PANOPTIKON TEORİSİ ÇERÇEVESİNDE 2022 SONRASI İRAN'DAKİ HICAP YASAKLARI UYGULAMALARININ ANALİZİ

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Öz

Günümüz İran'ında gözetim teknolojilerinin genişlemesi, devletin vatandaşları üzerinde hassas ve sistematik bir kontrol uygulamasına olanak tanıyarak merkeziyetçi ve otoriter bir yönetim modelini pekiştirmektedir. Kadınların zorunlu hicaba karşı direnişine yanıt olarak İran hükümeti, yalnızca kadınların kıyafetlerini çeşitli toplumsal alanlarda denetlemekle kalmayıp aynı zamanda onların daha geniş sosyal özgürlüklerini de kısıtlayan katı yasal önlemler getirmiş ve bunları uygulamaya koymuştur. Bu çalışma, İffet ve Hicap Yasası ve kamusal alanlardaki hicap denetleyicilerinin konuşlandırılması gibi politikalara için gözetim stratejilerini eleştirel bir bakış açısıyla ele almakta ve bunları Foucault'nun panoptisizm kuramı çerçevesinde analiz etmektedir. Bu vaka çalışmasından elde edilen bulgular, hicap düzenlemelerinin geniş kapsamlı denetimi ve

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uygulanmasının—ahlak polisi ya da devlet destekli denetleyiciler aracılığıyla—kadınların kimlik ve özdeğer duygusunu zayıflatarak yaygın bir öz-disiplin kültürüne yol açtığını göstermektedir. Daha geniş sosyopolitik çerçevede ele alındığında, bu zorlayıcı önlemler, sistematik tahakküm yoluyla toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iktidar hiyerarşilerini pekiştiren kapsamlı bir disipliner aygıtın parçası olarak işlev görmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

• Zorunlu Hicap • Panoptikon Teorisi • Kadın Hakları • Kadın Yaşam Özgürlük Hareketi • İffet ve Hicap Yasası

ANALYSIS OF HIJAB BAN PRACTICES IN IRAN AFTER 2022 IN TERMS OF PANOPTICON THEORY

Abstract

In contemporary Iran, expanding surveillance technologies has enabled the state to exercise precise and systematic control over its citizens, reinforcing a centralized and authoritarian governance model. In response to the women's resistance against compulsory hijab, the Iranian government has introduced and enforced stringent legal measures that not only monitor women's dress across various social domains but also curtail their broader social freedoms. This study critically examines the surveillance strategies embedded in policies such as the Chastity and Hijab Bill and the deployment of hijab enforcers in public spaces, analyzing them through the lens of Foucault's panopticism. Findings suggest that the extensive monitoring and enforcement of hijab regu-lations—whether by morality police or state-sanctioned enforcers—undermine women's sense of identity and self-worth, leading to a pervasive culture of self-discipline. These coercive measures, when examined in the bro-ader socio-political framework, appear to function as part of a comprehensive disciplinary apparatus designed to reinforce gendered power hierarchies through systemic domination.

Key Words

• Compulsory Hijab • Panoptic Theory • Women's Rights • Women Life Freedom Movement • The Chastity and Hijab Bill

GİRİŞ

The #WomanLifeFreedom revolutionary uprising in Iran was sparked by the death of Jina (Mahsa) Amini on September 16, 2022. A 22-year-old woman, Jina, died in the custody of the Guidance Patrol for not properly complying with the state-imposed mandatory veiling. People started to #SayHerName: #Mahsa_Amini #Jina_Amini, as pictures of her

lifeless body lying on a hospital bed have gone viral. At her funeral, women chanted "Jin, Jiyan, Azadî" (Woman, Life, Freedom) and spontaneously removed their headscarves, which resonated with many in Iran. More women joined in taking off their hijabs, cutting their hair, and burning their headscarves in mourning and fury. This awakened gender consciousness and feelings in millions, as if by an electric shock, and it quickly evolved into a force that drew crowds into the streets to chant "Woman, Life, Freedom," attempting to topple the Islamic Republic regime of Iran[1].

Following Mrs. Mahsa Amini's death in Iran, there were protests by the populace over social injustices and restrictions that extended beyond this field. Quickly, economic and political slogans of protest also took shape and what had been the source of dissatisfaction for all years was once again demanded in this movement[2].

The bravery of women, often leading the movement is admirable, Nevertheless, these protests are often met with severe consequences, increasingly driven by the government's sophisticated digital surveillance apparatus. The controversial new hijab bill includes 70 articles that prescribe harsher penalties for women as well as severe sanctions against public figures, businesses, and service providers who support them. The bill proposes the use of artificial intelligence to enforce dress code violations, reflecting a disturbing manifestation of gender-based persecution. In today's digital age, Iran's government has been wielding a two-edged sword: the same technology that has the potential to empower voices is being used to silence them, especially when those voices call for gender equality. Using advanced facial recognition software and tracking online interactions, the government identifies and harasses those who dare to dissent[3]. This technological might is disproportionately used against women, whose demands for equal rights are seen as direct threats to the state's ideological foundation. It's not just about cameras on street corners or drones in the sky. The real Orwellian nightmare lies in the shadows of

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[1]   Shirin, Assa, Unveiling Feminist Strike: The Case of "Woman, Life, Freedom" in Iran. Atlantis: Critical Studies in Gender, Culture & Social Justice Issue. 44(2), 2023, p. 53.

[2]   Shakib, Zarbighalehhammami & Fatemeh, Abbasi, The Demand for Freedom and Equality in the Street Below the Movement of Woman, Life, Freedom. Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences, 6(3), 2023, https://doi.org/10.33422/jarss.v6i3.1048, p. 123.

[3]   www.hammihanonline.ir/fa/tiny/news-9931 Access:12.02.2025.

the internet. Popular platforms are monitored, and encrypted messaging apps, which protesters often rely on for organizing, are intercepted. Bloggers, influencers, and even ordinary citizens face intimidation, arrest, or worse for simply expressing their opinions online. Perhaps most disturbing is the state's increasingly invasive eye into private spaces – the cars and walking routes of private citizens. A testament to this is the fact that, within a mere span of the last three months of the 2023 year, almost a million women were texted warnings from the nation's police force. What was their crime? Being captured by ever-watchful cameras without a hijab, as detailed by a report from Amnesty International. Police also sent over 133,000 texts ordering women to stop using their vehicles, confiscated 2,000 cars, and referred over 4,000 "repeat offenders" to the judiciary[4].

These policies, particularly designed in response to widespread protests against mandatory hijab, are part of a larger project aimed at consolidating and reinforcing authoritarian and oppressive regimes. These measures not only directly affect the appearance of women but also broadly restrict their social and individual freedoms. Furthermore, these regulations have a substantial negative influence on women's sexual rights and freedoms by indirectly contributing to the creation and maintenance of oppressive conditions[5].

