH: 40)	The use of naked power is one of the important strategies for overthrowing the Islamic political system throughout history.	
"The Islamic Republic has ideological red lines that constitute its identity, one of which is compulsory hijab, and we must engage with the Islamic Republic over compulsory hijab." (Sahar Rezazadeh, No to Compulsory Hijab Campaign - National Front News Agency of Iran)	Significant sums have been spent by hostile governments to eliminate the Islamic veiling of Iranian women.	
Data 1: "O! You, who have believed, do not violate the symbols of Allah…" (al-Mā'idah/2) Data 2: Divine symbols are matters that, in addition to being part of religious affairs, also have a symbolic aspect and are considered signs of Islam.	Hijab is one of the divine symbols.	

Each of the core categories is described below. What are stated below each category are the concepts that led to the production of those categories in open coding. First, the received data in that category is expressed in terms of equivalents from the Quran, and then the data received from other documents is presented.

4. Category One: The Religious Obligation of Maintaining Hijab, in Both Minimum and Maximum Forms

The first category that needs to be examined before addressing the political prohibition of unveiling is the category of the religious obligation of maintaining hijab, which is derived from the following concepts:

4.1. Concept One: The Use of the Word "*Khimār*" in the Quranic Verses in Explaining the Minimum Ruling of Hijab

God Almighty has used two types of minimum and maximum veiling for women in the Quran:

Related data: Minimum veiling, with the word khimar, which is a covering similar to a chador or a headscarf that also covers the neck and chest (Rāghib Iṣfahānī: 298) and says:

"And let them wear their *Khumur* [headscarves] over their bosoms and not reveal their adornment." (al-Nūr/31) Tell the believing women to lower their gaze and to protect their private parts and not to display their adornment except what is apparent. *Rāghib*, in explaining the meaning of the word "*Khumur*," says: "The root of *Khumur* means to cover something, and what one covers something with is called *Khimār*. However, in common usage, khimar is specifically what a woman covers her head with, and its plural is *Khumur* (pronounced like *'Unuq*)." (Rāghib Iṣfahānī, 1991: 1, 298) "*Khimār*" is the garment with which a woman

covers her head and whose excess she hangs down over her chest (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1996: 16, 339 and 15, 156).

4.2. The Second Meaning: The Use of the Word "*Jilbāb*" in Quranic Verses in Explaining the Maximum Limit of Hijab

In examining the verses of the Quran, maximum coverage is expressed with the word Jilbāb, and it says:

Relevant data: "O! Prophet, tell your wives and your daughters and the women of the believers to draw their Jilbābs [outer garments] over themselves. That is more suitable that they may be known and not harassed. And ever is Allah Forgiving and Merciful." (al-Aḥzāb/59)

Allamah *Ṭabāṭabā'ī*, in Tafsir *al-Mīzān*, states: The word *Jalābīb* is the plural of Jilbāb, and it is a full-length garment that covers the entire body (Ṭabāṭabā'ī, 1996: 16, 339) or a special headscarf that covers the face and head, and the meaning of the phrase "Draw over themselves" is that they should wear it in such a way that their necks and chests are not visible to onlookers (Ṭabrisī, 1993 AD/1372 SH: 8, 181). It also refers to a covering that is larger than a headscarf but smaller than a chador, as emphasized by the author of *Lisān al-'Arab* (Makarem Shirazi, 1992: 17, 428). What is understood from the summary of the commentators' statements is that it means a covering similar to a chador that covers the entire body (Mahdizadeh, 2006).

Relevant data: The verse mentions two purposes for *Jilbāb* (a loose outer garment): To be recognized (for one's virtue and modesty) and to avoid harassment. Since these two purposes are not mentioned for khimar (a headscarf), this indicates that *Jilbāb* takes precedence over khimar. However, other factors also strengthen this priority. For

example, the dark color commonly used for chadors (a type of veil) in social settings is muted and less attention-grabbing, while also conveying more dignity to women, thus proving highly effective. A narration also indicates the lack of disapproval of *Kisā'* (Kulaynī, 2015: 6, 499, no. 1. https://fa.wikifeqh.ir/%D9). *Kisā'*, according to the hadith *Kisā'*, refers to a long, all-encompassing garment covering the entire body, including the aba (cloak) and the black chador worn by women. Therefore, the coverage provided by the chador offers greater protection against threats in work or social environments.

