Original Research Article

An Investigation of the Morphogenesis of Iran's Tobacco Movement through the Lens of Margaret Archer's Theory

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Abstract

History shows that from ancient times to the present, the political system of Iran has remained authoritarian. The people have not been given a role in the administration of the country's affairs in this style of government. According to investigations, the tobacco movement disrupted the political connection between the people and the government for the first time in Iran's history. In this movement, the Iranian people began a major protest against a political problem to stand against the authoritarian government, and the relationship between the people and the government changed as a result. In this regard, the current study aims to provide a solution to this topic. What is the formation process of the tobacco movement through the lens of Margaret Archer's integrated theory? The research is descriptive-analytical and qualitative. The data were collected using the library method from first-hand books and other valid scientific articles. The findings of this study revealed that before the tobacco concession was given, a dialectical interaction between political intellectuals and the government had begun. The interaction was launched after Iranians were defeated in the Russian war, and it peaked in the final decade of Naseruddin Shah's reign. Intellectuals made strong criticisms of Naser al-Din Shah's dictatorial government in a dialectical connection. Now, amid these criticisms and following the handover of tobacco concessions, the formation of this movement was first based on the self-awareness of domestic political forces such as intellectuals, and the publication of this self-awareness made other internal forces such as powerful economic and religious activists united. Upon such an alliance, ordinary activists influenced by these three powerful groups formed a formidable alliance in front of the court under the leadership of the intellectuals. The coalition of internal forces, along with the opposition of the Russian government to its interests, created pressure against the authoritarian government, and Nasir al-Din Shah was eventually compelled to announce that the tobacco monopoly contract was canceled.

Keywords: *Iranian tobacco movement, Qajar Despotism, Morphogenesis, Structure and Action, Archer's Integrated Approach.*

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Introduction

The tobacco movement is regarded as the first nationwide movement of the Iranian people in modern Iranian history. During this time, Iranian people, headed by significant political, religious, and economic activists and led by ulema, expressed their opposition to the concession of the monopoly of tobacco to an English firm. The tobacco monopoly would have distinct effects on the country, according to each of the country's prominent political, religious, and economic advocates. Political activists regarded the monopoly of tobacco as a challenge to Iran's political independence, while religious activists, particularly clerics, believed that cultural independence and the impact of Western culture and civilization on an Islamic country could be a threat. Prominent economic campaigners also spoke out against the economic problems brought to Iranian society by tobacco cultivation and industry. Granting the concession of Iran's tobacco and its monopoly to the English Talbot was suggested by Nasir al-Din during his third trip to Europe, and after negotiations in the city of Brighton, the Shah personally promised to hand over the tobacco and tobacco monopoly to the Talbot. After one year, this contract was signed, and with the signing of this contract, buying, selling, and exporting Iranian tobacco was granted to Talbot for 50 years. According to this contract, any action regarding tobacco was subject to the permission of Majew Talbot. The tobacco movement occurred in Iran around 1890 and brought about changes in the political interactions between the government and the people for the first time. Until that time, the governance style in the history of Iran, from the ancient era to the contemporary era, had been authoritarian, which stands for a lawless government that is based on the relationship between God and servant or shepherd and flock, a relationship known as the Sultan-Subject relationship in its political form. In such a relationship, the position of sultan and king is sanctified either by God or by his divine glory. Therefore, the Shah or Sultan had absolute authority and rulership without having any specific and institutionalized responsibility for the people

(Ghazi Moradi, 2007, 27). Scrutinizing the formation of the tobacco movement shows that this movement took place in the heart of an autocratic political structure and the autocratic government of Nasir al-Dīn Shah. Shamim, a researcher of the history of the Qajar period, believes that Nasir al-Din Shah was also an autocratic and selfish man. Even though he chose the board of ministers, he did not give them authority in the affairs of the country, so no high-ranking minister or official dared to do anything without the king's permission, and everyone considered him the most powerful political leader in the country. He was the glory of God, and his command was the same as God's. That is why the control of all affairs in the country was in the hands of Nasir al-Din Shah (Shamim, 2010, 167–185). The period of the authoritarian rule of Nasir al-Din Shah coincided with the zenith of the influence of Western culture and civilization on Iranian society. This significant influence was stronger after the defeat of the Iranians in the war with the Russians and occurred in the face of Western civilization. Especially in the political field, a group of Iranian elites was influenced by Western culture, and slowly the idea emerged that the primary reason for the decline of Iranian society was authoritarian regimes. Based on this perspective, the intellectuals began criticizing authoritarian governance. For instance, according to Malkam Khan, one of the intellectuals of the Qajar period, the government of Shah had been free from the constraints of laws, institutions, and rules of supervision. Therefore, it had been "one of the most autocratic monarchies in the world". When he explained the legal restrictions of the King of Britain to Nasir al-Din Shah, the king responded, "Then this king of yours is no more than a supreme judge; such limited authority may last, but it has no grace, but I can elevate all these nobles that you see around me to a higher position or bring them down to a lower position" (Abrahamian, 2001, 43). The intellectuals of this period, especially influenced by the French Revolution, wanted to limit the unlimited power of the king. By publishing their thoughts in newspapers, the intellectuals gradually raised the awareness of society. Given that the last decade of Nasir al-Din Shah's

reign coincided with the peak of freedom in Iran, which Iranian intellectuals were pursuing under the influence of the French Revolution, The origin of this current of thought dates back to the time of the Iran-Russia wars, which reached their peak during this period. Now, it was at this time that the news of the concession of tobacco to Major Talbot was first spread among powerful activists (economic, religious, and political), and slowly the news spread among ordinary activists.

