A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF BIDARZANI (AWAKENING) WEBSITE DURING JINA UPRISING (2022) IN IRAN

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ABSTRACT

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF BIDARZANI (AWAKENING) WEBSITE DURING JINA UPRISING (2022) IN IRAN

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This study has focused on studying the current Iranian women's movement (Women_Life_Freedom) in Iran that has emerged since the death of a Kurdish girl, Mahsa (Jina) Amini, on September 16, 2022. The incident triggered a continuous series of protests that were initially aimed at implementing alterations regarding women's status and laws imposed on them, and they consequently reached the level of toppling the regime. The Bidarzani (Awakening) website is an unregistered online platform that actively covers the incidents, causes, and demands articulated during the Women_Life_Freedom movement from the perspective of Iranian feminist activists who reside in Iran and devote their works to the website. This thesis implements a content analysis of the thirty-two articles published after the death of Mahsa Amini (until March 2023) under the section Agent of Change' on the Bidarzani website. The findings depict the outline of the website in two formats: (1) the causes of the Jina (Mahsa) uprising and (2) the demands propagated by the contributors to the website. The causes are categorized into three points: (1) the state's systematic gender oppression of women; (2) the intersection of linked oppression and repression of oppressed groups; and (3) the continuation of previous

uprisings and protests that triggered the Jina uprising. Meanwhile, the demands are divided into two categories: (1) women's demands presented in the form of charters and the complementary criticisms added to the charters; and (2) charters composed by trade unions and civil organizations in Iran.

Keywords: Social movement, women movement, Women's Charter, Bidarzani (Awakening), Women_Life_Freedom

ÖZ

İRAN'DAKI JINA AYAKLANMASI (2022) SIRASINDA BIDARZANI (UYANIŞ) WEB SITESININ İÇERIK ANALIZI

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Bu çalışma, Mahsa (Jina) Amini adlı Kürt kızının 16 Eylül 2022'de ölümünden bu yana İran'da ortaya çıkan mevcut İran kadın hareketinin (Women_Life_Freedom) incelenmesine odaklanmıştır. Başlangıçta kadının statüsünde ve kadınlara dayatılan kanunlarda değişiklik yapmayı amaçlamış, sonunda rejimi devirme aşamasına gelmiştir. Bidarzani (Uyanış) web sitesi, İran'da ikamet eden ve çalışmalarını web sitesine adayan İranlı feminist aktivistlerin bakış açısıyla Women_Life_Freedom hareketi sırasında dile getirilen olayları, nedenleri ve talepleri aktif olarak ele alan kayıtsız bir çevrimiçi platformdur. Bu tez, Mahsa Amini'nin ölümünden sonra (Mart 2023'e kadar) Bidarzani web sitesinde Değişimin Ajanı bölümünde yayınlanan otuz iki makalenin içerik analizini yapmaktadır. Bulgular, web sitesinin ana hatlarını iki formatta tasvir ediyor: (1) Jina (Mahsa) ayaklanmasının nedenleri ve (2) web sitesine katkıda bulunanların yaydığı talepler. Sebepler üç noktada sınıflandırılıyor: (1) devletin kadınlara yönelik sistematik cinsiyet baskısı; (2) bağlantılı baskı ve ezilen gruplara yönelik baskının kesişimi; ve (3) Jina ayaklanmasını tetikleyen önceki ayaklanma ve protestoların devam etmesi. Ek olarak talepler de iki kategoriye ayrılıyor: (1) kadınların tüzük şeklinde sunulan talepleri ve tüzüğe eklenen

tamamlayıcı eleştiriler; ve (2) İran'daki sendikalar ve sivil örgütler tarafından oluşturulan tüzükler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal hareket, kadın hareketi, Kadın Şartı, Bidarzani (Uyanış), Kadınların Yaşam Özgürlüğü

To the hope nesting in Women_Life_Freedom…

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
WLF	Women_Life_Freedom

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Purpose of the study

The primary goal of this research is to delve into the Women_Life_Freedom movement's motives and demands, as presented by the Bidarzani (Awakening) website. This platform, driven by feminist activists in Iran, offers unique insights into the aspirations and challenges faced by Iranian women. In addition, the thesis tries to investigate the major themes that are raised in each article published on Bidarzani with a focus on the Jina uprising. The objective behind this analysis lies in the fact that how the content of the website can be comprehended from the perspective of social movement theories in accentuating the centralized and structured format of social movements by providing a better and clearer picture for its (Persian and English-reader) audiences, policymakers, and feminist activists of the prominent and essential demands raised by the women who are living under the discriminatory law of the Islamic Republic since the Islamic Revolution of 1979. From my standpoint, this scrutiny can bring a structured order of the priorities to be taken care of in women's demands for the post-Islamic Republic era.

1.2. Research Question

This piece attempts to analyze the content of the Bidarzani website by implementing a content analysis approach to the articles published since the death of Mahsa (Jina) Amini and the emergence of the protests. The major questions that are addressed in the thesis are as follows:

- How has the Bidarzani website tried to depict the current Iranian women's movement and protest by showing a centralized way regardless of the unruly method women have in their protestation?

- What are the causes of the Women's Life Freedom movement from the perspective of the Bidarzani website?
- What are the demands raised by the feminist activists who devoted their work to the Bidarzani website, and how has the discourse of women's demands that are composed in the form of charters been revised and augmented?

1.3. Summary of the Methodology

Chapter three is devoted to investigating the articles that have been published since the incident of Mahsa Amini's death. There are thirty-two articles that are published from November 2022 until March 2023 under the section of 'Agent of Change'. This section was generated along the breakout of the Jina uprising, and the section was renamed from 'Women's movement' to 'Agent of change' during the protests. Thus, the articles that are relevant to the current uprising are collected under this section for easy and quick access to Bidarzani's audiences. In the methodology section, first, the major themes in association with women and gender issues are addressed per article, and then the summary of the articles is provided. The objective in providing a summary is because the texts are entirely composed in Persian; therefore, to facilitate comprehension of the major points for the English readers, the summary, and the key points of each article with respect to social movement theory, the causes of the protest, and the proposed demands of the feminist activists working on Bidarzani website are investigated as well.

The findings of the content analysis of the articles indicate the causes into three points of (1) the state's systematic gender oppression of women, (2) An intersection of linked oppressions and repression of oppressed groups, and (3) the continuation of previous uprisings and protests in triggering the Jina uprising. Hence, the thesis will explore the content of the articles relevant to various ways in which women have been suppressed.

Additionally, the content analysis of the demands that emerged and inquired about the emergence of the Women_life_Freedom movement through the lenses of the

Bidarzani website will be conducted. The demands are divided into two forms: (1) women's demands presented in the form of charters and the complementary criticisms added to the charters, and (2) charters elevated and composed by other unions incorporated into the framework of the women's charters.

1.4. Brief Explanation of the Current Issue

1.4.1. Brief Explanation of Women's Protest in Iran following Mahsa Amini's death

After the tragic death of Mahsa (Jina) Amini in the custody of Morality Police in September 2022, Iran witnessed a surge in protests. The image of Mahsa's final moments, captured by Niloofar Hamedi and Elaheh Mohammadi, resonated deeply both within Iran and internationally (Karimi, 2023: 585).[1] This incident became a catalyst, propelling diverse groups from various backgrounds to voice their discontent. The unique feature of these protests was the prominent role of women actively seeking and demanding their rights.

These protests, known as the Women_Life_Freedom movement, signified more than just a response to a single tragic event. They were an accumulation of years of discontent, dating back to protests since 1980, reflecting the 'revolutionary mood' as termed by Saeed Madani. Madani draws parallels between the current uprising and previous ones, emphasizing various factors that set the stage for such an explosive reaction from the public, such as economic disparities and tragedies like the Ukrainian airline disasters. However, the death of Mahsa Amini was the tipping point that ignited the latent dissatisfaction.

This thesis, while not delving into every detail of the uprising, aims to shed light on its causes and the demands of the women at its forefront. By analyzing the content of the Bidarzani (Awakening) website, a platform managed by feminist activists in Iran, we seek to understand the core issues driving this movement. Furthermore, we aim to present the main themes discussed on Bidarzani, especially concerning the Jina uprising with regard to social movement theories.

[1] Karimi, P. (2023). Art of Protest in Five Acts. *Iranian Studies*, *56*(3), 585-595.

In this section, the public's reaction and the consequent events are categorized in accordance with the groups that joined the protests and the strategies implemented by them during the protest. It is important to note that the major change that occurred during this protest is the active women's agency seeking change and demanding their rights on a large scale. This agency indicates itself in different forms and strategies during the protest which will be discussed in this thesis.

The death incident of Mahsa (Jina) Amini led to protests that were in collaboration and solidarity of citizens with different identities such as:

a. Kurdish citizens in small cities and provinces
b. University students and their active strikes and demonstrations
c. Women as active participants during demonstrations and protest
d. Working class and their strikes in the workplace
e. Balouchi people's participation in Protests in Sistan and Balouchestan (Black Friday 2022)
f. Highschool girl students and their demonstrations
g. Plaintiff mothers' (Mothers of khavaran) joining the protests.
h. Iranian migrants in the diaspora and their marsh in Berlin
i. Protests and demonstration of different ethnicities (Azeri, Lor, Balouchi, Kurds)

The objective in Mahsa's uprising was initially to demand reform regarding women's marginalized political and social status; however, along the uprising, the demands reached the point of toppling the current Islamic Republic (Tohidi, 2023: 31).[2]

The study of Women_Life_Freedom movement is crucial since it can be identified and explained as the continuation of the previous failed or suppressed protests and demonstrations since 1980 in which Saeed Madani identified them as the 'revolutionary mood' of the years of protests Iran has experienced. By providing an analysis of the major features and differences between the Jina uprising with

[2] Tohidi, N. (2023). Iran in a Transformative Process by Woman, Life, Freedom

previous protests and creating a link among them, Saeed Madani provided a comparative analysis in which he refers to the main factors that accelerated and intensified the current revolt. He believes that the fundamental factors that have deteriorated the fragile balance have been accelerating inflation and rising prices, rising fuel costs, Ukrainian airline disasters, and the sudden passing of Mahsa Amini. Considering this, any stimulus (in this case, mahsa Amini's death), in an imbalanced or out-of-balance scenario has the potential to start a riot and a public uprising (Madani, 2022: 18).[3]

In this thesis, the major focus is on identifying the causes and the inquired demands of the women by looking at the website platform of Bidarzani (Awakening) that is established by Jelveh Javaheri who is a feminist activist residing in Iran. Therefore, the content will mainly focus on a content-based analysis of the website which is dedicated to covering the incidents and demands raised by feminist activists in Iran. it should be noted that the process and the sequence of events that occurred during the Jina uprising will not fit the scale of this thesis; however, in this part, it is essential to look at the societal implication of the Jina uprising since comprehending the short- and long-term effects and outcomes are crucial in navigating this work's progression.

1.4.2. Importance of Jina uprising and its societal implication

The Women_Life_Freedom movement has brought forth several societal implications, such as the uprising can be stressed as the increased changes of a freer space to protest. Compared to the protests that occurred in the early post-revolution 1979 period in which protestors seek reforms within the state's established framework, the current protests along high frequency of occurrence, targets the entire legitimacy of the government and attempts to topple it (Çalhan, 2023: 104).[4] In the following paragraphs, the other remarkable societal implications of the Jina uprising have been explicated.

[3] Saeed Madani, "Sad sāl va sad ruz: darbāreh-ye Xyzešeh Mahsā [Hundred Years and Hundred days: About the Mahsa uprising]," Evin Prison, November, 2022 [Dey, 1401].

[4] Çalhan, M. Amini Protests: Vowing for a New Commitment Between Society and State. *İran Çalışmaları Dergisi*, *7*(1), 101-126.

A. Solidarity among different ethnicities and social classes

Regarded as the most extended women's movement in modern Iranian history, the aftermath of Mahsa Amini's death triggered widespread protests, especially in Kurdish-majority areas.[5]Additionally, it can be perceived that the Jina uprising was successful in demonstrating various ranges of participants whether the affluent and the poor, urban and rural, young and elderly, male and female, joining the uprising in contrast to earlier protests. What was most striking was the unrivaled solidarity across ethnic groupings and regions across the country (Dabiri, 2023: 6).[6]

In addition, the movement provided a better ground for other minor ethnicities to raise their voices complaining about the severe life conditions and discriminatory laws that the state has imposed on them. considering the question of Kurds that has existed for a long time in Iran, the Kurds have always been a target of violence and oppressive policies by the state. Nevertheless, the uprising became a possible ground for Kurds' society along with the marginalized Kurdish women who are the target of the Kurdish society and state's discriminatory laws to raise their dissent to the government (Siqueira de Miranda , 2015: 11)[7] However, the Jina protest moved on from a mere protest against the state's renunciation of the death of Mahsa to the quest of Kurds extended in seeking validation of their ethnic and linguistic rights (Mohammadpour, 2023: 2).[8]

Finally, the high intensity of movement was not only limited to the people residing in urban area, and are middle-class, and educated citizens as the major participants during the green movement in 2008.[9] So far, the movement could spread to different

[5] Tohidi, N. (2023). Iran in a Transformative Process by Woman, Life, Freedom.

[6] Dabiri, A. (2023). " Woman, Life, Freedom": A Movement in Progress in Iran. *Dignity: A Journal of Analysis of Exploitation and Violence*, *8*(1), 5.

[7] Siqueira de Miranda, S. (2015). "Women, Life, Freedom": The Struggle of Kurdish Women to Promote Human Rights (Doctoral dissertation, University of London).

[8] Mohammadpour, A. (2023). Decolonizing Voices from Rojhelat: Gender-Othering, Ethnic Erasure, and the Politics of Intersectionality in Iran. *Critical Sociology*, 08969205231176051.

[9] Lanzillo, A. (2011). Iran and the Green Movement. *Changing Communications: A Research Project on social media and the Arab Spring (nd): https://changingcommu nications. wordpress. com/research/iran-and-the-green-movement*.

small towns and rural areas irrespective of the class of its participants. Besides, university students' role and active participation during protests reconfirm the academia and students' persistent commitment during protests since the Islamic Revolution. During the Jina movement, academics and university students demonstrated their battle against discriminatory and misogynistic policies of the state all around the country.[10]

On the other hand, the movement was successful in integrating the working class and their demands into its framework and provided a ground to discuss discriminatory and oppressive policies of the state on the labor force. Demanding reform in the economic politics of the country and being the victim of neoliberalism policies, the working class indicated their opposition and frustration toward the regime starting 2017 to 2019 with more severity and intensity (Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, 2023: 431-432). [11]However, during 2022 with the Mahsa incident, their demands reappeared in the form of oil companies strikes, Isfahan Steel company strike, the November 16 mass strikes, truck drivers' strike, and massive strikes of 5th,6th,7th December 2022 strikes.[12]

B. Transferring of control of the body in the hands of women and gender gap

Regarding the societal implications, it is crucial to pinpoint the fact that, first, women's issues that were always targeted as minor issues to be dealt with and have been annotated as an issue that only can be solved through systematic reform implementation in the state's politics attained a chance to be resurfaced and discussed to seek resolutions (Sajadi, 2023: 4).[13] As a result, the ground to discuss different aspects in which women have experienced inequality such as (domestic and systematic) violence against women, gender discriminatory laws, and inequality by law found a ground to be argued and investigated by feminist activists in detail.

[10] Partow, N., Moridnejad, M., Irannezhad, E., Parizadeh, M., & Dadpour, R. (2023). Systematic Oppression of Tertiary Education in Iran Under the Islamic Republic. *Higher Education Policy*, 1-15.

[11] Sadeghi-Boroujerdi, E. (2023). Iran's uprisings for 'Women, Life, Freedom': Over-determination, crisis, and the lineages of revolt. *Politics*, 02633957231159351.

[12] https://irantimelines.com/

[13] Sajadi, H. (2023). Iranian Women's Movement: Political Opportunities and New Forces. *Journal of International Women's Studies*, *25*(2), 6.

Next, the death of Mahsa brought the public's attention to the misogynist ruling nature of the state. the deep-rooted hatred and discrimination toward women have indicated itself in the form of an ideological tool of mandatory hijab that was imposed on women since the Islamic Republic's inauguration, and it developed and strengthened through different eras with high intensity during Ebrahim Raisi's presidency in the form of Morality Police agenda (Posch, 2022: 4).[14]

Third, the movement paved the way for women's rights to be resurfaced and verified by their civil male companions, not the state particularly. It can be deduced that society is itself ready to provide a platform for women to call for their rights, and male counterparts aided, encouraged, and collaborated with them during the protest. It can be concluded that the males' 'cultural values and their recognition of women's role and importance in society enable them to join the protests, and this shift in males' perception can further elevate the tension and progression of the uprising (Khatam, 2023).[15]

C. Acceptance of women as active agents of change

The Women_Life_Freedom movement altered the perspective on women as a 'victimized' figure[16]and it made validating them as active agents of change. In the previous protests and women's movements, the major discourse was on accepting women's presence and participation as complementary factors, and the major attention was attributed to men as active participants in demanding reform. However, despite the lack of comprehensive gender legislation in Iran, women spearheaded and took part in promoting women's rights in different forms, including the Stop Stoning Forever Campaign and the One Million Signature Campaign. Nevertheless, many of them were apprehended and given lengthy prison terms. Women activists also played a significant part in the protest of the Green movement. Some dissidents were tortured in jails and arbitrarily detained as a result of this demonstration (Asadi et al.,

[14] Posch, W. (2022). A Regime Unveiled. Social and Ethno-Sectarian Tensions and Democratic Evolution in Iran. *IAI Papers*, (22).

[15] Khatam, A. (2023). Mahsa Amini's killing, state violence, and moral policing in Iran. Human Geography, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/19427786231159357

[16]Ham-Kucharski, A. J. (2022). " Women, Life, Freedom": Media and Uprisings in Iran.

2023: 3).[17] However, in the Women_Life_Freedom movement women's activism demonstrates itself in the form of active political participation in the street protests by withdrawing, burning, throwing their scarves into the fire, and waving their headscarves in the air, and their agency is verified by being the leaders (contrary of being male protestors counter partner) of the protests in an unorganized (but systematic) pattern (Goorich: 2023: 154).[18]

C. Repairing the generation gap

One of the societal implications of the WLF movement can be referred to the diverse level and status of participants in the revolt with the high activism of the Z generation. It can be perceived that the new generation, with the aid of social media and the effect of cyber activism, found better opportunities and links in pursuing freedom and equality through exposure to the international demands of the Z generation. Khatam, 2023).[19]

D. Attaining a new perspective on social movements occurring in the street as the potential force of change

Although it is too early to finalize a criticism or analysis of the current Jina uprising's outcomes, one of the possible societal implications of the movement can be attributed to the alterations in people' and scholars' perception on the idea of social movements and the success of it. As Homer R. Steedly and John W. Foley (1979) experimented with the prosperity of social movements to maintain a positive correlation with the strength of alliances of opposing groups together; there was a pre-established belief that street protests cannot facilitate the change path due to the application of violence.[20] However, in the WLF movement, it becomes evident that

[17] Asadi Zeidabadi, P., & Aghtaie, N. (2023). The perspectives of Iranian Feminists and Women Activists on Gender Equality in Iran. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 1-18.

[18] Goodrich, N. H. (2023). Say Her Name, Mahsa Amini!. *Communicating Global Crises: Media, War, Climate, and Politics*, 151.

[19] Khatam, A. (2023). Mahsa Amini's killing, state violence, and moral policing in Iran. Human Geography, 0(0). https://doi.org/10.1177/19427786231159357

[20] Steedly, H. R., & Foley, J. W. (1979). The success of protest groups: Multivariate analyses. *Social Science Research*, *8*(1), 1-15.

street protests and the collaboration of different groups can accelerate social and political revolutions and counter-reactions (Madani, 2022: 30). [21]

[21] Madani, Saeed, (2022) "Sad sāl va sad ruz: darbāreh-ye Xyzešeh Mahsā [Hundred Years and Hundred days: About the Mahsa uprising]," Evin Prison, November, 2022 [Dey, 1401].

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Previous Research and Women's Protest in Iran

With the current movement of Women_Life_Freedom, there are perspectives and views on asserting street protests as a form of decentralized, spontaneous, and purposeless. However, it can be argued that along with spontaneous street protests that lack a central source of mobilization and framing, the current women's movement illustrates a combination of both structure and order. It can be said that in the current movement, there are efforts to frame, rethink, and restructure the movement to facilitate achieving determined outcomes. Before diving into detail regarding the current women's movement and a presentation on this case, it is necessary to comprehend the dynamics, evolution, and background of the Iranian women's movement with respect to the conceptual framework of social movement and the way Iranian women's movement is comprehended according to its strategies, demands, procedure, and achievements. Women's movement in Iran can be conceptually scrutinized in five forms: resource mobilization theory, collective behavior theory, network theory, framing theory, and new social movement theory. In this thesis, the attempts are to investigate women's movement in Iran through the lens of resource mobilization theory, political opportunity approach, and new social movement approach. Therefore, in the following section, first, a brief explanation of each theory will be provided. Second, each theory will be utilized to scrutinize the nature of Iranian women's protests and movements starting the Post-revolution era of 1979. To put it simply, the Iranian women's movement will be analyzed based on the literature on social movement.

2.1.1. Conceptual Framework in Women's Social Movement and Protests

To begin with, it is vital to comprehend the essence and definition of social movement theories. Different scholars have introduced and advocated different

definitions of social movements. McCarthy and Zald have defined social movement theories as a collection of 'beliefs', values, and viewpoints held among a population who express their desire for societal structural 'change' and/or the way incentives are distributed in society (1977: 1217-1218)[22]. Moreover, Bate and colleagues (2004) have lent Crossley's varied definitions of social movement as identifying social movements as a communal effort that occurs to bring a new mode and 'order' of life. Adapted by Blumer, Crossley (2002)[23] asserts history of social movements to bring a new 'order' of life initiates at the state of discontent, and it attains its motivation from both unsatisfaction with the current life structure and the hope to generate a new system of living (Bate et al., 2004: 10).[24] They also refer to the definition Eyerman and Jamison (1991) have proposed on the definition of social movement theory. As adapted from Eyerman and Jamison, the social movement serves as a 'source of creativity' designed to generate different identities and ideals. Besides, social movement lights up the discussion on the public sphere and 'space' since it brings individuals who are previously involved in private actions to a public discussion regarding an issue that can influence the entire community (ibid: 11).[25]

Tarrow (1998)[26] explains social movement as a socio-cultural matter by emphasizing the 'network' paradigm which stresses the 'collective' network existing in the movements (Bates et al., 2004: 11).[27] The emphasis on the significance of a constructed network is also highlighted by della Porta and Diani (1999: 16)[28] in which they assert social movements may not merely include formal 'organizations' but are 'networks of interaction' that exist between diverse individuals and actors,

[22] McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, *82*(6), 1212-1241.

[23] Crossley, N. (2002). *Making sense of social movements*. McGraw-Hill Education (UK).

[24] Bate, S. P., Bevan, H., & Robert, G. (2004). Towards a million change agents. A review of the social movements literature: implications for large scale change in the NHS.

[25] Ibid, page 11

[26] Tarrow, S. (1998). 'The very excess of democracy': State building and contentious politics in America. *Social movements and American political institutions*, 20-38.

[27] Ibid, page 11

[28] Della Porta D and Diani M. (1999) Social movements: an introduction, Oxford; Blackwell

and it can contain formal and informal organizations based on the altering circumstances and flowing dynamics of the movement.

2.1.2. Different definitions of social movement

Van Stekelenburg (2013) has classified social movement theories into two categories past and contemporary theories. For the past theories identifying social movement, collective behavior, and deprivation theories can be stressed; however, for the new and contemporary definitions of social movement theories, he refers to a mass society or resource mobilization approach, political process approach, and new social movement theories known as social constructivist approaches. In the following section, each approach to social movement will be argued, and next, its relation to the Iranian women's movement will be analyzed[29].

To begin with, it is crucial to look at the characteristics of social movements. As Bates et al (2004) have summarized the attributes of social movements in their article, they assert that social movements contain public protests and radical actions, transformative incidents, collectivity, voluntary nature of participation and social relationship, organization, contentious politics, possess conflict and resistance, and they have temporal continuity. Bates et al. (2004) regard public protests as a 'spontaneous' 'joint action' that occurs 'unplanned' in nurturing or hindering a change in a rapid time scale through a 'radical' way and its actors possess a 'common grief and goal' and they maintain a social network by engaging in a political process to reach desired outcomes and building and sustaining common identities among themselves (p12).

2.1.3. The classical definition of social movement theories

2.1.3.1. Collective behavior

Snow et al (2004) identify social movements as a form of collective action and they categorize collective actions as institutional and noninstitutional. Focusing on the

[29] Van Stekelenburg, J., & Klandermans, B. (2013). The social psychology of protest. *Current Sociology*, *61*(5-6), 886-905.

noninstitutional category, which is identified as the outside established institution's activities, they explicate different collective actions as a form of collective behavior. These collective actions can be fads, crazes, social movements, and revolutions. In addition, they assert social movements as a form of collective action due to their peculiar characteristics. [30]

2.1.3.2. Deprivation theory

Mostly used by American scholars to analyze social movements, deprivation theory looks at social movements' occurrence cause as an intensified source of 'grievance' and 'generalized belief that triggers a social movement. As a result, the occurrence of a social movement is widely dependent on the prior extreme intensity and severity of the 'grief', 'discontent', and 'deprivation' participants suffer from along with the collective ideology that leads to the emergence of social movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1214).[31]

On the other hand, other scholars believe the source of grievance cannot be the only player triggering a social movement. Deprivation theory lacks the capacity to explicate the political process different participants and organizations got involved in the movement and it only suffices in attributing psychological aspects of redress of the collective mass as a source for triggering a movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1214)[32]

2.1.4. The contemporary approach to social movement theories

2.1.4.1. Resource mobilization theory

The new approach, known as resource mobilization theory, disregards the psychological aspect of collective behavior and puts more emphasis and relies on 'political, sociological, and economic theories. As McCarthy and Zald (1977) assert

[30] Snow, D. A., Soule, S. A., & Kriesi, H. (2004). Mapping the Terrain. The Blackwell companion to social movements, 3-16.

[31] McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, *82*(6), 1212-1241.

[32] Ibid, page 1214

resource mobilization approach analyzes the diverse range of resources that are required to be implemented and collected (p1213). In addition, the approach investigates a social movement and its connection to other groups, the reliance of a social movement on 'external factors to reach success, and it also examines various strategies and tactics applied with the objective of movement's 'assimilation' and 'management'.

The resource mobilization perspective attempts to analyze the social movement by emphasizing the application of aggregated 'resources', financially affordable 'mechanisms' and 'structures', and motivating factors that lead to the occurrence and development of a social movement (Oberschall, 1978).[33] As a result, the formation and existence of some sort of organizations to direct the path and the involvement of players and components outside of the collective mass are crucial factors affecting the success or failure of a movement (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1216).[34]

It is crucial to scrutinize why the resource mobilization approach can be implemented in comprehending social movement theories. As McCarthy and Zald (1977) have provided a detailed comparison of the resource mobilization approach and the classical definition of social movement, it can be acquired that the resource mobilization approach is beneficial since, first, it emphasizes the sources of support that can be counted as organizations, individuals, players, and labor, and not the grievance factor. Second, resources refer to the significance of tactics and mechanisms implemented by different organizations in mobilizing mass, gaining the trust and sympathy of elites, and collaboration among different actors. Third, the resource mobilization approach highlights the access to infrastructure such as communication media, network, and institutions to progress in the movement despite the classical definition of social movement in which disregards how a movement can utilize the environment for its benefit to reach optimal results (McCarthy & Zald, 1977: 1217).[35]

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[33] Oberschall, A. (1978). Theories of social conflict. *Annual review of sociology*, *4*(1), 291-315.

[34] McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, *82*(6), 1212-1241.

[35] McCarthy, J. D., & Zald, M. N. (1977). Resource mobilization and social movements: A partial theory. *American journal of sociology*, *82*(6), 1212-1241.

As a complementary point, Tarrow (1998) illuminates the discussion on organizational aspect of social movements and development of social movement through organizational progression. He asserts the proper identification of organization in the social movement is not to present them as formally established organizations and institutions; however, it is more 'an organization of networks, and it should be noted that the resource mobilization approach puts more emphasis on the structure rather than the emotions behind the emergence of social movements.

2.1.4.2. Political opportunity approach

This approach was firstly proposed by Eisinger (1973)[36] and expanded on discussion by Tarrow (1983) and there are four elements to be covered by the notion that are the degree of formal political access that is open or closed, the degree of stability or volatility in political alliances, the existence and position of possible partners for establishing alliance, and Elite political disputes both inside and amongst themselves (Kriesi, 1995: 2).[37] Tilly (1978) describes political opportunity as the notion that diverse shifts in the larger political system determine how protest action fluctuates.[38] To simplify, he asserts that political opportunity is the extent to which authority, repression (and facilitation), opportunity, and danger present opportunities for group action.

As Sreekumar et al. (2021: 12) have argued in their article,' How do Political Opportunity Structures affect the success of social movements in China and the USA?.'[39], they identified the major reason for the success and progression of a social movement and its mobilization to the aid and support of the elites. The elites allowed the movements and protests to go beyond street demonstrations by assisting in turning protestors' demands into parliamentary debates and policy reforms.