4.3. Third Concept: Defining the Limits of Hijab

Regarding the obligatory nature of maintaining hijab, there are hadiths that clearly define its limits.

Relevant data: A saying of Imam Ṣādiq (AS) states: "It is not permissible for a Muslim woman to wear a headscarf (*Maqna'ah*) and a garment that does not cover her body." (Ḥurr 'Āmilī, 1993: 30, 5181)

Relevant data: A saying of the Messenger of God (PBUH) states: "Any woman who believes in God, the Almighty, and the Day of Judgment will not reveal her adornment to anyone other than her husband, nor will she show her hair and ankles. Any woman who does these things for anyone other than her husband has corrupted her religion and angered God…" (Noori, 1987: 14, 244)

Relevant data: The obligatory nature of hijab for women is a matter upon which all Shia and Sunni jurists agree (Shahīd Thānī, 1989: 7, 46; Muḥaqqiq Ḥillī, 1998: 431). For example, Imam Khomeini writes: "A woman must cover her body and hair from non-mahram men." (Khomeini, 2002 AD/1381 SH: 384)

4.4. The Fourth Concept: The Practical Conduct of Exemplary Women

Women presented as role models for Muslim women can effectively demonstrate the extent and limits of hijab:

Relevant Data: The accounts of Lady *Fāṭima Zahrā* (AS) covering herself in public, as narrated in history, show that when she went out of the house to visit the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), she used specific coverings, such as the *Jilbāb* (Ibn Bābawayh, Shaykh Ṣadūq: 2005: 1, 163).

Relevant Data: Furthermore, one incident illustrating the extent of Lady *Fāṭima Zahrā*'s (AS) hijab outside the home and when encountering non-mahram men is the incident of the usurpation of *Fadak*. We read: "...She placed her *Khimār* (headscarf) on her head and covered herself completely with her *Jilbāb*, and she set out with a group of her female relatives and women from her tribe, their trailing garments sweeping the ground." (Ṭabrisī, 2024: 98)

Relevant Data: Among the practical examples emphasizing the necessity of maintaining Islamic prescribed dress and the value of hijab is the example of the women of Karbala during their captivity. A noteworthy aspect of the Karbala event is the value these women placed on their hijab, which remained unchanged despite the burning of tents, beatings, intense heat, and the loss of loved ones; as Lady *Zaynab* (AS) stated before *Yazīd*: "O! Son of the freed slave, is this justice? You keep your women and concubines behind screens, but you have taken captive the daughters of the Messenger of God (PBUH), dragging them from place to place, tearing away the veil of their honor and exposing their faces to the public gaze, parading them before the enemies in various cities, so that people in every street and alley may gaze upon them, and high and low, noble and base, may cast their

eyes upon their faces, while their men and protectors are absent." (Ṭabrisī, 2024: 2, 35).

The most that can be said about the captive women after the event of Ashura is that their faces were uncovered "*Mukashshafah al-Wujūh*". The fact that some accounts mention the women's heads were not covered does not mean their hair was visible. This statement refers to the absence of a full-body veil among the women of the Ahl al-Bayt (AS).

Related data: In the event of Karbala, there is no record of the captives requesting food or water. It is even narrated that the Karbala captives never accepted or consumed food or water as charity. However, regarding hijab (veiling), we see that if someone offered assistance, they would accept a veil or cloth for covering themselves. For example, when the army and captives reached the entrance of Kufa, the Kufans gathered to watch them. A narrator recounts that a woman from Kufa shouted from a rooftop, "Which captives are you?" They replied, "We are the captives of the family of Muhammad (PBUH)." The woman came down from the rooftop and provided them with more suitable clothing (Ibn Tāwūs, 1999: 190).

5. The Second Category: Hijab Is A Social Law for All Islamic Countries.

Some people, seeing the various types of hijab used in Islamic countries, question the necessity of hijab in all countries. However, examining the following concepts, derived from the data below, provides a different answer.

5.1. The First Concept: Islam Is A Universal Religion.

Clearly, the implementation of Islamic precepts is not tied to a specific government or system. If Islamic governments in other parts of the world fail to uphold them, this does not justify

their actions. Contrary to the claims of prejudiced and opportunistic individuals, various verses of the Quran testify that Islam is a universal religion for all people of the world. These verses state that the Quran is for all humanity because its commandments are universal, not regional.