Alongside other surveillance strategies, these actions collectively reinforce a disciplinary and authoritarian society where surveillance techniques are continuously applied on both individual and collective levels. In summary, these policies aim to control individual behaviors and deeply reinforce social and political order in favor of the state's interests[6].

This paper provides a detailed analysis of the Iranian government's surveillance and control strategies to counter opposition to mandatory hijab following the Women, Life, Freedom movement, based on Foucault's theory of panopticism. It examines how these policies have led to the strengthening of state dominance and the imposition of social restrictions.

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[4]   AUDRİ, Iran's women, digital rights, and human freedoms. The Alliance for Universal Digital Rights, 2023. https://audri.org/irans-women-digital-rights-and-human-freedoms.

[5]   T., Kian, & A. Mahdavi, The Impact of Surveillance Technologies on Women's Rights in Post-Mahsa Iran. Journal of Gender Studies, 28(1), 2024, p. 70.

[6]   Michael, Foucault, Discipline and punishment: the birth of the prison. translated from the French by Alan Sheridan. Harmondsworth: Penguin 1979.

I.RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Dezfuli[7] argues that the imposition of Islamic veiling on women in Iran was both a biopolitical practice intended to control the bodies and administer lives as something affecting the security of the state and its development, at least in its earlier phases (1979-1983), was directly related to the struggles over power among various post-revolutionary force. Leloup[8] argues that the hijab in Iran is inherently political and has been used as a form of protest. The Iranian government has transformed it into a tool for the social control of women, thereby institutionalizing it. The state's surveillance of women's dress and violent suppression are efforts to confine religious influence to the private sphere. This action reflects the broader political agenda of controlling and regulating women's bodies through the enforcement of dress codes. Shirazizadeh[9] examines the concept of mandatory hijab as a means of governing women's bodies by assigning roles, values, and positions within society based on a hierarchical classification. He discusses how mandatory hijab in Iran extends beyond mere dress enforcement, pushing women into isolation and impacting the daily lives of individuals. This approach underscores the multifaceted ways in which the hijab is used to maintain social order and control. Zaheer et al[10] argue that the motivations of protesters in the women, life, freedom movement and their various strategies, such as civil disobedience and collective campaigning, aim to challenge the status quo and create a space for free discussion and opposition to strict hijab laws. Gi Yeon and Han[11] examine the politicization of the hijab in Turkey and Iran and the resistance movements that have emerged as a result. Although the situation is

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[7] Sayed**,** Dezfuli, The Biopolitics of Hijab in Iran. Open Journal of Political Science, 14, 2024. doi: 10.4236/ojps.2024.143029.

[8] Amanda, Leloup, 'Women, Life, Freedom' The Politicization of the Hijab in Iran, International Relations Review. 13(2), 2023.

[9] Fatemeh**, Shirazizadeh**, Compulsory Hijab in Iran: Functions and impacts on Iranians' daily life during 44 years of Islamic State. Master thesis. Linnaeus University 2003.

[10] Muhammad Akram, Zaheer, Umar, Hayat & Gul-i-Ayesha, Bhatti. The Hijab Dilemma: Anti-Hijab Protests in Iran and the Emerging Voices of Change, Insights of Pakistan, Iran, and the Caucasus Studies. 2(7), 2023.

[11] Koo Gi, Yeon & Han**,** Ha Eun, To veil or not to veil: Turkish and Iranian hijab policies and the struggle for recognition, Asian Journal of Women's Studies, 24:1, 2018. DOI: 10.1080/12259276.2018.1427663.

historically different in Turkey, they emphasize the various conditions in the two countries, focusing on the lack of freedom for women to choose their attire in Turkey and Iran. Mohammadi[12], through their conversations with three Iranian women from three different generations, show how these women narrate their decision to adopt conservative dress as an act of resistance. The overall goal of their study is to illustrate that the intertextual and intersubjective nature of the hijab renders its functional significance indeterminate. The hijab's utility is as variable as the ideological and institutional power that can wield it. Moradkhani[13] posits that since the inception of efforts to regulate women's dress, the ruling political class has sought to steer other social classes, particularly the less religious middle classes, toward accepting a mode of dress similar to that of the ruling class. Mir-Hosseini[14] discusses the conflict between Islamists and secular feminists over the hijab in Iran, highlighting secular feminists' opposition to mandatory hijab laws as an injustice against women's bodies and a form of state intervention in women's dress.

As seen, significant research has been conducted on the issue of compulsory hijab in Iran, particularly within the framework of the discourse of power and legitimacy. Overall, the examination of the discourse on power and legitimacy in Iran regarding women's hijab has been an area of interest for researchers in the fields of women and politics. In the past year, especially after the women's movement gained momentum, more attention has been drawn to the issue of hijab in Iran, but the overall study of the mechanisms and policies of the Iranian government in controlling women's hijab has not been adequately explored. Particularly, the recent introduction of new laws by the Iranian government in the past months to intensify control and supervision over women's dress in Iran requires further investigation.

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[12]   Oli, Mohammadi, The Personal, the Political, and the Public: Performing Hijab in Iran, Journal of Performance Studies, (12) 3, 2016. http://liminalities.net/12-3/hijab.pdf.

[13]   Homayun, Moradkhani, The will to govern: the veil and its objects after the Islamic revolution, Iranian Journal of Sociology, 17(1,2), 2015. http://www.jsi-isa.ir/article_25067.html.

[14]   Ziba, Mır-Hosseini, The Politics and Hermeneutics of Hijab in Iran: From Confinement to Choice Muslim World. Journal of Human Rights. 4(1), 2007. https://doi.org/10.2202/1554-4419.1114.

The originality of this research is in the comparative study of two plans that the Iranian government considered immediately after the movement of women, life, freedom to control women in social spaces. Examining the details of the government's surveillance mechanism based on Foucault's panopticon theory better depicts thelimited and prison-like social atmosphere of Iranian society for women who oppose the mandatory hijab. Overall, this study contributes to a deeper understanding of how advanced and stringent surveillance mechanisms impact women's status and individual freedoms in Iran, revealing the broader socio-political context of resistance and the enduring struggle for autonomy and rights.

II. METHODOLOJI

The method used in this study is a case study. A case study is an investigative strategy focusing on the perception of current realities in specific conditions. The key characteristic of a case study is its ability to concentrate on complex situations, especially when the researcher has limited or no control over the events[15]. It is a research approach utilized for an in-depth and multifaceted understanding of a complex issue in real-life situations[16]. General characteristics of a case study include:

1.   The study's subject is always related to humans, specifically interpretations of social actors about a phenomenon or meanings related to a phenomenon.