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[36] Eisinger, P. K. (1973). The conditions of protest behavior in American cities. *American political science review*, *67*(1), 11-28.

[37] Kriesi, H. (1995). The political opportunity structure of new social movements: Its impact on their mobilization. *The politics of social protest: Comparative perspectives on states and social movements*, *3*, 167-198.

[38] Tilly, C. (1977). From mobilization to revolution.

[39] Sreekumar, A., & Daponte-Smith, N. (2021). How do Political Opportunity Structures affect the success of social movements in China and the USA?. *Journal of Student Research, 10(4).*

2.1.4.3. New social movement theory or social constructivist approach

During the late twentieth century (1960s), there was development of new approaches to social movement theories to put the previous perspectives under question to comprehend the dynamics and framework collective actions proceed with. Scholars emphasize identity and cultural aspects during the process of social movements. This new approach on social movement was a reaction to the previous theoretical frameworks and a response to the classical Marxist and functionalist sociology which analyzes social movements' occurrence and the predominant contradictions in capitalist societies, and it couldn't go beyond investigating the central 'articulation' of the movement and the process in which social movements occur and develop to form and alter from a revolt into a movement (Melucci, 1980:199)[40]. In addition, the emergence of the new social movement theory during the 70s attempted to seek an answer to what Marxism was not able to respond any longer- that it lacks analytical instruments to define actors and the political form of socio-economic alteration (Melucci, 1980: 200), and as a result there is a need for an approach that can explain the collective action during movements by connecting actors, systems, class relations, and conflicts (Melucci, 1980: 201).[41]

The new social movement approach stresses the significance of maintaining a particular behavior in which it can make collective action progress easily without the demand for sustaining solidarity among different actors, and it can expand within an individual's limit without losing its attributes (Melucci, 1980: 201).

While looking at the new social movement theory, there are different dedicated scholars scrutinizing social movements applying this approach. Castells (1977) investigates how the urban space is formed and transformed by capitalist dynamics and how social movement functions and is engaged in this procedure. Castells contends that urban social movements are a counterreaction to the state's politics that

[40] Melucci, A. (1980). The new social movements: A theoretical approach. *Social science information*, *19*(2), 199-226

[41] Melucci, A. (1980). The new social movements: A theoretical approach. *Social science information*, *19*(2), 199-226

aims to reshape urban life, and he accentuates and relates the cause of the rise in collective consumption to increase attention to urban concerns.

According to Castells (1977) city is the product of contradictory social interests in which the dominant side endeavors to implement and align its capitalist interests and bureaucratic supremacy in accordance with the urban space, and on the other side, there is urban social movement and mobilization that attempts to secure public's interests, autonomy, and cultural identity. Moreover, Castells acknowledges the importance of both class dynamics and cultural identity in shaping and influencing urban social movements. [42]

Beuchler (1995: 443-444)[43] refers to Castells' notes on overarching themes regarding urban social movements and protests in which Castells attributes the first theme to 'the need for collective consumption in the context of the community, second theme to the value of cultural identity and its relation to 'territoriality', and third theme to the desire of 'decentralized' government that highlights self-management. It can be inferred from Castells that he incorporated the factor of cultural identity and capitalist urban space to comprehend the dynamics of social movements that occur in the urban sphere, and to comprehend this type of social movement, he stresses the importance of framing new approaches that can embrace different aspects and themes of a movement and a view on social movements.

On the other hand, according to Alain Touraine (1981)[44], the breakdown of established social institutions will lead to societal transformation. He contends that because humans are increasingly able to mold knowledge systems and technological advancements, or "historicity," society is being viewed as the result of deliberate social acts. Postindustrial society is characterized by this change. Touraine observes the emergence of conflict between classes that are determined by power dynamics, frequently shown via social movements. Consumers/clients and managers/technocrats are the two main groups in postindustrial society, and they

[42] Castells, M., & Castells, M. (1978). *City, class and power* (pp. 167-173). Macmillan Education UK.

[43] Buechler, S. M. (1995). New social movement theories. *Sociological Quarterly*, *36*(3), 441-464

[44] Touraine, A. (1981). The voice and the eye: An analysis of social movements. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press

frequently battle over cultural concerns. Touraine contends that as the state obtains the authority to control historicity, the state's function may be the primary source of central conflict in post-industrial society. He implements contemporary social movements in the context of two competing arguments: one refers to the authority that is in pursuit of power, wealth, and production, and the other refers to individuals endeavoring to maintain their 'individuality (Beuchler, 1995: 445)[45]. This new perspective foreshadows crucial discussions within new social movement theory since it puts the notion of collective actions under question by emphasizing the individuality and apolitical nature of the new interpretation of social movement theories. Therefore, what Touraine has proposed is to integrate the factor of identity and individuality with political engagement to reach a meaningful change. Let it not remain unsaid that this theme is regarded as an ambiguous term since it depicts the uncertain aspect of analyzing social movements with respect to political orientation factors applying Touraine's framework since what Touraine's framework implies is to consider cultural identity and individualism while attaining political objectives during social movements.

In the following parts, the efforts are conducted to analyze how Iranian women's activism can be understood through the lens of new social movement approach. To do so, It is essential to understand the prominent characteristics and features of the new social movement approach (NSMT). As discussed above, the new social movement approach puts more emphasis on comprehending the dynamics of a social movement through considering the culture and identity politics. To simplify, it is argued that the new social movement approach tries to look at diverse ranges of identities such as gender, ethnicity, and culture while investigating a social movement. Moreover, NSMT stresses the cultural and symbolic aspects of the social movement. Next, the new approach signifies the importance of 'decentralized' aspects of the movements in adopting a networked structure rather than claiming the centrality of a movement to attain success. Last but not least, the newly-formed approach accentuates the importance of movements extending beyond geographical and cultural context in connecting themselves to the current global and transnational dimensions of social movements.

[45] Buechler, S. M. (1995). New social movement theories. *Sociological Quarterly*, *36*(3), 441-464

2.2. Historical Background of Iranian Women's Movement since Islamic Revolution 1979

It is crucial to explicate the definition and objectives of social movements. as Imhonopi et al (2013) provide a categorization and a conceptual framework of the collective behaviors in his review article, 'Collective behaviour and social movements: A conceptual review', he highlights the occurrence of a collective behavior within the 'process' that demands the resources' and various 'stages' for its development (Imhonopi et al., 2013, 77)[46]. Furthermore, they refer to the definition Ginneken provides on collective behaviors which identifies the collective behavior during the occurrence of a social movement not as a 'conforming' or 'deviant' from the prevalent law, but as Tilly claims as comprehending the 'unpredictability' and 'spontaneity' of an incident such as a riot that is unorganized and undirected by an 'established' norm (ibid.: 77). Nevertheless, the simple definition of social movement goes in a significant collective effort of an assemblage of people or masses that concentrates on certain political or social structures and concerns to accelerate or 'resist' a social change implementing 'institutional' or 'non-institutional' measures (Pais, 2023: 60)[47].

To attain desired outcome, Imhinipo et al (2013) provides a comprehensive review over conceptual framework of the collective behavior defining and making a distinction between collective behavior and social movement as a subcategory of collective behavior in which he refers to social movements as a tenacious and 'organized' 'collective action' which contains an aim and 'order' to engender or 'resist' a social change (ibid: 77) . Furthermore, the classical definition of protests (such as Le bon's interpretation) pinpoints the 'deviant', 'irrational', and 'unconventional' attributes of protests that are risen due to mutual 'grievances' and the relative need to enable people to join them; however, the contemporary approaches on protests perceive street protests as 'normalized' (Van Stekelenburg et al, 2008: 3-4)[48]. On the contrary, as Blumer believes in the 'rational' aspect of

[46] Imhonopi, D., Onifade, C. A., & Urim, U. M. (2013). Collective behaviour and social movements: A conceptual review. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, *3*(10), 76-85.

[47] Pais, R. (2023). Social Movements and Development. *Social Development Issues, 44(3).*

[48] Van Stekelenburg, J., & Klandermans, B. (2008). 2 social movement theory: past, present and prospects by. In *Movers and shakers* (pp. 17-43). Brill.

protests, his interpretation of the protests distanced itself from the 'frustration' that can be a leading factor of protests according to the classical approach of street protests.

Women's political participation in changing the state's politics and ruling system dates back to the Constitutional revolution in which theit presence can be seen in the form of street riots, national battle against foreign forces. This unorganized activism found its way into collective systematic secret societies constituted by women to seek political rights (right to vote). However, the existence and any allocation of rights to women seemed a far-fetch plan opposed by Islamic clerics. During Reza Shah's period, there seems no active opposition and protests inaugurated by women, and the right to political participation, divorce, and establishment of organizations were allocated to women by the state thanks to the Reza Shah's modernization plan (Mahdi, 2004, 430).[49]

To begin with, Iranian women protested for a variety of causes. One factor triggering the protests is the violation of their rights, suppression, and control imposed by the patriarchal society and the state. this type of protests that question the suppression imposed by the regime are conducted in different ways and they have been altered based on the requirement of the era. As Amna Butt in her article, 'Feminist Engagement in Contentious Politics in Iran' (2020) has explored the shift in Iranian women's political participation and activism method to a 'non-movement', she stresses the process of Iranian women's activism in 'contentious politics' to resist legal law. She focuses on how women altered their protesting method against mandatory veiling from the traditional mass movements that occurred during the post-revolutionary era into building 'semi-movements' such as campaigns from 2000 till 2008, ending into 'non-movements' which is indicated in the form of cyberactivism and independent individuals to avoid the state's harsh violent suppression (Butt, 2020: 2-5).[50] Additionally, Butt (2020) refers to the rational choice theory justifying women's selection of 'non-movements' as a form of resistance to mitigate the hazardous consequent suppressive responses of the state.

[49] Mahdi, A. A. (2004). The Iranian women's movement: A century long struggle. *The Muslim World*, *94*(4), 427-448.

[50] Butt, A. (2020). Feminist Engagement in Contentious Politics in Iran. *MUNDI*, *1*(1).

The second reason is attributed to women's inclination for social and political reforms promoting citizenship rights and equality. This is due to the fact that women were always the pioneering participants in any social or political protests (ibid: 11)[51], whereas the ultimate result ended in their marginalization by the state. Hoda Mahmoudi (2019) explicates the struggle women had in opposition to different restrictions with more focus on the state's policies which are designed to control women's bodies. The regulation and the control of women's bodies demonstrate this policy in the form of mandatory hijab. She highlights the significance of knowing the social and cultural context in which the protests and the struggles occur, and she tries to 'raise' society's awareness about the challenges (state suppression, cultural resistance, …) women encounter and the improvements women made in their battle by building alliances between social and political context in Iran.[52]

The third reason for the inauguration of protests lies in women's effort in challenging the crisis of representation. Since the dawn of the Islamic Republic, women encountered severe negligence regarding their issues and concerns to the level that their demands got depoliticized and merely addressed. However, the protests they started and developed were not depoliticized. Iranian women have persistently demanded equality and citizenship rights through political participation in the protests starting from the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the reform movement, the green movement, the Enghelab street protests, and the Women_Life_Freedom movement. Rebecca Barlow explicates different mechanisms that Iranian women applied to raise their empowerment about the state's shifting policies towards women and the suppression imposed on them. She refers to contentious politics as the framework employed by women building 'contentious campaigns' during the mid-2000 in which women activists combined 'contained' and 'transgressive' forms of disputes, and they attempted to build their discourse on the integration of Islamic feminism and the secular feminism. She also explains the failed attempt in the constitution of campaigns in reaching their objectives and looks at women's struggle in the form of a 'cat and mouse' game responded to by the suppressive regime.[53] The

[51] Ibid. page 11

[52] Mahmoudi, H. (2019). Freedom and the Iranian women's movement. *Contexts*, *18*(3), 14-19.

[53] Barlow, R. (2018). The Women's Movement and State Responses to Contentious Campaigns in Iran. *New Opposition in the Middle East*, 15-40.

protests triggered by women continued to proceed persistently in opposition to the religious and legal institutions that discriminate against their demands for equality.

As there are various reasons behind women's protests in opposition to the state's discriminatory policies, the form of women's protests have evolved in accordance with the era and its political system. it is crucial to note that feminist movement that emerged and developed in Iran took various ways to address women's issues, and each method implemented can be counted as a form of protestation. In the following paragraphs, the various ways of protestation that women applied to raise their voice will be investigated in relation to the scholars' work and the perspective they possess in relation to each form of protestation.

In the following section, an attempt is made to investigate the Iranian women's movement by comprehending its dynamics and progression through the lenses of social movement theories. Iranian women's social movement possesses intricate and multidimensional aspects, and it has developed over decades after the revolution of 1979. Besides, its development has been prone to be affected and formed by diverse cultural, political, and social factors inside and outside of Iran. As a result, various social movement theories can aid us in entirely comprehending the women's movement's mechanism in Iran from different angels.

2.2.1. Women's Movement in Iran through the lens of resource mobilization theory

As has been investigated above, resource mobilization theory proposes that the reason for a social movement's probable success is to effectively distribute and mobilize the resources. Considering the women's movement in Iran's context, Iranian women implemented and applied different resources such as financial support, organizational infrastructure, and human capital to pursue their demands through decades after the Islamic Revolution of 1979. During the first years after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the women were mobilized in the form of close secretive gatherings that occurred during International Women's Day. Later, women's mobilization occurred in the form of annual demonstrations in Tehran on Women's

International Day, gatherings in Laleh Street in Tehran, attending celebrations, seminars, and exhibitions that dealt with women's issues. Along with women without specifying their social status, teachers and social activists also illustrated their involvement regarding women's issues and movements by participating in gatherings in front of the Parliament in 2007. It can be perceived that women were mostly mobilized through participation in gatherings during International Women's Day and during the presidential election era since they could find a proper ground to raise their voices seeking their demands in a free environment (Sajadi, 2023: 2).

Forming secret gatherings and dispersing episodic demonstrations and protests are not the only ways women mobilized in making demands regarding their issues. Women were also successful in developing their movements to form networks by establishing campaigns during the 2000s and in the virtual world during the last decade. Capmpaign of One Million Signature is also another way women attempted to mobilize and seek advocacy for their demands.

2.2.2. Women's movement in Iran through the lens of Political Process Theory

In order to comprehend the dynamics of the women's movement in Iran and its progression, another approach that is applied to comprehending the women's movement is the political process theory. As discussed above, the political process theory stresses the opportunities dissents or challengers grasp to advance the group's interest to attend a collective action and it can vary in accordance with time. Ways of seeking opportunities to call for alterations in the political system vary based on which type of system challengers encounter and oppose. In undemocratic political systems, in which social movements are the major target of severe suppression, the form of grasping opportunities to voice dissent changes in accordance with and relation to the context of the changing political system, and the major aim is to implementing and utilizing safe ways, mainstreams, and tactics to protest, and to adapt their tools in response to the dominant political context (Basmechi, 2023: 6)[54]. As a result, the selection of a 'set of means' that can be provided and used by the protestors as their 'repertoire' of collective actions (Tilly, 1977: 25) is crucial.[55]

[54] Basmechi, F. (2023). The Iranian# MeToo Movement.

[55] Tilly, C. (1978). Studying social movements/studying collective action.

One type of opportunity women grasped in promoting and advocating for their rights as Povey (2001)[56] has mentioned can be seen during the 1990s when women used the proper ground through their political activism for altering gender balance in the sphere of politics to call for candidacy for presidency. Although the attempt resulted in vain; however, the efforts were transferred in voting to Mohammad Khatami. Women's action was signified as an indicator of standing against a conservative party in Iran. Their demands found an appropriate context to be expressed freely. Regarding their demands, the establishment of a free press, accreditation of equal rights in the judiciary system, balancing economic, and challenging political, and social issues which were pro-conservative and traditional along with building a civil society in which democracy can be implemented, and gender issues can be challenged improved. Besides, the era demonstrated a collaboration of secular and Muslim feminists in calling for women's rights, and their attempts present themselves in the form of constituting campaigns, NGOs, and activism in media to deal with gender issues and women's rights, and questioning the legitimacy of the authority (Povey, 2001).

As one minor sort of opportunity women grasped to seek advocacy and change was during Mohammad Khatami's presidential era in which there existed a proper ground for women to indicate their 'political maturity' and utilize diverse avenues to augment their social and legal status. Their chance in political participation during the election that was held in 1997 highlights the accreditation of Mohammad Khatami's liberal policies in providing a ground for all citizens (particularly women) to express freedom of speech and discussion on gender issues (Hoodfar, 1999: 40).[57]

In addition, in the case of Iranian women, they have utilized the Internet as a new tool and form of collective action to advocate their demands and claims. The reasons behind this are due to the fact that, first, using the Internet as a platform can expand the opportunities for challengers to seek their demands and it works as an 'unconventional' online collective action toolkit, and second, it promotes and

[56] Povey, E. R. (2001). Feminist contestations of institutional domains in Iran. *Feminist Review*, *69*(1), 44-72.

[57] Hoodfar, H. (1999). *The women's movement in Iran: women at the crossroads of secularization and Islamization* (Vol. 1). Grabels Cedex, France: Women living under muslim laws.

facilitates offline collective actions such as traditional organizational patterns and street protests and demonstrations by generating new online protest modes to pursue classical forms of protestations (Van Laer et al., 2013: 1147).[58] This new form of collective action repertoire have provided diverse sets of benefits which more importantly it accelerated movement's expansion transnationally and it mitigates the risk of confronting severe repression.

2.2.3. Investigating Iranian women's movement and the frames they implemented through Framing Theory

While studying social movements' characteristics, it is crucial to investigate the framing process movements implement and structure during their progression to find out how social movements' dynamics and operation can be understood in combination with the frames utilized.

Iranian women have utilized different frames to advocate for their rights and gender equality. The frameworks they have generated and pursued are in accordance with Iran's political, social, and cultural context of each era. After the Islamic revolution of 1979, Iranian activists working on women's issues and gender equality concerns structured their demands by calling for women's rights on the basis of Islamic values. As Afsaneh Najmabadi has attributed the 're-Islamized' political context of Iran during the early years of the Post-revolution era of 1979, women activists utilized the ground to 'reconstruct' a legitimate frame that can interpret women's rights and gender issues in accordance with Islamic (Shia'a) and patriarchal policies and discourses inside Iran (Ahmadi, 2004: 33)[59]. To simplify, as Margot Badran (2002) has explained, feminist activists implemented the 'Islamic feminism' approach in a way that they implemented and applied modern feminist discourse and practices that are generated within the Islamic context (Badran, 2002: 2)[60]. Zina Mir-Hoseini (1996) argues through the integration of feminism with Islamism, by seeking

[58] Van Laer, J., & Van Aelst, P. (2013). Cyber-protest and civil society: the Internet and action repertoires in social movements. In *Handbook of Internet crime* (pp. 230-254). Willan

[59] Ahmadi, F. (2006). Islamic feminism in Iran: Feminism in a new Islamic context. *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion*, 33-53.

[60] Badran, M. (2002). Islamic Feminism: what's in a name?. *Al-Ahram weekly online*, *569*(2002), 17-23.

a new interpretation of Quranic verses and values that are consistent with the modern values needed to be granted to women in the modern world. With the dominance of Islamic feminism after the Islamic Revolution of 1979, the abundance of state-sponsored religious women's institutions also increased (Povey, 2001).[61]

Moreover, women have pushed for legal reforms regarding discriminatory laws in the form of establishing campaigns such as One million signature and abandonment of stoning against women. During the years after the revolution, women who were treated as the victim of the revolution, endeavored immensely to bring their demands to the public's attention. This objective was temporarily accomplished through the formation of the Women's Solidarity Committee in 1979 and 1980 which was targeted to raise public's awareness regarding gender issues. However, this mission couldn't accomplish its goals since the majority of the members were also involved in other political groups with opposing ideologies. This prevented them from openly speaking on the same political platform (Hoodfar, 1999: 26).

Additionally, NGOs serve as both a source and a focal point for social justice for the underprivileged citizens of emerging or less developed (failed) governments (Bromideh, 2011: 198)[62] Since the Islamic revolution, women in Iran have been subjected to severe discrimination and politization of their existence by the government. Examining how NGOs helped women continue their battle should thus be taken very seriously.

Since most of the NGOs working on women's issues in Iran fall into what Akbarzadeh et al. (2020) refer to as the "grey zone" area, which means they are neither purely pro-regime nor anti-regime, and they reflect the state's policies toward women. Subsequently, the daughter of the president, Faizeh Rafsanjani, founded the Women's Solidarity Association (WSA) in 1995 to combat the "victimized image of the Iranian women generated in Eurocentric perspective and advocated for the high value to Iranian women" because Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani's policies during the

[61] Povey, E. R. (2001). Feminist contestations of institutional domains in Iran. *Feminist Review*, *69*(1), 44-72.

[62] Bromideh, A. A. (2011). The widespread challenges of NGOs in developing countries: Case studies from Iran. *International NGO Journal*, *6*(9), 197-202.

subsequent presidency were in line with the neo-liberal global economy and "NGO-ization" (Akbarzadeh et al, 2021: 5)[63] Moreover, during this era, the major focus was on accelerating the women's participation and raising their awareness in the society by increasing their attendance rate to higher education system, and family control planning.

As one frame of protestation women implemented to demand social and legal change in respect to their civil rights was the establishment of Zanan Magazine (Women's magazine) during 1990s. founded by Shahla Sherkat in 1993, Zanan magazine was designed to address what Haleh Esfandiyari (2005) perceive as the integration of secularism and Islamism in advocating women's human rights issues.[64] Furthermore, as Kharazmi et al. explicate, [65] the magazine was a platform to discuss and challenge socially constructed stereotypes about women, gender roles, and gender equality in the scale of family through different and novel reinterpretations of Islamic rules to improve women's socio-economic status and situation under education, healthcare, marriage, and employment in Iran (2020: 743-744). Last but not least, the women's magazine was counted as a medium of protestation in challenging 'normative socio-religious assumptions' about gender and women by building an Islamic feminist discourse to direct and reinterpret Islamic laws in favor of regaining women's right (Basmechi, 2019:4).[66]

2.2.4. Chronological Analysis of Women's Movement and its background since Islamic Revolution 1979

2.2.4.1. Early Activism of Iranian Women's Movement 1980-2000

When it comes to the time of the Islamic Revolution in 1979, there was a shift toward women's issues in general. Though Iranians regardless of their gender took

[63] Akbarzadeh, S., Barlow, R., & Nasirpour, S. (2021). Registered NGOs and advocacy for women in Iran. *Third World Quarterly*, *42*(7), 1475-1488.

[64] Esfandiari, H. (2005). Iranian women, please stand up. *Foreign Policy*, (151), 84.

[65] Kharazmi, Z. N., Motahari, Z., & Kharazmi, H. N. (2020). The Construction of Islamic Feminism in Iran: A Critical Discourse Analysis on Zanan and Zanan-e-Emruz Magazines. *Journal of World Sociopolitical Studies*, *4*(4), 733-771.

[66] Basmechi, F. (2019). Feminist Activism in Iran after the 1979 Revolution. *Texas: University of Nort Texas*.

part in the success of the revolution, during the procedure women's issues were considered marginalized and more concentration was dedicated to anti-shah movements. Additionally, women's rights concerns were overlooked with the fear of their demands' triggering divisiveness, and major importance was devoted to briefly proposing veiling as a symbolized symbol for women (mostly middle-class women) for passage from the shah's state's gender ideology into a new era of constituting an Islamic republic. Hence, women's rights issues were not raised for the fear of contradicting the anti-shah's movement and after the victory of Islamic revolution and with the Ayatollah Khomeini's coming to power it was established that women's 'dignity' and true social value will be preserved (Hoodfar, 1999: 23).[67]

With the power conceived after the revolution of 1979, the new regime applied drastic changes regarding women right. The new government annulled Family Protection Law and encouraged Temporary marriage to resume to be practiced legally. Moreover, another change implemented was to lower the legal age of marriage for girls to nine years old and boys to 14 years old. Alongside banning women from any juristic practice, imposing compulsory veiling at the workplace, segregation in the universities and sports was imposed which resulted in forming oppositional small organizations (left party affiliated), demonstrations, and sit-ins in the Ministry of Justice from women's side. These actions were responded to by the police force respectively and the objective of restricting women only to the domestic housewife or motherhood responsibilities started to take root. This aim was designed to remove women from the professional sphere by making adequate room to tackle the high rate of men's unemployment rate.

Iranian women have been the prominent actors and participants during the protests in Iran, and their role in these movements has been crucial in advocating for social and political changes. Women have been at the forefront of protests countering the state's legal policies since the dawn of the Islamic Republic in 1979 by indicating their agency and bravery in opposition to suppressions and oppressions. However, the medium of protests women implement in raising their voices and negating

[67] Hoodfar, H. (1999). *The women's movement in Iran: women at the crossroads of secularization and Islamization* (Vol. 1). Grabels Cedex, France: Women living under muslim laws.

stereotypical gender roles has been altered in accordance with the required content of the era.

During the early time of post-revolution in Iran in which women indicated their opposition to mandatory hijab through street demonstrations and a countered violent suppression of the regime, the table turned around for the next era. Not only establishment of campaigns that advocate for gender equality and women's right accelerated the pace of women's activism in reaching their objectives, but also there can be seen a tendency toward nonviolent strategies in showing the act of protestation. Orazani and Leidner in their empirical study conclude that the chances of success in social movements demanding socio-political change lies in the non-violent strategies and 'civil resistance tools a movement implemented. Additionally, he believes the usage of non-violence in movements can increase the mobilization of people by encouraging a positive 'self-image' that stresses the 'morality', 'high mental capacity', and 'human' nature of the formation of the social movements (Orzani, 2019: 10).[68]

2.2.4.2. Women and Green Movement

Ahmadinejad's presidency (2005-2013), along with the Green Movement event that followed, is particularly remembered as the time when practically all NGOs had to deal with extreme repression, the detention of female activists, and the suspension of financing and funding from the government and the private sector. in this context, women and gender issues discussions and demands diminished. The NGO 'Center for Defenders of Human Rights', which was led by Nobel Peace Prize winner Shirin Ebadi, is an illustration of the state's harsh censorship and persecution. However, it is during this era that particular campaigns rose to continue the path for feminist activists who call for equity, challenge, and negotiate their vision of legal reforms in a strict theocratical regime's dominant narrative of Iranian constitutional law (Smalley, 2016: 89). One example of this is the campaign of one million signature for equity which was conceived on June 12, 2006, on commemoration of the Iranian

[68] Orazani, S. N., & Leidner, B. (2019). A case for social change in Iran: Greater support and mobilization potential for nonviolent than violent social movements. *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology*, *25*(1), 3.

women's Unity Day. Three published and released documents that characterized the campaign's objectives and methods as well as a pamphlet titled "The Effect of Laws on Women's Lives" helped campaign activists to represent their objectives to ordinary public in the street to gather signatures to provide them to the parliament and demand reforms in civil law (ibid: 89).

In addition, the campaign's primarily objectives were designed to target three Articles in the Iran's Civil code which underprivileged women entirely. First, the campaign highlighted the instrumentalist viewpoint that is imposed by the regime, drawing attention to the discriminatory laws against women and gender-based conceptions of citizenship that completely deny women to pass their children the right to Iran citizenship under the condition of if they marry foreigners of other nationalities. In this regard, the campaign targeted the Article 976 in the Civil Code of Iran priorly which ban the access and advantages of citizenship for women and promotes the 'ideal' male citizen. The reason behind this lies in securing and institutionalizing the Iranian sovereignty (Smelley, 2016: 91)[69]

Last but not least, the campaign also attempted to challenge the set framework of Islamic law calling for reforms on the Article 300 and 487 of the penal Code which rationalize and pathologized domestic abuse committed by men through publishing petitions. Through this the campaign was able to surpass secular and religious aspect of this discriminatory law attributing it to civic responsibility and a human right issue to prosperously impress support of the public to gather signatures (ibid: 94)[70]

Identifying women as an active 'recipient' of any social alterations and reforms, Green movement provided them a better ground to challenge the 'fundamentalist' ideology of the state and seek 'equality' and 'self-determination' by considering an integration of 'secularism' and Islamism' discourse in defying the patriarchal society (Khaki, 2015: 88-89)[71]

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[69] Smalley, S. (2016). Analyzing the 2006 One Million Signatures Campaign: Toward a Critical Understanding of Legally Enforced Gender Inequality in Iran. *The Michigan Journal of Public Affairs*, *13*, 85-97. Page91

[70] Ibid, page 94

[71] Khaki, G. N., & Mir, G. (2015). Globalization and Post-Islamic Revolution: A Changing Iranian Woman. Journal of Globalization Studies, 6(1)

Let it not remain unsaid that the strategy of non-violence act of resistance has been identified as the prominent tool utilized by women during protests and uprisings since the Islamic revolution of 1979. Women's significant presence and non-violent political and social participation and contributions during the uprisings and protests toward social and political reforms in Iran have been discussed by Victoria Tahmasebi-Birgani. Stressing women's role played during the green movement in 2008, she stresses first the challenges women encounter in a patriarchal society such as mandatory hijab as a physical body controlling tactic imposed by the state, and second the non-violent symbolic strategies implemented by the protestors in re-enforcing their presence in the streets as an act of body liberation. She mentions about different tools women used during their protest of pursuing gender equality. The tools such as the act of silence, distributing flowers to the security guard, inviting security guard by hospitable slogans to join the rallies, strikes, sit-ins, civil disobedience, and acting as 'buffers' between the male protestors and the security guards (Tahmasebi-Birgani, 2010: 83).[72] The author concludes that the implementation of non-violent strategies by women during protests is an indication of women's decision to elevate this tactic into a fundamental ethical value that can address and rule the procedure, strategies, and aims residing in the protests and pursuit of democracy (ibid: 84)[73]

Along with the application of non-violence during protests, women's presence during the green movement serves what Nabavi believed as 'a dual role' in first demanding civil and political rights as the 'independent' actors, and second, as a 'companion' of men (Nabavi, 2012: 131).[74] However, the presence and implication of the act of non-violence proceeded into the leading protests after the green movement. Taking the Girls of Enghelab Street protest as a recent instance targeting the mandatory hijab as a vivid example, Sama Khosravi Ooriyad in her article, 'Conquering, Chanting, and Protesting: Tools of kinship Creation in the Girls of Enghelab Street (Non-) Movement in Iran' refers to the peaceful tools applied by protestors who demonstrate resistance to the state's prohibitive dress codes

[72] Tahmasebi-Birgani, V. (2010). Green women of Iran: The role of the women's movement during and after Iran's presidential election of 2009. *Constellations*, *17*(1), 78-86.