Related data: This Quran is a reminder for all the worlds (al-Anʿām/90).

Blessed is He who revealed the Criterion to His servant that he may be a warner to the worlds (al-Furqān/1).

5.2. The Second Concept: Legal Hijab within the Framework of Islamic Societal Laws

Among the commandments of Islam pertaining to Muslim society is the hijab (veiling) and dress code for women. The principle of hijab is established in Quranic verses, while its precise boundaries are detailed in Hadith.

Relevant data: Verse 59 of Surah *al-Aḥzāb* states: "O! Prophet! Tell thy wives and thy daughters and the women of the believers that they should cast their outer garments over themselves (Jilbāb). That is more convenient, that they may be known (as such) and not be molested. And Allah is ever Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful." The historical context of this verse reveals that before its revelation, complete hijab was not consistently observed among women in society. Following its revelation, women were instructed to observe hijab in public as described in the verse (Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 1996: 16, 339). Therefore, the implementation of these commandments is not contingent upon a specific Islamic government or system. If Islamic governments in other parts of the world fail to uphold it, this does not validate their actions. Indeed, the existing inconsistencies across different countries should prompt serious reflection. The crucial aspect is

adherence to the divine commandments revealed in the Quran, not the success or failure of their implementation in any particular region.

5.3. The Third Concept: Imam Khomeini's Consistent Stance on the Law of Hijab Before and After the Revolution

Imam Khomeini recognized both before and after the revolution, the areas where Satan exerts significant influence, including the unveiling of the "Great Satan," America, and matters that promote immodesty. He believed that for societal progress, well-being, and prosperity, women, following the example of the Ahl al-Bayt (AS), should maintain the limits prescribed by Islamic law while actively participating in political, social, cultural, and educational spheres. An Islamic government provides the necessary environment for this participation (Heydari Nesab, 2013). This is corroborated by various interviews and studies conducted with Imam Khomeini.

Relevant data: In a Bahman 1357 interview in France with a female journalist who was not wearing a hijab, Imam Khomeini took a strong stance on the issue, stating: "Your acceptance of me as a woman demonstrates that our movement is progressive, despite others' attempts to portray it as backward. Do you think our women should necessarily wear a hijab, something on their heads, or not?" (https://www.mashreghnews.ir/news/931014/- Ms. Noshabeh Amiri, Kayhan reporter)

(The Imam further stated): "My acceptance of you? I didn't accept you! You came here, and I didn't know you were coming! And that doesn't prove Islam is progressive just because you came here! Islam is progressive. But progressive doesn't mean what some of our men and women think it means. Progress lies in human and spiritual perfection, and in

individuals' positive contributions to the nation and the country. Going to cinemas and dance halls—these are not the advancements they've presented to you; they've held you back; and we must rectify that later. You are free to engage in righteous activities. Go to university and do whatever is right; and the entire nation is free in these areas. But if someone acts against chastity or harms the nation—acts against national interests—that will be prevented; and that is proof of Islam's progress." (Khomeini, 2006: 520-521)

Therefore, even before the revolution, in the 1940s, in his speeches, Imam Khomeini condemned Reza Shah Pahlavi's policies regarding the unveiling of women. This issue continued after the revolution with greater precision and firmness. In Esfand 1357, after the revolution's victory, he stated in a speech: "Islamic women should go out with Islamic hijab….It has been reported to me that women in our ministries are immodestly dressed, and this is against Islamic law. Women can participate in social activities, but with Islamic hijab." (http://www.imam-khomeini.ir/fa/n153806/)

Imam's resolute stance on the issue was so firm that it quickly spread internationally. Some feminist women, believing that religion and hijab caused women's backwardness, protested against the Imam's pronouncements. However, the Imam's firmness awakened many women in the Islamic society. Revolutionary women resisted these protests, held demonstrations, and ensured the official implementation of the hijab law in the country. In practice, Muslim women demonstrated that religiosity and hijab are not factors of backwardness. Just as Lady *Zahrā* (AS) demonstrated chastity even by concealing herself from a blind person, hijab should be

manifested not only internally but also externally in one's appearance and behavior.

