

Women's social movements and the classification of feminism in Iran

Abstract. *This article is devoted to the analysis of the development of women's social movements in the Islamic Republic of Iran. When we talk about the women's movement, we are talking about several identities, each of which has its own manifestation. In addition, all women and even men who, in one way or another, consider themselves participants in the women's movement and adhere to different feminist approaches, have many other identities.*

The Iranian women's movement is not exception to this principle and has been formed since the Qajar dynasty (1725-1996). During the Pahlavi era (1925-1978), the women's movement developed within the framework of the state approach, and after the Islamic Revolution in Iran during the Islamic Republic of Iran (from 1978 to the present), "secular feminism" developed along with Islamic identity and "Islamic feminism".

Iranian society has traditionally been a male (patriarchal) society, and under the influence of religion, patriarchy has grown significantly. Therefore, the women's social movement in Iran emerged as a movement for equal rights for men and women, primarily for the right to education and the right to vote. The second stage in the development of the women's movement also focuses on women's rights and women's emancipation and actualizes such issues as the right to divorce and opposition to the forced wearing of the hijab (veil), as well as other issues related to the dignity of a woman as a free person. At the same time, a distinctive feature of the development of women's social movements in Iran was that along with the social dimension of this phenomenon, a political one also emerged, since the Iranian government at different stages opposed the Feminist agenda.

Keywords: *women's social movements, feminism, patriarchy, gender equality, gender inequality, Iran.*

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Introduction

The main issue of this research is the goals and characteristics of feminist's movement in Iran. Feminism is a very young movement in Iran, that is why it is important to reflect how it was formed and to consider the factors influencing the emergence of the women's movement in Iran. This allows us to classify the movement's process and to see how the variables that have

influenced the formation of feminism in Iran have changed over the decades, and then what goals of the women's movement are in today's Iranian society.

According to the hypothesis of this study, in response to the main question, the women's movement was initially formed to oppose patriarchal concepts in Iranian society, but after the Islamic Revolution, its goal was to achieve equal rights for men and women. However,

it should be borne in mind that feminism in Iran can be classified into different categories according to the ultimate goals of various women's movements.

Therefore, in this study, in the first author considers and refers to the historical course of the emergence and continuation of the women's movement in Iran, and then applies to George Rithers' feminist theory of gender inequality and the analytical classification of feminist movements according to Castells to classify the women's movement in Iran. There is discussed basis of the keyword's identity, the subject of the struggle, and the ultimate goal.

Women make up half of the social world, and although many social movements have formed over the past century with an emphasis on equality between women and men, women's voices are still not heard in many countries of the world, especially in Muslim countries, where traditional laws adopted 2000 years ago still prevail.

The spread of the Internet and social networks has led to the fact that even those women who have always been at home and engaged in household chores in Muslim countries are faced with a huge world of information, and a huge amount of data has increased their awareness of the basic rights of women and men to equal opportunities in life, politics, and the development of civil society.

This trend has led to the fact that the social movements of women in Muslim societies have become very noticeable in the last few decades, and their evolution has been expressed in the concept of «feminism». Iranian society was not far from this problem, and it is no exaggeration to say that especially with the beginning of the presidency in 1997 of Seyed Mohammad Khatami, who came to power with the slogan of reforms and attention to civil rights, this concept was raised again on the agenda after the Islamic Revolution.

On the other hand, it can be said that the «religious modernist» movement of Iran believed that the rules of Islam, approved two thousand years ago, should be updated in accordance with today's world, the emergence of new concepts, including such as equality between men and

women. Representatives of this movement advocated the observance of the rights of women in Iran. However, this issue was not welcomed by religious leaders, the Government of the Islamic Republic, and the traditional spectrum of Iranian society.

Principles, goals, and features of the women's social movement

George Ritzer offers three feminist theories of gender inequality[1]:

Theories of gender difference:

These theories suggest that the status and experience of women in most situations differ from the status and experience of men. The main content of this theory is based on the principle that women have different views and ideas about values, motivations, interests, literary creativity, sense of identity, awareness and perception in the construction of social reality, different from men's views and perceptions. In other words, we can say that the relationship of women and men and their life experiences are different. Consequently, he believes that there are three general gender differences:

1 - biological 2- symbolic 3- socio-psychological [2].