[73] Ibid, page 84

[74] Nabavi, N. (Ed.). (2012). *Iran: From theocracy to the green movement*. Springer.

imposition against women. the article looked at women's liberation through a feminist perspective and emphasizes the social activism of non-movement as a disintegrated but 'collective' form of social and political activism, which was promoted by Asef Bayat. According to Bayat the non-violent 'daily practice' of individuals is applied by women in their dissent and opposition to the state's policy of controlling women's bodies and the restricted and controlled presence of women's bodies in the public space.

With the advent of Islamic Republic in their article, ' Women, social protests, and the new media activism in the Middle East and North Africa'[75], Gheytanchi and Moghaddam (2014) explain women's application of new media technologies in the MENA region during the social movements. They examine what role women's media activism plays during the social protests and movements by concentrating on four cases of Iran's Green movement, Political revolution in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011, and the gradualist movement in Morocco for women's rights. They reached the conclusion that women's cyber activism, 'citizen journalism'(p.8-9), and 'self-organization' contribute to the social and political changes during movements. In addition, cyberactivism of women elevates women's power and participation in the protests and movements in refuting traditional gender roles and stereotypes (Gheytanchi, 2014: 19). The negation and opposition towards the state that occurred in regard to traditional gender roles that are attributed to a secular women was further discussed in the Haide Moghisi's article. She challenges the implication of Islamic feminism and advocacy for Islam as a form of 'liberation theology' for women's empowerment and attainment of women's right in islamic countries such as Iran, and she opposes the idea that Iranian women lack agency by stressing the 'independence' and 'autonomy' of individuals in choosing and reasoning (Moghisi, 2011: 79).

2.2.4.3. Women and Establishment of the Campaigns: One million signature campaign

Seeking advancement in women's legal rights is another issue that is promoted during women's protests in an organized mode of constituting campaigns to call for

[75] Gheytanchi, E., & Moghadam, V. N. (2014). Women, social protests, and the new media activism in the Middle East and North Africa. *International Review of Modern Sociology*, 1-26.

women's rights. as Leila Alikarami explicates women's tireless efforts demanding change in the constituted law in her book, 'Women and Equality in Iran: Law, Society, and Activism', she provides a pragmatic strategy using socio-legal and feminist theories pursuing gender equality by focusing on how (or whether) a 'bottom-up' activism can elevate legal support of the state and the inquiry for the change in women's right. she also highlights the rejection of the patriarchal state to award gender equality in the law, and in this regard she investigates how Iran was not able to meet the criteria in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against women (CEDAW) and join it due to contradiction perspective on gender equality residing between the CEDAW and the Shiite and patriarchal principles governing the islamic Republic. as a result, she advocates a modern interpretation of Islam and sharia to meet the need of the new era (Alikarami, 2019: 74).

Protesting against the established norms regarding women is conducted through implementing different forms. Social media acts as one platform that facilitates women's effort to construct and defend their collective identity. In her master dissertation, 'Iranian Women's Experience of Mandatory Hijab: A Case Study of a Campaign on Facebook', Pegah Hamzehei examines how women represent themselves and their protests against mandatory veiling on Facebook in different ways of anonymity, publicity, and freedom of expression prevalent on social media. Through implementing qualitative research applying a thematic analysis and a feminist perspective on different diaries composed by women, she analyzed the concept of sexual objectification of women's bodies which is a cause of domestic and state violence (Hamzehei, 2014: 22), women's status, and the narration of women about their daily experience in Iran regarding the compulsory dress code. Resisting patriarchy is annotated as the major factor affecting women's experience in Iran that led to protests using social media (ibid: 13).

In the article,'', in which Idowu (2020) tries to explain the actions and reactions of a socio-political movements, he endeavors to look at the extent social movements' can attain accountability by applying relative deprivation theoretical frameworks and political settlement analysis to demonstrate the effect a group's reaction towards the

actions of the state in blocking individuals' desired wishes. By analyzing protests from the relative deprivation theory, he identifies the occurrence and formation of social protests in debt to a basic right 'deprivation' and 'economic inequality' that trigger protests from underprivileged groups or individuals implementing various tools including violence to attain their demanded objectives. However, in order to resolve and settle the anxiety occurred during the process of protests, regarding political settlement theory, the states require amicable and peaceful manners and methods (Idowu, 2020: 53).[76]

Considering the establishment of Magazines as a source of protestation, Iranian women challenged state's discriminatory law regarding women, human, and civil and gender discriminatory rights through peaceful protesting forms of inaugurating campaigns. In the article, 'Discourse of Equality, rights, and Islam in the One Million Signature Campaign in Iran', Catherine Sameh (2010) explicates the 'innovate' 'bottom-up' approach that Iranian feminist activists implement to demand a legal reform by investigating and applying human right discourses in the Islamic framework. She highlights how the establishment of campaigns can provide a ground to reconcile not only the state law with the Iranian culture but also it can make social conditions for women appropriate in Iran for their emancipation by considering the local cultural and religious framework to pursue reforms and alter social relations.

2.2.4.4. White Wednesday (Girls of Enghelab Street)

Ooriyad attempted to look at the creative non-violent tools women protestors utilized in their protests and reclaiming the public space. She highlights the significance of 'embodied performances' that are conducted by women along with the bystander's recording of the performance that works as a potential sphere for demanding rights and regaining public space. Besides, by analyzing the slogans and songs (song of Equality[77]) chanted by Girls of Enghelab Street, she believes along with songs and

[76] Idowu, A. O. (2020). Social protests and government responsiveness in Nigeria: a study on Bring Back Our Girls Movement: Protestos sociais e responsabilidade do governo na Nigéria: um estudo sobre o Movimento" Bring Back Our Girls". *Perspectivas-Journal of Political Science*, *23*, 50-61.

[77] This song is performed in Tehran's subway of Haggani line by women who took off their scarves in the public space while chanting the song.

slogans chanted by the protestors, the 'bodily performativity' and the cyberactivism' aided the girls of Engelab Street in proceeding with their non-movement (Ooryad, 2020).[78]

Mohammad Akram Zaheer (2023) explicates the significance of resisting mandatory hijab which is a factor of 'objectification' of women's bodies that is highlighted during women's protests in Iran since the Islamic revolution of 1979. He refers to different strategies in resisting the compulsory hijab women implemented as a form of 'civil disobedience', and various forms anti-hijab movements and protests took in demonstrating the struggle of women to defend their personal freedom. He adds that the forms anti-hijab protest take varies from individual 'acts' to the establishment of campaigns (such as White Wednesdays) and cyber activism. Identifying hijab as a form of 'oppression' and infringement of women's rights, and a controlling force imposed by the state on women's bodies, Zaheer (2023: 41-43)[79] asserts the social, cultural, and political roots of veiling in Iran as a 'complex' issue that not only restrict women's body but also is an indicator of restriction of freedom of speech and presence in public for women.

2.2.4.5. Recent development: My stealthy freedom

The political participation and utterance of dissent is not merely restricted to the street through radical traditional form of protest. As Gi Yeon Koo (2016)[80] has discussed in her article, 'To be Myself and Have My Stealthy Freedom: The Iranian Women's Engagement with Social Media', there is a shift of tendency among women to change their platform of protestation to social media due to the privilege of cyber space's 'anonymity' and 'peacefulness' starting from 2009 when Iranian

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https://bianet.org/english/women/195134-story-of-anthem-sung-by-women-at-iran-subway

[78] Ooryad, S. K. (2020). Conquering, chanting and protesting: Tools of kinship creation in the girls of Enghelab Street (non-) movement in Iran. *Kinship and collective action in literature and culture*, 129-149.

[79] Zaheer, M. A., & Hayat, U. (2023). The Hijab Dilemma: Anti-Hijab Protests in Iran and the Emerging Voices of Change. *Insights of Pakistan, Iran and the Caucasus Studies*, *2*(7), 37-45.

[80] Koo, G. Y. (2016). To be myself and have my stealthy freedom: The Iranian women's engagement with social media. *Revista de estudios internacionales mediterráneos*, (21).

women demonstrated their dissent toward mandatory hijab and gender discrimination on Facebook (143). As Kiani et al. (2023: 1-3)[81] Called it 'cyber feminism, it is believed that the internet can work as a beneficiary tool for women's 'empowerment' to implement 'equality' and combat patriarchal 'gendered' systems by aiding them generate campaigns to resist 'daily' repressive laws.

2.2.4.6. Women-Life-Freedom

Mehr Afarin Kohan (2022) in her article, 'Politics of the body in the 'women-life-freedom' movement in Iran: A Commentary', examines the historical background of Iranian women's resistance toward the gender apartheid of the Islamic Republic. In addition, she explores the major medium applied by the Iranians during protests to indicate their frustration from the state's policies of the control on the bodies. By looking at the movement from the perspective of politics of body, Kohan explicates how disciplined states implement various strategies to gain control on their citizens and their bodies to validate and develop their 'agenda' and authority to turn the citizens (women here) into the 'subordinated cogs of the machine' or 'docile' and 'trained' individuals (Kohan, 2022: 5)[82]. She stresses how a control on the body imposed by the state is identified as an iconic symbol in the form of mandatory hijab that hinders women's liberation and citizens' basic right regardless of their gender (Ibid: 6)[83]. The opposition toward the mandatory hijab also reveals itself in the form of personalized indications of the protests. Mayson Dowdeswell (2023) takes on a look at the different ways women indicate their objection during women-life-freedom movement by content analyzing TikTok short videos and arranging the findings into different eight themes. She identifies education awareness, public marches, and cutting hair in large crowds done by women as the first major symbolic figures of protests demonstrated on TikTok videos during the Jina uprising. In addition, she highlights the essential element of cyber-activism during the Jina

[81] Kiani, M., Tavakoli, R., & Mura, P. (2023). Iranian Women Traveling in vTime—A Cyberfeminist Approach. *Journal of Travel Research*, 00472875221149202.

[82] Kohan, M. A. (2022). Politics of the body in the'woman, life, freedom'movement in Iran. *Psychotherapy & Politics International*, *20*(4), 1-8.

[83] Ibid, page 6

uprising that exhibits itself in providing a convenient platform for protestors to share their experiences, raise public awareness, and inform them regarding suppressive and discriminatory laws, and what the process was during protests in Iran (Dowdeselle, 2023: 5)[84]

In a comparative and conceptual analysis of three different protests (2008, 209, and 2022) based on the longevity of the protests and the changing demands of the protestors, Azizi and Veen explicate the frequent occurrence of the protests since the Islamic revolution of 1979 that illustrates an upward trend and appears with more vigorous tension refusing any reform proposed by the state and addressing the state's and ruling elites' legitimacy. [85] However, the probability of any fundamental change in toppling the state, according to Azizi and Veen (2023), remains low with Jina uprising, and the constitution of strong organized oppositional group is required to facilitate the transition to post-Islamic Republic.

2.3. Gaps in the literature and contributions to the current movement

The review of the existing literature serves as a vital basis for our study since it enables us to pinpoint remarkable research gaps that require further scrutiny. In this thesis, efforts are done to look at a website that is established inside Iran with the aid of most of the collaborating activists who reside in Iran. it is crucial to provide a ground to glance at the perspectives and propositions advocated and raised by Iranian activists inside Iran during the Jina uprising. Their effort during the Jina uprising has been conceived on the Bidarzani website, an unregistered online platform dedicated to women and gender issues in Iran.

Since the occurrence of Mahsa Amini incident, lots of articles have been devoted to scrutinizing and reviewing women's movement, protests, and their demands for equality from different scholars in academia and the scholars in diaspora; however,

[84] Dowdeswell, M. (2023). Fighting for Women, Life, Freedom Across Borders: A Content Analysis of Internet Activism Displayed in TikTok Videos and Public Protests Concerning the Iranian Protests. *Crossing Borders: Student Reflections on Global Social Issues*, *5*(1).

[85] Azizi, H., & van Veen, E. (2023). Protests in Iran in comparative perspective: A revolutionary state in trouble.

the literature on websites that consist of Persian content have been neglected during Jina uprising. In addition, the unregistered status of the website may hinder further practices for scholars due to the reliability and anonymity of the article published. But from my standing point, delving into the detail of the content inside the Bidarzani website is crucial since they reflect a more realistic picture of the Jina uprising causes and the demands proposed by the activists inside Iran. Moreover, the effort of feminist activists in Iran is valuable because they can illuminate the basic demands and process of a movement without being trapped in exaggeration and overestimation of the output due to the lived experience on a closer scale by providing an unbiased platform for every voice to share their personally experienced discriminatory stories.

The previous studies on women's protests and movements have been wholesome in contributing and analyzing the causes, processes, and output of the protests from different aspects. The literature was rich in shedding light on key themes in women's protests and shaping the reader's understanding of the causes and demands of women's protests by using different theories and approaches.

Taking social movement theory as a focus of this thesis, the literature provided the process and the strategies women implemented to demand their rights and equality during protests starting from the Islamic Revolution of 1979 proceeding green movement, White Wednesday, and Jina uprising. Not only the types of strategies are of effective analysis in the literature but also the shift in the mode of protestation and strategies were of concern to the scholars. A shift of an organized and systematic classical mode of protestation to non-movements and the immense role of cyber activism are the mediums discussed in the literature review.

Furthermore, the scrutiny of the literature on women's protests was efficient in addressing the topics that are going to be discussed in this thesis. First, the literature provided ground on the long-rooted history of the demands of Iranian women, the alteration in protestation strategies, and the analysis of the collective of people participating in the protests. These findings will facilitate the content analysis of the section on Bidarzani website that deals with women's agency for change.

Despite the coverage of insights provided by prior studies, there are notable gaps that stand unaddressed. First, the barrier of language imposes itself in the social science and the works conducted there. For instance, (English) literature lacks a thorough cover of the works composed in Persian and inside Iran by Iranian feminist activists. Second, an ample amount of dedication is attributed to analyzing the content of social media platforms such as Facebook, Instagram, TikTok, and Twitter relevant to the Jina uprising, but there seems lack of analysis on the content of a website which is directed and designed by the professional feminist activists. Besides, most of the content published during the Jina uprising has put the mandatory hijab as the prior focus of their studying. Consequently, there is a possibility that other major demands of women would be neglected to cover. Finally, the available literature on the Jina uprising lacks the dedication to highlight the demands of all people from different classes and levels and it suffices to maintain a general perspective on women's protests and demands, overlooking marginalized sect.

2.3.1. Rationale of the study

This thesis pursues addressing these gaps by employing a content-based analysis of the Bidarzani website's articles by, first, looking at the major themes addressed by the composers of the articles, the proposed demands of women and Iranian feminist activists inside Iran, the form of a proposal of demands through publishing charters, and finally discussing the established causes of the women's protests in Iran in seek of equality.

2.4. Bidarzani (Awakening Website)

To start with, it is crucial to examine the origin and the content of the Bidarzani website. To do so, I will start by discussing the origin and establishment of the Bidarzani website starting from 2008, and the sections the website has been categorized into respectively. Moreover, the prominent writers devoted to this website and their perspective on women movement will be elucidated.

Founded in 2008, Bidarzani was known as an independent group of women activists inside Iran which was established as a response to the government's anti-women

right bill. This bill, presented as ‘Family protection law’, was proposed to obstruct women in the field of family planning and health program, pursuing higher education and professional career. the website launched its activities firstly under the name of ‘Up to the Equal Family’ in the winter of 2008 in response to the re-drafting of ‘Family Protection Law’ bill in the eighth parliament. The website was renamed to ‘Bidarzani’ or ‘Awakening’ following the same approach to raise society’s awareness on gender discriminatory issues regarding women.

Since its establishment, the website has set out to procure six definite objectives. First, as it is advocated on the website, it is designed to promote equality and gender justice in institutions of ‘family’, ‘law’, ‘employment’, ‘education’, and ‘health’. [86]Second, it voiced to attempt to raise awareness and a call for change regarding discriminatory gender laws inside Iran. Third, it claims to strive to raise awareness, opposes, and eliminates violence against women. Fourth, a section on the website is dedicated to raise society’s awareness relevant to women’s social and health harms. Fifth, it also discussed the women’s sexual reproductive rights, and finally, it deals with fostering and espousing feminist theories considering Iranian women’s status quo.

To look upon Bidarzani website, it is vital to look at the content categorization in which the website dedicates it publications to public sphere access. In addition, to comprehend the journey this website has passed through, a thorough scrutiny will be conducted on the archival content of the website to track down the prominent thoughts and perspectives on the Bidarzani website which are associated with the Iranian women movement. For this reason, major themes and discourses in line with Iranian social movements will be investigated. Bidarzani website consists of four sections. First section which is allocated to various articles published in English or Persian related to women issues irrespective of their nationality particularly. Second section covers the reports on women status collecting and reflecting on the meetings, conferences, and civil activities with regards to women issues. Third section on Essays deals with the literary texts, gender, and feminist criticism in various arts. Last part is devoted to the images and posters which are designed by the website’s

[86] https://bidarzani.com/درباره-بیدارزنی/

activists for various occasions associated with women issues. Besides these major sections, the website also provides collection on books introductory and criticisms, and news, reports, journals, and articles of defenders of human equal rights.

To examine the content on Bidarzani website on current women movement in Iran, Women-Life-Freedom and the major standing point it takes in reflecting and analyzing this social movement , it is mandatory to not only grasp a look on the archival content and themes relevant to the Iranian women movement, but also it is indispensable to look at the various genres in the archival section on the website allocated to delve into the Iranian women movement. This step is vital in reaching a thorough perception on how the Iranian women movement is pictured and reflected on a website in which most of its activists are living inside Iran. However, since the website's collection on women issues and women movement is in abundance, I decided to filter the contents in the archival part and only investigate the topics which deal with the prominent Iranian women movements starting from the mid-covid pandemic (2020) and corresponding trends and themes discussed. Furthermore, I will observe how the major themes and feminist activists' perspectives and perceptions have changed and evolved on the website connected to the women's social movement. Finally, I will attempt to establish a link between the preceding themes and discourses and the themes and discourses promoted in the current women movement of Women-Life-Freedom.

2.4.1. Purpose of Establishment

Since its establishment, the website has set out to procure six definite objectives. First, as it is advocated on the website, it is designed to promote equality and gender justice in institutions of 'family', 'law', 'employment', 'education', and 'health'. [87]Second, it voiced to attempt to raise awareness and a call for change regarding discriminatory gender laws inside Iran. Third, it claims to strive to raise awareness, opposes, and eliminates violence against women. Fourth, a section on the website is dedicated to raise society's awareness relevant to women's social and health harms.

[87] https://bidarzani.com/درباره-بیدارزنی/

Fifth, it also discussed the women's sexual reproductive rights, and finally, it deals with fostering and espousing feminist theories considering Iranian women's status quo.

2.4.2. Aims and contributors

Bidarzani website consists of four sections. First section which is allocated to various articles published in English or Persian related to women issues irrespective of their nationality particularly. Second section covers the reports on women status collecting and reflecting on the meetings, conferences, and civil activities with regards to women issues. Third section on Essays deals with the literary texts, gender, and feminist criticism in various arts. Last part is devoted to the images and posters which are designed by the website's activists for various occasions associated with women issues. Besides these major sections, the website also provides collection on books introductory and criticisms, and news, reports, journals, and articles of defenders of human equal rights.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the content analysis of the website of Bidarzani (Awakening). The chapter goes on to describe the particular aspects of the content of articles published on the Bidarzani (Awakening) website, and it will discuss the fundamental approach applied to analyze the content.

3.1. Detailed Explanation of content analysis

To begin with, it is crucial to define what content analysis means. There are various definitions attributed and constructed by scholars, hence, Mustafa and Ebomoyi (2019) collected different definitions that are promoted by different scholars. As one borrowed, the definition from Berelson explicated content analysis that is utilized by scholars to 'objectively', 'systematically', and 'quantitatively' describe the 'communication's evident content.[88] Additionally, lending to Holsti, Prasad (2008) refers to the content analysis definition as a method for making 'inferences' by objective and 'methodic' identification of particular characteristics of a 'message' or 'messages' (Prasad, 2008: 2).[89] And as Kregler defines content analysis, it is a 'method of observation' of behaviors and attitudes of people and measures people's 'responses' (Riffe et al, 2019: 22)[90]

Content analysis is significant since it possesses various applications. As content analysis applications it can be referred to as a detailed 'examination' of personal

[88] Mustapha, A. I., & Ebomoyi, I. (2019). Methodological usefulness of content analysis in social science research. *African Research Review*, *13*(1), 93-102.

[89] Prasad, B. D. (2008). Content analysis. *Research methods for social work*, *5*, 1-20.

[90] Riffe, D., Lacy, S., Fico, F., & Watson, B. (2019). *Analyzing media messages: Using quantitative content analysis in research*. Routledge.

human interactions, scrutiny of how different characters are demonstrated in media, analyzing language patterns in news or any composed piece via computer-based methods platform (Neuendorf, 2017: 1).[91] In general, Schafer (2021) explains that content analysis is an affordable and flexible technique that is used to explore and analyze different subjects such as communication, media, politics, and education.[92] The content analysis is conducted by 'digitization' of qualitative data, and simplifying it by utilizing natural science and machine learning. Furthermore, content analysis aids in providing information about the alterations over time and comparing media through different perspectives (Pratapure, 2015).[93] Last but not least, content analysis is helpful in coding large data rapidly and accurately, assuring repeatability and reducing mistakes (Scharkow: 2017).[94] In the context of protests in Iran, one application can be attributed to the facilitating role the content analysis plays in comprehending the visual content of social media posts (photos and videos), and consequently understanding how protests are visually depicted and shared (Esfandiari, 2021: 219).[95]

3.1.1. Component of content analysis

To implement a content analysis approach to analyzing a concept, event, or movement, it is crucial to note that rather than identifying content analysis as a 'counting game', it is essential to stress the 'meanings', aims and purposes, the 'outcome', and the 'context' in which an event occurs. Content analysis, according to B. Downe-Wamboldt pays high attention to the importance of context in which the analysis needs to be 'cognizant' of the context (Downe-Wamboldt, 2009:314).[96]

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[91] Neuendorf, K. A. (2017). *The content analysis guidebook*. sage.

[92] Schäfer, M., & Vögele, C. (2021). Content analysis as a research method: A content analysis of content analyses in sport communication. *International Journal of Sport Communication*, *14*(2), 195-211.

[93] Pratapure, S., & Khaparde, V. CONTENT ANALYSIS OF INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF INFORMATION SCIENCE & MANAGEMENT (IJISM).

[94] Scharkow, M. (2017). Content analysis, automatic. *The international encyclopedia of communication research methods*, 1-14.

[95] Esfandiari, M., Fridrich, B., & Yao, J. (2021). Visual content of Twitter during the 2018 protests in Iran: Analysis of its role and function. *Global Media and Communication*, *17*(2), 213-230.

[96] Downe-Wamboldt, B. (1992). Content analysis: method, applications, and issues. *Health care for women international*, *13*(3), 313-321.

3.1.2. Research Objective

The purpose of implementing content analysis is to highlight the semantic connections between words rather than merely the word count; therefore, the meaning and the categorization of similar meanings that underlies texts is the objective to be deduced. These categories also include implied communication, often known as 'latent content', which goes beyond apparent information (Gheyle, 2017:).[97] According to this interpretation, in this work, the efforts are to review the articles that are published since the death of Mahsa (Jina) Amini on September 2022 until March 2023 on the Bidarzani (Awakening) website. Most of the articles are published under the category of 'agent of change', and the rest under the Project section. The first search for a selection of articles is chronological trailing of the website to keep track of the articles and the content they release based on special occasions during the Jina uprising. The second search is through identifying the keywords or the name of the article. it provides easy access through its search engine. Using the second search method was efficient and necessary since access to the website[98] has been restricted on Saturdays and Sundays due to protests' occurring in Iran. The third search is reviewing the articles and taking notes of the major themes the article cover that are related to the Jina uprising.

To validate whether each article met the criteria for inclusion, a thematic analysis is conducted while reviewing the articles to check if there is any reference to the causes, demands, and processes propagated by the movement. In order to do so, the review is conducted using table (1) below which consists of 6 columns. The table provides detailed information such as the (1) name of the article (translated to English), (2) date of publication, (3) name of the author, (4) keywords proposed by the website, (5) thematic content perceived by reviewing, and (6) a short summary of the articles that introduce the topic.

[97] Gheyle, N., & Jacobs, T. (2017). Content Analysis: a short overview. *Internal research note*, *10*.

[98] The access to the website is restricted and filtered entirely in Iran; however, for those who live outside of Iran, the access is available. However, during the data collection procedure, there were sometimes (Saturdays and Sundays) that access to website from outside of Iran was also restricted.

3.2. Description of Bidarzani (Awakening) Website

It is crucial to examine the origin and content of the Bidarzani website to further analyze the content relevant to the Jina uprising starting from September 2022 till March 2023. The origin and establishment of the Bidarzani website is traced back to 2008 (Sahraei, 2016: 6)[99], Bidarzani was known as an independent group of women activists inside Iran (Sahraei, 2016: 6)[100] which was established as a response to the government's anti-women right bill (Naeli, 2018: 81)[101]. This bill, presented as 'Family protection law', was proposed to obstruct women in the field of family planning and health programs, pursuing higher education and professional careers. The website launched its activities firstly under the name of 'Up to the Equal Family' in the winter of 2008 in response to the re-drafting of 'Family Protection Law' bill in the eighth parliament. The website was renamed to 'Bidarzani' or 'Awakening' following the same approach to raise society's awareness on gender discriminatory issues regarding women (ibid.)[102]

Since its establishment, the website has set out to procure six definite objectives[103]. First, as it is advocated on the website, it is designed to promote equality and gender justice in institutions of 'family', 'law', 'employment', 'education', and 'health'. [104]Second, it attempted to raise awareness and a call for change regarding discriminatory gender laws inside Iran. Third, it claims to strive to raise awareness, opposes, and eliminates violence against women. Fourth, a section on the website is dedicated to raise society's awareness relevant to women's social and health harms. Fifth, it also discussed the women's sexual reproductive rights, and finally, it deals

[99] Sahraei, R. (2016). *Contemporary Iranian feminism: the Iranian women's movement from the secular feminist perspective of Noushin Ahmadi-Khorasani* (Doctoral dissertation, UNSW Sydney).

[100] Ibid, page 6

[101] Naeli, M. (2018). *Exploring the Impacts of Internet-mediated Communication on Iranian Women's Rights Activism* (Doctoral dissertation).

[102] Ibid, page 81

[103] B. (2023, July 10). "Awakening Website. Awakening." Retrieved from: https://bidarzani.com/46208/

[104] Ibid.

with fostering and espousing feminist theories considering Iranian women's status quo.

To look upon Bidarzani website, it is vital to look at the content categorization in which the website dedicates it publications to public sphere access. In addition, to comprehend the journey this website has passed through, a thorough scrutiny will be conducted on the content of the website to track down the prominent thoughts and perspectives on the Bidarzani website which are associated with the Women_Life_Freedom movement. Thereafter, major themes and discourses in line with the current Iranian social movements will be investigated.

3.3. Selection of Articles on the Website

There are thirty-two articles relevant to the Jina uprising published from November 2022 until March 2023 under the section of 'Agent of Change' which is thoroughly attributed to explicate the courses of the movement's events. The table (1) has provided a brief summary of the articles published since the death incident of Mahsa Amini on September 2022 until March 2023.

The reason behind selecting this website and the articles published under the section of 'Agents of Change' is to illustrate how this website made an effort to structure the demands by framing the current movement of Women_Life_Freedom as a centralized action instead of a more decentralized uprising in which many street protests show in nature to be diffused and dispersed.

3.3.1. Themes and Summary of Articles (Table 1)

The order of publication of the articles follows a special pattern of publishing an article based on any major incident that occurs inside the country during protests, or it is a reactionary response to what occurred outside Iran by the diaspora and the major activists who are devoting their works and activism to this movement. In addition, different stories of gender discrimination during the protests as a major element of dissent are published and analyzed.