2.   The researcher is interested in contemporary phenomena.

3.   The study's perspective is holistic when the goal is to describe a phenomenon or understand the reasons behind events. Determining and understanding contextual factors in a case study is crucial.

4.   Most case studies are qualitative, with descriptive, exploratory, or explanatory objectives, and they can contribute to theory creation or modification.

5.   The researcher has no control over the events and the context under study.

Case studies have been classified differently by two prominent theorists, namely Yin and Stake. Stake identified three types of case studies: Intrinsic, Instrumental, and Collective. An intrinsic case study is

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[15]   D. Casey,& C. Houghton Clarifying case study research: examples from practice. Nurse Res, 1998, 17(3), 2010, p. 41.

[16]   Lauretta, Luck, Debra, Jackson, Kim, Usher, Case study: A bridge across the paradigms, Nurs Inq 2006, p. 103.

particularly conducted to gain a better understanding of a specific pheno-menon. The researcher needs to identify a unique case and distinguish it from other instances. On the other hand, an instrumental case study is used for a specific case to gain a broader understanding of a phenomenon or issue. The collective case study involves studying multiple cases simul-taneously or sequentially to strive for a broader understanding of a sub-ject[17].

Furthermore, a case study can be descriptive, explanatory, or explo-ratory, and it can be holistic or embedded. Case studies can be conducted using different methods depending on the epistemological perspective of the researcher. The researcher may adopt a critical approach (questioning their own and others' assumptions), an interpretive approach (seeking to understand social, individual, and shared meanings), or a positivist app-roach[18]. Table 1 illustrates the epistemological approaches of the case study along with their characteristics.

Approach	Specifications
Critical	Question about your own presuppositions that are responsible for the wider social and political environment. Interprets restrictive situations in relation to power and control that are thought to influence behavior.
Interpretative	It includes understanding the meanings, contexts and processes as understood from different perspectives. It strives to understand individual and shared meanings and focuses on theory building.
Positivist	Examining what variables fit the findings. Often the focus is on testing and refining theory based on case study findings.

Table. 1. Epistemological approaches of the case study[19].

At least four sources of information can be considered in case stu-dies, including documents (letters, notes, minutes, agendas, historical re-cords, brochures, booklets, etc.), interviews, participant observation, and human artifacts (such as printed computer text). Unlike quantitative rese-arch techniques, there are no specific formulas or step-by-step instructi-ons for analyzing the collected data in case study research. Yin proposed

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[17]   Luck et al 2006, p. 103.

[18]   Sh., Abolhasani, F, Taleghani,.& Nik, A. R., Yazdan, The Application of Qualitative Case Study in Nursing: A Review Study. Qualitative Research in Health Sciences, 6(1), 2017, p. 105.

[19]   Kathrin, Cresswell, S., Crowe, A., Robertson, G., Huby, A., Avery, A. Sheikh The case study approach, BMC Med Res Methodol 2011, p. 11.

three general analysis strategies, which are not universally applicable to all case studies: 1) Pattern Matching: A pattern based on experience is compared with one or more predicted patterns. 2) Explanation Building: The researcher attempts to build an explanation about the cause or causes of the phenomenon under investigation. 3) Time-Series Analysis: A set of data at various time points is compared with a trend predicted according to the pre-research theory or with an alternative trend[20].

Due to specific political and social conditions prevailing in Iran and the high sensitivity of the subject, the upcoming research did not have the capacity for quantitative studies. Predicted limitations in field studies for this research, such as obstacles to data collection, non-disclosure of statistical data by government agencies, and extensive censorship, led the researcher to decide to investigate the subject under a case study. In general, numerous limitations are created for studies related to the criticism of the government, such as prevention of data collection, non-sharing of statistical data by government agencies, non-publication, and extensive censorship. Therefore, given the existing conditions and context, it was decided to examine the government's regulatory and controlling approach to dealing with the hijab issue based on two recent government bills that are in effect. This research specifically involves collecting information, data, and details related to the "Chastity and Hijab" Bill and the "Hijab Enforcers" Initiative in Subway, following a cumulative comparative study with a critical approach to the monitoring process of the Islamic Republic government against the enactment and implementation of these two laws in the context of combating hijab freedom, based on Foucault's panoptic theory.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The French philosopher Michel Foucault, inspired by Jeremy Bentham, articulated an important theory on power and freedom. Considering the actions of the Islamic Republic government in the realm of controlling the hijab and restricting the freedom of women's clothing—especially after the Mahsa Movement—we have attempted to analyze this issue based on Foucault's panopticism theory.

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[20]   Robert K., Yin Case study research: Design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications 2003, p. 167.

Many scholars have addressed the research and studies on surveillance, reformulating the concept of the Panopticon[21] because the Panopticon model is a strong theoretical framework for discussing surveillance. The concept as electronic panopticon[22], Omnicom[23], global panopticon[24], panspectron[25], my optic panopticon[26], fractal panopticon[27], pedagopticon[28], polyopticon[29], panopticon discourse[30], social panopticism[31], neo-panopticon[32] or the synopticon[33], cybernetic panopticon[34], the superpanopticon[35], electronic surveillance[36], the panoptic sort, social Taylorism of

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[21]   Foucault, 1979.

[22]   Diana, R., Gordon, The Electronic Panopticon: A Case-Study of the Development of the National Criminal Records System, Polit. Soc., 15(4), 1987.

[23]   Massimo Ragnedda, La società postpanottica. Controllo sociale e nuovi media, Roma: Arcane 2008.

[24]   Stephen, Gıll The Global Panopticon: The Neo-Liberal State, Economic Life, and Democratic Surveillance, Alternative, 20(1), 1995.

[25]   Manuel, De Landa War in the Age of Intelligent Machines, New York: Zone 1991.

[26]   Langois S. Leman, The Myoptic Panopticon: The Social Consequences of Policing Through the Lens, Pol. Soc., 13(1), 2003.

[27]   Massimo, De Angelis, Global Capital, Abstract Labor, and the Fractal Panopticon. The Commoner 1, 2001, http://www.commoner.org.uk/fractalpanopt.pdf.

[28]   Robert W., Sweeny, The pedagopticon: Beyond 'discipline and punish' in the classroom. Presentation at New Forms Festival, Vancouver, BC, Canada 2004.

[29]   Matt, Allen ''See You in the City!" Perth's Citiplace and the Space of Surveillance', in K. Gibson and S. Watson (eds) Metropolis Now: Planning and the Urban in Contemporary, Australia (Sydney: Pluto), 1994.

[30]   Vicente, Berdayes ,Traditional Management Theory as Panopticon Discourse: Language and the Constitution of Somatic Flows. Cult. Organ., 8(1), 2002.