Research Background

Historically, this was the first role the people played in making choices about the affairs of the country, and in this respect, the tobacco movement is critical in combating government tyranny. This event validated the efforts of Iranian intellectuals that began in the early nineteenth century, and a reform movement that had been created since the time of Abbas Mirza manifested itself clearly in the realm of political and social advances. According to a study of existing research, these studies may be divided into two narrative and analytical categories. Regardless of political and social ideas and structures, narrative studies have exclusively dealt with the chronicles of this movement. Studies like "Political Mobilization & Action in the Tobacco Movement of Iran (1891-92 A.D.)" (Morshedizad, Keshavarz Shokri & Ahmadpour Torkamani, 2010), "Research on the Role of Women in the Tobacco Movement" (Alam & Razavi Sosan, 2012), and "The Role and Function of the Shrine of Ahmad bin Musa Al-Kazem Shah Cheragh in the Political and Social Developments of Shiraz in the Movement "Tobacco and Constitutionalism" (Shafie Sarvestani, 2018) fall into the category of chronicle research. However, some research, such as "Tobacco Movement and Finding People in Politics" (Shojaeezand & Farhangi, 2021) was written using the discourse analysis method. This article considers the first activism of the Iranian people in the history of the tobacco movement and considers the tobacco revolution as the turning point of the people's presence in the political arena of Iran. Narrative studies have not discussed the tobacco movement in a previous socio-political context but rather interpreted this movement individually. Also, some researchers attribute the tobacco movement not to the activism of domestic political and social forces but to the role of foreign forces, especially Russia, which declared its opposition to this agreement to protect its interests against the British government. However, the researcher assumes that this movement needs to be examined in the earlier political-social contexts created in the post-Iran-Russia wars. Also, the balance between the role of internal social and political forces and external forces needs to be observed unbiasedly. The researcher believes that Archer's theory has more explanatory power for the morphogenesis of this movement. In Margaret Archer's integrated theory, repressive structural requirements that make systems fully deterministic are not accepted. There is no place for the free will of people, full-fledged possibilities, and politically-free people, who struggle with the structure for their suprmacy. According to Archer, all of these are the result of emerging outcomes, and structures willy-nilly undergo re-creation or transformation in one way or another. In the tobacco movement, powerful and ordinary activists opposed the autocratic political structure regarding the given concession monopoly and took action against this autocratic structure. Considering that the purpose of Archer's integrated theory is to discover how agents and structures are related to each other and how realities are formed through the dialectical relationship between the two. It can be acknowledged that Archer's theory has more effective explanatory power for investigating the tobacco movement. In contrast to Archer's integrated theory, structural theories are implicitly considered competing theories in this research. In structure-oriented theories, no importance is given to agents, but all agents are considered to be the product of structures. In the structure-oriented theory, the observer of the tobacco movement does not consider the activism of internal political forces but highlights the fundamental role of external forces, especially Russia, and the internal forces are considered the infantry of the Russian government in this movement.

Research Guestion

Based on what has been discussed, the research question is formulated as follows: What is the formation process of the tobacco movement through the lens of Margaret Archer's integrated theory?

Methodology

The research is descriptive-analytical and qualitative. The data were collected using the library method from first-hand books and other valid scientific articles.