Table 1. Summary of Articles on Bidarzani Website

No	Name of the article	Date of publication	Content and key words	Summary
1	**Women-Life-Freedom means…**	2022.11.26	#Women-Life-Freedom #history of women's struggle #demands of women's liberation #compulsory hijab #systematic repression and resistance #girl's schools as the major place for protests #violence against women	This article starts with an introduction to the current social movement of Women_Life_Freedom or Jina uprising. It clarifies the demands women seek by stating different political, social, cultural, and economic suppression and oppression imposed by the state on women in the form of compulsory hijab
2	**Women-Life-Freedom means the right of women's security from home to the street**	2022.11.26	#women's freedom #protests for women's freedom #oppression inside family #domestic violence #Women-Life-Freedom #women's liberation #compulsory hijab	The text, which is written by the founder of the Bidarzani, Jelve Javaheri, renders on violence's and suppression's origin in domestic realm followed into systematic suppression imposed by the government through different ways.

Table 1. (continued)

3	**Women, life, freedom from no to femicide to fair and equal working conditions**	2022.11.26	#Women-Life-Freedom #compulsory hijab #forced marriage #children marriage #gender equality #femicide #wome''s labor # solidarity	The text is composed of four informative brochures regarding women's basic rights explaining the meaning and the content of Women_Life_Freedom movement under the following categories: (a). Women_Life_Freedom means from solidarity to liberation. (b). Women_Life_Freedom means condemning femicide and honor killing. (c). Wome_life_Freedom means to call for equal pay and equal employment. (d). Women_Life_Freedom means condemning child marriage
4	**The designs of the label of the life of freedom means...**	2022.11.26	#women_life_freedom # securitization of women's right from home to the streets #condemning domestic and street violence against women #from women's solidarity to women's liberation #condemning femicide #demand on equal labor #condemning child marriage #labels for Baluchi women's demands	This article which is in the form of labels related to the social movement of Women_Life_Freedom provides a view on different labels designed in request of Baluchi and Iranian women indicating their demands.

Table 1. (continued)

5	**We want to eliminate discrimination and freedom of assembly in universities**	2022.12.04	#Women-Life-Freedom #university students' participation in protests #systematic suppression #compulsory hijab #gender segregation in official places # strikes and boycotting #equal rights in education #gedner discrimination elimination	This text ventures on the call of university students in demanding change in the systematic agenda of state in gender segregation policy and imposition of coverage in different ways.
6	**Narratives of a protester in the Jinnah uprising**	2022.12.04	Women-Life-Freedom #street protests #systematic suppression #compulsory hijab #morality police #active participation in protests regardless of gender and age	The text describes the narration of a protestor during the Jina uprising and the incidents occurred during the clash of protestors with the security guards. It also provides visuals of the turns of events in the streets.

Table 1. (continued)

7	**'Fire Anthem' : posted by Kuhestan group**	2022.12.07	# call for solidarity of women #plaintiff mother's in calling for raising awareness about their demands # call for unity of different movements and groups in Jina uprising	The poem published on the website is to annotate different victims of the current and previous (plaintiff mothers) protests by naming them in the poem and calls for solidarity to attain liberation.
8	**The liberation of women is the liberation of society**	2022.12.15	#women-life-freedom #the importance of media in social movements #revolution generation from uprisings #scarfless women as a symbol in protests #streets as political spaces in protests #resisting dominance overlooking multiple identities #solidarity of different groups and movements #systematic suppression from the state	The text discusses the necessity of protestors' resistance against totalitarian regimes that attempt to impose patriarchal dominance in the public sphere of streets to marginalize women and it discusses different paths of women's resistance in the streets.

			through different mediums	

Table 1. (continued)

9	**A Feminist Look at the Holy Spider Movie**	2022.12.18	#execution by law as a government killing (extrajudicial killing #systematic violence against women #criticism of death penalty as human right demand #story of Saeed Hanai as a murderer of sex workers #women's presence as the protagonist in patriarchal system #women not an object in patriarchal society #women-life_freedom	The movie of Holy Spider indicates a long-term history of gender suppression and sexual violence against women, and it can convey a feminist message of high volume of oppression and suppression against femininity, women, life, and freedom.
10	**A letter to my sisters; Baloch sisters, Kurdish sisters, Iranian sisters!**	2022.12.19	#stereotypical perspective on women restricting them to the domestic boundaries #women-life-freedom #capitalism and feudalism's dual advocacy #fundamentalism #deprivation of education #effects of fundamentalism on marginalized and underprivileged provinces in Iran #Balouch women and violence and	The text discusses the call for solidarity and avoidance of totalitarian regimes by making a comparison between women's situation and status in Iran and Afghanistan through comparing the systematic oppression, suppression,

			discrimination against them	violence imposed on women of both

Table 1. (continued)

11	**demands of women; From the right to political participation to the right to employment and equal pay**	2022.12.23	#women's charter of demands #women-life-freedom #Jina Amini #Jina uprising #women's demands #legalization of marginalized groups such as LGBTQIA+ community, various ethnicities, and workers #equal political participation and social rights # equal free access to education regardless of gender #free and equal access to public health #annulment of abortion and test of virginity # equal rights in marriage and family # equal rights in employment and labor	The text is a first composed draft of the Iranian Women's Charter of Demands for Solidarity prepared by the aid of some feminist activists residing in Iran. the charter is composed of two sections: (1) Prelude, and (2) Demands. The latter consists of six sections that addresses women's demands in detail through providing inclusive articles.

			#eradication of systematic and domestic violence against women	

Table 1. (continued)

12	**Women's human rights, and not the minimum "possible" demands**	2023.01.04	# women-life-freedom #women's basic human rights #criticism on women's charter of demands #Jina uprising # systematic suppression and violence of the state #systematic elimination of demands of LGBTQIA+ community #free and equal access to social services and political participation #formation of councils and unions #legalization of sex-workers	This text is a criticism toward the first draft of The Iranian Women's Charter for Solidarity, and it consists of two sections that pinpoint: (1). The unification of women's demands with the class status, and (2). Minor alteration in 12 articles of the first draft.
13	**A Perspective on the statement "Women's Demands"**	2023.01.05	# Women-life-Freedom # gender discrimination # women's movement # women's right # The criticism on the Charter of Solidarity and Alliance for Freedom # formation of women's councils and unions # free and equal political participation #right on body	This text is a criticism article composed by Shila Farahani that addresses the five sections of the first draft of The Iranian Women's Charter for Solidarity, one regarding the content and objective, four associated

			# marriage and partnership rules including LGBTQIA+ community #gender quota	with the articles about each proposition.

Table 1. (continued)

14	**A Commentary on "Women's demands; From the right to political participation to the right to employment and equal pay" by Anousheh Golshan**	2023.01.11	#women-life-freedom # women's right # the criticism on the Charter of Solidarity and Alliance for Freedom #criticism on the charter of solidarity and alliance #women's daily political activism #formation of women's councils and unions # sex workers #equal payment #free and equal access to education	This text is a criticism on the first draft of the Iranian Women's Charter for Solidarity addressing four articles for alterations. The text is composed by Anousheh Golshan who is a feminist activist on Bidarzani website.
15	**South African Women's Charter**	2023.01.27	# Women-Life-Freedom #free and equal access to voting, employment, education, social services, media, healthcare, and political participation #women's human right # Women's demands' charter # implementing new interpretation on partnership meaning and equal rights for	This article is a translated version of the second draft of the African Women's Charter which consists of twelve articles regarding women who sought equality in different spheres. The Charter is composed of (1) a preamble, and (2) twelve articles addressing alterations in discriminatory laws against African women. The objective of publication of

			partnership regardless of gender #elimination of systematic and domestic violence against women	this charter is to aid Iranian feminist activists in directing their path of writing a more inclusive charters in the future.

Table 1. (continued)

16	**We will not take a step back**	2023.01.29	# Women-Life-Freedom #gender discrimination #gender segregation #women's right #women's charter #free and equal right for political participation #formation of women's councils and unions #free and equal access to employment and payment, education, social services, and healthcare #elimination of systematic and domestic violence against women #final draft of the women's charter for	This article is the published version of the first composed draft of the Iranian Women's Charter of Demands for Solidarity after final revisions and editions. The charter consists of (1) an introduction, and (2) six sections with revised articles in accordance with the criticism and comments prescribed.

			solidarity and alliance	

Table 1. (continued)

17	**A response to the compilers of the "Women's Demands" statement**	2023.01.31	# Women-Life-Freedom # gender discrimination # women's right # a criticism on the final draft of the women's charter for solidarity and alliance #women's daily and active political participation in the society #formation of councils and unions #recognition of house labor #criticism on sex workers #free and equal access to education and systematic change in the educational content	This text is a criticism article composed by Roya Vafaei that addresses four articles in the first draft of the Iranian Women's Charter for Solidarity.
18	**The play "Oil Square" /Midan Naft/ and a report of its**	2023.02.01	#Rise of mothers' litigation #Khavaran mothers # state's systematic suppression and	The article provides a link to the play of "Oil Square" which is a work composed to refer to the plaintiff

	first performance in the women's ward of Evin prison		oppression # demands of plaintiff mothers # a play dedicated to Saeid Zeynali # women_life_freedom	mothers of Khavaran on losing their child during systematic violence of state in the street protests.

Table 1. (continued)

19	**Afghan women are standing strong and resistant against the reactionary ideas of the Taliban!**	2023.02.05	# Women-Life-Freedom #fundamentalism # No right for women's education # women suffering from poverty #domestic violence against women # mediums of women's protesting the government through slogan writing # Gender discrimination	The text contemplates on the systematic suppression and violence of totalitarian regimes in restricting women to the domestic realm in Afghanistan, and it makes comparison between women's status in Iran and Afghanistan. Moreover, it provides personal narratives of some afghani women regarding the oppression, particularly in relation to education.
20	**Charter of Rights and Freedoms of Kurdish Women**	2023.02.07	# racial discrimination of Kurds in Middle East #kurdish women's discrimination due to wars, economic embargos, and refugeeism # Kurdish women demanding equal human right #kurdish women demanding equal social and political participation #elimination of discriminatory law regarding marriage and childbirth #equal economic and social right regarding employment, maternity leave, post-partum	The text published is the Persian translated version of "Charter for the Rights and Freedoms of Women in the Kurdish Regions and the Diaspora". It consists of two sections: (1). Prelude, and (2) nine articles addressing Kurdish women's underprivileged status in Kurdish areas. This text is adapted in Bidarzani to provide a wider picture and aid for future compositions of Women's

			leave, childbearing #access to free and equal education, healthcare #equal and free access to human right #elimination of systematic and domestic violence against women # elimination of honor killing	Charters.

Table 1. (continued)

21	**Manifesto of the LGBTIAQ+ community of Iran and Afghanistan**	2023.02.20	# Women-Life-Freedom # allocation equal and free right to the IGBTIAQ+ community #struggles against sexual and gender apartheid #condeming discriminatory laws regarding political participation, social activism, healthcare, education, partnership, # gender discrimination # solidarity of different groups through a social movement #LGBTQIA+ community's charter of demands	This text contributes to the LGBTQIA+ community's demands which are neglected to be worked further in the first draft of the Iranian Women's Charter of Demands for Solidarity. It consists of (1) an introduction, (2) objectives and position, and (3) forty-six articles attributed to the community members.
22	**The Dominance of patriarchy over the field of politics (or men's politics)**	2023.02.22	#femicide perspective on Kurdish women in Kurdish community #women_life_freedom #men's dominance not only in the domestic and social sphere, but also political realm #marginalization of Kurdish women's	The text discusses how patriarchal politics can also dominate marginalize women with double discriminatory identities (being Kurd and women) in domestic and social spheres.

			movements and demands for the sake of pursuing other state-relevant demands #refuting Kurdish women's elitism in power structure #accrediting equal social and political rights to both gender	

Table 1. (continued)

23	**Rebellion of female bodies; Woman, life, space liberation** **Under the section of 'Projects'**	2023.02.27	#Women_ Life_Freedom #women's active participation in liberating and controlling streets through protests # Taming the body of the western feminist woman #systematic respression and suppression of women from the urban picture #systematic and domestic violence on women # The evolution of women's life and its relationship with space # The entanglement of gender and	

			generation in the subject of "life", "body" and "desire"	

Table 1. (continued)

24	**The 2019 Iraqi uprising and the feminist imagination**	2023.03.03	# gender discrimination # suppression of political opposition in Iraq through threatening, beating, forcible disappearance, and assassination # the effect of militarization and privatization of public space in reinforcing the stereotypical roles of men as 'protectors' and women as 'vulnerable'. # intersectional discrimination based on sect and gender identities # Nonviolent civil disobedience approach applied by protestors # indicating gender liberation demand in using street as the platform of protest #usage of social media as a platform for protestors by slogan-writing	This text highlights the importance of public sphere during protests for women in calling for their demands. It also signifies the importance of public sphere in liberating women from gender stereotypes starting from 2019.

			# lack of gender agenda in indicating itself through slogans #The political participation and presence of women in the streets during protests as a challenge to the gender social order	

Table 1. (continued)

25	**Charter of minimum demands of independent trade union and civil organizations of Iran**	2023.03.10	# women-life- freedom #women's emancipation through active presence in streets during protests # charter of various unions in collaboration with women's charter of demands #labor's movement rise during women-life-freedom movement #collaboration of other unions and movements with women's movement in the Jina uprising	This text is the first drafted version of the charter that is composed by the coalition of 20 unions and councils inquiring alterations in state's policies regarding their social, political, cultural, and economic status. The charter consists of twelve articles addressing issues in detail.
26	**To my heroic sisters**	2023.04.08	# women-life-freedom #systemaqtic oppression and suppressive violence of state against protestors indicated in the streets #emancipation and liberation of women # methods of opposing Fundamentalism	This letter text is composed by an Afghani feminist activist, Azadeh Omid, who provides a criticism on the first draft of the Iranian Women's Charter of

			# gender discrimination # discriminatory status of immigrant women particularly Afghan women # mutual pain of Persian and afghani women #criticism of trade union's charter in implementing further articles regarding migrant women in Iran	Demands for Solidarity. She proposes revision of the article that is related to the migrant women and seeks inclusion of afghani women's demands in the Charter.

Table 1. (continued)

27	**Brochure: We will continue this struggle until the final victory**	2023.04.16	#women-life-freedom # protests against compulsory hijab # streets as the active platform for protests against compulsory hijab # Women's resistance against the government's attack on their physical integrity #Jina uprising against any kind of oppression, violence, discrimination, and gender apartheid #unveiling in streets as a way of women's liberation	The brochure is an invitation to all protestors for political activism during the Jina uprising. The text reminds protestors and more especially women not to surrender and take a step backward in their battle against systematic suppression, violence, and poverty imposed by the state.
28	**Beyond the class: identity impasse**	2023.04.19	# importance of education in fighting systematic oppression #coalition of universality and positionality of	The article discusses the significance of identifying structural oppression and suppression and constructing coalition

			different identities	across multiple perspectives and positions through pedagogical thinking to bypass the dead lock between class struggle and identity politics to invigorate left movement.

Table 1. (continued)

29	**Criticism of Bidarzani on the charter of minimum demands of twenty trade unions**	2023.05.05	# unity and solidarity of different unions, councils, and movements in their attempts for change # criticism on the charter's (The charter of minimum demands) articles # neglected labor movement's demands # human rights # women's right # children's rights # political participation of different groups	the criticism is composed in opposition and completion of the first draft of the charter which was composed and proposed by the Trade's union inquiring alteration under ten articles (out of twelve).
30	**We stand against femicide and honor killings**	2023.05.26	#systematic domestic and in-street violence against women # systematic violence in the form of honor killing #resistence toward compulsory hijab	The text refers to one of the major objectives in the Jina movement as condemning extreme domestic violence against women in the form of honor

			#sexual harassment and assault # Anti-women laws and ideological approach against "body" and "women's right to life" # Prohibition of violence against women and the role of governance in institutionalizing types of systematic violence against women # formation of women's councils	killing in Iran. the article supports its claims through providing numerical data of the honor killing cases occurred during the process of Jina uprising and inquires about the Signiant role of councils in mitigating this crime's rate.

Table 1. (continued)

31	**Hijab, sexual metaphors, and body control**	2023.05.29	#objectification of woman's body designed to be consumed by men #different terminology used to undermine the social status of women # state's systematic agenda in attributing different labels to women # legalization and advertisement of compulsory hijab in sustaining women's integrity and dignity #discussion on virginity and its cultural importance	The text analyzes how Iranian women's status, identity, and existence have been objectified in different terms in the state's policy of body control since the emergence of Islamic Revolution of 1979 until the current movement.

			#importance of social media and street billboards in cultivating pro-regime propaganda of hijab # The process of sexualization of women's daily life	

Table 1. (continued)

32	**Rebellion of female bodies; Woman, life, freedom of space**	2023.02.27	#city as a contradictory place with monophonic male discourse #disputes on the access and presence of women in public space #attempts of patriarchal state to restrict women to the domestic realm #women's lobbying with the government for the sake of public presence #women's resistance in imposing their presence in public space #women_life_freedom # The issue of "tyranny of space"	The text discusses the spatial and performative presence of women with symbolic and objective maneuver in reclaiming streets and calling for their demands. In addition, the text explicates the patriarchal system in pressurizing women to be restricted to private sphere, and women to lobby and resist through imposing their presence in the space. The text has been republished.

			#women and body #the disembodied women as a political model #female rebellion # The connection of women's issues with body, desire, life and space	

3.4. Description of the specific aspect of the content

The thesis is designed to analyze the content of the articles under the section of 'Agents of change' on Bidarzani website. The focus will be mostly on analyzing and theme-collecting of the texts to detect how various themes that are discussed in the articles can be a clear indicator reflecting the causes of the uprising and demands of protestors through the perspective of Bidarzani. There exist two types of articles under this section. One type is composed by the members of the Bidarzani website (feminist activists residing in Iran), and the other are translated versions of English articles written by different scholars globally adapted into this section. The later articles do not address the current women's movement in Iran; however, the content and the prevalent themes deduced are relevant to the objectives and they share similarities to the current discourse in Women_Life_Freedom movement.

The website doesn't share its visitors' trafficking; however, the Bidarzani's Instagram account has shared excerpts of some of the articles that are published on the website and provided a link to the website for further reading. Since the website is under state filtration and free access is not available for the audience; as a result, the number of likes the articles received on the Bidarzani's Instagram account that is open to access for Iranians are provided in the following Table 2.

Table 2. Bidarzani's Instagram Account's Visitors Trafficking

No.	**Name of the article**	**Date of posting on the instagram**	**Number of likes**
1	**Women-Life-Freedom means…**	2022.11.26	615 Likes
2	**Women-Life-Freedom means the right of women's security from home to the street**	2022.11.26	1874 Likes
3	**Women, life, freedom from no to femicide to fair and equal working conditions**	2022.11.26	480 – 426- 1052 -539 likes for each visual post respectively

Table 2. (continued)

4	**The designs of the label of the life of freedom means...**	2022.11.26	
5	**We want to eliminate discrimination and freedom of assembly in universities**	2022.12.04	726 Likes
6	**Narratives of a protester in the Jinnah uprising**	2022.12.04	1364 Likes
7	**‘Fire Anthem’ : posted by Kuhestan group**	2022.12.07	-
8	**The liberation of women is the liberation of society**	2022.12.15	1908 Likes
9	**A Feminist Look at the Holy Spider Movie**	2022.12.18	1440 Likes
10	**A letter to my sisters; Baloch sisters, Kurdish sisters, Iranian sisters!**	2022.12.19	1727
11	**demands of women; From the right to political participation to the right to employment and equal pay**	2022.12.23	2107 likes
12	**Women's human rights, and not the minimum "possible" demands**	2023.01.04	302 Likes
13	**A Perspective on the statement "Women's Demands"**	2023.01.05	212 Likes
14	**A Commentary on "Women's demands; From the right to political participation to the right to employment and equal pay" by Anousheh Golshan**	2023.01.11	197 likes
15	**South African Women's Charter**	2023.01.27	232 likes
16	**We will not take a step back**	2023.01.29	2177 likes
17	**A response to the compilers of the "Women's Demands" statement**	2023.01.31	341 likes

Table 2. (continued)

18	**The play "Oil Square" /Midan Naft/ and a report of its first performance in the women's ward of Evin prison**	2023.02.01	278 likes
19	**Afghan women are standing strong and resistant against the reactionary ideas of the Taliban!**	2023.02.05	563 likes
20	**Charter of Rights and Freedoms of Kurdish Women**	2023.02.07	815 likes
21	**Manifesto of the LGBTIAQ+ community of Iran and Afghanistan**	2023.02.20	545 likes
22	**The Dominance of patriarchy over the field of politics (or men's politics)**	2023.02.22	388 likes
23	**Rebellion of female bodies; Woman, life, space liberation** **Under the section of 'Projects'**	2023.02.27	1246 likes
24	**The 2019 Iraqi uprising and the feminist imagination**	2023.03.03	200 likes
25	**Charter of minimum demands of independent trade union and civil organizations of Iran**	2023.03.10	1514 likes
26	**To my heroic sisters**	2023.04.08	424 likes
27	**Brochure: We will continue this struggle until the final victory**	2023.04.16	
28	**Beyond the class: identity impasse**	2023.04.19	141 likes
29	**Criticism of Bidarzani on the charter of minimum demands of twenty trade unions**	2023.05.05	230 likes
30	**We stand against femicide and honor killings**	2023.05.26	503 likes
31	**Hijab, sexual metaphors, and body control**	2023.05.29	1347 likes

3.4.1. Coding Scheme Development

The coding plan is designed to define the significant characteristics of a peculiar category along with identifying the similarities and distinctions among categories, hence the threat of ambiguity in definitions and categorization will be eliminated **(**Downe-Wamboldt,1992: 316).[105] In addition, coding can work as a data reduction factor that can help us to organize data. In a qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis applied in this thesis, the coding type is 'conceptual coding' in detecting major points and 'dimensions' of the articles on Bidarzani (Vaismoradi et al, 2016: 103). [106] during the data analysis process, a deductive approach is taken. The application of this approach lies in the fact that while it provides a highly 'detailed' analysis of the data, the deductive approach can check the implication and doability of a prior theory in different 'situations. Considering the Jina uprising and the articles published on the Bidarzani website, the prior objective is to check if the content of the uprising (including causes and demands) can be reflected and illuminated in association with the theory of social movements and women's protests (Vaismoradi, 2013: 401).[107]

3.4.2. Coding Process

In order to analyze the content of the articles on Bidarzani website while using a deductive approach, initially, the analysis will be conducted using particular sets of code. These codes are reflected in the research questions previously explained. The initial review of the articles on bidarzani will be conducted based on preconceived and personally selected codes of 'demands', 'causes', 'reasons', 'gender discrimination', 'equality', 'women's right's', 'Mahsa (Jina) Amini, and 'Women_Life_Freedom'.

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[105] Ibid, p 316

[106] Vaismoradi, M., Jones, J., Turunen, H., & Snelgrove, S. (2016). Theme development in qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis.

[107] Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H., & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing & health sciences*, *15*(3), 398-405.

Through this selection, according to Braun and Clarke's explanation on thematic analysis (2006: 87)[108], thirty-two articles are selected that contain these codes. In the next step, the thematic analysis is conducted on the articles to investigate the concepts and aspects that reflect, expand, and interpret the predetermined codes in more detail. Through detailed review, different themes are obtained from each article. Next, the themes are categorized into 5 groups that demonstrate different aspects (causes and demands) of the current movement (Jina uprising).

3.5. Discussion of content Analysis approach

3.5.1. Data Analysis

In this chapter, through using a content analysis approach, major themes of discussion that are promoted on the Bidarzani website on the discussion of the Jina uprising will be collected. It needs to be noted that after the thematic coding process of the articles, different themes that reflect the causes and demands of women during Jina uprising are categorized under two headings of 'causes of the Jina uprisng' and 'the demands in the Jina uprising'. The categorization will proceed further in explicating the major points that are attributed to the causes. There are three points associated with the causes. The importance and the inclusion of these points will be discussed based on and in relevance to the theoretical framework provided in the previous chapter.

Regarding the second elicited point (the demands), the themes and codes presented in the articles are categorized under two sections. These sections grasp a detailed look on various demands proposed in the articles.

[108] Braun V, Clarke V. Using thematic analysis in psychology.Qual. Res.Psych.2006;3: 77–101

CHAPTER 4

KEY FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings in the articles that are published from September 2022 till March 2023 that are related to the Jina uprising will be presented. Next, the causes and demands of the protest that are reflected and presented on the website will be investigated. In order to comprehend the causes and demands, a categorization of both with their important and covered points is discussed and presented. In the following parts, the findings of the content of the articles on the Bidarzani website will be compared with the theoretical framework presented in the literature review chapter in regard to women's social movements and protests. Finally, the unanticipated finding or challenges during the content analysis will be checked out.

4.1. Causes of the Protests articulated by the websites

Through content analysis of the articles on the Bidarzani website, the causes of the emergence of the Jina uprising can be categorized into three points. In the following paragraphs, each point with regards to the content presented in the article will be discussed.

4.1.1. The States systematic gender oppression

'Systematic gender oppression' is one of the major key themes deducted from the articles. This oppression indicates itself in different forms from the state's systematic oppression to domestic oppression. The systematic oppression indicates itself in the form of a 'control on women's bodies. Control on body demonstrates itself in the form of the imposition of mandatory hijab and restricting women's presence in the public sphere. Consequently, the articles containing this theme stress the necessity of 'women's liberation' by refuting mandatory hijab.

In articles (1), (2), (3), (5), (6), (27), (30), (31), and (32) the major content and focus on women's bodies and mandatory hijab discuss the systematic suppression imposed on women. The article, 'Women-Life-Freedom means….', refers to the crucial requirements and demands that lead to the 'emancipation of women' and the realization of the comprehensive slogan of 'women-life-freedom'. The text, published anonymously, emphasizes the demand for the "liberation of women" from "mandatory hijab" as one of the forms of systematic reaction and subjugation. Additionally, the text explains that the total physical, sexual, psychological, political, economic, and social violence has imposed its weight on women in the form of the weight of "mandatory veiling", it accentuates the overlap of "class, ethnicity and gender" that has had its effects on the double marginalization of women, oppressed ethnic groups, members of the LGBTQ community, and equal and honorable human life.

The systematic oppression also indicates itself in the form of gender discrimination propagated by the patriarchal state. the next article, 'Women, life, freedom from no to femicide to fair and equal working conditions', discusses three different aspects of gender and women issues that were raised by Bidarzani feminist activists during the Jina uprising, and it entitles the movement as a path for not only "women's freedom, but also society's freedom". The article pinpoints at Jina uprising by scrutinizing three different aspects of women and gender issues, first, through identifying the uprising as a response to femicide and the causes of it, second, underprivileged rights in employment and workplace against women, third, a call to end child marriage. Besides, the article discusses the liberation and awakening of women by demanding the right to a free life for women which entails releasing them from the restrictions of discriminatory laws that deprive them of fundamental human rights like the right to equal inheritance, the right to a divorce, and the right to custody of their children. Bidarzani explicates that the Islamic Republic with its anti-feminist and patriarchal ideology has suppressed and degraded women's status and roles to 'motherhood' and 'wifery' for over 43 years. In addition, the article pinpoints the compulsory hijab and violence as a controlling means of 'women's bodies' which are constantly applied on women. [109]

[109] https://bidarzani.com/44178/

Gender discriminatory law and state suppression indicate themselves in the fourth article published in 2022.12.04, 'We want to eliminate discrimination and freedom of assembly in universities'. The article explicates the effects of university students' protests which have been continuing in a call for equity and solidarity against a regime that promotes misogynist regulations by compulsory hijab through gender quotas, gender localization, gender segregation, and university Islamization. The article is providing a response to the 'commodity view' of women's bodies with the aid of 'breaking of barrier of gender segregation in dining hall' demanding the elimination of this division policy and various slogans such as 'You are the philanderer; I am a free woman', that becomes one of the central nationwide protests in Iran.[110]Bidarzani in this text refers to the serious efforts of the Islamic Republic after 1979 to separate genders in universities and 'determine the field of study based on the definition of suitable jobs for women' (ibid)[111]

The next article, 'Narratives of a protester in the Jina uprising', ventures around the experience of a protestor since the death of Mahsa Amini and the clash of protestors with the security guards in the street. The protestor refers to 'the public consternation' and gatherings that faced the intervention and violence of security guards. The story highlights different aspects of the Jina uprising. First, the gatherings (in Laleh, Shariati, Vali-Asr, and Parkway streets) in the capital of Tehran and other major cities (such as Ramsar and Tonekabon) in Iran were severely restricted by the police. Furthermore, the story in the article observes the symbolic gesture women utilized to demonstrate their dissent. Those gestures can be identified and presented as taking their scarves and throwing them in the air or in the fire as a resisting icon toward the state's suppression which illustrates itself in the form of mandatory hijab.

The next article on Bidarzani, 'Brochure: We will continue this struggle until the final victory', is a call for participation that refers to the Jina uprising and the immense role performed by women without compulsory hijab in the streets resisting the oppressive government by their physical free presence. Additionally, the text

[110] https://bidarzani.com/44264/

[111] Ibid.

highlights the existing economic, political, and social barriers that restrict women and different classes in the country triggering them to actively participate in the street against oppression, inequality, and sexual apartheid and discrimination. The text also mentions the state's severe suppression to put an end to the uprising. Finally, the text ends with a national call for active street protest participation to demonstrate the fatigue and frustration of women towards the regime via unveiling women' presence in the streets.