[31]   Löic, Wacquant, The Penalization of Poverty and the Rise of Neoliberalism. Eur. J. Crim. Policy Res. 9(4), 2001.

[32]   Steve, Mann, Jason, Nolan, Barry, Wellman, Surveillance: Inventing and Using Wearable Computing Devices for Data Collection in Surveillance Environments, Surveil. Soc. 1(3), 2003.

[33]   Thomas, Mathiesen, The viewer society. Michel Foucault's "Panopticon" revisited. Theory Criminal., 1(2), 1997.

[34]   Gilles, Bousquet, Space, Power, Globalization: The Internet Symptom, Societies, 4. 2006.

[35]   Mark, Poster, The mode of information: Poststructuralist and social context. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1990.

[36]   David, Lyon, An electronic panopticon? A sociological critique of surveillance theory. Social. Rev., 41(4), 1992.

surveillance or postpanopticon society[37], are a clear evidence of the impact of this metaphor on culture. All these excellent theoretical, conceptual, and methodological approaches are useful and necessary points of departure for any studies on surveillance issues[38].

According to the above explanation, Panopticism is a term used in the architecture of prisons and surveillance institutions, first introduced by Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) in his book "Panopticon" (1787), and later expanded by Michel Foucault (1926-1984) in his book "Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison"[39].

The architectural concept of the panopticon, as described by Foucault and seen in Figure 1, is as follows: A circular building with a tower in the center. The tower has wide windows overlooking the internal facade of the surrounding circular building, and the surrounding building is composed of cells that cover the entire width of the structure from end to end. Each cell has two windows, one facing inward and towards the windows of the tower, and the other facing outward so that sunlight illuminates the entire cell. It is sufficient for a guard to be stationed in the central tower, and in each cell, a prisoner, patient, convict, worker, or student can be confined. Due to the light radiating from behind into the cells, small shadows of the prisoners in the surrounding building can be observed from the tower, which is entirely exposed to light. In panoptic, small stages are set up like cages, each stage having only one actor, an entirely individualized and continuously visible actor. Panopticism establishes spatial units that make continuous observation and instant identification possible[40].

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[37]   Ragnedda 2008, 181.

[38]   Massimo, Ragnedda, Social control and surveillance in the society of consumers. International Journal of Sociology and Anthropology, 3 (6), 2011, p. 131.

[39]   Foucault 1979.
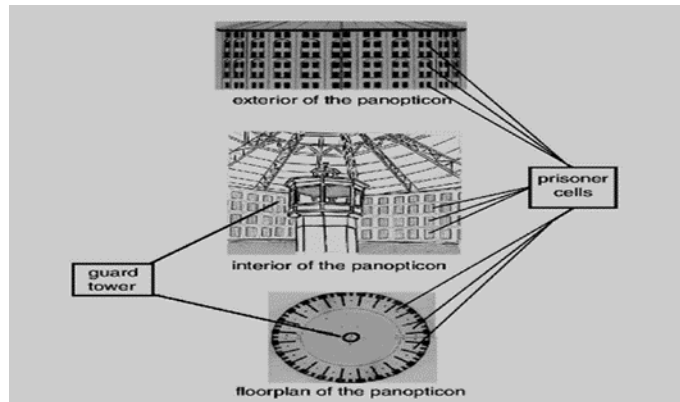
[40]   Foucault 1979, p. 265.

Fig. 1. Design of Panopticon[41]

According to Foucault, the primary effect of panopticism is to create a perpetual and stable state in the confined individual, ensuring their awareness of being seen, a guarantee of the automatic functioning of power: "Panopticism is a machine for dissociating the see/being seen dyad: in the peripheral circular building, everyone is completely seen without ever seeing; in the central tower, everyone can see without ever being seen. Panopticism, in the architectural context of surveillance institutions, replaced previous forms such as dungeons and crowded prisons in the nineteenth century. The economical design of the panopticon, in terms of materials, personnel, and time, and the almost impossible escape from the surveillance institution, made it a complete and efficient design. Therefore, according to Foucault, panopticism can be integrated into any function (educational, therapeutic, productive, or punitive) and enhance it. It can shape a mechanism in which power and knowledge relations can adapt part by part to the processes under their control: "In short, panopticism operates in such a way that the exercise of power is not added from the outside as a hard constraint or heavy burden on its functions but, rather, it is so subtle and clever in these functions that, by increasing its tentacles and points of contact, it enhances the efficiency of these functions[42].

The architectural astuteness of the design ensures that with the play of light, there are no shadowed zones in which to hide - all occupants are constantly exposed. This utopian plan devised by Bentham consisted of

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[41]   Millana, Martinez, Elena, Andrés Cánovas Alcaraz, The panopticon prison as a "social condenser": The study of the project for De Koepel prison by Rem Koolhaas/OMA (1979–1988), Frontiers of Architectural Research, 11(1), 2021, 31-52. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foar.2021.08.004.

[42]   Foucault 1979, p. 266.

controlling spaces through the 'gaze' because, as Foucault reminds us "there is no need for arms, physical violence, material constraints, Just a gaze"[43].

According to Foucault, whenever faced with a mass of individuals on whom a certain task or behavior must be imposed, the panopticon design can be applied. Foucault, quoting Bentham, acknowledges that panopticism can be employed with necessary modifications in all institutions where several individuals need to be kept within certain spatial limits under surveillance.

According to Foucault's belief, the organization of panopticism at the foundational level and its easy transferability plan the basic functioning of a disciplinary society, where disciplinary mechanisms permeate and anchor throughout. Thus, a disciplinary society is formed, consisting of various techniques and surveillance methods. Discipline cannot be achieved with a single institution or a unified apparatus; it is a type of power, a method for exercising power, including a complete set of tools, techniques, methods, applicable levels, and matrices. Discipline is a "physics" or "anatomy" of power, a technology. The enforcement of these disciplines may fall under "specialized" institutions (disciplinary institutions of the nineteenth century), institutions using it as the main tool for a specific purpose, or pre-existing institutions that use discipline as a tool to strengthen or reorganize their internal power structures, or state apparatuses that govern discipline on a societal scale (police)[44]. According to him, the characteristic of the modern era is the "acceptance of immediate visibility for a very large number towards a few or even one." A society whose foundation is not a collective body and public life but individualized and isolated individuals on one side and the state on the other. Its relations also flow contrary to the "spectacle" feature of the ancient era. In such a society, everything must be geared towards enhancing and completing the guarantees of social life, a goal that directly results in "the ever-increasing penetration of the state and its increasingly profound intervention in all the details and relationships of social life" of individuals[45].

Michel Foucault argues that technologies of power, such as techniques of care, correction, changes in birth rates, and population policies,

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[43]   Michael, Foucault, Power/Knowledge. New York: Pantheon 1980, p. 155.