2- The theory of gender inequality:

According to this theory, the position of women in most situations is not only different from that of men, but it has less value and significance. At the same time, inequality occurs due to the organization of society. According to George Ritzer, this theory eventually leads to both liberal and Marxist feminism [2].

3-Theories of kinetic oppression:

These theories express the position of women in terms of direct power relations between men and women. Women are oppressed. In other words, women are subject to restriction, coercion and ill-treatment. This pattern of oppression is deeply rooted in the organization of society and has created a «patriarchal» structure¹.

For an objective classification of the feminist spectrum in Iran, let's take the classification

¹ Patriarchy.

Table 1. Analytical classification table of feminist movements

Category	Personality	The object of struggle	The ultimate goal
Women's rights	A woman as a person	Patriarchal government or patriarchal capitalism	Equal rights for men and women
Cultural feminism	Women's community	Institutions and values of patriarchy	Cultural autonomy
Essentialist Feminism	Female Character	Male character	Matriarchal freedom
Practical Feminism	Women / Housewives	Patriarchy	Survival and dignity

Source: Castells, 245

model of Alain Touraine [3], who considers three principles of the basic classification of the social movement:

- 1) identity of the movement,
- 2) the subject of the struggle,
- 3) vision or social model of the movement (the ultimate goal).

Using the same three principles of Alain Touraine's theory, Castells classifies feminist movements as follows in Table 1 [4]:

Women's social movement from the Qajar period to the present day (from 1910 to the present)

Based on these definitions, we can more adequately analyze the women's movement in Iran. Some Iranian historians consider the date of the beginning of the independent women's movement in Iran – the publication of the first women's magazine in 1910 in Tehran «Danesh». «Danesh» was Dr. Kahal's weekly publication. She was the wife of Dr. Hoseyn Kahalzade, an ophthalmologist, and the daughter of Mohammad Hakimbashi, a representative of the religious minority in Hamadan [5].

During the Qajar period (1925-1996), the study of science was considered useless and even dangerous for girls, and participation in political and public life was one of the main privileges of men. As in many other communities, the home and kitchen were considered a natural place for women. While the full hijab interfered with the work of workers and merchants, the black veil or turban of rich women set them apart from the rest. Residential buildings were divided into

internal and external parts that separated the world of men and women.

Even in Tehran, women walked down the street on one side and men on the other. Religious leaders have intensified the denial of women's educational opportunities by declaring girls' education un-Islamic. However, some families taught their daughters at home or at school (traditional school). However, girls may not have been taught to write. Men had the right to polygamy and divorce, but many of them remained monogamous due to social disability. Girls at the age of 9 and boys at the age of 15 could get married [6].

The development of the Iranian women's movement was influenced by the new social, political and religious movements of that time. Fatemeh Zarrin Taj BarganiQazvini, known as TahereKarth Al-Ain, was a poet and religious scholar and one of the first followers of the religion of Baba (Baha'i), executed in 1231 in Tehran. She considered the hijab a symbol of ignorance and a symbol of oppression of women. At that time, in addition to the hijab (scarf), women wore a niqab or mask on their face, and only their eyes were visible. A woman removes her niqab from her face in protest. She is considered to be the first woman to protest against the hijab [7].

Mirza Aga Khan Kermani was one of the intellectuals of the constitutional era and was influenced by the movement of followers of Baba (Baha'i) who also paid much attention to the issue of women in his writings. In «One Hundred Sermons» he mentions polygamy, cohabitation (temporary marriage), mistreatment of women, the problem of wearing the hijab, as well as

isolation as reasons for the spread of corruption in society. He writes that instead of studying science and advancing in society, women spend their time and energy on envy and competition with other women and cannot raise their children [8].

Another influential figure in the Iranian women's movement was Mirza Fatah Ali Akhundzadeh, who was familiar with the ideas of the European and Russian intelligentsia. He believed that the progress of the East is possible only if the nation is formed. His ideas about women are expressed in his plays, as well as in the «Letters» of Kamal ad-Daula. He emphasized, first of all, the need for compulsory education for all. He writes about hijab: «With the discovery of the Quran's surah about hijab, half of the people, women, were imprisoned for the rest of their lives» [9].