In the other article, 'We stand against femicide and honor killings', Bidarzani stresses opposing mandatory hijab and its ideological objectives as the cornerstone of the political foundation of the Islamic Republic of Iran.[112] in addition, the text believes that the totality of systemic violence against women has illustrated itself on women's lives in the form of the "mandatory hijab".

The article 'Hijab, sexual metaphors, and body control', discusses the discourse and propaganda of the state in imposing mandatory hijab on women. The themes that are attained present a consumerist perspective on women's bodies. This point elevates women's objectified body that is designed to be consumed by men. The text also refers to different terms such as 'tissue', and 'a fly' to undermine the social status of women. the author, Sepide Akbarpouran, highlights the state's systematic agenda in associating different labels with women, like 'being tasty as kebab', 'women's availability', and 'delicious as chocolate'.

Besides, the text stresses the legalization and advertisement of compulsory hijab in sustaining women's integrity and dignity by discussing virginity and its significance in Iran's patriarchal culture and promoting the veiling agenda through social media and billboard representation. Consequently, the state's policy on controlling women's bodies as a form of suppression, as the author believes, is to serve the purpose of sexualization of women's daily life.

The last article, which includes compulsory hijab as a major theme, ventures around the idea of restriction on women's space in public. Tahereh Jourkesh highlights the

[112] B. (2023, June 12). "Against Honor Killings and Femicides: Let's Rise Up." Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/45295/

contradictory status of the city with its monophonic male discourse. The lack of access to the city, as she states, turns into a 'tyrannical' force in the space for women that only accepts disembodied women as a proper political model. In addition, the presence of the morality police as a hindrance to freedom of space and the domestic pressure from traditional patriarchal society elevates the efforts in regaining the space by women.

The control on women, along with control of the body, demonstrates itself in the form of deep-rooted violence against women. In the thematic analysis of the articles on Bidarzani, eighteen articles refer to violence against women. The types of violence are committed systematically by the state's discriminatory politics toward women and other genders domestically. The table below explains various aspects of how women are treated with violence according to the standing point in Bidarzani's articles.

Table 3. Causes of Emergence of the Jina Uprising

Article 1	The interpretation of the slogan Women_Life_Freedom is an indicator of the systematic violence against women in the form of mandatory hijab violating women's civil rights.
Article 2	The text composed by Jelveh Javaheri refers to the domestic and state's violence that is imposed on women. she asserts that women continue to experience discrimination, sexual assault, denial of access to basic rights, and even murder (honor killing).
Article 4	As the interpretation of the slogan Women_life_Freedom, the article which is a collection of stickers refer to different aspects of violence against women including: street harassment, honor killing, child marriage, unequal labor, women as cheap labor force, women without identification papers (right of citizenship), and restriction on abortion. These points can also be included in the gender discrimination section.
Article 9	The systematic violence against women is reflected through a criticism on the movie 'Holy Spider' in which women sex workers are at the risk of extrajudicial killings.

Table 3. (continued)

Article 10	The violence against women is shown toward Afghani women who are forced to be restricted to the domestic realm due to state's gender restrictive policies. The violence is mostly imposed on women from underprivileged areas.
Article 11	
Article 19	The violence against women is imposed through restricting women to the domestic realm by banning their right for education
Article 26	The systematic violence demonstrates itself in the street while opposing and rebelling against state's fundamentalism
Article 30	The theme in this article refers to the state's systematic violence and its effort to institutionalize it

It can be concluded from the table (2) that one of the causes of the emergence of the Jina uprising can be attributed to the theme of 'violence against women'. The persistent violence indicates itself through state's systematic violence or domestic violence. For the former, mandatory hijab (which is a violation of women's civil right) (article 1), institutionalization of honor killing (article 2), violence in the street during protests (Article 26), restriction to education (article 10 & 19); and for the latter, domestic violence in forms of unrecorded honor killing (article 2), child marriage (article 4) are some to mention.

4.1.2. An intersection of linked oppression and repression of oppressed groups

Through the content analysis of the articles, Bidarzani attributes one of the causes of the Jina uprising to the oppression and degraded status of multiple oppressed groups in the country. These groups keep the revolt developed by their active presence in the streets. the thematic analysis indicates (1) Kurdish society, (2) balouchi people, (3) people from underprivileged rural areas in Iran, and (4) the labor force is the major participant during protests. However, the long oppression and suppression received by the state through different eras led to this active participation and opposition form their side.

The themes that are collected from different articles can be summarized as 'labels' that demonstrate the oppressing situation Balouchi women are going through. Taking

from femicide, child marriage, discrimination in employment of Balouchi women, deprivation of civil rights such as possessing identification papers, cheap labor, and deprived of social rights for education and healthcare, the labels that are designed in the article 'The designs of the label of the life of freedom means...' refers to the severe discriminatory situations in which Balouchi women are trapped and call for change.

It is not only the severe and discriminatory conditions of Balouchi and Kurdish women and men that triggered the development of the uprising. Plaintiff mothers of Khavaran were also other contributors to the movement's cause and development. In the article 'Fire Anthem' : posted by Kuhestan group', Bidarzani refers to the plaintiff mothers' demands which has always targeted the state seeking fair explanation about their children's missing status. although the poem doesn't explicitly discuss the cause and progression of the students' movement during 1990s, however, through the poem it makes reference to the mothers' of the victims of the previous and current protests by referring to their names of 'Mahsa', 'Hadith', 'Nika', and call for solidarity among different groups who are the victim of Islamic republic's discriminatory and unfair policies, from the workers, women protestors, and plaintiff mothers.

Another theme obtained from the article, 'A letter to my sisters; Baloch sisters, Kurdish sisters, Iranian sisters!', that indicates causes of the protests and its culmination is attributed to the Kurdish women's oppressed status who have been the victim of state and family violence. With the incident of Mahsa (Jina) Amini, the protests rose nationwide illustrates high participation of Kurdish women in underprivileged rural areas. The protests that are nourished by them make references to the 'stereotypical' degraded perspective that is dominant on Kurdish women, and it is imposed by the state and patriarchal society. In addition, the lack of social and civil facilities and allocation of civil and social rights (right for education, healthcare,) on women can be attributed as the major issues of dissent among Kurdish district that made protests developed.

It can be concluded that the undermined social and civil status of balouch and Kurdish women, along with the oppressed plaintiff mothers, and underprivileged

circumstances in rural areas are major source of dissent from the people that with the death of Mahsa Amini found a chance to add up to the causes of uprising's development.

4.1.3. Continuation of previous uprisings and protest in triggering Jina uprising

As the last cause of (continuation of) the Jina uprising, Bidarzani refers to five previous uprisings and protests that kept the uprising progressing. Referring to students' protests, plaintiff mothers of Aban and khavaran mothers, labor movement, working class citizens, teachers' protests, the themes that are collected (although may not be explicitly stated) make inferences to the causes of Jina uprising's progression.

The themes selected from the article, 'We want to eliminate discrimination and freedom of assembly in universities' explains gender discrimination and state's suppression that are dominant in the universities. In addition, the article pinpoints to the fact that they illustrate themselves in the form of gender segregation, systematic suppression of strikes and protests raised by students and refusal of allocating the right to establish student assemblies accelerated the dissent in the academia and caused students to join the protests and raise their demands.

Another cause of progression of Jina uprising is the joining of plaintiff mothers during previous protests of 1999, 2017-2018, and 2019 who lost their children and seek act of justice from the state. The themes selected in the play "Oil Square" /Midan Naft/ and a report of its first performance in the women's ward of Evin prison refers to the plaintiff mothers who lost their children to the state's systematic suppression. the article is a tribute to the play in which is dedicated to Saeed Zeynali as the victim of students'' protest in 1999 and his mother.

The reason for this categorization is based on the keywords and content that are collected from the last thirty-two articles published after Mahsa Amini's death that are associated with, first, the dynamics and methods of the state in imposing suppression and oppression of not only women but also all marginalized groups.

Hence, this chapter explored the content of the articles relevant to various ways in which women have been suppressed. Furthermore, as the thematic analysis indicated women are not the only oppressed group that caused the progression of the Jina uprising. Themes in the articles illustrated the intersection of intertwined oppressions and repression of marginalized groups such as plaintiff mothers, university students, Balouch and Kurdish women and their dissent with the state's discriminatory politics towards them that led to progression of Jina uprising. Last but not least, and the political history of Kurdistan and Baluchistan will be scrutinized besides the LGBTQIA+ community and Afghan women. the themes collected reflect the various previous uprisings that are in continuation of Jina Uprising as the causal source of Jina uprising's development. The themes regarding 1999, 2017, and 2019 protests in the articles manifest the latent dissent and opposition from different groups (such as labor force, women, teachers, and plaintiff mothers) that can be identified as an activator and progressor of the Jina uprising.

4.2. Demands in the protests articulated by the website

In the following section the demands that are raised during Jina uprising from the perspective of the Bidarzani website and the articles published from September 2022 until March 2023 will be scrutinized. It is important to note that the results of the thematic analysis of the articles summarize the chief themes into two categories. One group of demands is related to the women's demands presented in the form of charters and the complementary criticisms added to the charters, and the second types of demands are charters elevated and composed by other unions incorporated into the framework of the women's charters.

It should be noted that the women's demands for change are collected in the form of charters that are presented, composed, and revised on the Bidarzani website through the aid of the feminist activists working under Bidarzani. There are two charters of women's demands composed (the first one, 'Demands of women; From the right to political participation to the right to employment and equal pay', as a draft version, and 'We will not take a step back' as the final edited and revised version of the women's charter) including seven complementary criticism that complements and look upon the proposed demands to augment the advocated points.

The content analysis of each article with the proposed demands that are divided into different articles are discussed in the following pages. It is crucial to note that the coding process for the demands section follows a pattern of searching the keyword 'demands', and the thematic analysis is based on the presented clauses and articles in each charter of demands. As a result, each charter that discusses women's demands is scrutinized in detail along with an analysis of every point mentioned. There are two kinds of charters as deduced from the Bidarzani website. One is relevant to women's charter of demands, and the other to the Trades and Unions charter that will be discussed below.

4.2.1. Charter of Women's demand and criticism articles

The article, 'Demands of Women; From the Right to Political Participation to the Right for Employment and Equal Pay', provides a link to the pamphlet of 'Demands of Women' that was written with the aid of activists inside Iran presenting a framework of categorized demands of women (in a general sense) and it is a call and an invitation for other activists (from various fields of the medical community, labor activists, education, art and culture, LGBTQ+ community, Migrants and refugees) to participate in the dialogue and discussions, and present their inclusive and particular demands for a progressive future within a framework of a declaration. It is noteworthy to look upon this pamphlet and the content to comprehend the selected demands of feminist activists. In the following section, a crystal-clear analysis of the content (which is composed in Persian) will be provided, and next, the criticism raised by different activists (inside and outside of Iran) which is a complementary version of the statements raised in the composition will be explicated. The manifesto is divided into six sections as follows: (1) political participation and social rights, (2) education, (3) health, (4) marriage and family, (5) labor, and (6) women's security and violence against women. The first part calls for three alterations regarding unequal participation of women and men in the political realm granting 'equal social and political rights' for both genders, the first statement calls for 'voluntary veiling and legal treatment of any form of compulsory veiling, and the possibility of women's election in all political positions in the country. The second demand requests appointing a legal minimum gender share in the structure of the country's

political parties. Finally, the last demand under this category poses the state's valid encouragement of children and women to actively participate in political parties by defining official programs for councils and parties for proper education and training. Education demand functions in calling for ungendered educational content, removal of all gender and academic quotas in secondary and higher education, the right for free education considering financial support plans for underprivileged provinces and providing enticing plans to encourage women to pursue higher education and create equal opportunities for them. The statement of demands goes into more detail under the section on Health into eight statements. First, the pamphlet calls for free and 'legal' access to information, counseling, and family planning services. Second, it demands free distribution of contraceptive and sanitary medications. Next, it sues legal prohibition of any pre-marriage medical virginity tests, women's circumcision, and legal prosecution of the ones committing it (even if a girl is taken out of the country to perform circumcision). Moreover, the pamphlet clears its point by calling for the free establishment of women's health clinics, medical pregnancy, infertility, childbirth, and postpartum diagnostic care services (in deprived rural areas particularly). The pamphlet goes further demanding legal securitization for free abortion right on women's quest (before and after the twelfth week with the aid of a specialist) and termination of pregnancy. The section on Marriage and Family seeks equality for both genders in the legal prohibition of marriage under the age of eighteen, polygamy, demanding mutual consent, and abolishing paternal or guardian's consent and permission. It also asks for legal prosecution in the case of forced marriage, equal rights, and responsibilities for both partners in marriage. The statement requests equal rights for each spouse including the right to select their surname and professions, ownership, acquisition, guardianship, custody, adoption regardless of marital status, possession of the property, intervals between pregnancy, free access to information and training tools to exercise these rights in which the interests of children are prioritized. Additionally, the statement demands monthly or annual financial support and accreditation for children under the age of eighteen, free public medical care and education. It also signifies the importance of 'empowering' families in the field of children's education and health.[113]

[113] B. (May 27, 2023). Women's Demands: From the Right to Political Participation to Equal Employment and Equal Pay. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44325/

The fifth statement, ‘Labor’, on the ‘Iranian Women’s Demands’ consists of eleven pleas in which the first one calls for dismantling all gender quotas for all professions at all levels, second, prohibiting any kinds of gender preference recruitment, approving equal participation in managerial positions in the public and private sectors, determining a fixed gender quota in the board of directors and executive management in the public and private sector, granting one month of paid leave (and two years of unpaid leave with securing pregnant women’s position after childbirth) to pregnant women, and aiding self-employed and start-ups to maintain their business regardless of their gender.

The fifth statement under Labor section implies granting equal payment for equal work, insurance, employment, and financial support for women residing in underprivileged rural areas. Nevertheless, the demands are not merely restricted to women. The statement also calls for possibility of granting loans, agricultural facilities’ aids, equal use of land in rural areas as well as land allocation programs. It also requires state to implement alteration of housewifery into paid professions crediting salary and insurance. Let it not remain unsaid that the Labor section also demands ‘transparency’ in the rules regarding wages calculation, benefits, and payment to avoid gender discrimination, and periodical reports of all payments by companies and institutions to the councils to avoid structural gender discrimination (ibid.). [114] However, what strikes the most is the next demand of the feminist activists in Iran that opened a contradictory gate for immense arguments. The statement requires the government, first, to identify sex workers’ services as official work and necessitate insurance for their profession, second, to raise awareness and empowerment of sex workers through training and education.

The sixth section, ‘Women security and violence against women, delves into six major issues calling for, first, criminalizing any kind of abuse, harassment, rape, and violence with the subsequent conviction against women, second, forming and empowering national network to support women against sexual violence, third,

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B. (2023, May 27). مطالبات زنان؛ از حق مشارکت سیاسی تا حق اشتغال و دستمزد برابر. بیدارزنی. https://bidarzani.com/44325/

[114] B. (May 27, 2023). Women's Demands: From the Right to Political Participation to Equal Employment and Equal Pay. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44325/

securitizing neighborhoods by granting legal authority and sufficient budget to local women's councils to implement practical strategies, fourth, establishing safe houses and professional counseling centers and special line for convenient access, launching preventive, therapeutic protection, and educational programs to not only women, but also sex workers to fight against violence and mistreatment. Nonetheless, the most important and neglected statement is the last sentence of granting proper health and medical services to imprisoned women and providing aid to women under the supervision of women's councils.

Since the provisional Women Charter was composed to encourage other feminist activists to promote the dialogue and add on the rudimentary demands regarding gender and women issues, in the next article, 'Women's human rights, and not the minimum "possible" demands', Farzaneh Raji who is a prominent active member in the Bidarzani and Radio Zamaneh websites contributes to the newly composed charter by raising awareness and encourages a comprehensive look to particular statements in the Charter.

She underlines the necessity of vigorously following the objectives set forth in the Charter of women's Demands by extending the framework scale of it and warns against limiting requests to the bare minimum. Raji (2023) proposes the change in the name of the Charter from Iranian Women's Demands into Women's Human Rights Charter by refuting any pursuit of rights in the possible and attainable frameworks in Iran's logistic system, and she concludes the demands to consider men and LGBTQA+ groups (Raji, 2023)[115].

Moreover, she ponders it is impractical and unamenable to distinguish between the women's demands and other people from different social and economic, and ethnic groups and stratus. By distinction between the women's demands with class's demands, she negates any labialization of women's demands as a 'democratic' issue that can be resolved in the capitalist system which dismisses acceptance of any relevance between gender, race, and social injustice with social struggles.

[115] B. (May 27, 2023). Women's Human Rights, Not Minimum "Possible" Demands. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44346/
B. (2023, May 27). «حقوق انسانی زنان، و نه حداقلِ مطالباتِ «ممکن. بیدارزنی. https://bidarzani.com/44346/
B. (May 27, 2023). Women's Human Rights, Not Minimum "Possible" Demands. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44346/

Furthermore, she puts the issue of council formation under question which is a leftist matter rather than a liberal issue in which councils are needed to be conceived under a bottom-up procedure rather than a top-down formation by force, and she inquires the written statement in the Women's Charter regarding council formations to not only identify a relevance between class discrimination and other types of oppressions but also she calls for the urgent need of inclusion of all sorts of discriminations and limitations such as social injustice, poverty, corruption, suppression, death penalty, environmental destruction to women's demands and issues.

Finally, Raji (2023) scrutinizes the content of the Charter of Women's Demands in detail and she stresses the necessity of removal and separation between religious laws and traditions and customs /urf/ as the major impediment for women seeking human rights demands. She regards the women's demands charter to be insufficient in including the LGBTQA+ demands to be granted social rights and political participation. Additionally, she advocates for a lucid explication regarding abortion, maternity leave, labor, housewifery, and free education in the first draft of the charter proposing a disregard for people's gender and social class. What is noteworthy to explicate is Raji's perspective on the issue of sex workers in which she opposes its legalization to be only neglecting the main problem, and she demands avoidance of any legal prosecution and dedication of adequate budget to aid them (Raji, 2023).[116]

The dialogue and the invitation to prepend on the Charter of Women's Demand in Iran is developed not only by the aid and contributions of Farzaneh Raji, but also Shila Farahani (2023) confers on the first draft's statements. In the article published on January 1st, 'A Perspective on the statement "Women's Demands", Farahani provided revision on the content and format of the first draft noting the Charter as 'a renaissance' notion that occurred during the 1960s in the West.[117] It can be emphasized that her effort was fixed on implementing alterations to four statements in the Women's Charter's first draft. Firstly, she targeted the section on 'political

[116] B. (May 27, 2023). Women's Human Rights, Not Minimum "Possible" Demands. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44346/

[117] B. (May 27, 2023). A Perspective on the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44351/

participation and social rights' and women's political participation at all political levels in the country (Farahani, 2023)[118]. She advocates for the formation of councils by constituting 'an organic relation' between the councils of women and regional public councils and community administrations. Secondly, she proposes to attain all-inclusive observation on the previously presented charter over discussions of minimum gender quotas by making a comparison of the constituted Human rights laws by European women's efforts after the industrial revolution that resulted in their exclusion. She believes 'Now it is too late to withdraw from the set standards and demands and Iranian women are required to bypass the current situation (ibid.).[119] Thirdly, she calls for revision on the contradiction between women's complete ownership of their bodies under the 'Health' section and the proposed demands in the 'Marriage and Family' section that violate the former. Lastly, she highlights the narrow view on the issue of Marriage and Family in the first draft of the Women's Charter pointing to different types of partnership and family formation among people with various gender orientations.

Golshan (2023) brought up the next complementary argument about the Women's Charter. In her article 'A Commentary on "Women's Demands; From the Right to political participation to the Right to employment and equal pay', Golshan stresses three major arguments. Firstly, she highlights the need for more clarification of the demands and particular deliberation of working women, rural nomads, minorities, and Afghan migrant women[120] (Golshan, 2023). Golshan believes women have been persistently pursuing their struggle against patriarchal and religious society since the dawn of Islamic Revolution of 1979, and explicates the Women's Charter's failure in delivering an 'impression' of 'granting' sets of privileges to other women who were passive in the women's struggling procedure. As she asserts the dominant

[118] B. (May 27, 2023). A Perspective on the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44351/B. (2023, May 27). «نظری در مورد بیانیه‌ی «مطالبات زنان. بیدارزنی. https://bidarzani.com/44351/

[119] B. (May 27, 2023). A Perspective on the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44351/

[120] B. (May 27, 2023). A Commentary on "Women's Demands: From the Right to Political Participation to Equal Employment and Equal Pay". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44355/

perspective in the Women's Charter failed to put this fact into consideration and it only suffices in identifying women as objects 'to be cared of' (ibid.).[121]

Secondly, the revised article disputes the statements regarding sex workers in identifying the concept as a leading point for patriarchal dominance and further corruption of society. Besides, Golshan holds the same perspective on women's housewifery issues and associates any allocated wage and budget to it as a 'continuation of women's status diminution', marginalization, and 'dependence' on their partners. Finally, Golshan advocates the 'socialization' of housework to enable women to become a part of wealth producers to the state rather than in service of their husbands (ibid.).[122]

The next published article on Bidarzani is a Persian translated pamphlet of 'Women's Charter for Effective Equality' (1994) adopted at the National Convention that was composed by the Women's National Coalition, and it contemplates women's issues in South Africa. The coalition of women's organizations was constituted of women from different races, languages, and cultures with different political and religious groups and business sectors that aimed to promote legal and equal rights in favor of black women and develop black women's living conditions. It also took a 'gender-based perspective' in addressing women's issues to avoid restricting the coalition's objectives to merely seek 'legal equality' and economic prosperity concerning women by lobbying with the government (Sadie, 1995: 82-83). [123] the Charter consists of a permeable including eleven articles that clarify the objectives and demands concerning gender and women issues in Africa. The articles address 'equality', 'Law and the Administration of Justice', 'economy', 'Education and Training', 'Development, Infrastructure, and the Environment', 'Social Services', 'Political and Civil Life', 'Family Life and Partnership', 'Custom, Culture, and Religion', 'Violence against Women', and 'Health'.

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[121] B. (May 27, 2023). A Commentary on "Women's Demands: From the Right to Political Participation to Equal Employment and Equal Pay". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44355/

[122] Ibid.

[123] Sadie, Y. & Van Aardt, M. (1995). Women's issues in South Africa, 1990-1994. *Africa Insight*, *25*(2), 80-90.

In the following sections, a summary of the statements and the similarities residing between this charter and the newly composed Iranian Women's Charter that proposes legislative, social, and political demands will be investigated. Nevertheless, the commonality and mutual points in the elements in the charter that was composed 2 decades ago with the Iranian Women's Charter in being entitled and competent to be published on Bidarzani Website will be analyzed. Additionally, the objective of the following section is to illuminate how the two proposed articles act. It is crucial to mention that with the publishing of both the African Women's Charter and the Iranian Women's Charter with proposed demands, the Bidarzani website pinpoints the efforts devoted by Iranian feminist activists as a continuation and emulation of women in an international scale.

To begin with, Women's Charter for Effective Equality with its emphasis on 'intersectional' and 'universal' nature of gender equality endeavors to establish a framework for equality that culminated in direct battles of women against apartheid, capitalism, and patriarchy, and it pinpoints the significance of equal right allocation to both genders the right to full citizenship by disapproving social hierarchies and present differences (Hassim, 2014: 7-9).[124] Although the articles of revision ad demands proposed by African feminist activists was a reaction to the state's policy, it provides an 'ethical' stance by providing a view of an ideal society that 'guides' and governs the interactions between the citizens and the state as the core responsible factor in granting rights (not 'privileges) to women, bypass the mere political and legal equality to empower women socially and economically, and ensure equal 'outcomes' to be granted to both genders (ibid: 7-9, 15)[125][126]

In the following paragraphs, a summary of the Women's Charter for Effective Equality for better analysis and comprehension is provided. Notwithstanding, the following paragraphs are concrete instances which can be identified as similar statements presented in Iranian Women's Charter. To begin with, regarding the first

[124] Hassim, S. (2014). Texts and tests of equality: The Women's Charters and the demand for equality in South African political history. *Agenda*, *28*(2), 7-18.

[125] Ibid, page 9

[126] The Charter for Effective Equality, 1994, Adopted from http://www.kznhealth.gov.za/womenscharter.pdf

article in the Women's Charter for Effective Equality (1994), complete equality can only be ensured if equality is granted socially, politically, and economically to each member and citizen in the society. The charter believes in the interconnected relationship between the three aforementioned pillars in which discrimination in one can adversely affect the other. Furthermore, it asserts promoting equality necessitates required 'distinction' between genders and bypasses citizens' interaction with the state.

The second article on law and the administration of justice provides an extensive view on women's demands in acquiring legislative equality. It stresses granting equal 'legislative' and 'quasi-legislative' status to women regardless of social class through confirming their consistent participation in practicing their legal rights. Moreover, the second article, similar to the section of political participation and social rights in Iranian women's charter highlights women's free involvement and engagement in legislative policies, political decision-making procedures, equal share in property and marriage, and equal and unprejudiced legal punishments.

The statement of demands in the third article on economy have many similarities with the content in the labor section in the Iranian Women's Charter. African Women's Charter for Effective Equality also demands women's full participation in the economic policy in granting privileges to any profession ranging from official employers to unpaid labors, informal sectors, and 'subsistence activities'.[127] In addition, two charters take a similar stance regarding sex workers and call legalization for this industry.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles on the charter for African women stress accreditation for equal and free education, natural infrastructural resources for women (especially underprivileged women living in rural areas), and article eleven (Health) during all stages of life, and free social services according to the social justice, 'accessibility', and 'sustainability'. Article eleven on health also accentuates free and equal access to not only the health care system (including pregnancy,

[127] The Charter for Effective Equality, 1994, Adopted from http://www.kznhealth.gov.za/womenscharter.pdf

abortion, contraception, cancers) but also to their bodies warranting the right for voluntary pregnancy, abortion, and maternity leave. The charter unlike the Iranian women's charter also pays prominent attention to seeking equal rights for minorities, disabled, single parents, and elderly.

Articles on political and civic rights (Article 7), Family life and Partnership (Article 8), and Customs, Culture, and Religion (Article 9) acknowledge equal rights to women to maintain democracy and gender equality by emphasizing women's exclusion historically from active political participation and decision-making. The charter identifies women's political exclusion and decision-making as a 'human right' issue and seeks venues to secure women's political interests. Article 8 on family issues points out the discriminatory laws against women in the realm of house and partnership appointing 'equal' and 'shared' division of labor. To scrutinize, this proposed statement in the charter of 1994 holds complementary and contradictory views compared to the Iranian women's charter which mentions the state's allocation of financial support, salary, and insurance to housewives and the prohibition of polygamy. Article 9 in the charter demands women's free access to their human rights disregarding the prevalent customs and culture (that shape human identity) that are imposed on women through control, domestic violence, and no accreditation on their properties. The article invites holding a novel revision on adapting new policies disregarding discriminatory cultures by promoting gender equality. Besides, by putting culture under question, the charter like Iranian Women's Charter refers to gender issues prohibiting discrimination between genders on the bases of their race, gender, marital status, sexual orientation, and language.

Lastly, in the article twelve on Media, the discussion moves around equipping women with the right of free access to media institutions which are the foundations of 'democratic states and freedom of expression to raise their voice regarding discriminatory laws in Africa.[128] In addition, both charters highlight the presence of proper representatives to redirect all women's demands without neglecting other groups.

[128] The Charter for Effective Equality, 1994, Adopted from http://www.kznhealth.gov.za/womenscharter.pdf

The effort contributed by Iranian feminist activists which initially resulted in their composition of the first draft of the Women's Charter and corresponding criticism devoted by other feminist activists like Farzaneh Raji, Anousheh Golshan, and Shila Farahani in response to its content that criticizes, demands a better clarification of the statements by covering issues of wider ranges of women and people with different sexual orientation resulted in the composition of a final draft of Women's Charter. The final draft provided a wider picture in covering further issues that were not previously discussed in the first draft.

The article that was headed and published on Bidarzani website, 'We will not take a step back', explained the edited content in further detail under three revised categories. The first statement declares that the 'motivating force' in resisting oppression and discrimination is embodied in protestors' 'imagination' of an equal and progressive future that can only be attained by validating the 'interconnectedness' of different spheres of discrimination. The final draft also emphasizes the intersectional stance of economic issues and implies avoidance of postponing resolutions of oppression to an undetermined future. It also concentrates on the importance of raising women's awareness both in social and political spheres, granting equal rights, and promoting women to generate their own councils to deal with gender issues respectively. Moreover, the new draft accentuates not only the formation of women's councils but highlights the importance and possibility of Jina uprising to aid other unions such as unions of workers, farmers, women, teachers, nurses, immigrants, and LGBTQA+ to constitute their own councils from the bottom.