Theoretical Foundation

The evolution of sociological theories reveals scientific disagreements and clashes between two groups of sociologists. One group is concerned with meaning and human activities, and another is concerned with structures in describing social events. According to structuralism, conscious agents are not the producers of the system or semantic system in which they live; rather, they are the creators of this system in which they live as social subjects (Fay, 2001, 94 & 95). According to this view, structuralists want to dehumanize social sciences by replacing humans with various structures such as the logical structure of the mind, language, and the numerous parts that comprise society, or society in general, and presume that people's actions are based on the fundamental structure of thinking (Tawhid Fam & Hosseinian Amiri, 2018, 90). Subjectivity and awareness, on the other hand, are the foundations of social sciences in hermeneutic traditions, and in interpretive sociology, action, and meaning are given precedence in interpreting human activities, and structural conceptions are not considerably prominent (Giddens, 2004, 126). The two approaches mentioned emerged in the form of numerous theories until the 1970s, providing the groundwork for the emergence of a new generation of integrated theories. Integrative theorists argue that the structuralism approach and the interpretive approach are reductionist because the first one overlooks agency while the second ignores structure, and they explain a unified theory with a dialectical and reflective relationship (Golabi, Boudaghi & Alipour, 2015, 118). Finally, the interactionist approach and integrated theories first appeared in the works of Anthony Giddens and Bourdieu to organize this attitudinal fragmentation and later found new interpretations in the works of Archer and Bhaskar (Parker, 2007, 55–58). Given this, the researcher in this article, emphasizing Margaret Archer's integrated theory, attempts to look at the socio-political developments during the Qajar reign and examine the activity of political and social forces against the authoritarian government of Naser al-Din Shah. In 1982, in an essay titled " Morphogenesis versus Structuration: on Combining Structure and Action", Margaret Archer suggested a new sort of social ontology and named it " Morphogenesis," or, in the understanding of certain Persian translations, the creation of form (King, 2010, 1). Morphology is defined as "the study of the emergence and transformation of different forms of relationships." Therefore, morphology theory seeks to provide an interpretation of diverse "relationships" between structure and agency that will help to explain why special cases of this relationship exist in their current form (Parker, 2005, 117 & 118). This approach offers either component, its dignity: However, this independence is only in the position of analysis to explain the interdependence of two components and not in the position of existence. Without the existence of humans, there is no social reality, and this reality reveals itself through human action. From an analytical point of view, the ratio of agent and structure is the relationship between the conditioning (not determinism) of agents by structures and the expansion and cultivation of structures by agents. Considering the time component, the precedence or the delay of either component is subject to change, meaning that structures can be both cause and effect, just like agents (Parker, 2007, 118–122). Therefore, the integration of agency and structure in Archer's view is as follows.First: there are pre-existing conditions (structures) that serve as a platform for social actions. Second: the interaction takes place on this platform to achieve certain goals. Third: the consequences of social interactions may lead to the structural development of

action conditions; in other words, structures and agents change. Finally, these altered agents and structures serve as the basis and conditions for subsequent actions (Fig. 1). According to Archer, it is the interaction of two sets of causal forces that determines how the structures make the agents conditional and contingent. On the one hand, structural and cultural forces and properties beneficially affect agents through the application of restrictions and empowerment. On the other hand, the agents' abilities to rethink allows them to review the plans necessary to meet their needs in society and take steps towards meeting these needs (Archer, 2002, 5).

In the light of the information provided, in Archer's theory of morphology, a close link is established between the present, the past, and the future. Actions in the present time are performed in the context of pre-existing structures (past time), and this action limits or sets conditions for future actions by influencing social constructions and through these structures (Parker, 2005, 121). Concepts such as "layered reality", " morphogenesis," and "conditioning" are of essential importance here. Layered reality means that social realities are made up of multiple layers, and the contribution of each of these realities can be explained. " morphogenesis " not only provides space for activities related to structures but also makes it possible for them to acquire independent characteristics. "Conditioning" allows these independently acquired structural features to subsequently obligate and compel action, but not in a way that deprives actors of their agency so that they cannot affect outcomes. Meanwhile, both the power of actors and the power of systems are strongly affirmed and the relationship between them is limited due to their chronological order (Archer, 1979, 25–42). Therefore, conditionalization, according to Archer, means that the actors in the structures are inevitably bound to the requirements, but they can decide about certain forms. The actors are the agents of historical changes, even though the action is always performed in the pre-set structural contexts. Such contexts are not necessarily interwoven firmly and typically provide opportunities for actors to innovate and change the direction of progress. Archer assigns an independent identity to each agency and structure historically but does not assign the rigidity and determination of any of them continuously. In this regard, Archer underscores that systems a) are relatively autonomous, b) are relatively deterministic on agents, and c) are causally fruitful, while these claims do not require human objectification (Parker, 2005, 125). Therefore, it should be acknowledged that in Archer's integrated theory, the integration of social structures and actors, as a causal set, causes the emergence of social phenomena (Harvey, 2002, 264). This feature provides a suitable capacity to investigate social phenomena. In other words, the separate identity of the

Fig. 1. Diagram of the integration of agency and structure in Archer's view. Source: Archer & Morgan, 2020, 6.

individual and society allows us to explain the mutual causal effects of the individual and society (Hashemi & Golabi, 2022, 91). In the following section, the researcher will focus on the formation of the tobacco movement by emphasizing the integrated theory of Margaret Archer. Since according to Archer's theory, the previous structures and contexts of events play a key role in the formation of social reality, the researcher first shed light on the social and political contexts of the tobacco movement from the beginning of the Iran-Russia wars. The invasion of the Russians into Iran in the early 19th century, despite the bitter results, had an important achievement for Abbas Mirza and his minister Mirza Issa Qaim, and that was the awareness and understanding of the weakness of Iran's military equipment in front of the Russian forces. The Russian forces were able to defeat the Iranians due to their military discipline and new techniques though they were fewer in number. This type of perception made Abbas Mirza and Qaim Maqam think of modernist efforts and encouraged them to invite French advisers to teach a variety of military matters (Salimi, 2011, 78). Also, Abbas Mirza's attention to the translation of European texts opened a window of new knowledge to Iranians. In addition, sending students to the West and familiarizing them with Western sciences and techniques were other measures he took to overcome Iran's backwardness (Hossein Talaie & Najafian Razavi, 2011, 6). Sending students to Europe to gain new knowledge, establishing a printing house, and translating Western books made Iranian thinkers and especially political activists consider Iranian society as backward compared to the West. With the beginning of Nasir al-Dīn Shah's reign, Amir Kabir continued Abbas Mirza's movement, established Dar al-Funun, and invited European teachers to teach (Adamiyat, 1972, 362). The war chief prepared the trip of Nasir al-Dīn Shah to Europe to inform the king about the progress of European society. He generally believed in acquiring European civilization. At the same time, there were writers such as Akhundzadeh, Seyyed Jamaluddin Asadabadi, Malkam Khan, Maragheh, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, Talebov, Mishtar al-Doulah,