It is noteworthy that during this period men played a prominent and key role in the women's rights movement. Of course, it should be noted that unlike these few male intellectuals, many men, because of their traditional and religious views, have turned women into beings whose only function is cooking, reproduction and bearing children, as well as a tool for satisfying men's sexual needs.

During these years, a book called «The Discipline of Women» was published, in which men were asked to teach women in accordance with men's desires and religious ideas. In response to this book, Bibi Khanum Astarabadi wrote a satirical book called «Unsatisfactory Men» and stressed that the purpose of men in the book «Discipline of Women» is to reflect the thoughts of a patriarchal society that considers women weak and believes that women are conspirators. According to Bibi Khanum, the men in this book only seek to strengthen their position, and if education is necessary, everyone should be educated, and not one-sided in relation to the patriarchal class [10].

Meanwhile, the role of newspapers in educating and developing public opinion should be considered. Newspapers have become more widely distributed and distributed among

people and could be a great opportunity to raise awareness. Newspapers such as Akhtar, Habalal-Intaqin, Hekmat, Soraya, Adalat, Sur Israfil and New Iran wrote about the situation of women in other countries and emphasized the extent to which education influences the growth and development of these societies. In fact, it can be said that the Iranian media most emphasized the right of women to education.

Simultaneously with the Constitutional Reform of 1909, the daughters and wives of activists of the adoption of the Constitution joined the movement. They believed that women should have the right to vote. According to the law of that time, crazy people and children could not vote, and women also could not vote together with these two classes and were deprived of the right to vote. Later, Tajat al-Saltana, the daughter of Nasser ad-Din Shah, wrote in her memoirs after the Constitutional Reform: «The life of Iranian women consists of two things: when they go out and walk with terrible black bodies, and when they die in white shrouds» [11].

After the promulgation of the Constitutional Decree and the restriction of the Shah's power, most intellectuals began to consider female illiteracy as one of the main causes of all Iran's problems. Ali Akbar Dehkhoda, the famous author of the dictionary «Dehkhoda», was one of the authors of that period who emphasized the need to educate women and said that ignorant women give birth to ignorant children. The most important goal of women's associations in the post-constitutional period of Iran was to demand the right of girls to education.

Another important milestone in the development of the women's movement, in addition to the previously mentioned women's magazines, was the creation of schools for girls. Women's education was the main issue of the women's movement for many years after the adoption of the Constitution and the end of the First World War. In 1919, Sedigheh Dolatabadi published the magazine Zaban-e Zanan in Isfahan, emphasizing not only the importance of women's education, but also the need for women to have the right to vote. The trend of

creating special women's magazines has grown significantly. In 1920, a «Women's Letter» was published in Tehran, and a «Women's World» was published in Mashhad, which critically emphasized the equality of rights of women and men [12].

It should be noted that the Iranian women's movement was influenced by socialist ideas. In this regard, we can refer to the «Peak of Women's Happiness» in Rashta, a left-wing organization that celebrated International Women's Day on March 8. Following them, a «Patriotic Women's Association» was established in Tehran, which also had a socialist orientation. With the end of the reign of the Qajar kings and the beginning of the Pahlavi period, that is, during the reign of Reza Shah, parties and publications were suppressed, and in 1933 these two organizations of the women's movement with socialist ideas could not continue to exist. The termination of their activities is considered the end of the independent women's movement.

In 1924, Qamar al-MulukVaziri was the first modern Iranian singer to perform on stage without a hijab. Her presence changed the «male» atmosphere of the music of that time and removed the fear from other artists. What is even more interesting, her songs were written by famous political critics of that time, such as «Eshgi», «Aref», «Iraj Mirza» and «Malek SharaBahar» [13].

During the Pahlavi period, the independent women's movement declined for several reasons. Firstly, many nationalist modernists were supporters of Pahlavi. Secondly, Pahlavi did not tolerate the independent activity of any political groups. Therefore, by order and with the support of the Government, the «Association of Iranian Women» was established in 1935, and its chairman SedighehDolatabadi and the famous poet Parvin Etesami became members of its executive committee. Most of the meetings were held in the presence of Shamsa and Ashrafi, the daughters of Reza Shah.