To interpret the content in detail, the composition of the new draft ventures to identify formation of councils not as a 'demand' but to introduce this as 'an agenda' of every women's movement during Iran's post-revolution era.[129] This objective, the composers of the final draft acclaim, can only be attained by providing a free platform to change the status quo of women, represent amendment writing pieces to become a primary pivot for women's leading plan, and enforces an interconnected

[129] B. (2023, May 27). We will not take a step back. Bidarzani. https://bidarzani.com/44374/
B. (2023, May 27). بیدارزنی. یک قدم عقب نخواهیمرفت. https://bidarzani.com/44374/

link with various councils and women's council's, and ultimately leads to constitute the Union of Women's Councils.

Since the initial women's demands in the women's charter have already been explained, in this section the content of the revised charter will be analyzed with the changes implemented. The final piece consists of six sections dealing with (1) Political participation and social rights, (2) Education, (3) Healthcare, (4) Partnership, (5) Labor, and (6) Women's Security and Violence against Women. Since the content of the final draft of the Women's Charter is composed in Persian, in the following paragraphs, the effort is, first, to provide a translated version of the content, and second, to define and compare the edited and included alterations. Accordingly, the defined alterations are discussed in Table 4.

Table 4. Women's Charter for Solidarity

Healthcare	• free and equal access to healthcare
	• free access to sanitary items and contraceptives, including access to sexual and emotional trainings for women, men, and the rainbow community
	• legal prohibition of any type of medical virginity examinations and tests
	• legal prohibition of women's circumcisions and legal prosecution for parents and those who conduct this operation
	• establishment of free medical clinics for underprivileged women in rural areas under the supervision of councils
	• medical and educational services for pregnancy, childbirth, abortion, postpartum and breastfeeding
	• the right for free access to facilities of voluntary termination of pregnancy (abortion) at the request of the pregnant person at any stage of pregnancy
Women's security and violence against women	• criminalization of any forms of sexual harassment, abuse, rape, violence against women, men, and LGBTAQ+ community
	• additional protection of women and men in LGBTQA+ community against sexual violence in deprived areas
	• securing communities and neighborhoods under the supervision of community councils, establishing safe houses and professional counseling centers and easy access to them
	• generating a free 24-hour line for available consultation in various languages against violence

Table 4. (continued)

Political participation and social rights	(a) the right to form parties, institutions, and unions and councils in accordance with gender ration of the representative seats in the parliament
	(b) equal social and political rights for women,m men, and the rainbow community
	(c) the right for type of veiling regardless of gender
	(d) the right for self-determination
	(e) equal gender share for all people regardless of their gender in the executive positions in the country's political parties
	(f) equal right to grant identity documents for all citizens regardless of their gender
Education	(a) preparation of the educational content, structure, and environment independent of gender segregation managed by councils of teachers
	(b) the right for education in mother tongue
	(c) sex education for all students
	(d) teaching life skills, life in community
	(e) allocating determined plan and space for playing to young people before school entrance
	(f) free and compulsory education in all educational stages for all people regardless of their gender
	(g) removal all any religious and gender quotas from all levels
	(h) applying support plans for women's and migrant women's education in underprivileged rural areas
	(i) allocating free nutrition and studying materials for everyone under the supervision of student's councils
Labor	(a) minimizing the reproductive work by establishing facilities under the supervisions of community councils
	(b) the right to equal employment, payment, a maximum of 6 hours work, insurance, and job security for women, men, LGBTQA+ community
	(c) establishment of labor councils with respect to equal gender ratio and allocation of women's unit in each council to work on women's issues and demands
	(d) explication of clarified rules regarding financial matters such as wage calculation, basic information on salaries
	(e) determining the minimum salary range under the supervision of labor union
	(f) guaranteeing the right to return to work after maternity leave, and equal right to access unemployment insurance until renewal of employment
	(g) determining fixed gender quota in the board of directors in all departments and institutions
	(h) establishing community self-help groups and cooperatives to facilitate free and equal access to economic opportunities
	(i) peculiar consideration of women residing in underprivileged areas and allocation of equal employment opportunities

Table 4. (continued)

Partnership	the right for legal registration for women, men, LGBTQA+ after the age of 18 and with the consent of the two parties only (removal of parental consent)
	legal prohibition of polygamy
	legal prohibition of forced marriage and legal prosecution of perpetrators
	Equal right to divorce
	equal division of domestic responsibilities, properties, guardianship, and management of properties in any kind of marriage and partnership during and after dissolution of the relationship
	allocation of right for pregnancy and the number of children to give birth to
	equal responsibilities and rights of parties in relation to biological and non-biological children regardless of legal formality of the relationship

It can be perceived from the revised charter that ample amount of focus is dedicated to, first, promote LGBTQA+ community demands regardless of the area they live in, women living in socially and economically deprived areas in Iran, and develop the concept of councils and their implementation domestically in the country. Additionally, the prohibition of any types of discrimination including gender discrimination is highly challenged in the charter in various fields of employment and partnership.

The last response to the final draft of Women's Charter is composed by Roya Vafaei who is a feminist activist residing in Iran. She highlights the required alterations and revisions in the Women's Charter in four distinctive points. Vafaei (2023) stresses the distinction between the objectives of most Charters and calls in picturing a better future and she highlights the presence of some peculiar alterations in the final draft that can facilitate and aid feminist activists in obtaining better results.

To begin with, Vafaei (2023) believes what the current Women's Charter is designed to pursue has already been practiced in Iran. She asserts that Mahsa, Nika, and Hadith who were the victims of severe suppression of not only the morality police but also the security guards during Jina uprising are the concrete and tangible symbols and individuals who show their objection to the discriminatory laws that hinder their social and political freedom and equality through their selection in their

free personal life practices. She claims the ‘bases’ of struggle indicate itself in those people’s ‘radical concrete experiences’ (Vafaei, 2023). [130] In addition, Vafaei (2023), accentuates the ‘relegation’ of realization and a promise of ensuing freedom in the Women’s Charter’ must not pretermit to validate the current everyday practices of women in this stage of struggle against patriarchal and religious society (ibid.)[131]

Furthermore, the second argument raised by Vafaei is her distinctive interpretation of the concept of ‘council formations’ which is initially formed to represent and reflect the demands of local communities to the government (Foweraker, 2001: 18).[132] She disputes a statement in the Women’s Charter in which it underlines the ‘legalization’ or ‘’development’ of council and council’s regulations in favor of the government, and she seeks management and administration of the councils to be accredited to the hands of people themselves (Vafaei, 2023).[133]

The last two arguments promoted by Vafaei published on Bidarzani website venture on a conservative perspective over the issues of sex workers and housewifery and the right to free education. She ascribes the Women’s Charter to not only validate and legalize the continuation of this industry but also the charter has allocated a reformist perspective towards the perpetuation of violence against women without its entire eradication. In terms of education, she proposes revision in the systematic and hierarchical structure of the education system to encourage creativity (Vafaei, 2023).

The discussions on gender and women’s issues are not merely restricted to Iranian women. The Jina uprising triggered Afghani women to pay tribute to the never-ending Iranian women’s combat against discriminatory rules and state their own oppressing situation in contact with Taliban regime presenting various methods

[130] B. (May 27, 2023). A Response to the Drafters of the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44383/

[131] B. (May 27, 2023). A Response to the Drafters of the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44383/

[132] Foweraker, J. (2001). *Grassroots movements, political activism and social development in Latin America: A comparison of Chile and Brazil*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.

[133] B. (May 27, 2023). A Response to the Drafters of the Statement "Women's Demands". Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44383/

Afghani women apply in calling for their demands against regime's oppression. However, since the focus of this thesis is only on connection with women-life-freedom (Jina uprising) and gender discrimination in Iran, the attempts are to conduct an analysis on the commonality of the situations and methods between Iranian and Afghan women's in their combat against the oppressive regimes. In the other article published on Bidarzani website, 'Afghan women are standing strong and resistant against the reactionary ideas of the Taliban!', Azadeh Omid discusses the discriminatory situations Afghani women have encountered since the Taliban's rising to power. She discusses the techniques the neo-fundamentalist regime implemented in their marginalization procedure of women. She refers to the radical fundamentalist regime whose legalized objectives is not to enforce the 'state-building' or 'social' concerns' policies, but to implement sharia under a rigorous interpretation. The official leaders' main pillars consist of religious right-wing conservative forces that applied different techniques targeting women as their first victim of suppression (Roy, 2002: 4).[134] Omid (2023) explains the techniques starting with targeting the free right of women's education, employment, and freedom through women's dismissal from their professions, state offices, media, and the press (Omid, 2023).[135]. The oppression also included restricting women to domestic sphere by imposing veiling and prohibiting their presence at the universities (fully) and in the street (without male escort and accompany). In the article that was composed in the form of a letter to Iranian women, Omid (2023) pointed to commonality of the two regimes in imposing their unfair regulation, and she emphasized the society's response that was constructed in various forms which are the common means utilized during Jina uprising by Iranian protestors. Performing protests which are conducted against university closures by all citizens (and students especially male students), slogan writings, university professors' resignation, and boycotting schools by men and women students are primary reactions towards education ban for Afghani women that were also occurred in Iran.

[134] Roy, O. (2002). *Islamic radicalism in Afghanistan and Pakistan* (Vol. 6, pp. 3-24). Geneva: UNHCR.

[135] B. (2023, May 27). Afghan women, steadfast and resilient against the regressive ideologies of the Taliban, have stood their ground! Bidarzani. https://bidarzani.com/44403/
B. (2023, May 27). بیدارزنی. زنان افغانستان، استوار و مقاوم در برابر افکار ارتجاعی طالبان ایستاده‌اند! https://bidarzani.com/44403/

It was noted that with the incident of Mahsa Amini, immense uprising emerged in Iran protesting discriminatory laws against women. The consequences of the incident set feminist activists in Iran to inaugurate the Women's Charter. However, the content of the charter which was initially composed, revised, and criticized from various perspectives was also compared and lent from different women's charters composed in different countries. Taken the African Women's Charter for effective equality which was discussed above was one instance translated and published on the Bidarzani website. The next article published on the Bidarzani website was a translated version of the Kurdish Women's Charter which was framed in 2004 one year after the Iraq invasion. The intention of sharing the Kurdish Women's Charter is to provide a wider perspective for Iranian feminist activists in their ultimate efforts of originating a women's charter for women's entire empowerment. Bidarzani website in its article, 'Charter of Rights and Freedoms of Kurdish Women', discusses the content of the Kurdish Charter by providing detailed explanations on nine different articles regarding the women's demands.

To begin with, the objective of the Kurdish Women's Charter on Bidarzani website is to accentuate and clarify the necessity of forming Human Right Charters to pursue Kurds interests. As the content in the preface of the charter highlights, women residing in Kurdish areas have been 'historically a target' of the centralized state's marginalization and ethnic, gender, and religious discrimination policies. This led them to seek political representatives and 'remedies' as a counteraction to state's politics in different ways with the aid of Kurdish women in the region and diaspora (Kurdish Human Right project, 2004: 7).[136]

Nevertheless, the charter does not only cover women's issues restricted to one era. The text provides a brief historical analysis of Kurdish women residing in Middle East counting women living in Syria who are denied the right to citizenship, and have limited access to education, healthcare, property ownership, legal presentation, and recognized marriage. The charter discusses the Kurdish women's social and political life in Iran suffering from legal inequality by the state's redirecting attention

[136] Kurdish Human Rights Project. (2004). Charter for the Rights and Freedoms of Women in the Kurdish Regions and Diaspora. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=76JxDqTUG98C

from and justifying the issue of honor killing. Furthermore, the charter explicates Kurdish women's demands in Turkey who are identified as minorities and are threatened with the fear of prosecution due to their ethnicity and displacement due to military conflicts in the country. Finally, The Charter stresses Kurdish women's case in Iraq who are militarily impacted and ultimately displaced, experienced human right violations, and have limited access of NGOs seeking social and political rights to women and legal and constitutional equality.

To scrutinize the content of the Kurdish Women's Charter, it is noteworthy to consider how the charter was devoted to addressing Kurdish women's rights and demands in the Kurdish regions. Kurdish Human Right Project (2004:11)[137] refers to the interplay' between gender, religion, and culture and examining how different varieties and distinctions are 'co-constructed' by more than 'one axis' of social class such as race, language, and religion, the Kurdish Charter highlights the cruciality of validating legislation in accordance with the universal human rights that were previously outlined in the United Nations Charter and 'the Convention on the Elimination of Violence against Women'.

Furthermore, the charter seeks elimination of interconnected discriminatory laws against women in different aspects of life. It identifies the intricate connection in which discriminatory law manifests itself in composed articles of Article (1) which stresses termination of discriminatory laws against women in all forms proceeding with Article (2) that highlights the demand for equal political and public life. Article (3) on family and marriage along with article (4) on employment, article (5) on violence against women, article (6) sexual exploitation and trafficking, and education (article 7), health care (8), economic and social life (article 9) indicate the present intersection respectively.

To clarify the articles composed in the Kurdish Women's Charter, it can be inferred from the Charter that how a call for separation of religion and politics can be an indicator of how systematically the religious and political institutions are intertwined in imposing and perpetuating discrimination against women by challenging societal

[137] Ibid, page 11

structures and oppressing dominant systems. Moreover, the charter explicates the intersectional dynamics of gender, culture, and socio-economic factors accelerating inequality that lie in family relationships and marriage. The articles pinpoint the significance of free and full consent, allocation of equal rights and partnership responsibilities, reproductive rights, autonomy, and disallowance of malignant traditional practices such as polygamy, and temporary marriages.

In can be comprehended from the article (3) that the charter attempts to challenge traditional practices violating women's agency by acknowledging discrimination against women to be formed and influenced by various social identities. Finally, the importance of addressing women's experiences and their points of vulnerability in family and marriage to seek equality can also be deducted.

The article (4) in the Kurdish Women's Charter takes an intersectional stance discussing gender-based discrimination women experience in their workplace and seek equality and gender role in employment, job opportunities, payment, payment in maternity leave period, including paternity leave. The article (5) in the charter also scrutinize the gender-based discrimination against women requesting entire 'condemnation' and eradication of violence. Besides, it points out at the issue of honor killings and demands its legal prohibition and prosecution and stoning.

More and above that, like Iranian Women and African Women's Charters, Kurdish Women's Charter demands complete legal eradication of sex workers (Article 6). The last three articles (7), (8), and (9) examines the content of the charter seeks intersectional equality in education (7), healthcare (8), and social and economic life (9) by demanding equal access and opportunities for both genders (male and female), free 'legal advice', and extermination of traditional stereotypes in the education system (article 7).[138] To conclude, the Kurdish Women's Charter do not include LGBTQA+ community and neglect any equal right allocation to them, and it suffices in providing a link with gender discrimination and other discriminatory forms considering both (male and female) genders only accounting on these two gender's different social stratification.

[138] Kurdish Human Rights Project. (2004). Charter for the Rights and Freedoms of Women in the Kurdish Regions and Diaspora. Retrieved from https://books.google.com.tr/books?id=76JxDqTUG98C

Besides Charters that were designed to illuminate and facilitate women demand and pursue their rights, the succeeding articles tried to scrutinize other aspects of Jina's uprising. In one of the articles published with collective aid of participating members and activists of the LGBTIAQ+ community in Iran and Afghanistan, queer feminists, and trans-feminist activists in Iran, 'The LGBTIAQ+ Manifesto', use the chance to introduce LGBTIAQ+ community, its aims, and the demands it trails solidly after the emergence of Islamic Revolution of 1979 and its discriminatory laws without any affiliation to any state-governed institution or organization. The composers of the manifesto believe producing charters and manifestos to pursue human right demands against discriminatory laws is an action to target the 'legitimation of a conceived totalitarian regime' entirely that was triggered with Jina's uprising.

The article refers to the necessity of Jina's uprising development aimed to change the discriminatory legislative system in Iran that one of its pillars is sexual and gender apartheid. As a result, the manifesto expresses the inclusive nature of Jina uprising that indicates itself in slogan combinations of 'Women-life-Freedom' with the rainbow community's major slogan of 'Queer, Trans, Liberation' to direct attention to alter LGBTIAQ+ community's status in the society. The composed manifesto targets three aspects of rainbow community's suffrage as essential concerns in the uprising.

First, as the LGBTIAQ+ community highlights, it is crucial to oppose all dimensions of gender apartheid and the dominant patriarchal laws in the Jina uprising which they identify it as a 'feminist revolution' that has targeted gender apartheid and patriarchal society. Second, to accomplish success in making the revolution occurred, LGBTIAQ+ community believes in the significance of 'solidarity' as a 'liberating' factor of the society during revolutions. Last but not least, the community emphasizes the importance and maintenance of solidarity during revolutions and liberations of general public, women, and people with different sexual orientations in acceptance and 'recognition' of differences and demands.[139]

[139] B. (2023, May 27). Manifesto of the +LGBTIAQ Community in Iran and Afghanistan. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44419/

The LGBTIAQ+ community in the manifesto explicates the systematic discrimination imposed by the regime and the state law that not only hinder their pursue of demands but also restrict and deny their presence and the right for citizenship, the manifesto explains and names the various discrimination forms, and the various scale of prejudice received by the community since the dawn of Islamic Republic.

In the article, the community explains that ample speculation is conducted in doubled pressure imposition by the regime towards different groups. Following gender and ethnic discrimination, class division, violence against Baha'is and other religious sects such as Yarsanans, religious minorities and converts, refugees (asylum seekers or Afghani refugees), the disabled members in the LGBTIAQ+, members residing in small provinces who are from minor ethnicities such as Yasuj, Abdanan, Khorram Abad, Pirnashahr, minorities residing in underprivileged rural areas, working class, and sex workers, the manifesto accentuates the threat of doubled discrimination on its member by the regime and bids for constant countenance and resistance against violence and discrimination implemented in the 'naturalized' context of cis-sexist societies in which do not attain adequate attention and improvement. Consequently, the manifesto discusses the various forms of resistance the community shows towards the regime to maintain its continuity along years. Starting from published magazines that deals with queer feminist, and LGBTIAQ+ issues to writing blogs, training workshops, educational websites, and podcasts, organizational and individual aids to refugees, slogan writings, raising rainbow flags in public, frequent public demonstration of love among LGBTIAQ+ in Iran LGBTIAQ+ were able to demonstrate their activism against brutal and discriminatory law system inside Iran.

In the following chart below, the content of the LGBTIAQ+ manifesto is adapted and translated for better clarification to English readers. It is crucial to note that the content is only summarized to provide a path for better analysis. The content in its original version is composed with more details to include every voice that calls for their demands. However, in the table below only the major articles are discussed without further explanation of the minor issues and exceptions.

Table 5. LGBTIAQ+ Manifesto

LGBTQIA+	Definition of Clauses
Clause 1	Decriminalization of all types of non-cis-hetero relationships
Clause 2	Prohibition of any conversion therapy against all members of the LGBTIA+ community
Clause 3	Gender recognition and gender identities of non-binary people
Clause 4	The possibility of reconfirming social gender and adapting identification documents for the public
Clause 5	The possibility of accessing any part of gender reconfirmation medical services for the general public without the need for preconditions such as approvals from psychological and judicial centers.
Clause 6	Availability of medical services related to gender reaffirmation for individuals
Clause 7	Insurance coverage of medical services related to gender reassignment
Clause 8	Prohibition of forced unnecessary surgeries on intersex people
Clause 9	Prohibition of forced sterilization of intersex, trans* and non-binary people
Clause 10	The possibility of free and public education about issues related to sexual identity, gender and gender identity in people's mother tongue, sign language and using Braille
Clause 11	conceiving of laws protecting LGBTIAQ+ children and teenagers against domestic violence
Clause 12	The possibility of accessing medical services related to age-appropriate gender reaffirmation for trans* and non-binary children and adolescents.
Clause 13	Existence of laws protecting LGBTIAQ+ children and teenagers from violence in educational centers
Clause 14	Laws to protect and remove discrimination against transgender women, sapphic women and people, intersex people, non-binary people and trans men when referring to obstetricians and gynecologists
Clause 15	Laws to protect and eliminate discrimination against trans women, non-binary people, trans men, intersex people, gay people, and in general Akilin when referring to urologists.

Table 5. (continued)

Clause 16	Laws to protect and remove discrimination against trans* and non-binary people in referring endocrinologists The possibility of referring to endocrinologists for trans* and non-binary people in order to obtain the required hormone items.
Clause 17	Laws to protect the members of the LGBTIAQ+ community against violence and discrimination in medical and health service centers and to provide services related to the health of members of this community.
Clause 18	Laws to protect the members of the LGBTIAQ+ community at the community level against violence and discrimination based on antipathy to this community.
Clause 19	Existence of safe spaces for non-binary people and spaces segregated by gender
Clause 20	Enabling all trans women to equally benefit from the venues designated for women
Clause 21	Enabling all trans males to utilize areas designated for men equally.
Clause 22	Legislation based on secularism and non-discrimination based on religion against people
Clause 23	Abolition of conscription for the general public, including trans women, non-binary people, gay people, and Aquiline and AC/ARO in general.
Clause 24	Recognizing the right and creating the right to exit for sex workers.
Clause 25	The recognition of the sex worker job and the benefit of sex workers from the right to form a union and direct and effective involvement in determining work laws related to themselves
Clause 26	The right to freely choose a sex worker job
Clause 27	Laws to protect sex workers and especially sex workers of the LGBTIAQ+ community against violence in medical centers, workplaces, and many levels of society.
Clause 28	The right to form unions, associations, organizations, and independent institutions related to the LGBTIAQ+ community
Clause 29	The right to form charities, and rehabilitation care centers and support people of the LGBTIAQ+ community
Clause 30	Eliminating any kind of racial/ethnic discrimination that causes double discrimination against members of the Afghan, Arab, Kurdish, Turk, Turkmen, Baluch, Lor, Gilak, Mazni, Talesh, Tat, etc. community.

Table 5. (continued)

Clause 31	The right to equal access to voluntary termination of pregnancy for the public, including trans men and non-binary people And it includes all people who have the possibility of pregnancy. Especially lesbian and sapphic people, Ace / Aro people and Trans* Musk people and trans men
Clause 32	Laws to protect and eliminate discrimination against LGBTIAQ+ community members in the workplace
Clause 33	Creating the possibility of support and protection for the return of refugees from the LGBTIAQ+ community of Iran and Afghanistan to Iran
Clause 34	enabling persons with disabilities, especially those in the LGBTIAQ+ community, to use public areas, Clause 34
Clause 35	Eliminate any discrimination and violence against people with disabilities, which causes double discrimination against people with disabilities in the LGBTIAQ+ community.
Clause 36	The inclusive performance and discourse of feminist institutions for trans women, trans men, non-binary people and sapphic people, relying on the direct presence and respect for the agency of these people in the institutions.
Clause 37	The right to equal presence and participation in social-political activities for members of the LGBTIAQ+ community
Clause 38	Freedom of expression and prevention of censorship in publishing and art for the public, including members of the LGBTIAQ+ community
Clause 39	The right to have independent publications and media related to the LGBTIAQ+ community away from any censorship
Clause 40	Protection laws for people with HIV against violence and discrimination in treatment and health care centers
Clause 41	Protection laws for people with HIV against violence and discrimination in the workplace
Clause 42	Laws protecting people with HIV against violence and discrimination at multiple levels of society
Clause 43	Education to prevent reproduction of social stigma against HIV and STD
Clause 44	The right to equal access to contraceptives and sexual hygiene for the public and especially for sex workers.
Clause 45	The right to free activism focused on the rights of the LGBTIAQ+ community in an individual and independent way
Clause 46	The right to postnatal leave for those who experience childbirth.

4.2.2. Charters of trade unions and civil organizations of Iran

The second form of the demands that was promoted on Bidarzani website along the Jina uprising is 'Charter of minimum demands of independent trade union and civil organizations of Iran' which is composed by the coalition of 20 unions and councils inquiring alterations in state's policies regarding their social, political, cultural, and economic status. The charter consists of twelve articles addressing advocated demands in detail. Along with this charter, Bidarzani (in article 'Criticism of Bidarzani on the charter of minimum demands of twenty trade unions') provided its own interpretation, criticism, and complementary notes on the former charter to develop further points and provide revision inquiring alteration under ten articles (out of twelve) on its first draft. To comprehend the themes and the points raised in the first draft and the criticism applied by Bidarzani on the draft the summary and comparative chart of the two articles is provided below.

The extent of Women-Life-Freedom movement's capacity in including different groups' demands is not restricted to women's demands merely. In the article which is in the form of a declaration charter, 'Charter of minimum demands of independent trade union and civil organizations of Iran', the Coordination Council of Iranian Teacher's Trade Association along with nineteen unions and syndicates provides a charter of demands with twelve articles in which calls for solidarity and unity of various social movements to facilitate obtaining the current protests' demands by identifying them as the 'fundamental pillars' in Jina's uprising.[140] It should be noted that the Coordination Council of Iranian Teacher's Trade Association works in collaboration with the following unions, syndicates, and councils to illuminate the intolerable economic barriers that restrict any political amendment in the state's policies and people's affairs. The list below demonstrates the cooperators that sign and aid composing the charter.

1. Coordination Council of Iranian Teacher's Trade Association
2. The Independent Iranian Workers Union (IIWU)

[140] B. (2023, May 27). Charter of Minimum Demands for Independent Trade Unions and Civil Organizations in Iran. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44544/

3. Union of Student Organizations of United Students
4. Defenders of Human Rights Center
5. Haft Tappeh Sugar Cane Mill Labor Syndicate
6. Council for Organizing Protests of Oil Contract Workers
7. Iran Culture House (KHAFA)
8. Awakening (Bidarzani)
9. The Call of Iranian Women
10. The independent voice of the Ahvaz National Steel Group Workers
11. Labor Right Defenders Center
12. Kermanshah Electrical and metal Workers Union
13. Coordination Committee to Help Build Labor unions
14. Union of Retirees
15. Council of Retirees of Iran
16. Organization of leading students
17. Council of Free-thinking Students of Iran
18. Painters Syndicate of Alborz Province
19. Committee to Follow Up the Establishment of Labor Union in Iran
20. Council of Retirees of Social Security Organization (BASTA)[141]

It is crucial to note that the composed and proposed articles in the charter were also criticized in the next published notes by Bidarzani activists on the website. Therefore, in the following chart, the content of the articles and the criticism towards it are written to provide a better picture of the strengths and weaknesses of the first draft of the Union's charter and the implementations and alterations it requires to assuredly solidify the call for demands during the Jina uprising in a democratic way.

The table below indicates the contents in the first draft of the Charter of Minimum Demands which was composed without being fully examined and revised, and the criticism of the first draft prepared by Bidarzani website which withdrew their support and affiliation afterwards. It should be noted that the general review and criticism will be conducted in the following paragraphs, and the table will only mention about the particular flaws in articles per se.

[141] B. (2023, May 27). Charter of Minimum Demands for Independent Trade Unions and Civil Organizations in Iran. Bidarzani. Retrieved from https://bidarzani.com/44544/

Table 6. First Draft of the Charter of Minimum Demands of Independent Trade Union and Civil Organization with Criticism of Bidarzani

Articles	**Criticism to consider**
1. The immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners, the prohibition of criminalization of political, union and civil activities and the public trial of those responsible for suppressing popular protests.	The demand for the unconditional release of political prisoners indicates the charter's non-digressive perspective in annulling the dominant political framework, and the criticism of the first draft calls for the alterations of the word 'demand' into 'fundamental rights' to refute the current state's policies.
2. Unrestricted freedom of opinion, expression and thought, press, party, local and national union and popular organizations, gatherings, strikes, marches, social networks and audio and video media.	No comment is mentioned.
3. Immediate annulation of the issuance and execution of any type of death penalty, execution, retribution, and prohibition of any type of mental and physical torture.	No comment is mentioned

Table 6. (continued)

4. Real-time declaration of full equality of women's rights with men in all political, economic, social, cultural, and family fields, unconditional abolition of discriminatory laws and forms against sexual and gender relations and tendencies, recognition of the rainbow society of "LGBTQIA Plus" Decriminalization of all gender relations and tendencies and unconditional adherence to all women's rights over their own bodies and destiny and preventing patriarchal control.	Attributing only one article to discuss women's issues and right in the charter's first draft contradicts the context in which Women-Life-freedom emerged to encounter gender discrimination imposed by the regime. The criticism inquires specifications in the content of the articles regarding women's political, economic, social, cultural, and family-related demands. Moreover, the criticism explicates that the charter vaguely discusses the LGBTIAQ+'s concerns and demands more clarification in terms of voluntary termination of pregnancy, right to safe abortion, child marriage, violence against women, equal job opportunities, poverty, exclusion of restriction on women's and LGBTIAQ+ community's bodies, femicide, and sexual mutilation. Besides, it condemn generalization which can hinder movement's progression.
5. Declaration of separation of religion from political, social, and cultural affairs	The criticism conducted by Bidarzani on the first draft of the Charter pinpoints the generalization made regarding the separation of religion from politics. However, according to Bidarzani (2023) the process of exclusion of religion from politics is required to be applied in different fields such as marriage, divorce, and education. The text also highlights the lack of consideration for other religions and avoidance to call for democratic secular state.