6. The Third Issue: Legal Hijab for All Citizens of an Islamic Country

The third issue, derived from the analyzed data, addresses whether, although God Almighty mentions hijab in the Quran for Muslims, it should be legally enforced in Islamic countries for everyone, including followers of other religions. This issue arises from the following concepts and data:

6.1. The First Concept: Kindness towards Other Religions in an Islamic Country

The Quran beautifully addresses this in two verses:

Related Data: Show kindness to those of other faiths who do not wage war against Muslims:

"Allah does not forbid you from those who do not fight you because of religion and do not expel you from your homes - from being righteous toward them and acting justly toward them. Indeed, Allah loves those who act justly." (al-Mumtaḥana/8)

Non-believers are of two kinds: a group that seeks enmity and plots against Muslims, from whom one must disassociate; and a group that has not taken action against Muslims nor plotted against them. This verse states: treat them kindly; establishing relations with them is not forbidden. In fact, Islamic foreign policy is based on attracting and engaging others. According to this verse, non-belligerent non-believers who live in an Islamic state are entitled to social justice and rights (Qaraati, 2008: 5, 45).

6.2. Concept Two: Adherence to the Laws and Regulations of an Islamic State

Relevant Data: God Almighty, in the verses of the Quran, stipulates conditions for those of other faiths who do not wage war against Muslims within an Islamic state: "Fight those of the People of the Book who neither believe in God nor the Last Day, nor forbid what God and His Messenger have forbidden, nor adopt the religion of truth, until they pay the *Jizya* with willing submission!" (al-Tawbah/29)

Allama *Ṭabāṭabāʾī* states regarding this: From the three characteristics mentioned in the beginning of the verse as the reason and justification for fighting against the People of the Book, and from their having to pay the *Jizya* with complete humility, it appears that this humility refers to their submission to Islamic traditions and their surrender to the just rule of the Islamic society. It means that, unlike other communities, they cannot oppose the Islamic society, flaunt their power, freely engage in spreading superstitious beliefs and desires, and promote beliefs and actions that corrupt human society (Ṭabāṭabāʾī, 1996: 9, 217).

"*Ṣāghar*," from the root "*Ṣighar,*" means one who accepts humility. In the verse, it means that the payment of *Jizya* should be an act of submission to the Islamic faith and the Quran, and, in other words, a sign of peaceful coexistence and acceptance of the position of a healthy and respected minority in the face of the ruling majority. The interpretation by some commentators as humiliation, insult, offense, and mockery of the People of the Book is neither supported by the literal meaning of the word, nor is it consistent with the spirit of Islamic teachings, nor does it conform to other instructions regarding how to treat religious minorities. A noteworthy point in the verse is that although only *Jizya* is mentioned among

the conditions of the *Dhimma* (protected status), the expression *"Hum Ṣāghirūn"* is a general reference to other conditions of the *Dhimma*. For it implies that, for example, they should not engage in propaganda against Muslims within the Islamic environment, cooperate with their enemies, or create obstacles to their progress, as these actions are incompatible with the spirit of humility, submission, and cooperation (Makarem Shirazi, 1992: 7, 355).

6.3. Concept Three: Preventing the Erosion of Moral Reproach through Universal Observance of the Hijab

Relevant Data: Supreme Leader Khamenei states: "The hijab is a religious decree and a legal matter. Governmental and official bodies and their managers must, first and foremost, ensure its implementation according to the law." (The meeting of the President and members of the government delegation with the leader of the revolution, 2018) Elsewhere, he states: "Imam Khomeini stood firm as a mountain against a clear transgression created by the Pahlavi regime and its followers in the country, stating that the hijab must exist… There is no such thing as a small or large haram; what is religiously forbidden must not be openly practiced in the country." (Statements of Imam Khamenei in the meeting with the Praisers of Ahl al-Bayt (AS), 2016) Islamic society feels a responsibility towards all people, even those of different faiths, and defends their security. If someone steals from their homes, they are punished, and the grounds for exercising other civic rights are provided for them. Similarly, it expects them to respect the security, moral health, and independence of society and to abide by the social laws of the Islamic system. This means safeguarding the boundaries of Islamic society, which is the duty of the Islamic government. For example, an individual of any faith does not have the right to drive at excessive speeds in the streets. The hijab is among these social laws, the results of which are the creation of psychological tranquility and the strengthening of the family unit. If minorities in Islamic society do not adhere to the outward forms of Islam, the moral reproach against it will gradually erode even among Muslims.