[44]   Foucault1979, p. 268.

[45]   Foucault 1979, p. 269.

play a crucial role in constructing and governing human subjects. Concepts like biopolitics and biopower are employed by Foucault to elucidate these power mechanisms. According to Foucault, the emphasis on the "body" of individuals, institutions, norms, regulations, and discourses is pivotal.

Foucault contends that these technologies of power are instrumental in shaping and regulating bodies, making them subjects of power relations. He introduces the notion of disciplinary society, asserting that discipline is not associated solely with a specific institution or apparatus, but rather it is a form of power, a technology that encompasses a complete set of tools, techniques, methods, and levels of application. He posits that in the modern era, individuals are atomized, and the government exercises deep and pervasive intervention in all aspects of social life. For Foucault, technologies of power, such as care and correction techniques, contribute to the emergence of disciplinary societies. These societies focus on the individualization and surveillance of bodies, ensuring a continuous and detailed observation of power relations. The power of discipline is subtle and intelligent, enhancing the efficiency of its functions by adapting power relations and knowledge to specific processes under its control. The panopticon model is more than a simple deterrent: its objective is to modify the behavior of the inmates, utilizing what Foucault calls 'disciplinary strategies'. These 'disciplinary strategies' replace the instrument of 'physical compulsion' that was often used. Continuous surveillance known to the inmates creates a 'spirit' that forces them to internalize detailed lists of behavioral norms. In some way, the inmates watch themselves, by internalizing the gaze of the controller: in other words, inmates modify themselves by internalizing values and models proposed by controllers. The guarantee of dominance by the keepers is due to their facility of movement, contrary to the 'inhabitants' of the Panopticon who are confined within cells without any possibility of moving. The crucial characteristic of the Panopticon is the unverifiable/visibility that the power comes to assume. 'Visible: the inmate will constantly have before his eyes the tall outline of the central tower from which he is spied upon. Unverifiable: the inmate must never know whether he is being looked at at any one moment, but he must be sure that he may always be so'[46]. The insecurity of the inmate comes from his knowledge of being controlled without knowing exactly when this is happening, and this leads to the individual

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[46] Foucault 1979, p. 201.

complying with the norms, and the rules. It is the randomness of scree-
ning that creates the self-disciplining docile body. The real or fictitious
presence of the overseer is almost insignificant since the prisoner does not
know whether he is being observed at any particular moment. What is
important is the development of the self-discipline mechanism (but not
its birth, as some authors suggest. Indeed, historically the fear of hell has
always operated as a mechanism of discipline). The 'inmates' state of
awareness of continued visibility is a guarantee of their submission to
power. 'An inspecting gaze, a gaze which each individual under its we-
ight will end by internalizing to the point that there is his overseer, each
individual thus exercising this surveillance over, and against, himself. A
superb formula: power exercised continuously and for what turns out to
be a minimal cost'[47].

In critiquing modern society, Foucault suggests that the rise of le-
gislative institutions and new interpretations of political freedom is ac-
companied by the emergence of a more hidden movement against them.
This movement involves a new and unprecedented form of discipline that
targets the human body. It seeks to control and regulate every force and
function within the body, contributing to the creation of a suppressed and
unjust sexual order. Foucault argues that this new discipline aims to
transform women into compliant partners for men, molding them into
obedient and subservient beings[48].

In actions of discipline for the production of femininity, Foucault
claims that[49] it is not just about producing a compliant and experienced
woman with a relegated body. Rather, it is part of a larger disciplinary
project that creates a repressive and unjust sexual order. Foucault's in-
sights underscore the intricate dynamics of power and the profound inf-
luence of disciplinary technologies on the construction of gender roles
and the regulation of bodies within society.

IV. THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN AND THE PROBLEM OF HIJAB

With the onset of the modernization process in Iran initiated by
Reza Shah, the veil transformed into a political tool for implementing po-
litical and socio-cultural reforms. During this time, the compulsory veil

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47   Foucault 1980, p. 155.

48   Foucault 1979, p. 138.

49   Foucault 1979, p. 27.

was canceled, and women were suddenly forced to relinquish control and autonomy over their bodies[50]. In both of these transformations, we witness the construction and reproduction of female bodies through the political control of women's bodies. Beyond what is commonly understood politically, there is a gender division accompanied by disciplinary actions that define normative female bodies and femininity through gendered behaviors. These bodies are not only facilitating the disciplinary control of the body but also creating a form of gendered citizenship[51]. In both periods, there is a form of power at play that Foucault refers to as biopower and sovereign power. Biopower focuses on the control of human populations more than individual bodies, and this is exercised through regulatory institutions[52].

After the movement of women, life, freedom and the subsiding of public anger and the return from the streets to homes, it was expected that the government, after numerous casualties, countless arrests, unjust executions, and bloody tortures, would, to some extent, meet the demands of the majority. The people's demand has always been to obtain the minimum of personal and social freedoms, especially in the matter of hijab, where the collective demand is explicit and evident. However, what happened in reality was quite different and unexpected. Stringent and restrictive laws were imposed by the government to increase control and supervision over women's dress and hijab.

A. THE "CHASTITY AND HIJAB" BILL

The Chastity and Hijab Law, officially titled "The Bill to Support the Family through Promoting the Culture of Chastity and Hijab," has been finally approved after several stages of review and amendment between the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the Guardian Council. Mohammad Baqer Ghalibaf, the Speaker of the Assembly, announced that the law was notified for implementation on December 13, 2024. However, due to public protests and dissatisfaction from social institutions, part of this bill has not yet been implemented.

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[50] Majid, Rafizadeh, The New Social Order: The Islamic Republic of Iran and Foucault, 2013, p. 88.

[51] Minoo, Moallem, Between Warrior Brother and Veiled Sister, Islamic Fundamentalism and Politics of Patriarchy in Iran. University of California 2005, p. 61.

[52] Rafizadeh 2013, p. 95.

This law emphasizes the importance of the family as the main axis of human growth and peace and is organized into five chapters:

1.   Generalities and definitions

2.   General duties of executive bodies

3.   Specific duties of executive bodies

4.   General duties and social responsibilities

5.   Crimes and violations

The main purpose of this law is to highlight the role of the family and executive bodies in promoting the culture of chastity and hijab.

The Hijab and Chastity Bill in Iran is a significant tool used by the government to control and monitor the behavior and attire of women. This bill comprises a set of laws and regulations aimed at imposing strict limitations on women's dress in both public and private spaces. These laws, coupled with severe penalties for non-compliance, ensure that women are constantly concerned about adhering strictly to these regulations. This bill, now named 'The Bill for the Protection of the Family through the Promotion of the Culture of Chastity and Hijab,' includes measures such as detention and monetary fines for violators of compulsory hijab. It also introduces gender segregation in various places, including universities, hospitals, administrative centers, educational institutions, parks, and tourist sites. The new text of the hijab and chastity bill consists of five chapters. The Parliamentarians, only a few days after the anniversary of the killing of Mahsa Amini, approved a three-year experimental implementation of this bill with 152 votes in favor, 34 against, and 7 abstentions on the 20th of September 2023[53].