Table 6. (continued)

6. Ensuring work safety and job security, and implementing an immediate increase on the salaries of workers, teachers, employees and all working and retired workers regardless of their gender and social status. The Trade Union requires these alterations' application with the presence, involvement, and agreement of free elected representatives of their independent and national organizations and councils.	The text mentions fulfilment of labor forces' rights that are proposed in the first draft on account of the formation of unions and councils as prerequisites in pursuing labor forces' demands.
7. Abolishing laws and any attitude based on national and religious discrimination and oppression and creating appropriate support infrastructures and fair and equal distribution of government facilities for the growth of culture and art in all regions of the country and provide the necessary and equal facilities for learning and teaching all common languages in the society.	The criticism establishes a contradictory perspective on the issue of ethnicity compared to what is composed in the first draft of the charter. Bidarzani mentions about the insufficient attentiveness to the right of self-determination and recognition of different ethnicities, and claims that the 'growth' of overall national culture in the country requires first, acknowledgment of diverse cultures and ethnicities, and avoidance of labializing any ethnic issues to cultural matters.

Table 6. (continued)

8. Dismantling the organs of repression, limiting the powers of the government and the direct and permanent involvement of the people in the administration of the country's affairs through local and national councils. The dismissal of any government and non-government official by the voters at any time should be among the fundamental rights of the voters	The criticism highlights inadequate and vague explanation of the Charter's first draft regarding council formation, and it calls for more clarification on council's jurisdiction limits and councils' operating process.
9. Confiscation of the property of all natural and legal persons and governmental, semi-governmental and private institutions that have taken the property and social wealth of the Iranian people hostage through direct looting or government rent.	The criticism proposes 'a fair trial' and 'litigation' in independent courts alongside confiscation of properties. In addition, Bidarzani criticizes the first draft of the charter of the draft's inadequacy in addressing the trial of perpetrators regarding the pleading families
10. Ending environmental destruction, implementing fundamental policies to restore the environmental infrastructure that has been destroyed over the past hundred years, and publicize particular parts of nature (such as pastures, beaches, forests, and foothills) that are allocated to private sector	Bidarzani demands additional elucidation on the environmental issues which is a principal concern in the contemporary political affairs.

Table 6. (continued)

11. Prohibition of children labor and provision of their life and education apart from the economic and social status of the family	Bidarzani requires more illumination in this article and bids defining the limits of the authority of the families, government regarding violence on children. Furthermore, the article recommends legalization of political participation of young female students who were the pioneering force in the Jina Uprising. Finally, the article bids for allocation of proper welfare and social security for female adolescents and juveniles.
12. Normalization of foreign relations at the highest levels with all the countries of the world based on fair relations and mutual respect, banning the acquisition of nuclear weapons, and striving for world peace	Bidarzani criticize this article questing the description of implementation of regional and international politics and imply clarification of this article in association with the citizens' economic status. Furthermore, it focuses on restriction of any budget (public wealth) allocation to nuclear projects

In can be perceived from the two articles, 'Charter of minimum demands of independent trade union and civil organizations of Iran' and 'Criticism of Bidarzani on the charter of minimum demands of twenty trade unions', that the initial draft of the Charter failed and did not adequately address all groups' concerns and demands. The counterarguments put up by the Bidarzani website indicates the validity and significance of exchanging ideas and opening the gate for dialogue among activists while composing previous charters which the final charter fails to achieve.

In addition, the criticism article by Bidarzani pinpoints the first draft's failure in discussing issues regarding disabled people, elderly, migrants, refugees, people who do not own any legal identification such as gypsies, and peasants.

4.3. Comparison of the findings on the website with theoretical frameworks and studies in the literature review

After a detailed descriptive analysis of the content on the Bidarzani website, in this section, attempts are made to investigate how the findings on the content of the website reflect the theoretical and conceptual frameworks in the social movement theories. Consequently, this section will respond to how the causes and the demands promoted on the Bidarzani website indicate diverse aspects of social movement theories. Moreover, various areas in which the content aligns with and deviates from the theories, and present new tactics will be investigated and explicated.

Bidarzani endeavored to provide a clear picture of the participant's profile during the Women_Life_Freedom movement. As it argues oppressed groups and marginalized sides of the society were pioneers during the street protests in the Jina uprising. The accumulated dissent and dissatisfaction from the government's policies paved the ground for their demands to be resurfaced. It can be inferred from the website that Bidarzani identifies these groups as resources that can not only mobilize the masses but also can appeal to other groups to get involved in the movement seeking their rights. Connecting this concept to resource mobilization theory, it can be argued that the Bidarzani takes up a better ground in introducing the marginalized groups as potential individual resources that can elevate the pace and success of the movement.

In addition to the human resource movements can utilized to pursue their development, Bidarzani emphasizes the role of alliances and coalitions as another major factor in women_life_freedom's progression. As discussed in the articulated Demands section by Bidarzani, the coalition formed among Bidarzani and other nineteen unions and councils to compose the first draft of their demands in the form of Charters, it can be inferred that Bidarzani implemented a resource mobilization approach in a compelling way of building connection based on a mutual grievance people endure after the Islamic revolution of 1979. As a result, it can be asserted that players' proliferation can be counted as a major resource to be mobilized and used to be involved by groups who are affiliated with particular organizations and institutes.

Last but not least, it can be asserted that Bidarzani itself works as the sole medium that directs the pace of the Jina uprising. Although not cost-effective (since the

editors and contributors suffered from severe suppression by the state through imprisonment and there is no financial aid nourishing the institution), the platform collected effective strategies and tactics to employ by protestors and scholar contributors during the current protest. Bidarzani provided a platform for activists to freely get engaged in the discussions and exchange of dialogues regarding the composition of the Women's Charter. Women's Charter can be signified as a novel strategy that was implemented by Bidarzani to visualize the status of women and seek opportunities for change in the post-revolution era after Mahsa protests.

To conclude, it can be highlighted that Bidarzani has brought cyberactivism as a resource into play to mobilize the activists and scholars in the academic and social debate regarding women's rights and gender issues. In addition, it can be inferred that Bidarzani's content formation and structure aligns with the resource mobilization approach since the platform has utilized diverse path in employing assets and scheme to aid in mobilizing protestors.

One the other hand, looking at the content of the Bidarzani through the lens of a political opportunity approach, it can be deduced that the website used the turmoil period as an opportunity to elevate discussion on women's rights and gender equality. Although women's issues and gender equality have been previously discussed and lots of work have been devoted to advocate them, this uprising was seized as a significant chance by Bidarzani to formulate the society's and women's demands into a coherent format. This format is shown in the form of charter compositions. Women's movements have been always a target of inconsistency in the eyes of the state, and even the individual acts of disobedience that occurred during White Wednesdays and MyStelathyFreedom were not successful in theorizing the event while occurring. However, Bidarzani attempted to use the uprising time to generate structural works that addressed the concerns of diverse groups in the society. Charters that are composed by LGBTQIA+ community and the Charter of Demands for Solidarity are two instances that reflect how Bidarzani acutely addresses the concerns.

Although it has been stated that the political opportunity approach can work when the political context allows a set of chances for the protestors to present their

demands and seek fixation under that political context; however, the issue of grasping chances in the current movement differs from what Bidarzani proposed. Unlike 1990s during Mohammad Khatami's presidency in which there was a proper free atmosphere to seek advocacy regarding women's rights and gender equality, during the Jina uprising the lack of free political space accelerated scholars' and activists' motivation in utilizing the ground to precisely count the required demands without taking any step back. Consequently, it can be inferred that, unlike the pillars of the political opportunity approach in providing a facilitating ground for the movement's progression, As Bidarzani asserts, the Jina uprising is counted as a possible and proper ground to address and highlight every demanded alteration. So, we can see the perspective of Bidarzani that deviant from the concept of political opportunity.

Looking at the content of Bidarzani from the framing theory approach, it can be comprehended how Bidarzani frames the current Women_Life_Freedom movement, and what frames are used that can fully resonate with supporters and the public's attention. The analysis of the women's demands illustrates diverse frames that are targeted by the website and more especially the Jina uprising. As one instance, it can be argued that the website took a human rights approach in addressing the basic rights that were disregarded during the last 40 years after the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran. Addressing issues such as femicide, education, employment, health, and equality as fundamental and principal rights for every individual regardless of nationality and ethnicity are proposed and investigated by Bidarzani.

Along with scrutinizing the movement by taking a human rights approach, Bidarzani also regarded the current movement's frame from the perspective of the civil rights approach. Equal rights for political and social participation, access to space without any imposed restriction, freedom of forming councils, and lastly demanding equal consideration regardless of ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation are points that Bidarzani addressed and highlighted through the charters published on the website.
Last but not least, another frame that is used by Bidarzani to analyze the content is attributed to the transnational frame of considering a place for the immigrants who

may not be accredited any benefits of citizenship. By addressing the rights that shall be bestowed on immigrants (Afghani women) Bidarzani attempts to go beyond the geographical and cultural limits, and it tries to present the current movement a wholesome incident that can be included and attributed to diverse groups regardless of their nationality. To do so, Bidarzani has included the demands of immigrants. This dedication not only refers to women's issues and status in regard to authoritarian states, but also it advocates ways to escape through systematic planning of charter composing.

As the new social movement theory implemented to analyze the content of bidarzani, new social movement approach, endeavors to signify the identity, culture, and lifestyle of the jina uprising's protestors. What Bidarzani took to scrutinize this movement based on a new social movement approach can be easily attained from its widespread attention to the issues of Balouchi, Kurdish society, and LGBTQIA+ community. The analysis of the manifestos written and published by each group demonstrates how Bidarzani tries to shift away from scrutinizing a movement based on class struggle and a central perspective. What Bidarzani has attempted to transfer is that the recent movements own a sense of decentralization and Jina uprising is no exception; however, what matters the most is an informal network that is built among individuals and groups (face-to-face or online) to pursue their demands. As a result, what Bidarzani clearly asserts is how the leadership is diffused in Jina movement and how decision-making is participatory that occurs among participants. To simplify it, it can be seen how Bidarzani website kept the gate of dialogue and exchanging of it among activists open in charter writing. What it tried to highlight is to stress movements' urge to build solidarity and collaboration to achieve their desired outcomes. Consequently, it can be deduced how Bidarzani's content analysis based on new social movement theory aligns with the theory in general. It can be concluded that Bidarzani website was successful to bring the organized and decentralized aspect of Jina uprising unto the surface by accentuating the movement's decentralized source of progression, and second, the order that resides inside the content of the uprising that are reflected on the website through Charters.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION: Mahsa Amini's Death and its impact on Women's Protest in Iran

The final chapter explicates the key findings surrounding the analysis of Jina uprising. To do so, an overall explanation will be given regarding Mahsa Amini's case, the societal and political impacts of the incident, and how the death of Mahsa galvanize protests. Next, an in-depth analysis of the prevalent discourse in the published articles on Bidarzani website under the section of 'agent of change' will be conducted. Third, distinctive elements in Jina uprising will be explained, and these elements' role in intensifying or altering the course of the protest will be investigated. Fourth, a summary of the key findings of the content analysis (regarding causes and demands) of the Jina uprising will be provided.

In addition, the comparison of the key findings in the content of Bidarzani website regarding social movement theories and how the current movement converges and diverges with the discourses of different conceptual frameworks of social movement will be explicated. Finally, the last part will explain the contribution this research provides to the existing knowledge on women's protests in Iran, and how it can broaden our understanding of the aftermath and impact of Mahsa's case.

5.1. Mahsa Amini's case

The death of Mahsa Amini who was arrested by the morality Police in Iran ignited a serious set of protests that were unprecedented in Iran's modern history. Mahsa was a Kurdish girl that came to Tehran from a small town, Saqqez, but she was detained by the police due to her inappropriate hijab. After being taken into custody by the Morality Police, she was pronounced dead on 16 September 2022. The announcement of her death triggered protests first in front of Kasra Hospital where

she was hospitalized, and the leading protests and uprising spread nationwide in the country (Goodrich, 2023: 153) that are still continuing.[142]

5.2. Elements and Impact on Protest

The death of Mahsa brought different societal and political impacts in the domestic and international scale. To begin with, this uprising led to a cultural revolution in mentalities, especially among the youth. In Iran, this development illustrates the anti-discriminatory, anti-authoritative, and anti-hegemonic aspects of protests in opposition to the government. This development has approximately shaken the mentality in Iran so that it will not be possible to go back to the past. It can be comprehended that the socio-cultural fabric of Iranian society has experienced a long-held suppression that it couldn't resist a comprehensive transformation in the direction of equality, freedom, and independence any longer. As a result, every citizen with their particular demands took the opportunity to call for alterations in the subservient circumstances they endure.

In addition, the uprising provided proof of building solidarity among different social classes and ethnicities. This unity indicates itself in different slogans uttered and chanted in different regions in Iran. in addition, the collaboration of the working class and middle class during the protests through different mediums (such as strikes and demonstrations) demonstrates the resolved gap between the two groups. Along with the solidarity among working class, university students, plaintiff mothers, teachers, and school students, the Jina uprising provides a new picture in the history of protests in Iran by emphasizing the intersection and interwoven of different groups that target the regime's legitimacy.

As another important social impact of the Jina uprising, it can be referred to the improved women's status in enabling them to express their free presence and bodies without any imposed control on their bodies in the streets. This transformation was obtained by implementing different strategies that are designed and utilized by

[142] Goodrich, N. H. (2023). Say Her Name, Mahsa Amini!. *Communicating Global Crises: Media, War, Climate, and Politics*, 151

women to direct attention to their liberation through negating mandatory hijab during protests. Burning scarves, dancing in the streets, walking in the street without wearing hijab, cutting their hair as a manifestation of protest etc. all indicate how women persistently regain the restricted physical space through the act of radical personal actions in the public sphere.

The radical acts of protestation also demonstrated themselves in the slogans presented and generated during the uprising that tried to reflect diverse groups and social class issues and demands. Taking instance of the slogans and stickers that are published on Bidarzani website regarding Balouchi women's demands is a proper instance that reflects the undermining status and situations women suffer from and ask for alterations. Taking from the civil and human right demands to gender and ethnicity concerns, the stickers cover a wide range of issues taking a radical step targeting every aspect of degraded suppression imposed by the state on the women who are marginalized not only due to the geographical context (since Southern part of Iran has suffered from state's peripheral attention and dedication in terms of infrastructure developmental plan during the last 44 years which resulted in lack of proper basis for education, healthcare, and public service), ethnicity (because the majority of the population residing in that district are Sunni sect identified as a marginalized religious group in the Shia dominant country that the juridical law do not include and correspond to their legal demands), and more importantly due to their gender (who are oppressed and been labeled as second-class citizens who are the target of severe discrimination and femicide in the male-dominant social and cultural hegemony of the community).

5.3. Summary of Key findings

This thesis tried to comprehend the latest women's movement in Iran from the perspective of the Bidarzani website to understand the root causes of, and the demands propounded by the movement and understand how the movement is played out regarding the unfolding events after Mahsa's death. More importantly, this research tried to scrutinize how the current uprising that occurred in Iran, that touched and took lives of thousands of people's lives, along being labialized as a

decentralized and diffused acts of protestation that indicated itself in the form of street protests can be understood in accordance with the theories of social movement to conclude regardless of its decentralized and unruly movement, it can be counted as a systematic and centralized act of protestation and revolution from the perspective of Bidarzani.

The causes collected from the content and thematic analysis of the articles are summarized into three points of (1) the state's systematic gender oppression of women, (2) An intersection of linked oppressions and repression of oppressed groups, and (3) the continuation of previous uprisings and protests in triggering Jina uprising. The findings convey diverse messages and frameworks that can be summarized as discussed in the previous chapter. The advocated demands raised within the movement are divided into two forms: (1) women's demands presented in the form of charters and the complementary criticisms added to the charters, and (2) charters elevated and composed by other unions incorporated into the framework of the women's charters. It can be comprehended that the demands proposed by women are not only addressing the issues and problems women have suffered from since the emergence of the Islamic Republic but also the demands do not suffice for women. Jina uprising has provided a possible and appropriate space for other minorities (Kurdish, Balouchi, and LGBTQIA+) to express their needs and seek equality through advocating their rights in the forms of charters.

Along with women and other minorities who articulated their demands, people from different social classes also joined the process of charter writing to enunciate their demands. The Charter of Minimum Demands for Independent Trade Unions and Civil Organizations in Iran grasps an opportunity to explicate its demands under twelve articles that inquire about fair employment and labor conditions.

The findings from Bidarzani's content reflect different aspects of social movement theories that can be argued from different approaches to social movement theories. First, Bidarzani website indicated the ways in which resources are mobilized and utilized for the sake of the movement's progression.

In the Women_Life_Freedom movement, Bidarzani tried to paint a precise portrait of each member. As it contends, underprivileged and downtrodden sections of society

led the way in the Jina uprising's street protests. Their demands were revived as a result of the growing opposition to and displeasure with the government's policies. From the website, it can be gathered that Bidarzani views these organizations as tools and resources that may both organize the public and appeal to other groups to join the struggle for their rights. It may be stated that the Bidarzani takes up a superior position in exposing marginalized populations as prospective individual resources that can increase the pace and effectiveness of resource mobilization by connecting this idea to that theory.

In addition to human resources mobilization, Bidarzani highlights the significance of coalitions and alliances as a critical component in achieving women's rights and independence. It demonstrated this by working with 19 other unions and councils to create charter demands, demonstrating a resource mobilization strategy to bring people with similar complaints together following the Islamic revolution of 1979. This emphasizes the need to strengthen ties and leverage different players to engage and be connected to certain organizations.

Moreover, Bidarzani acts as the only mechanism that controls the Jina uprising's speed. The platform compiled efficient strategies and tactics for protestors and scholar contributors to use during the current protest, though it was not cost-effective (since the editors and contributors suffered from severe state repression through imprisonment and there is no financial aid nourishing the institution). Bidarzani gave activists a forum where they could openly participate in conversations and exchanges on the elements of the Women's Charter. After the Mahsa demonstrations, Bidarzani employed an innovative technique known as the "Women's Charter" to visualize the position of women and look for potential for change.

It is crucial to recognize that Bidarzani has tapped into the power of cyberactivism to include academics and activists in scholarly and public conversations on women's rights and gender-related issues. Furthermore, it can be deduced that Bidarzani's content creation and organizational structure adhere to the fundamentals of resource mobilization methodology because the platform has skillfully used a variety of strategies and has created a blueprint for facilitating the mobilization of demonstrators.

From a political opportunity standpoint, Bidarzani cleverly took use of the unrest to further conversations on women's rights and gender equality. The production of charter papers is an example of how Bidarzani used the upheaval as a crucial chance to integrate society and women's demands into a logical framework, even if these concerns had already been addressed and pushed for. Even during specific acts of disobedience like White Wednesdays and MyStealthyFreedom, the women's movement has always encountered difficulties and discrepancies in state perception. But during this time of instability, Bidarzani produced structural texts that addressed the issues of many socioeconomic groupings.

The present movement varies from Bidarzani's suggestion, since the political opportunity strategy often depends on a favorable political situation that enables demonstrators to argue for their goals. Regarding previous context in which there existed a comparatively free environment for promoting women's rights and gender equality, yet the Jina rebellion took place in a political environment with little room for freedom. In fact, this restriction encouraged academics and activists to be more adamant in upholding their goals without giving in. Consequently, Bidarzani contends that the Jina revolt provided a feasible and appropriate platform to address and stress every desired change, in contrast to the typical perspective of the political opportunity method, which emphasizes the necessity of a supporting environment for a movement's success. Bidarzani's viewpoint departs from the conventional idea of political potential as a result.

When Bidarzani's material is examined using the framing theory method, it is clear how it frames the Women_Life_Freedom movement and uses frames that appeal to both its supporters and the public. The Bidarzani website's examination of women's demands exposes numerous frameworks, with a focus on the Jina rebellion in particular. For instance, the website takes a human rights stance and discusses essential rights that have been disregarded for the past 40 years since the Islamic Republic of Iran was founded. The author Bidarzani emphasizes that everyone, regardless of race or nationality, has the right to equality, education, employment, and health care.

Bidarzani examined the movement from both a human rights and a civil rights standpoint, as well as examining it from a human rights perspective. Bidarzani

addressed and emphasized these points through the charters posted on the website, emphasizing equal rights for political and social participation, access to space without any imposed restrictions, freedom in forming councils, and lastly, demanding equal consideration regardless of ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation.

The transnational frame of looking for a location for immigrants who might not be eligible for citizenship privileges is another frame that Bidarzani use to examine the material. In order to transcend geographical and cultural boundaries and show the current movement as a positive occurrence that can be incorporated and ascribed to varied groups regardless of their country, Bidarzani addresses the rights that should be granted to immigrants (Afghani women). To accomplish this, Bidarzani has taken into account the needs of immigrants to, first, not only discuss women's difficulties and status in relation to authoritarian governments, but also to push for means of emancipation via methodical charter composition.

The new social movement method aims to represent the identity, culture, and way of life of the protesters in the jina rebellion as the final social movement theory used to examine the content of Bidarzani. It is clear from the movement's vast focus on Balouchi, Kurdish society, and LGBTQIA+ concerns what Bidarzani took to examine it using a new social movement strategy. By examining the manifestos created and distributed by each organization, Bidarzani attempts to get away from examining a movement built on class conflict and a single point of view.

However, the informal network created by people and groups to further their objectives, whether in close proximity or online, is of utmost importance. The Jina rebellion serves as an example of how decentralization characterizes modern revolutions, which is the main point Bidarzani wants to make. As a result, Bidarzani effectively describes the Jina movement's leadership structure and the decision-making procedures followed by its participants.

One can see how the Bidarzani website actively promoted a climate favorable to discussion and idea sharing among activists during the charter making process. Its

main focus was on highlighting how important it is for social movements to promote cooperation and teamwork in order to achieve their intended goals. Thus, it can be concluded that Bidarzani's content analysis, which is based on the framework of new social movement theory, is coherent with this theory's guiding principles. In conclusion, it can be concluded that the Bidarzani website was successful in illuminating two key elements of the Jina uprising: first, the movement's decentralized nature of progression; and second, the underlying order present in the uprising's content, as evidenced by the Charters featured.

Based on what has been investigated and analyzed on the Bidarzani website, the website was rich in providing a vast perspective on women's issues and the current women's movement of Women_Life_Freedom including the causes of occurrence and the systematic and formal articulation of demands. Although the website may not fully analyze the uprising since it is still ongoing and every day new forms of protests and demands arise; nevertheless, the contemporary sequence, effects, and outcomes deduced from the uprising until now lead us to conclude what Bidarzani's standing point is regarding the movement. It is perceptible that Iranian feminist activists are highly optimistic about the result that the Jina uprising may bring to society. Although their belief in bringing change by not taking a step back may end to progressing state suppression; nonetheless, the societal and cultural effect that the movement has brought with itself will not be forgotten and it will pave the way for brighter, more organized, and systematic uprising and movement.

The rationale behind choosing Bidarzani to look into the current uprising in Iran over other platforms, such as Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram, that devoted a great deal of time and space to researching the dynamics of the Women_Life_Freedom, is that, in addition to their exclusive coverage of every incident and action taken during the movement, they failed to offer a credible and useful gate for academic discussion and debate by projecting future outcomes.

What Bidarzani tried to put out was a methodical, planned action plan that may aid and lead the regime's opponents in making their requests and smoothing the road of protestation that is often ignored on other web forums. This objective is obtained

through methodic charter writing and delving into details of different aspects of discrimination and subordination that authoritarian regimes such as the Islamic Republic of Iran have implemented during the last forty years to generate submissive second-class citizens like women. Consequently, the website creates a strong foundation for not only incorporating mapping schemes to reflect different aspects of women's rights and gender issues but also paves the way for activists working under the content of women's movements and women's issues in other geographical locations who are the subject of these issues such as Afghanistan under the regime of Taliban. This is achieved by incorporating various charters created in accordance with various cultural and geographic contexts in modern history (such as Africa and Kurdish society) and opening the door for dialogue and communication among activists to contribute their ideas, suppositions, action plans, and understandings to enliven the draft charters. Therefore, from my standpoint, the transnational effect of the project Bidarzani has done shall not be neglected to be considered.

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APPENDIX

A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

GİRİŞ

Bu tez, İranlı kadınların sorunları ve hareketleriyle ilgilenen, kayıtsız bir İran web sitesinin içeriğini analiz etme girişimidir. Bidarzani (Uyanış) sitesi, 2022 yılında Mahsa Amini adlı Kürt kızının ahlak polisi tarafından öldürülmesi nedeniyle İran'da yaşanan güncel hareket ve ayaklanmaya büyük ilgi adamış ve katkı sunmuştur. O günden bu yana her yerde çeşitli protestolar yaşanmaktadır. Kadına yönelik ayrımcılık ve cinsiyet eşitliğine ilişkin yasa değişikliği arayışlarına başlayan ülke, rejimin devrilmesini talep edecek noktaya ulaştı. Kadın_yaşam_özgürlüğü olarak bilinen hareket, protestoları sırasında farklı strateji ve taktikler uygulayarak, farklı sosyal ve kültürel altyapılardan insanları harekete dahil etmek için harekete geçirdi.

Araştırmanın Amacı ve Araştırma Soruları

Bu içerik analizinin ardındaki amaç, hedef kitlesine, politika yapıcılara, sosyal hareketlerin merkezi ve yapılandırılmış formatını vurgulayarak web sitesinin içeriğinin toplumsal hareket teorileri perspektifinden nasıl anlaşılabileceğidir ve feminist aktivistler, 1979 İslam Devrimi'nden bu yana İslam Cumhuriyeti'nin ayrımcı hukuku altında yaşayan kadınların öne çıkan ve temel taleplerini dile getiriyor. Sonuç olarak tez, Bidarzani web sitesinin İslam Devrimi'ni nasıl tasvir etmeye çalıştığı sorusuna yanıt vermeye çalışıyor. Mevcut İran kadın hareketi ve protestoları, kadınların protestolarındaki idaresi zor olan yönteme bakılmaksızın merkezi bir yol göstererek protesto ediliyor.

LİTERATÜR İNCELEMESİ VE KAVRAMSAL ÇERÇEVE

Mevcut Kadın_Hayat_Özgürlük hareketiyle birlikte sokak protestolarının ademi merkeziyetçi, spontane ve amaçsız bir eylem biçimi olduğunu öne süren bakış açıları ve görüşler var. Bununla birlikte, merkezi bir harekete geçirme ve çerçeveleme kaynağından yoksun spontane sokak protestolarının yanı sıra, mevcut kadın hareketinin hem yapı hem de düzenin bir kombinasyonunu sergilediği ileri sürülebilir. Mevcut harekette, hareketi belirli sonuçlara ulaşmayı kolaylaştıracak şekilde çerçeveleme, yeniden düşünme ve yeniden yapılandırma çabalarının olduğu söylenebilir. Toplumsal harekete kavramsal açıdan bakıldığında, İran kadın hareketinin dinamiklerini, gelişimini ve arka planını, stratejilerini, taleplerini, prosedürlerini ve kazanımlarına göre İran kadın hareketinin nasıl algılandığını anlamak gerekir. Bu tezde İran kadın hareketini incelemek için uygulanan toplumsal hareket teorileri, kaynak seferberliği teorisi, siyasi fırsat teorisi, çerçeveleme teorisi ve yeni toplumsal hareket teorisi olarak kategorize edilmiştir.

Toplumsal Hareket Teorisinin Tanımı

McCarthy ve Zald (1977: 1217-1218) toplumsal hareket teorilerini, toplumsal yapısal 'değişim' arzusunu ifade eden bir nüfus arasında benimsenen 'inançlar', değerler ve bakış açılarının bir koleksiyonu olarak tanımladılar. Ayrıca Tarrow (1998), hareketlerin içinde var olan 'kolektif' ağı vurgulayan 'ağ' paradigmasını vurgulayarak toplumsal hareketi sosyo-kültürel bir mesele olarak açıklamaktadır (Bates vd., 2004: 11). Snow ve diğerleri (2004) toplumsal hareketleri bir kolektif eylem biçimi olarak tanımlamakta ve kolektif eylemleri kurumsal ve kurumsal olmayan olarak sınıflandırmaktadır. Ek olarak, yoksunluk teorisi olarak bilinen başka bir toplumsal hareket teorisi, toplumsal hareketleri, toplumsal bir hareketi tetikleyen yoğunlaştırılmış bir 'şikayet' ve 'genelleştirilmiş inanç kaynağı' olarak görür (McCarthy ve Zald, 1977: 1214).

Kaynak Seferberliği, Siyasi Fırsat Teorisi, Çerçeveleme Teorisi ve Yeni Toplumsal Hareket Teorisi

Kaynak seferberliği teorisi, yoksunluk teorisinin aksine, kolektif davranışın psikolojik yönünü göz ardı eder ve daha fazla vurgu yapar ve 'politik, sosyolojik ve

ekonomik teorilere' dayanır. Bir hareketi asimile etme veya yönetme hedeflerine ulaşmak için harekete geçirilmesi gereken kaynakların ve uygulanması gereken strateji ve taktiklerin önemini vurgular. Siyasi fırsat teorisi, daha geniş siyasi sistemdeki çeşitli değişimlerin protesto eyleminin nasıl dalgalanacağını belirlediği fikri olarak toplumsal hareket teorisini vurgular. Yeni toplumsal hareket teorisi, toplumsal hareketler sürecinde kimlik ve kültürel boyutlara daha fazla vurgu yapmakta ve kolektif eylemin bireyin sınırları dahilinde ilerlemesini sağlayacak belirli bir davranışın, niteliklerini kaybetmeden sürdürülmesinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. (Melucci, 1980: 201). Dolayısıyla Touraine'in de belirttiği gibi yeni toplumsal hareket teorisi, anlamlı bir değişime ulaşmak için kimlik ve bireysellik faktörünü siyasal katılımla bütünleştirmektir. Son olarak NSMT, toplumsal hareketin kültürel ve sembolik yönlerini vurguluyor ve başarıya ulaşmak için bir hareketin merkeziliğini iddia etmek yerine, ağ bağlantılı bir yapıyı benimsemede hareketlerin 'merkezi olmayan' yönlerinin önemine işaret ediyor.