Jalaluddin Mirza, who wrote about the backwardness of Iran compared to the West and were looking for a way to compensate for this backwardness (Behnam, 2013). He generally believed in acquiring European civilization. At the same time, some authors such as Akhundzadeh, Seyyed Jamaluddin Asadabadi, Malkam Khan, Maragheh, Mirza Agha Khan Kermani, Talebov, Mishtar al-Doulah, and Jalaluddin Mirza wrote on the backwardness of Iran comparing it to the West and sought a way to compensate for this backwardness. Social and political activists who were influenced by Western culture and civilization identified two factors as the source of Europe's authority and prosperity. New technology and the rule of law efforts were started in both areas, but then they concluded that having a responsible and disciplined government is more important. During this period, Iranians came to know Europe, especially through Russia, England, and France and presented itself as a magical model of power, prosperity, and progress. The intellectuals, which included many Qajar nobles and government officials, eventually found that the law could be the key to this amazing secret. For them, the law became synonymous with accountable government, and later, with the freedom and establishment of law, people's lives and property were protected from the harm of autocratic decisions, and they more or less believed that this was sufficient to transform Iran into a prosperous and powerful country (Katouzian, 2000, 62–53).This familiarity of Iranian intellectuals with the new ideas that emerged in Europe and created profound changes led to the creation of a dialectical relationship between the intellectuals and the authoritarian political structure. The dialectic that was created between the authoritarian political structure and conscious activists led to the formation of political and social reform movements (Soleimannezhad et.al., 2023, 56) The intellectuals criticized Nasir al-Dīn Shah's autocratic government, and these criticisms were more intense in foreign newspapers. Newspapers such as Qanun in London and Akhtar[1] in Istanbul were pioneers in publishing the opinions of these intellectuals. It should be acknowledged that the beginning

of intellectual and political activism in the heart of the authoritarian structure started in the time of Fath Ali Shah with people like Mirza Fath Ali Akhundzadeh. From this time until the last decade of Nasir al-Dīn Shah's rule, there was a dialectical relationship between political activists and the authoritarian government, but despite the efforts of intellectuals, Nasir al-Dīn Shah, as the shadow of God, owner of dignity and protected subjects, had great power over people's lives, property, and honor. He considered the entire land his own. He had absolute authority over granting benefits, concessions, and monopolies. He often interfered in the economy by regulating production and prices at different times and buying, selling, and storing food. He considered his speech to be law as long as it did not contradict the Islamic Sharia (Abrahamian, 2001, 44). Curzon mentioned the dictatorial government of Nasir al-Dīn Shah: indeed, he is an excellent example of absolute leadership. Because he is free from responsibility, active in life, and has unlimited rights over the lives and property of each of his subjects. His peers do not have separate independence, and it is not far from the possibility that they will fall into poverty in the blink of an eye. Ministers are appointed or dismissed according to the royal will. The ruler is the sole owner of the title, and all official people have authority over him; there is no official authority that can limit or change his rights and benefits (Curzon, 2001, 513 & 512). In the 1890s several decades had passed since the emergence of intellectual trends, and during this period, political intellectuals' criticism of authoritarian rule had peaked. The concession of tobacco took place when the intellectual movement in Iran had been relatively established. So many political activists, especially those residing abroad, questioned Nasir al-Dīn Shah's autocratic decisions and behaviors, of whom, Malkom was among the most important. Therefore, when tobacco and its monopoly were handed over by Nasir al-Dīn Shah, as for existing social and political contexts, a strong and tough coalition was formed against the government in Iran, and this targeted coalition was aimed at confronting an authoritarian political issue. In the following section, the

researcher attempts to highlight the importance and necessity of tobacco in its time and place, then explains how tobacco and its monopolies were handed over, and then analyzes this movement through the lens of Archer's theory.