Influenced by changes in Iran's neighboring countries, such as Turkey and Afghanistan, Reza Shah banned women from wearing the hijab

in 1935. On this day, Reza Shah's wife and his daughters Shams and Ashraf went to primary school wearing hats. The order was then handed over to the police, and its application did not allow girls and women from religious and traditional families to leave their homes for many years.

However, although the power of religious clerics was limited during the reign of Reza Shah, few legal reforms regarding women were implemented. An important step that has been taken is to change the age of marriage for women from 9 to 15 years and for men from 15 to 18 years. Another positive thing that has happened about women's rights is that every marriage must be officially registered. The result of the reforms during this period was the expansion of educational opportunities for women, an increase in their presence in society and the expansion of their employment.

In 1910, the number of female students was 2,167, from 1926 to 1936 this number reached 49,000. The University of Tehran was founded in 1936, and from that moment Iranian women had the opportunity to receive a university education [14].

After Reza Shah and his son Mohammad Reza Pahlavi came to power, women's organizations were formed, which were part of political parties. In fact, party programs have determined the direction of women's activities. The women's organization of the Tudeh Party [The Tudeh Party is the main leftist organization in the history of modern Iran, the successor of the Social Democratic Party of the Constitution and the Communist Party of Iran]. She was one of the most active before the 1953 summer coup. The Tude Party submitted to Parliament a bill on women's suffrage in 1947, but their proposal remained unanswered.

In the mid-1950s, the activity of women seeking to get the right to vote and participate in elections was widespread. But the clergy, led by Ruhollah Khomeini, who was elected the first leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the Islamic Revolution, opposed the participation of women in the elections.

But despite opposition from religious leaders and Ayatollah Khomeini himself, women's suffrage was one of the principles of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi's «white revolution» to modernize Iran. In his speech on February 27, 1963, Mohammad Reza Shah stated that women should have the right to vote, and that the stigma that women cannot participate in elections should be removed in Iranian society. Thus, six days later, on March 3, 1963, by a government decree, women were allowed to vote.

During these years, Mehrangiz Manuchehrian, a graduate of the Faculty of Law of the University of Tehran and the first Iranian woman lawyer and senator, played an important role in the development of the Family Protection Law. According to this law, divorce and polygamy were possible only with the permission of the court [15].

With the appearance of Foruh Farrokhzad's poems, which in his short life [32 years] became influential poems in Iranian literature, a view of a woman as an emotional being was formed. However, it was still difficult for the traditional Iranian society, which wants to silence women, to accept their courage and honesty, the expression of their individuality and love.

Nevertheless, over the years there have been important changes in raising awareness about the status of women in society, and Farrokh Ro Parsa, the daughter of Fakhr Afag Parsa, a fighter for women's rights, became the first woman in the history of Iran to become a minister. She was in two cabinets of Amir Abbas Hoveida as Minister of Education. However, after the 1979 revolution, the Islamic Revolutionary Tribunal declared him a corrupt man on earth and executed him.

Shortly after Farrokh Ro Parsa, a woman named Mahnaz Afkhami was elected in 1974 as the second female minister in Iran's modern history. She was elected Advisor to the Minister of Women's Affairs [16].

But despite these measures, many men and women participated in the 1979 revolution and demanded greater social justice and political freedoms. It seems that the weakness of historical memory and life in a society without political

freedoms and democratic practices forced them to try to enter a new revolutionary era, regardless of what fate awaited their country.

After the 1979 revolution, the creation of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the coming to power of the clergy, traditions and religious views began to prevail in this country. The approach, which was initially based on spontaneity, inexperience in management, led to the immediate introduction of extremist laws.

The two concepts of anarchy and patriarchy began to prevail over the state and society, and the obligatory hijab became law. It is no exaggeration to say that women's rights were the first victims of the revolution, which soon took a reactionary path.

Perhaps that is why the first protest action since the Islamic Republic of Iran came to power was the protest of women who spontaneously took to the streets on March 8, 1979, to oppose the mandatory wearing of the hijab.