İran bağlamında kadın hareketi göz önüne alındığında, İranlı kadınlar, 1979 İslam Devrimi'nden sonraki on yıllar boyunca taleplerini gerçekleştirmek için mali destek, örgütsel altyapı ve insan sermayesi gibi farklı kaynakları hayata geçirdi ve uyguladı. 1979 İslam Devrimi'nden sonraki ilk yıllarda, kadınlar, özgür bir ortamda taleplerini arayarak seslerini yükseltebilecekleri uygun zemini bulabildikleri için, Dünya Kadınlar Günü ve cumhurbaşkanlığı seçimleri döneminde yakın gizli toplantılar şeklinde seferber edilmişlerdir. (Sajadi, 2023: 2). Kadınlar 2000'li yıllarda kampanyalar kurarak, son on yılda ise sanal dünyada ağ oluşturma hareketlerini geliştirmede de başarılı oldular. Bir Milyon İmza Kampanyası aynı zamanda kadınların harekete geçme ve talepleri için savunuculuk arama çabalarının bir başka yoludur.

Kadınların kullandığı fırsatlardan biri, siyasi aktivizm yoluyla siyaset alanında cinsiyet dengesini değiştirerek başkanlığa adaylık çağrısı yapmak için uygun zemin oluşturmaktı. Ayrıca kadınların eylemi İran'da muhafazakâr bir partiye karşı duruşun göstergesi olarak değerlendirildi. Ayrıca kadınların eylemi İran'da muhafazakâr bir partiye karşı duruşun göstergesi olarak değerlendirildi. Talepleri özgürce ifade edilebilecek uygun bir bağlam buldu. Taleplerine ilişkin olarak, özgür bir basının

kurulması, yargı sisteminde eşit hakların akredite edilmesi, ekonomik dengenin sağlanması, muhafazakâr ve geleneksel siyasi ve sosyal meselelerin tartışılması ve demokrasinin uygulanabileceği bir sivil toplumun inşa edilmesi ve cinsiyet sorunları iyileştirilerek mücadele edilebilir. Ayrıca bu dönem, laik ve Müslüman feministlerin, toplumsal cinsiyet sorunları ve kadın haklarıyla ilgilenmek ve otoritenin meşruiyetini sorgulamak için kampanyalar, STK'lar ve medyada aktivizm oluşturma yoluyla kadın hakları çağrısında iş birliği yaptığını gösterdi. (Povey, 2001).

Çerçeveleme teorisine gelince, İranlı kadınlar haklarını ve cinsiyet eşitliğini savunmak için farklı çerçeveler kullandılar. Oluşturdukları ve takip ettikleri çerçeveler, İran'ın her dönemin siyasi, sosyal ve kültürel bağlamına uygundur. 1979 İslam Devrimi'nin ardından kadın sorunları ve cinsiyet eşitliği kaygıları üzerinde çalışan İranlı aktivistler, taleplerini İslami değerler temelinde kadın hakları çağrısında bulunarak yapılandırdılar. Afsaneh Najmabadi'nin, 1979'daki devrim sonrası dönemin ilk yıllarında İran'ın 'yeniden İslamlaştırılmış' siyasi bağlamına atfettiği gibi, kadın aktivistler, kadın haklarını ve toplumsal cinsiyet meselelerini bu çerçevede yorumlayabilecek meşru bir çerçeveyi 'yeniden inşa etmek' için bu zemini kullandılar. İran'daki İslami (Şii) ve ataerkil politikalar ve söylemlerle. Üstelik kadınlar, Bir milyon imza ve kadınlara yönelik taşlamanın durdurulması gibi kampanyalar düzenleyerek ayrımcı yasalara ilişkin yasal reformlar yapılması için baskı yaptı. Son olarak, kadınların sivil haklarına ilişkin sosyal ve hukuki değişim talebiyle uyguladıkları protestoların çerçevelerinden biri de 1990'lı yıllarda Zanan Dergisi'nin (Kadın dergisi) kurulmasıydı.

Literatürdeki Mevcut Boşluklar

Önceki çalışmaların sağladığı görüşlerin kapsamına rağmen, ele alınmamış dikkate değer boşluklar var. Birincisi, dil engeli sosyal bilimlerde ve orada yapılan çalışmalarda kendini dayatıyor. Örneğin, (İngiliz) literatürde, İranlı feminist aktivistlerin Farsça ve İran'da bestelediği eserlerin kapsamlı bir kapsamı bulunmuyor. İkincisi, Facebook, Instagram, TikTok ve Twitter gibi sosyal medya platformlarının Jina ayaklanmasıyla ilgili içeriklerinin analizine büyük miktarda özveri atfediliyor, ancak yönlendirilen ve tasarlanan bir web sitesinin içeriği

konusunda profesyonel feminist aktivistler tarafından analiz eksikliği var gibi görünüyor. Ayrıca Jina ayaklanması sırasında yayınlanan içeriğin çoğu, zorunlu başörtüsünü çalışmalarının öncelikli odağı haline getirdi. Sonuç olarak kadınların diğer temel taleplerinin karşılanmaması ihtimali var. Son olarak, Jina ayaklanmasına ilişkin mevcut literatür, farklı sınıf ve düzeylerden tüm insanların taleplerini vurgulayacak özveriden yoksundur ve marjinal mezhepleri göz ardı ederek kadınların protestoları ve taleplerine ilişkin genel bir perspektifi korumaya yeterlidir.

YÖNTEM

İçerik analizi, Mahsa Amini'nin ölümü olayından bu yana Kasım 2022'den Mart 2023'e kadar 'Değişimin Ajanı' başlığı altında yayımlanan otuz iki makale üzerinden gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu bölüm Jina ayaklanmasının patlak vermesi sırasında oluşturuldu ve bölümün adı protestolar sırasında 'Kadın hareketi' yerine 'Değişimin temsilcisi' olarak değiştirildi. Bidarzani web sitesinde çalışan feminist aktivistlerin farklı toplumsal hareket teorileri açısından özeti ve kilit noktaları, protestoların nedenleri, ortak temalar ve önerilen talepler araştırılıyor.

İçerik analizinin uygulanmasının amacı, yalnızca kelime sayısından ziyade kelimeler arasındaki anlamsal bağlantıları vurgulamaktır; dolayısıyla metinlerin temelinde yatan anlam ve benzer anlamların sınıflandırılması, çıkarım yapılması gereken amaçtır. Bu kategoriler aynı zamanda genellikle 'gizli içerik' olarak bilinen ve görünürdeki bilgilerin ötesine geçen zımni iletişimi de içerir. Bir dizi makale için ilk arama, makalelerin ve Jina ayaklanması sırasındaki özel günlere dayalı olarak yayınladıkları içeriğin takip edilmesi için web sitesinin kronolojik takibidir. İkinci arama, anahtar kelimeleri veya makalenin adını belirlemek yoluyla yapılır. Üçüncü araştırma, makaleleri gözden geçirmek ve Jina ayaklanmasıyla ilgili makalenin kapsadığı ana temaları not almaktır. Her bir makalenin dahil edilme kriterlerini karşılayıp karşılamadığını doğrulamak için, hareketin yaydığı nedenlere, taleplere ve süreçlere herhangi bir referans olup olmadığını kontrol etmek amacıyla makaleler incelenirken tematik bir analiz gerçekleştirilir.

Eylül 2022'den Mart 2023'e kadar süren Jina ayaklanmasıyla ilgili içeriğin daha ayrıntılı analiz edilmesi için Bidarzani web sitesinin kökeni ve içeriğinin incelenmesi

büyük önem taşımaktadır. Bidarzani web sitesinin kökeni ve kuruluşu 2008 yılına kadar uzanmaktadır (Sahraei, 2016: 6). Bidarzani, hükümetin kadın karşıtı haklar tasarısına yanıt olarak kurulan (Naeli, 2018: 81) İran içindeki bağımsız bir kadın aktivist grubu olarak biliniyordu (Sahraei, 2016: 6). 'Aileyi koruma kanunu' olarak sunulan bu tasarı, kadınların aile planlaması ve sağlık programları alanında, yüksek öğrenim ve mesleki kariyer yapmalarını engellemek amacıyla önerildi. Web sitesi, sekizinci mecliste 'Aileyi Koruma Kanunu' tasarısının yeniden tasarlanması üzerine ilk olarak 2008 kışında 'Eşit Aileye Kadar' adı altında faaliyetlerine başladı. Toplumun kadınlara yönelik cinsiyet ayrımcılığına ilişkin konularda farkındalığını artırmak amacıyla aynı yaklaşımla web sitesinin adı 'Bidarzani' veya 'Uyanış' olarak değiştirildi.

Site kurulduğu günden bu yana altı kesin hedefi gerçekleştirmek amacıyla yola çıkmıştır. Birincisi, web sitesinde de savunulduğu gibi, 'aile', 'hukuk', 'istihdam', 'eğitim' ve 'sağlık' kurumlarında eşitliği ve cinsiyet adaletini teşvik etmek için tasarlanmıştır. İkincisi, İran'daki ayrımcı cinsiyet yasalarına ilişkin farkındalık yaratmaya ve değişim çağrısı yapmaya çalıştı. Üçüncüsü, kadına yönelik şiddete karşı farkındalık yaratmaya, karşı çıkmaya ve ortadan kaldırmaya çabaladığını iddia ediyor. Dördüncüsü, web sitesindeki bir bölüm, kadınların sosyal ve sağlık açısından zararları konusunda toplumun farkındalığını artırmaya ayrılmıştır. Beşincisi, kadınların cinsel üreme haklarını da tartışıyor ve son olarak İranlı kadınların statükosunu dikkate alan feminist teorilerin geliştirilmesi ve benimsenmesiyle ilgileniyor.

Makale Seçimi

Hareketin olaylarının gidişatını ayrıntılı bir şekilde açıklamaya atfedilen 'Değişim Ajanı' bölümünde Kasım 2022'den Mart 2023'e kadar Jina ayaklanmasına ilişkin otuz iki makale yayınlandı. Tablo (1) Mahsa Amini'nin Eylül 2022'deki ölüm olayından bu yana Mart 2023'e kadar yayınlanan makalelerin kısa bir özetini sunmaktadır.

Bu web sitesini ve 'Değişimin Ajanları' bölümünde yayınlanan makaleleri seçmenin ardındaki neden, bu web sitesinin mevcut Kadın_Hayat_Özgürlük hareketini daha

merkezi olmayan bir ayaklanma yerine merkezi bir eylem olarak çerçeveleyerek talepleri yapılandırmak için nasıl çaba harcadığını göstermektir. Pek çok sokak protestosunun doğası gereği dağınık ve dağılmış olduğunu gösteriyor.

İçeriğin analizi tezde verilen bir tabloda verilmiştir. Tabloda makalelerin adları, yayınlanma tarihi, ana birincil ve ikincil temalar ve makalelerin özeti açıklanmaktadır. Ayrıca sitenin trafikleri Bidarzani'nin Instagram hesabından toplanıyor. Bunun nedeni, web sitesinin devlet filtrelemesi altında olması ve izleyicinin ziyaretçi trafik işlemlerini toplaması için ücretsiz erişimin mevcut olmamasıdır. Tablo 2, makalelerle ilgili her gönderideki beğeni sayısını göstermektedir.

Veri Analizi Süreci

Veri analizi sürecinde tümdengelimci bir yaklaşım benimsenmektedir. Bu yaklaşımın uygulanması, verilerin oldukça 'ayrıntılı' bir analizini sağlarken, tümdengelimli yaklaşımın farklı 'durumlarda' önceki bir teorinin sonuçlarını ve yapılabilirliğini kontrol edebilmesinde yatmaktadır. Jina ayaklanması ve Bidarzani web sitesinde yayınlanan makaleler dikkate alındığında öncelikli amaç, ayaklanmanın içeriğinin (sebepler ve talepler dahil) toplumsal hareketler ve kadın protestoları teorisiyle ilişkilendirilerek yansıtılıp aydınlatılamayacağını kontrol etmektir (Vaismoradi, 2013: 401). Makalelerin tematik kodlama sürecinden sonra Jina ayaklanmasında kadınların nedenlerini ve taleplerini yansıtan farklı temaların 'Jina ayaklanmasının nedenleri' ve 'Jina ayaklanmasında talepler' olmak üzere iki başlık altında toplandığını da belirtmek gerekir.

Bulgular

Sistematik cinsiyet baskısı 'makalelerden çıkarılan ana temalardan biridir. Bu baskı, devletin sistematik baskısından, ev içi baskıya kadar farklı şekillerde kendini göstermektedir. Sistematik baskı, 'kadın bedeni üzerinde kontrol' şeklinde kendini gösteriyor. Beden üzerindeki kontrol, başörtüsünün zorunlu hale getirilmesi ve kadınların kamusal alandaki varlığının kısıtlanması şeklinde kendini göstermektedir.

Sonuç olarak bu temayı içeren yazılar zorunlu başörtüsünü reddederek 'kadın özgürlüğünün' gerekliliğini vurguluyor.

Ayrıca metin, fiziksel, cinsel, psikolojik, politik, ekonomik ve toplumsal şiddetin topyekûn ağırlığını kadınlara "zorunlu örtünmenin" ağırlığıyla yüklediğini açıklıyor, "sınıf, etnik köken ve cinsiyet" örtüşmesine vurgu yapıyor " Bunun kadınların, ezilen etnik grupların, LGBTQ topluluğu üyelerinin ve eşit ve onurlu insan yaşamının çifte ötekileştirilmesi üzerinde etkileri oldu.

Sistematik baskı, ataerkil devletin propagandasını yaptığı cinsiyet ayrımcılığı biçiminde de kendini gösteriyor. Hareket, kadın cinayetlerine ve bunun nedenlerine yönelik birikmiş muhalefete, ikincisi, istihdamda ve işyerinde kadınlara karşı ayrıcalıklı haklara, üçüncü çocuk evliliklerine bir yanıttır.

Bidarzani, makalelerin içerik analizini yaparak, Jina ayaklanmasının nedenlerinden birini ülkedeki birçok ezilen grubun baskı ve aşağılanmış statüsüne bağlıyor. Bu gruplar sokaklardaki aktif varlıklarıyla isyanın gelişmesini sürdürüyor. Tematik analiz şunu gösteriyor: (1) Kürt toplumu, (2) Beluci halkı, (3) İran'ın yoksul kırsal bölgelerinden insanlar ve (4) protestoların ana katılımcısı işgücü. Ancak devletin farklı dönemlerde maruz kaldığı uzun süreli baskı ve baskı, kendi taraflarında da bu aktif katılımın ve muhalefetin oluşmasına yol açtı.

Son olarak Bidarzani, Jina ayaklanmasının (devamının) son nedeni olarak, ayaklanmanın ilerlemesini sağlayan daha önceki beş ayaklanma ve protestoya değiniyor. Öğrencilerin protestolarına atıfta bulunarak, Aban'ın davacı anneleri ve khavaran anneleri, işçi hareketi, işçi sınıfı vatandaşları, öğretmenlerin protestoları, (açıkça belirtilmese de) toplanan temalar, Jina ayaklanmasının ilerleyişinin nedenlerine dair çıkarımlar yapıyor.

Tema Seçim Süreci

Sonuç olarak, bu sınıflandırmanın nedeni, Mahsa Amini'nin ölümünden sonra yayınlanan ve öncelikle devletin baskı ve baskı uygulama dinamikleri ve

yöntemleriyle ilişkilendirilen son otuz iki makaleden derlenen anahtar kelimelere ve içeriğe dayanmaktadır. Sadece kadınlar değil, tüm ötekileştirilmiş gruplar. Dolayısıyla bu bölümde kadınların çeşitli şekillerde baskı altına alınmasıyla ilgili makalelerin içeriği araştırıldı. Üstelik tematik analizin gösterdiği gibi, Jina ayaklanmasının ilerlemesine neden olan tek ezilen grup kadınlar değil. Makalelerde yer alan temalar, davacı anneler, üniversite öğrencileri, Beluci ve Kürt kadınları gibi ötekileştirilmiş gruplara yönelik iç içe geçmiş baskı ve baskıların kesişimi ve bunların devletin kendilerine yönelik ayrımcı politikalarıyla olan muhalefetinin Jina ayaklanmasının büyümesine yol açtığını gösteriyordu. Son olarak LGBTQIA+ topluluğu ve Afgan kadınlarının yanı sıra Kürdistan ve Belucistan'ın siyasi tarihi de incelenecek. Toplanan temalar, Jina ayaklanmasının gelişiminin nedensel kaynağı olarak Jina Ayaklanmasının devamı niteliğindeki daha önceki çeşitli ayaklanmaları yansıtmaktadır. Yazılarda 1999, 2017 ve 2019 protestolarına ilişkin temalar, Jina ayaklanmasının tetikleyicisi ve ilerleticisi olarak tanımlanabilecek farklı grupların (işgücü, kadınlar, öğretmenler ve davacı anneler gibi) gizli muhalefetini ve muhalefetini ortaya koyuyor.

Makalelerin tematik analizinin sonuçları, ana temaları iki kategoride özetlemektedir. Bir grup talep, kadınların tüzük şeklinde sunulan talepleri ve tüzüklere eklenen tamamlayıcı eleştiriler ile ilgiliyken, ikinci tür talepler, diğer sendikalar tarafından oluşturulan ve kadın tüzüğü çerçevesine dahil edilen tüzüklerdir.

Kadınların değişim taleplerinin, Bidarzani'nin bünyesinde çalışan feminist aktivistlerin yardımıyla Bidarzani web sitesinde sunulan, derlenen ve revize edilen bildiriler halinde toplandığını belirtmek gerekir. Kadınların taleplerini içeren iki tüzük var (ilki taslak olarak 'Kadınların talepleri; Siyasi katılım hakkından istihdam ve eşit ücret hakkına' ve 'Geri adım atmayacağız'). Kadın Şartının son düzenlenmiş ve gözden geçirilmiş versiyonu) savunulan noktaları güçlendirmek için önerilen talepleri tamamlayan ve bunlara bakan yedi tamamlayıcı eleştiriyi içermektedir.

Makalelerin içerik analizinden elde edilen bulgular, nedenleri üç noktada ortaya koyuyor: (1) devletin kadınlara yönelik sistematik toplumsal cinsiyet baskısı, (2) Baskılar ile ezilen gruplara yönelik baskıların birbiriyle bağlantılı kesişimi ve (3)

daha önceki ayaklanmaların devam etmesi. ve Jina ayaklanmasını tetikleyen protestolar. Ayrıca, Bidarzani'nin hareketle ilgili olarak dile getirdiği taleplere ilişkin olarak Bidarzani, bunları (1) tüzük şeklinde sunulan kadın talepleri ve tüzüklere eklenen tamamlayıcı eleştiriler ve (2) diğer kişiler tarafından oluşturulan ve oluşturulan tüzükler halinde özetledi. Sendikalar kadın tüzüğü çerçevesinde örgütlendi.

BULGULAR VE TARTIŞMA

Jina ayaklanmasına küçük şehirdeki kürt vatandaşlar, üniversite öğrencileri, protestolarda aktif rol alan kadınlar, işçi sınıfı, Sistan' daki eylemlere katılım gösteren Baluşlar, lise öğrencileri, davacı annelerin diasporadaki İranlı göçmenleri, azeri vatandaşlar yoğun katılım gösterdi. Dahası, hareketin toplumsal sonuçları olarak dayanışmayı teşvik etmenin yanı sıra Jina ayaklanması, kadın bedeninin kontrolünü kendi ellerine devretmede ve kadınları değişimin aktif aktörleri olarak tanımlayarak protestolar sırasında cinsiyet ayrımını daraltmada başarılı oldu. Son olarak hareketin, dağınık ve dağınık bir hareket biçimi olarak bilinen sokak protestolarını tutarlı ve tutarlı bir protesto biçimine vurgulayarak toplumsal hareketlere yeni bir bakış açısı ve bakış açısı kazandırdığı vurgulandı.

Bidarzani, Kadın_Hayat_Özgürlük hareketi sırasında katılımcının profilinin net bir resmini sunmaya çalıştı. İddiaya göre, Jina ayaklanmasında ezilen gruplar ve toplumun dışlanmış kesimleri sokak protestolarına öncülük etti. Hükümetin politikalarına karşı biriken muhalefet ve memnuniyetsizlik, taleplerinin yeniden gün yüzüne çıkmasına zemin hazırladı. Web sitesinden Bidarzani'nin bu grupları yalnızca kitleleri harekete geçirebilecek değil, aynı zamanda diğer grupları da haklarını arayan harekete katılmaya çağırabilecek kaynaklar olarak tanımladığı anlaşılıyor. Bu kavramı kaynak seferberliği teorisine bağladığımızda, Bidarzani'nin marjinalleştirilmiş grupları hareketin hızını ve başarısını artırabilecek potansiyel bireysel kaynaklar olarak tanıtma konusunda daha iyi bir zemin edindiği ileri sürülebilir.

Bidarzani, kadınların_hayat_özgürlüğünün ilerlemesinde bir diğer önemli faktör olarak ittifakların ve koalisyonların rolünü vurguluyor. Bidarzani ile diğer on dokuz

sendika ve konsey arasında, taleplerinin ilk taslağını Tüzük şeklinde oluşturmak üzere oluşturulan koalisyonun Bidarzani'nin açıkça ifade edilen Talepler bölümünde tartışıldığı gibi, Bidarzani'nin bir kaynak seferberliği yaklaşımını zorlayıcı bir şekilde uyguladığı sonucuna varılabilir. Bidarzani'nin açıkça ifade edilen Talepler bölümünde tartışıldığı gibi, Bidarzani ve diğer on dokuz sendika ve konsey arasında oluşturulan koalisyon, 1979 İslam devriminden sonra insanların katlandığı karşılıklı mağduriyete dayalı olarak bağlantı kurmanın zorlayıcı bir yolu ile kaynak seferberliği yaklaşımını göstermektedir. Sonuç olarak, oyuncuların çoğalmasının, belirli kurum ve kuruluşlara bağlı gruplar tarafından harekete geçirilecek önemli bir kaynak olarak görülebileceği ileri sürülebilir.

Son olarak Bidarzani'nin bizzat Jina ayaklanmasının temposunu yönlendiren tek araç olduğu ileri sürülebilir. Maliyet etkin olmasa da (editörler ve katkıda bulunanlar, devlet tarafından hapis yoluyla ciddi baskılara maruz kaldıkları ve kurumu besleyen herhangi bir mali yardım bulunmadığı için), platform, mevcut protesto sırasında protestocular ve katkıda bulunan akademisyenler tarafından kullanılacak etkili stratejiler ve taktikler topladı. Bidarzani, aktivistlerin Kadın Şartı'nın oluşumuna ilişkin tartışmalara ve diyalog alışverişine özgürce katılmaları için bir platform sağladı. Kadın Şartı, Mahsa protestoları sonrasında devrim sonrası dönemde Bidarzani tarafından kadının statüsünü görselleştirmek ve değişim fırsatlarını aramak amacıyla hayata geçirilen yeni bir strateji olarak değerlendirilebilir.

Sonuç olarak, Bidarzani'nin aktivistleri ve akademisyenleri kadın hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet meselelerine ilişkin akademik ve sosyal tartışmalarda harekete geçirmek için siberaktivizmi bir kaynak olarak devreye soktuğunun altı çizilebilir. Ayrıca Bidarzani'nin içerik oluşumunun ve yapısının kaynak seferberliği yaklaşımıyla uyumlu olduğu, platformun protestocuları harekete geçirmeye yardımcı olmak için varlıkları ve planı kullanma konusunda farklı yollar kullandığı sonucuna varılabilir.

Öte yandan Bidarzani'nin içeriğine siyasi fırsat yaklaşımıyla bakıldığında sitenin bu çalkantılı dönemi kadın hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği tartışmalarını yükseltmek için bir fırsat olarak kullandığı sonucu çıkarılabilir. Her ne kadar kadın

sorunları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği daha önce de tartışılmış ve savunulması için pek çok çalışma yapılmış olsa da, Bu ayaklanma Bidarzani tarafından toplumun ve kadınların taleplerini tutarlı bir formatta formüle etmek için önemli bir şans olarak değerlendirildi. Bu format charter kompozisyonları şeklinde gösterilmektedir. Kadın hareketleri devletin gözünde her zaman tutarsızlıkların hedefi olmuş, Beyaz Çarşambalar ve MyStelathyFreedom'da gerçekleşen bireysel itaatsizlik eylemleri bile gerçekleşirken olayı teorileştirmede başarılı olamamıştı. Ancak Bidarzani, ayaklanma zamanını toplumdaki farklı grupların kaygılarına hitap eden yapısal çalışmalar üretmek için kullanmaya çalıştı. LGBTQIA+ topluluğu tarafından oluşturulan sözleşmeler ve Dayanışma Talepleri Bildirgesi, Bidarzani'nin endişeleri nasıl keskin bir şekilde ele aldığını gösteren iki örnektir.

Her ne kadar siyasi bağlam, protestoculara taleplerini sunma ve bu siyasi bağlam altında sabitlenme arayışında olma konusunda bir dizi şans tanıdığında, siyasi fırsat yaklaşımının işe yarayabileceği belirtilmiş olsa da ancak mevcut harekette fırsatları yakalama meselesi Bidarzani'nin önerdiğinden farklı. Kadın hakları ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusunda savunuculuk yapmak için uygun bir özgür atmosferin bulunduğu Muhammed Hatemi'nin başkanlığının olduğu 1990'lardan farklı olarak, Jina ayaklanması sırasında özgür siyasi alanın olmayışı, bilim adamlarının ve aktivistlerin gerekli adımları tam olarak saymak için zemini kullanma motivasyonunu hızlandırdı. Geri adım atmadan taleplerinizi iletin. Sonuç olarak, hareketin ilerleyişini kolaylaştırıcı bir zemin sağlayan siyasi fırsat yaklaşımının temel direklerinden farklı olarak, Bidarzani'nin iddia ettiği gibi Jina ayaklanmasının, talep edilen her değişikliğin ele alınması ve vurgulanması için mümkün ve uygun bir zemin olarak değerlendirildiği sonucuna varılabilir. Yani Bidarzani'nin siyasi fırsat kavramından sapan bakış açısını görebiliyoruz.

Bidarzani'nin içeriğine çerçeveleme teorisi yaklaşımından baktığımızda, Bidarzani'nin mevcut Kadın_Hayat_Özgürlük hareketini nasıl çerçevelediğini, hangi çerçevelerin destekçilerin ve kamuoyunun dikkatine tam anlamıyla hitap edebildiğini anlayabiliriz. Bidarzani web sitesinde dile getirilen kadın taleplerinin analizi, web sitesinin ve özellikle de Jina ayaklanmasının hedef aldığı farklı çerçeveleri ortaya koyuyor. Örnek olarak, web sitesinin İran İslam Cumhuriyeti'nin kuruluşundan

sonraki son 40 yılda göz ardı edilen temel hakları ele alırken insan hakları yaklaşımını benimsediği iddia edilebilir. Kadın cinayetleri, eğitim, istihdam, sağlık ve eşitlik gibi konuların milliyeti ve etnik kökeni ne olursa olsun her bireyin temel ve temel hakları olarak ele alınması Bidarzani tarafından önerilmiş ve araştırılmıştır.

Bidarzani, hareketi insan hakları yaklaşımıyla incelemenin yanı sıra, hareketin mevcut çerçevesine de sivil haklar yaklaşımı perspektifinden baktı. Siyasi ve sosyal katılım için eşit haklar, herhangi bir kısıtlama olmaksızın mekâna erişim, konsey oluşturma özgürlüğü ve son olarak etnik köken, cinsiyet ve cinsel yönelime bakılmaksızın eşit muamele talebi, Bidarzani'nin web sitesinde yayınlanan tüzük aracılığıyla ele aldığı ve vurguladığı noktalardır.

Son olarak, Bidarzani'nin içeriği analiz etmek için kullandığı başka bir çerçeve, vatandaşlıktan herhangi bir şekilde yararlanamayan göçmenlere bir yer verilmesini öngören ulusötesi çerçeveye atfedilmektedir. Bidarzani, göçmenlere (Afgan kadınları) tanınacak hakları ele alarak, coğrafi ve kültürel sınırların ötesine geçmeye çalışarak, mevcut hareketi, milliyetlerine bakılmaksızın farklı gruplara dahil edilebilecek ve onlara atfedilebilecek sağlıklı bir olay olarak sunmaya çalışmaktadır. Bidarzani bunun için göçmenlerin taleplerine de yer verdi. Bu adanmışlık yalnızca kadınların sorunlarına ve otoriter devletler karşısındaki statüsüne değinmekle kalmıyor, aynı zamanda sözleşme oluşturmanın sistematik planlaması yoluyla kaçış yollarını da savunuyor.

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