It can be said that in the nineteenth century, tobacco was the most important industrial crop in Iran. Tobacco was used both domestically and exported to Turkey. Due to its economic importance, some political leaders took the initiative and highlighted its effect on the national economy for Nasir al-Dīn Shah. In general, the intention was to recognize the importance of tobacco in the country's national economy. In 1865, for the first time, Ali Qali Khan Itizad al-Sultanh presented an article about the monopoly of tobacco to Nasir al-Dīn Shah. This was the first national plan that was written about tobacco. The second monopoly plan was written by Mohammad Hasan Khan Etimad al-Sultaneh in 1886 under the title "The Key to Affordability," and a few months later, he compiled the "Law on the Administration of Monopolies of Tobacco and Tobacco and its Subsidiaries" in 21 chapters and presented it to Nasir al-Dīn Shah (Nategh, 1994, 73). However, domestically, these proposals did not receive any attention. During this time, Shah set off for Europe for the third time. According to Teymuri, the British were involved in instigating and encouraging the Shah to go on this trip, and they invited him to England through Mirza Ali Asghar Khan Amin al-Sultan. England insisted on this trip because wanted to express the British government's gratitude to Nasir al-Dīn Shah for the privilege of establishing a bank and tramway in Iran, which had just been given to them, and secondly, they wanted to present their next demands there. The British entrusted the task of this work to Talbot, who was one of the advisers and close friends of Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister (Teymuri, 1982, 25 & 24). Apparently, negotiations about the exclusive transfer of Iranian tobacco started in Brighton. At this time Nasir al-Dīn Shah was touring England, and Etimad al-Sultanh had been with Major Talbot for a week in this city. During this time, Talbot investigated Iranian

tobacco and its monopoly in this country. He gained the trust of Etimad al-Sultan. After obtaining the necessary information from them, he entered into negotiations with Amin al-Sultan. When he realized they were not reluctant to do this, he gave bribes to Shah, the prime minister, and other influencers to achieve the goal. After Nasir al-Dīn Shah and Amin al-Sultan arrived in Brighton Talbot with Wolfe's help, he took Amin al-Sultan with him by making deceptive promises, and finally Amin al-Sultan discussed this issue with the Shah and called it a windfall. Finally, Nasir al-Dīn Shah invited Major Talbot to Iran and promised to hand over the monopoly of Iran's tobacco to him. Finally, Nasir al-Dīn Shah agreed to hand over this concession and signed the contract on the day which coincided with Nowruz in 1269. Under this contract, the monopoly of buying, selling, and exporting all manufactured tobacco in Iran was given to Talbot Company for 50 years (Karbalaie, 1982, 7–27). In return, he had committed to paying 15,000 lira annually, and after paying all expenses and a 5% dividend, he would pay a quarter of the annual profits to Nasir al-Dīn Shah. This permission made any action regarding tobacco conditional on obtaining permission from the franchise. Instead, the concessionaire promised the tobacconists that he would pay them cash in exchange for their products and possibly pre-purchase their products at a low-interest rate (Keddie, 1977, 40). As soon as the tobacco concession was published, the first objection to the concession came from abroad. The Akhtar newspaper, published by Iranians in Istanbul included two articles both of which protested the concession. In the first article, it was stated that the government of Iran had given the rights of the country and the nation to foreigners for free via concession. The second article was written when Major Talbot stopped in Istanbul on his way to Iran. After interviewing him, the manager of Akhtar newspaper compared the concession of tobacco in Iran with that of Turkey and announced that although the production of Ottoman tobacco is less than that of Iran, he receives an annual levy equivalent to seven hundred thousand Ottoman liras from the. One-fifth of the income is also for the government, and the tobacco that goes abroad is free from monopoly (Azhand, 1988, 86 & 85). By publishing these articles, Akhtar newspaper revealed the unfairness of this franchise and informed Iranians about the consequences of the concession. After the report of the conversation of the author of the article with Major Talbot, the article pointed out the great losses that would occur to Iran's tobacco farmers, traders, and exporters if tobacco was monopolized. In this article, Iran's tobacco concession was once again compared to Turkey's, in which the government received much more income, while the monopoly of tobacco was not given (Keddie, 1977, 55–80). Regarding the monopoly of Dakhan in the countries of Iran, Sabah newspaper concluded a tobacco contract based on the newspapers of European, and while comparing it with the monopoly of tobacco in the Ottoman Empire, it announced the unfairness of the concession (Teymuri, 1982, 33). Also, in July 1890, Malkam Khan in the Qunun newspaper generally complained about handing over of Muslim heritage to foreign adventurers (Keddie, 1977, 55–80). Among the official newspapers of the country, the "Iran" newspaper announced the news of Talbot's monopoly. With the publication of this news, the Russians first expressed their opposition to this stance, arguing that the monopoly letter was contrary to the Turkmanchai Treaty (Nategh, 1994, 90). The Russian government who found the tobacco contract against its interests, immediately announced its protest to the Iranian court (Fouladi, 2015, 42). Despite all the protests, according to Karbalaie, seventeen months after the contract, a delegation from the company arrived in Tehran to start and carry out the contract, and they sent their agents to all cities and tobacco-growing states, including Fars, most important tobacco-growing region of Iran to carry out the contract. When the news of the imminent arrival of the company's employees was announced, local merchants and people of Shiraz gathered in mosques to protest. Local merchants' protest was accompanied by the support of the leading ulema in Shiraz. Among the ulema, Mirza Hedayat Elah (Dastgheyb), Mirza Muhammad Ali (Mahlati), and the undisputed leadership of Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Akbar