They also objected to the repeal of the amendments to the Family Protection Act, which were adopted by the Shah in 1974 and now repealed by Ayatollah Khomeini. The Cultural revolution and the closure of universities in the period from 1981 to 1984 and the Iran-Iraq war between 1981 and 1989 led to a post-revolutionary situation, which was accompanied by an internal political and economic crisis on the one hand, and a state of war on the other. During these years, the issue of women's rights could not be a priority in society.

But, with the end of the war, religious and reformist trends of thought emerged in Iranian society, and the 1990s can be considered the beginning of a new stage in the development of the women's movement, which focused on women's rights and social activities in this regard. In fact, we can say that we witnessed the birth and growth of Islamic feminism in this decade, which opposed fanatical interpretations of Islam and even expressed ideas of secularism. In Iran, unlike in some countries of the Middle East, the efforts of Islamic feminists are aimed at countering the realization of values championed by religious conservatives. It should be noted

that the activities of «secular feminists» paved the way for the emergence of «Muslim feminists» (during the Islamic Revolution and after it over the past four decades) [17].

The women's Movement has done everything possible for many years to raise public awareness, and the reformist press has helped to draw the Government's attention to the demands of the women's movement. Women played a significant role in student movements, and women's social and political activism was high.

Mahmoud Ahmadinejad's victory in 2004 limited the activities of women's movements. Perhaps that is why the role of women in the protests against his re-election in 2008 was significant. After the suppression of the 2008 protests, there were mass arrests of women activists, as a result of which many of them were imprisoned, and a significant number migrated from Iran. But, the development of the Internet and the information space has led to a very close connection between women activists and feminists inside and outside Iran. This issue was well known in the 2012 elections, and the demands of women were very strong. Many women from the feminist movement claimed to have voted for women's demands [18].

It should be noted that in the fourth decade after the Islamic Revolution in Iran, women's social movements faced significant differences compared to what happened after the revolution under Mohammad Reza Pahlavi.

1. In the Pahlavi era, women's social movements were under the control of the Shah and had mainly a pro-government aspect, but now, given the confrontational approach of the Islamic Republic of Iran to the concept of feminism, women's social movements were based on the demands of women without censorship and retouching.

2. The process of literacy growth that began 16 years before the revolution. In 1967, only 17% of women were literate. By the end of the 1960s, almost 35 percent of women were literate, and by the 2020s this figure had risen to 81 percent [19].

3. In the last years of the Pahlavi regime, the employment rate of women was about 12

percent, and now, after more than forty years, it has increased by only three percent to 15 percent. The employment rate of women in Saudi Arabia is 14.5%, and in Turkey - about 26%. One of the most important reasons for the backwardness of Iranian women in the formal economy is the growth of gender discrimination. Today, the official unemployment rate among women (even among highly educated women) is twice as high as among men in Iran; of course, many women in rural and urban areas work in the informal economy, but these jobs are usually seasonal, unstable and do not have rules and support from the government and trade unions.

Traditional patriarchal behavior in the Islamic Republic has brought religious feminism closer to secular feminism, and meanwhile the emergence of social networks has helped to identify the needs of women, albeit in the face of very serious problems with women's rights, such as forced hijab. The phenomenon of child marriages (the marriage of girls from 9 to 18 years old), the right to divorce (the right to divorce in Iran belongs to a man), equality between men and women in inheritance (according to Islam, the inheritance that goes to a man should be twice as much as a woman), ransom (according to Islam, a woman's ransom is half of a man's ransom) still take place, and women have not been able to convince the Government of the Islamic Republic to revise these laws dating back two thousand years ago. But, with the spread of social networks, there is a wide wave of awareness, which has led to the support of many men and women in movements commensurate with the problems of the day.

For example, over the past decade in the Islamic Republic there has been an increase in the protest behavior of girls and women who, having removed the hijab on their heads (headscarves), protest the mandatory wearing of the hijab. One of its most important symbols was the girls who for a while stood on the platform on Engelab Street, a little outside the University of Tehran, hung their scarves on a tree and protested. The girls were quickly arrested by the police, but became a symbol of feminism, known as the girls of the Revolution.