Four chapters elaborate on the duties of government agencies, organizations, ministries, and state entities regarding compulsory hijab. The final chapter of the bill addresses crimes and offenses related to 'improper Hijab,' outlining various penalties such as imprisonment and monetary fines. Prohibitions on leaving the country, passport confiscation, and deprivation of citizenship rights arealso part of the penalties specified in the bill. In addition, the bill authorizes several security and law enforcement agencies, including the Information Ministry, the Intelligence Organization of the Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, and the Law Enforcement Force, to engage in field confrontations with women deemed to be

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[53]   https://farsnews.ir/news/14020506000181 Access:22.02.2025.

violating hijab laws. The bill also mandates the creation and strengthening of intelligent systems for identifying individuals engaged in activities deemed contrary to the culture of hijab, particularly in the digital space[54].

The proposed legislation envisions the use of surveillance cameras to monitor public spaces and identify women in breach of the Islamic dress code. Under the bill, businesses and public figures who violate the headscarf requirement would also face strict punitive measures, including bans on engagement in professional activities, flogging, and fines[55].

Penalties of improper hijab in public places			
Improper hijab for women	Wearing revealing clothing, or garments that expose the area below the neck, above the ankles, or above the wrists		The first offense: A monetary fine of sixth-degree severity; ranging from 2 to 8 million Iranian rials.
Improper hijab for men	Wearing of clothing that reveals a part of the body below the chest, above the knee, or the shoulders		Subsequent offenses: A monetary fine of fifth-degree severity; ranging from 8 to 18 million Iranian rials
Penalties of breaking the norms of celebrities			
The first time; Second degree fine	Payment of ten percent of the total assets	Disqualification from employment for six months to five years	Ban on leaving the country for two years	Disqualification from activities in social media for six months to two years
Next times; First degree fine	Payment of ten percent of the total assets	Disqualification from employment for five to fifteen years	Ban on leaving the country for two years	Disqualification from activities in social media for six months to two years
Penalties for improper hijab at work			
The first time; Fifth degree fine	Payment of two months' interest from the income of that job		Ban on leaving the country for six months to two years
Next times; Fourth degree fine	Payment of four months' interest from the income of that job		Ban on leaving the country for six months to two years
Penalties of promoting nakedness in online and non-virtual businesses			
The first time; Third degree fine	Payment of three months' interest from the income of that job	Ban on leaving the country for six months to two years	Disqualification from activities in social media for six months to two years	Removal of previous content that violated the law
Next times; Second degree fine	Payment of six months' interest from the income of that job	Ban on leaving the country for two to five years	Disqualification from activities in social media for six months to two years	Removal of previous content that violated the law

Table. 2. The general materials of the Chastity and Hijab Bill[56]

According to the provisions of the Compulsory Hijab and Chastity Bill and the implementation plan for the Hijab Ban, as seen in Table 2 we observe centralized government supervision by responsible authorities

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54   Farsnews 2023.

55   Alessandra, Bajec ,As Iran doubles down on hijab laws, women fight back, The New Arab, 2023. https://www.newarab.com/analysis/iran-doubles-down-hijab-laws-women-fight-back.

56   Farsnews 2023.

for monitoring and controlling hijab in various public spaces. This supervision is often carried out using surveillance cameras and monitoring systems to control hijab in public and social spaces by hijab enforcers, who were employed by low social class with salaries, at subway stations and other areas, it includes tracking and penalizing individuals opposing compulsory hijab. The bill aims to be utilized as a tool for social organization, regulating and organizing public spaces, and establishing social discipline. Determining regulations regarding hijab in subway stations, universities, and other areas are examples of these regulations. On the one hand, these laws, by determining regulations related to women's clothing and behaviors, contribute to sexual discipline in society, acting as tools for controlling individual and collective sexual behaviors.

The bill sets specific regulations for women's dress, and its measures are not limited to government control. Instead, it extends to determining regulations and measures related to the regulation of virtual spaces related to hijab. Moreover, through controlling and regulating media content, encouraging hijab, and reflecting a specific image of hijab in the media, the government's goal can be the promotion of the ruling ideology. Another crucial point is that this bill, based on religious principles, is part of the social disciplinary system and, based on these principles, addresses the discipline and regulations related to hijab. As Bentham believed, crime is defined as a harmful act in the social system. Here, non-compliance with compulsory hijab is defined as a criminal act, violating the law and disrupting the order envisioned by the law, and it is considered a form of crime.

1. "HIJAB ENFORCERS" INITIATIVE

"Hijab Enforcers" are individuals responsible for controlling hijab in the Tehran Subway. This title emerged in the media in the summer of 2023 when news about Alireza Zakani, the mayor of Tehran, deciding to hire 400 personnel for the City Council's protection unit with the title "Hijab Enforcers" and sufficient wages, was published. Their duties include verbal warnings, preventing entry into subway cars, and reporting improperly veiled or unveiled individuals to the police. In November 2023, reports surfaced about the extension of the activities of these enforcers to the subway system in Shiraz. Simultaneously, there were reports of a significant presence of personnel in plain clothes at the Theatre-Shahr subway station and its surrounding areas. They were reported to issue threatening warnings to unveiled women while capturing unauthorized

photos and videos using mobile phones and professional cameras[57]. This government approach creates a hierarchy of power and discrimination among women themselves.

Additionally, in late November 2023, the presence of Hijab Enforcers was reported at the University of Tehran[58]. On the other hand, software called "Monitoring System 1" has been provided to Hijab Enforcers, enabling them to report the license plates of cars with unveiled occupants. Each Hijab enforcer can report up to 40 vehicle license plates during the night. Monitor 2 is related to reports about locations, monitor 3 deals with cases of non-compliance with mandatory hijab in public spaces, and Monitor 4 pertains to reports related to online platforms and social networks[59]. After the hospitalization of the adolescent student Armita Geravand and unofficial reports of the criminal behavior of Hijab Enforcers in this regard, news of the temporary suspension of their activities was released. Four days after Armita Geravand's loss of consciousness, The Guardian, citing two eyewitnesses, confirmed that the 17-year-old girl had been violently attacked by a female Hijab Enforcer, resulting in her falling to the ground. Unfortunately, after 28 days of hospitalization, she passed away[60]. In November 2023, images and accounts of the pronounced presence of these enforcers in two Tehran subway stations, Theater-e-Shahr and Enghelab, were published. This led to widespread media coverage and user reactions on social networks, drawing parallels between the appearance of this personnel at stations and the "Horror Tunnel"[61].