Fal Asiri were captured. Ayatollah Seyyed Ali Akbar Fal Asiri's speeches in the holy month of Ramadan caused the closure of the Vakil Bazaar. Following the closure of the bazaar and the gathering of the local merchants in the Vakil Mosque, at the end of one of his speeches, he took out a sword from under his gown and announced decisively that it was time for public jihad. "Try not to wear abjection's clothing. I have a sword and two drops of blood. I will rip open the belly of any foreigner who comes to monopolize tobacco". The closure of the Shiraz Bazaar widened the range of protests, and this action of the Shiraz local merchants quickly turned into a general strike of the country's chief merchants, especially Tehran, Isfahan, Tabriz, Mashhad, Qazvin, Yazd, and Kermanshah. Among the strikes launched by the local merchants, the ulema and clerics were also in pursuit of the assignment from the great Shiite authority, Mirza Shirazi. Finally, after sending several letters to the Shah, Mirza Shirazi issued his historical fatwa. "The use of tobacco is illegal and is the war against Imam Zaman" (Karbalaie, 1982, 104–25).

Findings

Given Archer's consideration of the analytical distinction between structure and agency, and between object and subject over time, it demonstrates the possibility of theorizing about the effects of humans on society and vice versa, and reflects society's "frustrating integration" with man (Archer, 2010, 228-27). As a result, this theory helps explain activity at the heart of the Nasir al-Dīn Shah political system. According to this theory, we must first investigate the conditions and setting of this movement. According to Archer, it is a priori, but not necessarily arbitrarily, and there is always a method to modify it. Before the tobacco movement, the people and the government were authoritarian, and the people had little say in how the government ran its affairs. Despite the initial emphasis on structures, he did not give mere determinism to structures but emphasized the dialectical relationship between the two in explaining social phenomena. He accepts that throughout history,

sometimes agents and sometimes co-structures are determinants, and one should not expect that the balance of agency and structures is completely equal all the time. Sometimes one of these may be determinants (Bagheri & Nazarian, 2018, 105). Despite Nasir al-Dīn Shah's autocratic regime, we should look at the socio-political developments of the 19th century. In the second half of the 19th century, from a cultural point of view, Western ways of thinking were gradually reconfirmed in the thoughts and opinions of some Iranian people, found their way into Iranian society, and brought about actions and reactions. Travels, cultural exchanges, business and trade relations, and diplomatic relations with Western countries gradually diffused Western culture and civilization in the heart and context of Iranian society (Azhand, 1988, 1). Thanks to Western culture and civilization, criticizing, especially of the authoritarian way of government started. Because Iranian intellectuals saw authoritarianism as one of the most significant barriers to modernity and development in Iran. Due to the authoritarian situation and the fear of the government, many criticisms of the authoritarian government were published abroad and in newspapers, and Malkam Khan was one of the pioneers of this movement. This means that a dialectical relationship had been established for years between the authoritarian system and the activists. As soon as these activists were informed that Iran's tobacco monopoly was handed over, they protested and mobilized. In general, domestic protests can be classified into three groups of powerful activists: a) powerful economic activists; b) powerful religious activists; and c) political activists. Regarding the action of powerful economic activists, it should be said that for the first time, Amin al-Dawlah announced the protest of traders and businessmen against granting concessions to Nasir al-Dīn Shah, but Nasir al-Dīn Shah did not pay attention to this protest. In the continuation of the formation of protest movements, we can mention Seyyed Jamaluddin Asadabadi, one of the powerful religious activists. He was one of the first to take a stand against this concession. One of his most important actions was that he secretly wrote a letter to

Mirza Shirazi about Nasir al-Dīn Shah's atrocities and also about the unfairness of giving away Iran's tobacco concession. He also wrote a letter to all ulema in which he invited all ulema to fight against Nasir al-Dīn Shah. A part of his letter to the ulema reads: "Whoever imagines that it is not possible to overthrow Shah except with troops, cannons, and bombs is thinking in vain. The reason is faith has penetrated people's heads and has run roots in them, and opposing the ulema is opposing God, the truth is the same, and religion is based on this belief. O people of the Quran, if you implement God's decree about this unjust usurper, if you say that according to God's decree obeying this man is forbidden, people will be dispersed and will be overthrown without war and killing" (Teymuri, 1982, 50).Mirza Rezai Kermani, one of Seyyed Jamal's students, was also one of the fiercest opponents of the tobacco concession. He publicly invited the people to riot to cancel the tobacco concession and gave speeches and statements about this to the people (ibid., 50–63). The role of political activists Malkam Khan and journalists is also very important because it was the first time these political forces published their protests in foreign newspapers. Finally, the government's lack of attention to the protests caused the ulema to take over the leadership of the movement, and the protests became more public. Public strikes, supported by religious fatwas to ban tobacco use, went further and became tobacco boycotts by consumers across the country. The boycott of consumers was supported by Russia, Mujtehadan Karbala, Seyed Jamaluddin in Istanbul, and Malkam Khan in London, threatening demonstrators in the streets of Tehran and even the people of the royal shrine (Abrahamian, 2001, 67). The tobacco embargo pushed the protests into the royal palace, and court women lined up next to the protesters following Mirza's fatwa. Although the participation of women in the tobacco movement is not the first political movement of women against the Qajar government, their role in strengthening and winning it is very important (Alam & Razavi Sosan, 2012, 72). Among the women of the court, Anis al-Dawlah Sugli Shah, following the prohibition fatwa,