7. Section Four: The Political Sanctity of the Prohibition of Unveiling is based on Quranic Verses.

The issue of the political system or government in Islam is one of the most fundamental and exciting issues in the contemporary Muslim world and even the non-Muslim world. When Islam is discussed in relation to politics and governance, and when it is present in the arena of social life, work, and struggle, it is fascinating, inspiring, and epic-making for its believers; conversely, it is extremely dangerous and terrifying for its enemies (Kiyani and Zargar, 2020 AD/1399 SH).

7.1. First Concept: Islam Is Both A Personal and A Social Religion.

What is evident in the religion is that the scope of Islamic religious activity encompasses the entirety of human life, and Islam is both a personal and a social religion.

Relevant Data: In one instance, regarding personal matters, it states, "Be mindful of God in your hearts": "O! You who have believed, remember Allah with much remembrance and exalt [Him] morning and evening." (al-Aḥzāb/41-42)

Relevant Data: In another instance, regarding social matters, it states, "Be charitable": "O! You who have believed, spend from the good things which you have earned and from that which We

have produced for you from the earth. And do not aim for the worthless [things] of it to spend [only] from it while you yourselves would not take it except with closing your eyes to it. And know that Allah is Self-Sufficient and Praiseworthy." (al-Baqarah/267)

7.2. Second Concept: A Social Religion Requires A Social Regulator.

We cannot conceive of Islam as a religion that places great value on social order and justice, yet claim it pays no attention to the issue of a social regulator and, alongside it, the establishment of a government through which social order is implemented. For the establishment of this social order, alongside individual matters, requires an Islamic government and an Islamic ruler to rise up against adulterers, drunkards, embezzlers, and corrupt individuals, enforcing the correct application of social laws. If there is no Islamic government, the punishment of such individuals according to the religion is not possible.

Relevant data: In social matters, an important command that God Almighty gives to prophets is to commission them to establish a government so that they can uphold justice in society. He says: "Indeed, We sent Our messengers with clear proofs and revealed with them the Book and the balance that the people may maintain justice." (al-Ḥadīd/25) The objective of sending these great men, equipped with these tools, is the implementation of "Justice and Equity," one of the many goals of sending prophets. However, in any human society, no matter how high the level of morality, belief, and piety, there will always be individuals who rebel and obstruct the establishment of justice and equity (Makarem Shirazi, 1992: 23, 370).

Relevant data: True justice must be realized under the shadow of divine law and leadership (Qaraati, under the verse). Therefore, establishing justice and implementing God's commands in the Quran necessitates the establishment of an Islamic government. For this reason, every prophet or Imam who has been able to establish a government based on God's religion has taken such action, or undertaken a part of it; such as Prophets David, Solomon, Joseph, the Prophet Muhammad, and Imam Ali (AS).

7.3. Third Concept: The Command to Fight Those Who Seek to Undermine the Islamic Government.

The main and important point is that, according to the verses of the Quran, God Almighty commands jihad against those who want to lead people towards the rule of *Tāghūt* (Tyranny) and destroy or undermine the Islamic government.

Relevant data: He says: "Those who have believed fight in the cause of Allah, and those who disbelieved fight in the cause of *Tāghūt*. So fight against the allies of Satan. Indeed, the plot of Satan has ever been weak." (al-Nisā'/76) Therefore, one of the important aspects of jihad is fighting those who in any way seek to strengthen the rule of *Tāghūt* and destroy the Islamic government.

7.4. Concept Four: The Use of Unveiled Power as A Crucial Strategy for Overthrowing the Islamic Political System Throughout History

Enemies of the Islamic system have employed various strategies to destroy the Islamic government. One historical strategy for overthrowing the Islamic political system is the use of unveiled power, as seen in the conquest

of Andalusia and events in Algeria. Colonial leaders believed that to align a society with their desires, they must first target the women. This has been tested in various human societies and revolutionary countries, yielding the desired results.

Related Data: The renowned French sociologist Frantz Fanon, in his book "The Wretched of the Earth," examines the role of Algerian women in resisting French colonialism and discusses the colonial regime's harsh policies against the hijab. He writes that even in 1959, the dream of subduing Algerian society through "unveiled women who are accomplices of the occupier" persisted in the minds of colonial politicians. Algerian men, in turn, faced criticism from their European friends or, more formally, their European employers. The European man would ask the Algerian man: "Does your wife wear a veil? Why don't you decide to live like Europeans?" (Fanon, 2004: 34)

Colonial politicians realized that each discarded veil opened new horizons previously forbidden to colonialism, and with each unveiled face, colonial hopes of aggression increased tenfold. Each falling veil, each face presented to the bold and restless colonial body, signified a denial of one's existence and the acceptance of dishonor from the colonizer. Each abandoned veil implied that Algeria had submitted itself to the master's school and decided to change its customs and traditions under the leadership and subjugation of the colonizer (Fanon, 2004: 40).