Such restrictive measures applied to implement the state order on women's clothing in Iran have many similarities with the analysis provided by Foucault regarding the disciplinary discourse of power to dominate women's bodies. The discourse of power in Iran essentially controls society by dividing it into smaller units that are easier to control and legislate for comprehensive surveillance of women who operate within

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[57] hammihanonline 2023.

[58] www.radiofarda.com/a/32691698.html Access:12.12.2024

[59] www.mehrnews.com/xVtqz Access:22.02.2025.

[60] www.theguardian.com/world/2023/oct/05/armita-geravand-iran-cctv   Access: 22.02.2025.

[61] www.sharghdaily.com/fa/tiny/news-891369 Access:22.02.2025.

these defined units, exercising all-encompassing control over hijab and women's dress.

V. DISCUSSION

Based on Foucault's theory of panopticism, the Hijab and Chastity Bill and the Hijab Enforcer project can be examined as tools for creating a surveillance society. The following analysis explores these topics using key concepts from the theory of panopticism.

The Hijab and Chastity Bill includes regulations that oversee women's attire. These laws are enforced not only legally but also physically. For instance, the presence of security forces and moral police in streets and public places acts as the central tower in Foucault's panopticon model. These forces function as permanent observers, signaling to citizens that they are always being watched. The Hijab Enforcer project employs surveillance cameras and advanced technologies to monitor citizens' behavior, clearly implementing Foucault's panoptic structure. These cameras act as invisible observers, with citizens constantly under surveillance, even if they are unaware of whether they are being watched at any given moment. This type of surveillance has profound psychological effects on citizens' behavior due to the uncertainty of the exact time and place of observation.

One of the primary goals of the Hijab and Chastity Bill is to instill a sense of self-regulation among women. Aware that they might always be under surveillance, women automatically try to comply with dress codes. This self-regulation stems from fear of potential punishments and the social consequences of violating the rules. This form of internal surveillance is a key concept in Foucault's theory of panopticism, which is well illustrated here. Similarly, the main objective of the Hijab Enforcer project is to create self-regulation among citizens. Knowing that surveillance cameras are ubiquitous and their behaviors might be monitored, citizens automatically strive to reduce deviant behaviors. This constant sense of surveillance compels citizens to adhere to social norms, even in the absence of direct oversight. The presence of Hijab enforcers in public places, reminding citizens to comply with stringent hijab laws, is a crucial factor that forces women into self-regulation.

Although the Hijab and Chastity Bill does not directly utilize advanced surveillance technologies, the presence of security forces and moral police as physical observers represents a form of power technology implemented through human agents. This type of surveillance, while

more traditional, is equally effective in compelling women to adhere to the regulations. In contrast, the Hijab Enforcer project extensively employs advanced surveillance technologies such as CCTV cameras facial recognition software, and electronic monitoring systems. These technologies allow the government to effectively and comprehensively monitor citizens' behavior. The use of these technologies reflects an evolution in surveillance tools, aligning with Foucault's panoptic theory, which emphasizes invisible and continuous surveillance.

One of the fundamental principles of panoptic theory is continuous and unobtrusive surveillance. In the panoptic model, individuals under surveillance constantly feel that they are being watched, without knowing exactly when and how they are being monitored. In the Hijab and Chastity Bill, women are under constant pressure to comply with dress codes because they know that at any moment they might be inspected by surveillance agents. This sense of perpetual surveillance causes women to automatically conform to the expected norms, even when direct supervision is absent. Similarly, in the Hijab Enforcer project, the installation of surveillance cameras and the use of AI technologies to detect deviant behaviors exemplify permanent and unobtrusive surveillance. Citizens in subways and public places constantly feel that they are being monitored, and this feeling of surveillance ensures their adherence to social norms.

In panoptic theory, the fear of punishment is a key factor in exerting power. Individuals under surveillance are constantly worried about potential penalties for violating norms and regulations. The enforcement of severe penalties for breaches of dress code regulations ensures that women are continually anxious about strictly adhering to these rules. This fear of punishment is a powerful tool for controlling and monitoring women's behavior. Furthermore, imposing fines and penalties on business owners or storekeepers where women without proper hijab are present creates an environment where people who suffer from interacting with women defying the hijab rules will be reminded to comply. This can lead to self-regulation within society and even cause tensions among different groups. In the Hijab Enforcer project, the use of surveillance technologies and the direct presence of Hijab enforcers to identify deviant behaviors and apply swift and immediate punishments ensure that citizens are constantly concerned with adhering to social norms and regulations. This fear of punishment leads to automatic compliance with the expected norms.

A key concept in panoptic theory is the creation of individualism and isolation. In the panoptic model, individuals are placed in separate cells with no direct interaction with one another. This isolation ensures that individuals are completely controlled and monitored, with no opportunity for organization and resistance. In the Hijab and Chastity Bill and the Hijab Enforcer project, individualism and isolation are employed as tools for controlling and monitoring citizens. The continuous and unobtrusive surveillance inherent in these methods makes women constantly worried about strictly adhering to dress code regulations. This concern leads them to automatically avoid social interactions that might result in violations. This isolation and individualism become powerful tools for controlling and monitoring women's behavior. The implementation of these laws in society automatically divides social groups into supporters and opponents of the hijab, placing some in a category that, despite opposing mandatory hijab, is harmed by non-compliance with its rules. These social divisions caused by mandatory hijab laws prevent individuals from effective social presence and constructive interaction with one another.

Another key concept in Foucault's theory is the redefinition of power. In the panoptic model, power is exercised unobtrusively and continuously, and this power is automatically accepted by those under surveillance. In the Hijab and Chastity Bill and the Hijab Enforcer project, power is exercised unobtrusively and continuously, and this power is automatically accepted by citizens. In these two surveillance methods, continuous and unobtrusive surveillance ensures that women are constantly worried about strictly adhering to dress code regulations. This concern causes them to automatically conform to the expected norms. The automatic acceptance of power is one of the main objectives behind drafting mandatory hijab laws. Despite pervasive surveillance and control mechanisms, resistance to power still exists. The Mahsa movement and other protests against the hijab law demonstrate how individuals and groups challenge state authority. These acts of defiance disrupt the panoptic order and reveal the limits of surveillance and control. In Iran, the government's efforts to enforce the hijab law and monitor citizens are met with various forms of resistance, from overt protests to subtle acts of non-compliance. This ongoing struggle highlights the complexity of power relations and the potential for change within seemingly rigid structures of control.