publicly banned hookah in the shrine area. This action undoubtedly encouraged Shah to cancel the monopoly of the concession (Amanat, 2006, 568 & 569). Also, in the main centers of this uprising, namely Tabriz, Shiraz, and Tehran, the presence and participation of women were very impressive. Among the women in Tabriz, led by Zeinab Pasha, were those present in this uprising. So when Nasir al-Dīn Shah sent Agha Ali, nicknamed Amin, to Tabriz to calm the situation, along with gifts to attract the attention of the or mujtahids. The women formed a large association and declared that if Amin entered Tabriz, they would kill him (Alam & Razavi Sosan, 2012, 72 & 73). The coalition of three powerful groups of domestic activists gave Nasir al-Dīn a hard time. At this time, the power of merchants was associated with their economic power, the power of ulema came from the religious influence and faith of the people, and the power of political forces came from their scientific information. In terms of the importance of the case, the economic losses for the merchants and the dominance of the Western lifestyle in the country were also very important to ulemas. Because the Western countries, along with their economic policies, presented their ways of thinking and lifestyles and willy-nilly shook the religious and intellectual foundations and the culture of Iran in general (Azhand, 1988, 44–10). Regarding the influence of Western culture and lifestyle in that period, Karbalaie states: When Talbot arrived in early Rajab in 1308 A.H. in Tehran to start the work, he was accompanied by some Europeans who were high ranks of the company. He exaggerated the number of Europeans or Ferangi and mentioned that they exceeded 200,000 people and stated that after coming to Iran, made Iran a " Bazaar of Europeans ". Especially in Tehran, wherever you used to go, it was full of. "Houses of Europeans", " Shops of Europeans ", "Bazar of Europeans ", and "Streets of Europeans " started working with as much independence as possible (Karbalaie, 1928, 25). With this presence, the lifestyle of the English certainly was expected to affect the Iranians as well, and this especially bothered the clergymen and ulema. Some even saw Iran's

independence in danger. According to Mirza Hossein Qoli Khan Nizam al-Sultaneh; In fact, had established a powerful monarchy, if this act was established for two consecutive years, all the land of Iran would be in the legitimate possession of the monopoly without any effort (Mazaheri, 2019, 148). Surveys show that cultural colonialism was the focus of ulema and clerics in this regard. Despite the protests of these three groups of powerful activists, the government initially ignored their statements and proceeded to punish and exile these activists. Following the opposition of businessmen, ulema, and political forces, a strange coalition was formed, especially among these three competing social forces in the social and political arena, in opposition to the monarchy, and continued to bring the masses of people with them. As many historians point out the tobacco embargo was not reserved for a certain class of people, the uprising did not belong to a certain class. Capitalists and the poor, men and women, urban and rural, literate and illiterate, and even some courtiers participated in this movement, and as Karbalaie states: "Dash of the fists and mobs, who do not turn away from any sin and in the visible and They used to commit every kind of sin and ugly work in the special and general view. They all broke their pipes and piled their pieces in front of the company building" (Mirsajadi, 2007, 36 &37). Along with these internal forces, the role of the Russian government and its efforts to cancel the contract can also be clearly seen. The Russian government believed the given concession could increase the influence of the British as much as possible. For this reason, as soon as they became aware of this issue, they announced their protest to the Iranian court and tried to cancel the concession with the support of the internal protesters. Considering this, the role of foreign factors, especially Russia, in the victory of this movement cannot be denied, but on the other hand, the cancellation of the contract should not be reduced solely to the efforts of this government. Rather, it should be acknowledged that all the internal forces in this movement each had their contribution and played a role. These forces include: a) powerful economic actors, including tobacco and tobacco merchants, marketers, and finally tobacco and tobacco retailers, farmers, large landowners, and masses of tobacco consumers. b) Shiite ulema and religious authorities (marja'-i taqlid), especially in big cities such as Shiraz, Tabriz, and Tehran, as well as the very effective role of Mirza Shirazi's leadership in issuing the decree prohibiting the use of tobacco. c) Political forces or intellectuals, including Malkam Khan and Seyyed Jamaluddin Asadabadi, by publishing articles in Qunun and Akhtar newspapers, as well as a letter that Seyyed Jamal especially wrote to scholars and Mirza Shirazi. e) The role of women in Nasir al-Dīn Shah's court and also the role of women in the protests of big cities; and f) The role of the popular masses. The third step in Archer's theory is the function or result of the dialectical relationship between structure and actors. The result of this dialectical interaction was the withdrawal of the government from its action. Following the efforts of the forces mentioned above, Nasir al-Dīn Shah issued an order to cancel the contract. This success was blessed in the history of Iran from various dimensions, so some consider it the first self-awareness of Iranians in this movement. After this movement, the interaction of the government with the political forces, especially with the ulema, increased. According to the theory of critical realism that Archer is influenced by, when reality is formed in society, it becomes effective in the reproduction of subsequent realities. For this reason, some think that the tobacco movement played a very fundamental role in the formation of the constitutional revolution.