Relevant data; Colonialism pursues its own objectives, and once it achieves them, it has no desire to grant religious freedom to the people. This occurred in Andalusia. In 1492, when Ferdinand (the Christian military leader) took Spain from the Arabs, he initially granted the Arabs freedom of language and religion. However, in 1499, he broke the pact he had made with the Muslims and began to persecute them, ultimately leading to their eradication. Christians first forced Muslims to convert to Christianity. Then, they established Inquisition courts and, under the pretext that they had not truly converted, ordered the burning of these new Christians. This was done gradually, as they could not burn millions of Arabs and Muslims at once. Therefore, the chief priest of a Spanish city, who was also the head of the Inquisition courts, ordered the beheading of all Arabs who had not accepted Christianity—old and young, men and women, large and small. (Gustavo Bon 2006: 397-403)

7.5. Fifth Concept; The Transformation of the Struggle against the Hijab Law from the Production of Literature to Political Orientations

Relevant data- Paving the way for the production of new literature in changing the common concept of hijab; in 1379 (1999/2000 AD), an interview was published in the Swedish magazine *Tāghūt* between Ms. Effat Mahbaz, a Marxist feminist, and Ms. Noushin Ahmadi Khorasani, a feminist from inside Iran. Ms. Effat Mahbaz asked Ms. Ahmadi Khorasani whether the religious reformist movement could one day defend complete freedom of dress for women. She replied, "This is entirely possible. That is, we and religious reformists can defend freedom of dress, provided that we have both the ability and the courage to present their viewpoints, expand on them throughout society, and transform them into a dominant discourse and a public demand." (https://noushinahmadi.wordpress.com 2010/11/15)

With the emergence of discourse-building approaches on the subject of hijab and its shift from its common understanding, certain works emerged. Some scholars considered the teachings on hijab in the Quran as ethical

recommendations rather than Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) requirements (Qabil, 2013: 11-12). Others argued that while hijab is religiously obligatory—meaning every individual should observe it between themselves and God—the government has no obligation to intervene in matters of hijab (Vatandoost, 2021). One of the most significant critical works on this topic was written in 2010 by Amir Turkashvand, challenging this understanding of the Muslim woman's hijab. His hypothesis was that the prescribed hijab at that time was not as extensive as commonly believed, but rather involved covering the torso, thighs, and arms, and that Islam did not insist on a woman's covering in front of unrelated men. The book "Legal Hijab in the Prophet's Era," however, offered a secondary analysis of interpretations based on verses and narrations, criticizing Turkashvand's work and questioning many of his arguments. This text quickly spread, becoming the missing piece many sought. It provided those seeking to oppose the hijab with a seemingly scientific basis for their actions. However, the objective of this movement is noteworthy. Regarding the goal of the reformist movement in opposing the hijab, it appears that the discussion is not genuinely about presenting scientific viewpoints. In response to these works, the religious establishment has repeatedly produced literature, such as works by Soozanchi, Majid Dehghan, Mohammad Ashayerifard, etc., writing articles and books, and offering significant critiques of Turkashvand. He was even invited to a debate but declined. Therefore, it is understood that the generation of these doubts is far more important to this movement than responding to or critiquing them. If this were not the case, the opposing media would address the responses with the same intensity as the doubts themselves (Zibiyeh Nejad, 2019).