In general terms, the Modesty and Hijab Bill and the Hijab Enforcer initiative in Iran are prominent examples of the exercise of power and surveillance based on Foucault's theory of the Panopticon. These governmental tools utilize constant and subtle surveillance, the creation of fear of punishment, isolation, and individualism, and the use of advanced technologies to impose their desired social norms on citizens. However, there are always forces of resistance and opposition that attempt to change the status quo. Table 3 illustrates how Foucault's panoptic theory can help us gain a deeper understanding of surveillance processes and the exercise of power in contemporary societies.

Control Type	An Example from Iranian Society
Social Surveillance	The existence of forces prohibiting hijab in public spaces such as metro stations, the existence of the so-called morality police in the form of the "Noor" project and guidance patrols at the street level to control women's clothing, the increase of surveillance forces in universities, schools, offices and commercial centers.
Legal Restrictions	Implementing laws such as the "Law of Chastity and Family Protection through Spreading the Culture of Hijab" by determining financial and non-financial fines for violating the mandatory hijab, establishing strict and restrictive laws to control women's clothing, and using human and technological tools to monitor women.
Social Discipline	The appointment of hijab control forces by municipalities and the government to monitor the hijab in public spaces and implement hijab policies, changing new monitoring plans to monitor women such as the "Noor" plan
Legislation	Approving laws and regulations such as facilitating the recruitment of hijab forces and providing facilities such as tracking software, approving the chastity and hijab bill in the parliament, approving the "Noor" plan, promulgating the statute of covering students in universities and schools
Digital Surveillance	Using surveillance systems, including the "Observer System 1" software, to detect and report hijab violations, monitoring women's hijab with CCTV cameras in the streets, commercial and educational centers

Table. 3. Examples of control society in Iran (Authors)

CONCLUSION

After the 1979 revolution, the political system took a firm stance against women's dress and bodies. While the politicization of women's bodies was defined in the legal framework before the Islamic Republic, the implementation of anti-freedom policies regarding hijab under the Islamic Republic seems entirely different. Though the government's supervisory and coercive approach to dealing with proponents of free and independent hijab is not a new strategy, the enforcement of surveillance policies, such as the hijab control police known as "morality police," the regulation of specific frameworks for employed women's dress, and more, reflect the enforcement of compulsory hijab policy.

After the Women's, Life, Freedom Movement, new supervisory approaches were implemented that few anticipated. The approval of the "Chastity and Hijab" bill, containing strict laws and heavy penalties for individuals who resist the laws defined by the Islamic Republic regarding hijab, along with the employment of individuals as "hijab enforcers" in public spaces for warning and controlling individuals advocating free hijab, are just two instances of strict laws implemented after the Women's, Life, Freedom Movement.

These two laws grant the enforcers of compulsory hijab policies the authority to control individuals from the moment they leave their homes, drive in the streets, use public transportation, or go to work, markets, or any other destination. This supervisory approach extends beyond this, with individuals in public spaces, public transportation, markets, universities, recreational centers, and even schools responsible for controlling, warning, and reporting supporters of free and independent hijab. This approach aligns with Foucault's theory of panopticism, reminiscent of the all-encompassing surveillance system used in prisons and correctional facilities for complete control of criminals.

Demanding freedom and independence for hijab in Iran, given that it opposes compulsory hijab laws, leads to the classification of advocates as criminals by lawmakers and authorities. According to Table 4, examples of Iranian society that is constantly under the supervision and control of the government can be seen based on the concepts of Foucault's panopticon theory. Various social units in Iran are constantly monitored. The definition of new occupational units and the use of intelligent tools and systems for expanding control over women in small social units have provided a basis for comprehensive supervision by government officials. This ongoing, all-encompassing supervision has made every woman aware of her control by surveillance systems in public spaces, prompting her to exercise self-control to avoid warnings, fines, or detention by hijab law enforcers.

Although the Women's, Life, Freedom Movement in Iran emerged under the pretext of demanding freedom in dress and hijab, freedom advocates in Iran continuously claimed all their fundamental rights, citizenship rights, which are plundered every day due to the inefficiency of the religious political system and widespread corruption within the government structure.

The Iranian people's primary demand has always been realizing their civil rights. Economic insecurity, along with social restrictions imposed on various groups in society, such as women, and ethnic, religious, and sectarian minorities, has led people to seek the fulfillment of their rights within the framework of social movements, like those that occurred in 2022. On the other hand, the Iranian government has consistently resorted to violence and inhumane methods to suppress public protests and movements. As a result, over the past year and a half, the government has employed the most severe control methods to monitor women opposing the hijab and other protesters. The main concern of this research was to examine the Iranian government's control approach to monitoring women's dress after the "Woman, Life, Freedom" movement.

What remains worthy of study within the context of this movement is the examination of the role of the hijab imposed on women selected from among the most vulnerable segments of society, as well as the study of the consequences of government surveillance policies that cause various groups of citizens with differing beliefs to confront each other. In a way, the depth of the government's control policies leads to the fragmentation of social cohesion and the breakdown of national unity. Investigating these issues, particularly in the aftermath of the 2022 movement, has always been a primary academic concern for the researchers of this article.

Unit/Concept	An example in Iran's control society	Description of performance
Building Circular	Iran society	Designing a closed society by a totalitarian government with the aim of facilitating surveillance and control of women in small and large social units in line with the mandatory hijab law, using tools specifically designed for this purpose
Central Tower	The Central Hub of Oversight, Control, and Legislation (Law Enforcement, Intelligence Agencies, Basij, The Headquarters for Enjoining the Good and Forbidding the Evil)	
Cells	Smaller units of society such as markets, streets, schools, universities, Stadium and metro	
Windows overlooking the building	Surveillance tools such as CCTV cameras	
Guardians	Supervisor and controller (moral police, hijab Enforcer)	The enforcement and implementation of the mandatory hijab law through surveillance, control, warnings, penalties, and arrest of women who oppose the mandatory hijab
Criminal	Women supporting free and independent hijab	The Individuals advocating for personal freedom and the right to choose their preferred attire, considered by the government as criminal and sinful
The impact of comprehensive monitoring	The individual's sense of constant and perpetual control	Every woman advocating for freedom and opposing compulsory hijab becomes aware of being monitored as soon as she leaves her home, forcing her into self-control due to surveillance systems
The economic feature and profitability of the comprehensive monitoring plan	Employing individuals supportive of the power discourse from lower social classes with sufficient salaries to control the hijab	Employing individuals who support compulsory hijab from the lower classes of society with sufficient wages for monitoring women's hijab in various social units portrays the implementation of this law as beneficial, both economically and practically, as it is carried out by individuals supportive of the law while receiving average wages

Table. 4. Corresponding components in the Hijab Supervision and Control Law in Iran and Foucault's theory (Authors).

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