Conclusion

In the history of sociological theories, structuralists overlook human acts while activists ignore structures in understanding social events. Meanwhile, attempts by some thinkers to overcome the limits of both have resulted in the development of integrated theoretical methods. One of the proponents of the integrated method, Archer, attempted to elucidate the function of each agent and structure in the production of social phenomena. In this study, the researcher investigated the morphogenesis

of Iran's tobacco movement using Acher's theory. Examining the tobacco movement and its consequences at the core of an authoritarian political framework reveals that the rigidity and determinism of the structures are not permanent and the way of change is also possible at the heart of authoritarian political structures. The results of the research show that Archer's theory is more explanatory compared to the structuralists' theory concerning the tobacco movement. The reason is that structuralists do not value the activism of human forces and cannot explain these developments and changes that have taken place in history. Therefore, in this research, the structuralism approach is not able to explain this movement. According to Archer's theory, structures are a priori, but not necessarily forced and permanent. In this movement, the previous relationship between the people and the government was authoritarian, and before the tobacco movement, the people did not have any role in the management of the country's affairs. In addition to this form of government, from the third decade of the 19th century when Iran was defeated for the second time in war with Russia, the political forces in Iran were slowly influenced by Western culture and civilization. These intellectuals associated the causes of Iran's backwardness with the authoritarian style of government and considered the government to be responsible for Iran's backwardness. Although the concession of Iran's tobacco monopoly was granted in 1890, several decades earlier Iranian activists had developed such awareness. In fact, the activists, especially political and economic forces, had already been influenced by Western culture and civilization. A point that should be emphasized is that political activists, in a movement that started from the time of Fath Ali Shah with the efforts of intellectuals such as Akhundzadeh had slowly realized that tyranny was the main cause of the decline of Iranian society. This means that the fight against tyranny had started a long time ago. Now, as soon as the monopoly of tobacco was handed over, political forces like Malkam Khan and newspapers published in Turkey quickly reacted to this move and revealed the consequences and losses caused by this

contract. In addition, it should be noted that the given concession was considered from different dimensions by the protesting activists. For instance, economically, businessmen and big merchants became more and more aware that the consequences of surrendering to this political matter would lead to financial losses, and as a result, big businessmen to small farmers would have economic dependence on this company. In this regard, the great Shiite ulema and clerics of big cities not only thought about the economic consequences of this contract but also showed more sensitivity to the cultural consequences and the influence of foreign culture on the country. According to the ulema, the cultural colonization that was given to the Iranians as a result of this concession was more important than the economic colonization because a large number of British people, who were present in Iranian cities and especially in Tehran, were subject to the diffusion of the western lifestyle and culture among Iranian people which were in contrast with Iranian culture and Islamic teachings. Political intellectuals also saw the political independence of the country in danger. As for the role of the Russian government in this movement, studies show that considering all the internal efforts made in this movement, it would be very reductionist to see only the role of the Russian government as quite strong and see the Iranian people as mere a puppet of Russia. The reason is that the protesting forces consisted of these three groups, both big ulema and intellectuals like Malkam Khan and big merchants, who had such self-awareness that they could weigh the benefits and losses of such a contract, Despite this, along with the activism of these three great political and social forces, the researcher considers Russia's role in canceling this agreement to be important. The reason is that facts show that this period coincides with the British and Russian governments' competition to gain concessions from the Iranian government, and the Iranian government is also thinking about the stability of its monarchy by granting concessions, trying to maintain the balance of East and West politics as a result of such concessions. Therefore, in addition to the internal forces, the role of the Russian government cannot be denied,

and such a role can be clearly seen in the achievement of this movement. Among the other forces that affected this movement after the fatwa of Mirza Shirazi, were women in the court and big cities. The support of court women showed the strong influence of the ulema on the imperial court, and the opposition of women in big cities also shows the presence of women in the social and political arenas, from this date onwards, women had a more serious presence in the social arena of Iran. Looking at Archer's theory, it can be said that people are not free from the pressure of political structures. Even though there are political structures independent of human thinking about them, in the final analysis, they do not determine the environment of human life. The victory of the tobacco movement showed that political structures are not so rigid and determinative that make any changes impossible. Moreover, the agents can not have unlimited freedom. History shows the two-way interaction of structures and agents and sometimes the greater role of each of them. We must also point out that when a reality is formed in society, it becomes effective in reproducing the following reality In this regard, it can be said that the tobacco movement has played an effective role in the formation of the constitutional revolution.

Endnotes
1. N. 21, Y. 17, Dated Tuesday, 25th Jumadi 1308 (6th January 1891).

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