7.6. Sixth Concept: The Expenditure of Vast Sums by Hostile Governments to Eliminate the Islamic Dress of Iranian Women

We must understand that behind the issue of unveiling and campaigns like "White Wednesdays" lays not a simple opposition to compulsory hijab, clandestine freedoms, etc., but a confrontation with the Islamic regime. Relevant data: The spokesperson for the "No to Compulsory Hijab" campaign states: "The Islamic Republic has ideological red lines that constitute its identity, one of which is compulsory hijab, and we must confront the Islamic Republic over compulsory hijab." (Sahar Rezazadeh, No to compulsory hijab campaign - National Front of Iran news agency; https://jebhe.net › old › news › indexeea1)

Relevant data: Numerous documents have been obtained showing anti-hijab media activists receiving large sums of money from top-ranking US officials like Pompeo. In one interview, when asked, "What's next after removing compulsory hijab?" The activist responded: "The hijab is the first step, and after that, we have many issues with the Islamic Republic. Hijab is one of the main pillars of the Islamic Republic, and if we topple it, the rest of the overthrow will be easy." (https://dailyfootball.tv/117273/masih-alinejad-leaked-file-about-hijab/) Therefore, the question arises: Why should vast sums be spent by governments hostile to Iran to eliminate the Islamic dress of Iranian women? And if there is no political motive behind this, what is it? (Published documents show that Masih Alinejad, an anti-revolution media activist, has signed contracts worth hundreds of thousands of dollars with the US government…) The reason is clear: because the hijab is one of the divine signs.

7.7. Seventh Concept: The Hijab Is One of the Divine Signs.

God Almighty emphasizes in the Quran the preservation of the sanctity of Islamic signs, saying: Relevant data: "…O! You, who have believed, do not violate the symbols of Allah…" (al-Māʾidah/2) "…And whoever venerates the symbols of Allah – indeed, it is from the piety of hearts." (al-Ḥajj/32) Relevant data: Divine signs (Sharia) are matters that, in addition to being part of religious affairs, also have a symbolic aspect and are considered a sign of Islam. Some interpreters have described all the religious symbols and signs that God has ordained for worship as Sharia, arguing that Sharia encompasses everything included in religious programs that remind a person of God and the greatness of His religion (Qarashī Bunābī, 2006: 7, 47; 4, 71; Qaraati, 2008; Bayḍāwī: 1, 243; ʿAbdullāh ibn ʿUmar, 1997: 4, 71); because the meaning of *Shaʿāʾir Allāh* (signs of God) is anything that signifies God's religion, and the prophets and God's saints are among the greatest signs of God's religion (Tabrizi, 1997: 2, 439).

Mirza Javad Tabrizi, in his book *Ṣirāṭ al-Najāt*, considers the rituals of mourning for Imam Hussein (AS) as part of the *Shaʿāʾir Allāh*. Based on this, he includes mourning for Imam Hussein (AS) (Tabrizi, Mirza Javad, 1997: 2, 442) and the Arbaeen pilgrimage (Statements at the beginning of the *Fiqh* external lesson on the Arbaeen pilgrimage, Office for the Preservation and Publication of the Works of Ayatollah Khamenei) under the title of *Shaʿāʾir Allāh*. Mourning for Imam Hussein (AS) is considered a veneration of the *Shaʿāʾir Allāh* because Imam Hussein (AS) symbolizes justice and the fight against oppression (Motahhari, 2009: 25, 370). As mentioned, in Islam, hijab is also among the important *Shaʿāʾir Allāh* and a symbol of venerating these signs (Rahimi, 2008:

21). Even the reason for the prohibition by foreign governments of the presence of veiled women in universities is to prevent the deep penetration of Islamic and revolutionary thought, which is a progressive discourse. Therefore, they oppose the presence and role of educated veiled women in various scientific, political, social, and sporting fields. The reality is that hijab, in addition to being a religious obligation, is different from other obligatory or prohibited acts that may not be publicly apparent, because it has a visible and public aspect. Hijab is one of the important outward symbols and indicators of an Islamic society.

Conclusion

After the statement made by Imam Khamenei regarding hijab, which led to a new perspective on hijab in the minds of many people, the question arose for many: 'What does the political prohibition of unveiling mean?' And 'What is the difference between this divine obligation and other obligations that makes it a political prohibition?' This article, with the hypothesis that the political prohibition of unveiling is rooted in the verses of the Quran and is consistent with historical evidence, uses a contextual approach to theorize the concept of the political prohibition of unveiling based on the verses of the Quran, and to explain the factors that shape and facilitate it.