Over the past forty years, the Islamic Republic has tried to control the processes of socialization of youth and the media, using all the propaganda, legal and educational tools at its disposal, as well as controlling cyberspace and developing a model of Muslim women in society. The basic premise is that a woman should wear a hijab and be obedient to her father while she is at home, and obedient to her husband when she marries her father's permission. In fact, from a gender perspective, the whole function of a woman is to serve her husband at home, have children and raise children. The Islamic Republic tried to turn this model into a paradigm of society from above, and women's social movements from below, that is, the level of society, tried to consciously resist it, and now, four decades later, feminists seem to be able to achieve significant results.

Now, if we go back to the category suggested by Castells, it seems that the Iranian women's movement is within the framework of theories of gender inequality. The women's movement is often loyal to the framework of the cultural system, and the only thing that does not suit women in this regard is the mandatory wearing of the hijab. But, at the same time, women want to correct the inequality and revise it over time.

Perhaps one of the most important features of the Iranian women's movement is its realism in accepting the differences between men and women in some aspects, on the one hand, and in emphasizing the similarities and the existence of common features and dimensions between the two sexes, on the other hand. According to this view, the most fundamental common denominator between men and women is that they are human beings, and, of course, human rights do not depend on gender.

Thus, the Iranian women's movement's demand for equality between men and women has a lot in common and is not based on the denial of the difference between men and women. That's why they want equal money for men and women, equal inheritance rights between men and women, equal divorce rights between men and women. They believe that patriarchal views should be put to an end, that women are free to

study at university or travel abroad, and they do not need the permission of their father or husband for this activity. In fact, they mean the equality of men and women in the development of human dignity and consider this their goal. Studies show that the mentality of Iranian women activists when assessing the status of women is often concentrated in the theoretical framework of harassment. This is the fundamental principle of the women's movement, which is guided by Iranian feminists. Given that women activists in Iran recognize legal inequality as the main problem of modern Iranian women, their main goal is to try to reduce legal inequality between the sexes [20].

As noted earlier, although the women's movement was largely marginalized and suppressed after the first two decades of the Islamic Revolution, in the last two decades women and even men have noticed the growth of new values, as well as ideas and the development of other advanced societies.

However, it should now be recognized that the confrontation with women's social movements has acquired a political character, given the resistance of the religious clergy in power. This led to the emergence of feminists as part of the foreign opposition, as well as groups of women who were imprisoned for their feminist protests, left Iran after their release, and joined the international women's socio-political movement abroad.

Classification of feminism in Iran according to the theories of George Ritzer and the Castells Table

Let's analyze the feminist movement in Iran from 1769 to the present based on three feminist theories of George Ritzer, the classification table of Castell's feminist movements, and the model proposed by Allen Turen, which were discussed in the first part of the article.

Undoubtedly, the relationship between men and women is an important part of any society and culture, and although today it is accepted that there can be more than two sexes, the

relationship between men and women is still an important part of the system. We must recognize that the social status of men and women has changed in the current era, and especially the social movements of women have faced serious changes in their status, which, of course, has led to cultural conflicts in traditional societies [6].

According to Castells' classification, we can say that the efforts of Iranian women during the Qajar period can be attributed to the first category, namely women's rights and their equality with men.

The first stage of Pahlavi (Reza Shah) is a continuation of this trend, but, of course, the modernist view of the Shah assisted the women's movement in the fight against the traditional religious community. The main requirement of women of that time - the observance of the right to education, is gradually being met. But there was still a long way to go before achieving the main goal - equality of men and women.

During the second phase of Pahlavi (Mohammad Reza Shah), along with the women's feminist movement, which was in the field of women's rights, another group was formed, which can be attributed to cultural feminism. Because women at that stage were fighting from a Western point of view against what were considered patriarchal institutions and aspired to cultural autonomy. They sought to increase the role of women in society and even in politics to equalize the position of women over men in the cultural and political dimensions.

At this time, the so-called «Islamic feminism» was formed based on religious trends in a radical religious atmosphere. The women of this trend had no problems with the issue of patriarchy in the family because of their religious views, which emphasize unreasonable obedience to the father and husband, but, on the other hand, they emphasized the Islamic rights of women in society and particularly criticized the government policy. They became part of the revolutionaries in the process of political protests. Consequently, Islamic feminism in this period should be attributed to the first category, namely women's rights, in the Castells table.