In the open coding and examination of verses, as well as related research and reports on the subject, we find numerous verses directly and indirectly addressing the political prohibition of unveiling. Through axial coding of this data, common themes were identified, and four core categories were extracted. Some of these categories are considered causal conditions and constitutive elements of the central phenomenon, while others are considered facilitating factors. Among the

main categories that, as causal and constitutive conditions, influence and lead to the central phenomenon, is that the political prohibition of unveiling is rooted in the verses of the Quran. This category is derived from the following concepts: Islam is both a personal and a social religion, and a social religion necessitates the establishment of an Islamic government and ruler. Furthermore, it mandates opposition to individuals or matters that undermine the Islamic government. Unveiling has been a significant strategy for overthrowing the Islamic political system and a factor undermining the Islamic government throughout history. This is why vast sums have been spent by hostile governments to eliminate the Islamic veiling of Iranian women, as the hijab is one of the divine signs. The core category, "The theorization of unveiling as a political haram," with the provision of necessary conditions, yields positive consequences in promoting greater adherence to the hijab law through an understanding of the deeply rooted prohibition of unveiling in the Quranic verses and consequently increases the prevention of the transgression of this prohibition through the collective observance of the hijab. Figure 1 can illustrate the contexts, causal factors, facilitating conditions, and interventions affecting this central phenomenon. However, to fully achieve the desired outcomes, the following strategy is also proposed: Careful planning to counter unveiling as a tool for overthrowing the Islamic political system, not only as a religious obligation but also as a symbol and indicator of the Islamic system.

Figure 1. Conceptualizing the Political Sanctity of Hijab
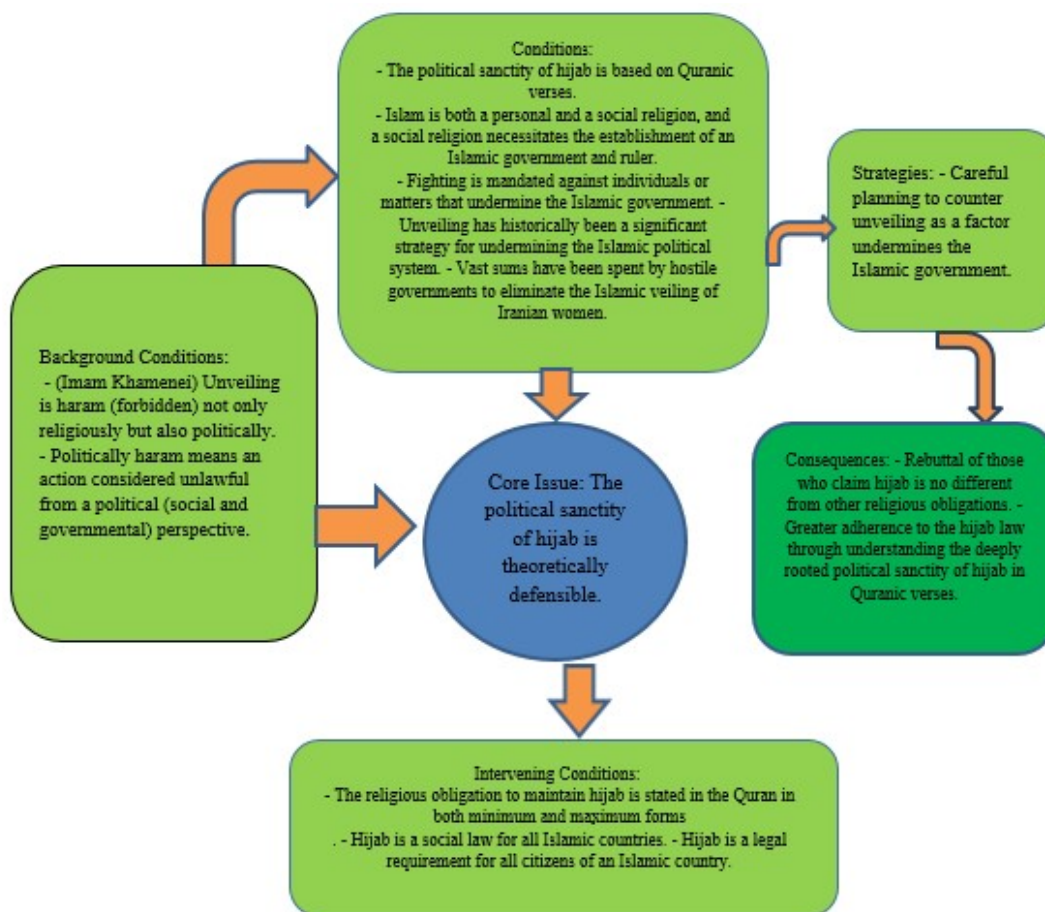
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