After the revolution, as mentioned in the process of women's social movements, during the first decade, due to the revolutionary atmosphere on the one hand and the war between Iran and Iraq on the other, women's social movements became very weak and continued to operate in the same category.

But, with the end of the Iran-Iraq war, there was a serious transition, which, if we want to express it based on George Ritzer's theories, we must say that feminism is moving from theories of gender difference to theories of gender inequality. Consequently, the emergence of pragmatic feminism in accordance with the division of Castells, whose identity is clearly focused on women, both housewives and the working class in society, and whose struggle is not only patriarchy in the family, but also patriarchy in society with the aim of striving for human dignity.

This is exactly the moment when the trend of the women's social movement mentioned earlier coincides with the era of political reform in Iran, where women directors also play a prominent role in the spectrum of pragmatic feminism, and their films in Iranian cinema show well that to achieve the human dignity of women, they are fighting against patriarchy, both in their personal (family) life and in society.

The third decade after the 1979 revolution is a continuation of this trend. That is, on the one hand, there is a current of Islamic feminism that falls into the category of women's rights according to the Castells table, and a current of pragmatic feminism that seeks to increase the role of women in society so that women have equal rights with men.

But, with the advent of social networks, coinciding with the fourth decade after the revolution in Iran, in addition to these two currents of feminism, another group of feminists appears, which, according to the Castells table, can be classified as essentialist feminism. The movement was defined in the theories of George Ritzer as kinetic oppression.

Therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to say that in Iranian society it is now possible to

find confirmation of all three theories of George Ritzer and the entire spectrum of the Castells table. Because, on the one hand, we are faced with a radical traditional society, on the other - with women who, despite the repression in families, especially in traditional and religious cities, defend their rights and fight against the laws of

the patriarchal government and even such laws in the family.

On the other hand, in the women's press, women's foundations, and non-governmental organizations, we observe clearly cultural feminism. And practical feminism is getting stronger than ever with the help of social media.

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Ирандағы әйелдердің қоғамдық қозғалыстары және феминизмнің жіктелуі

Аңдатпа. Мақала Иран Ислам Республикасындағы әйелдер қоғамдық қозғалыстарының дамуын талдауға арналған. Әйелдер қозғалысы туралы айтқанда, біз әрқайсысының өзіндік көрінісі бар бірнеше ұқсастық жайлы айтамыз. Сонымен қатар, өздерін әйелдер қозғалысының мүшелері деп санайтын және әртүрлі феминистік көзқарастарды ұстанатын барлық әйелдер, тіпті ер адамдар да көптеген басқа ұқсастықтарға ие.

Ирандық әйелдер қозғалысы бұл қағидадан тыс қалмайды және Қаджарлар әулетінен (1725-1996) бері қалыптасып келеді. Пехлеви дәуірінде (1925-1978) әйелдер қозғалысы мемлекеттік көзқарас аясында дамыса, Ирандағы Ислам революциясынан кейін Иран Ислам Республикасы кезінде (1978 жылдан қазіргі уақытқа дейін) «зайырлы феминизм» исламдық болмыс пен «исламдық феминизммен» қатар дамыды.

Иран қоғамы дәстүрлі түрде еркектік (патриархалдық) қоғам болып, діннің ықпалымен патриархат қатты нығайды. Сондықтан Ирандағы әйелдердің қоғамдық қозғалысы ерлер мен әйелдердің тең құқықтары, ең алдымен білім алу және сайлау құқығы үшін қозғалыс ретінде пайда болды. Әйелдер қозғалысының дамуының екінші кезеңі де әйелдердің құқықтары мен әйелдердің эмансипациясына назар аударады және ажырасу құқығы және хиджабты (шадра) күштеп киюге қарсылық көрсету, сондай-ақ еркін адам ретіндегі әйелдің ар-намысына қатысты басқа да мәселелерді өзекті етеді. Сонымен қатар, Ирандағы әйелдердің қоғамдық қозғалыстарының дамуының айрықша ерекшелігі Иран үкіметі түрлі кезеңдердегі феминистік күн тәртібіне қарсы шыққандықтан, бұл құбылыстың әлеуметтік өлшемімен бірге саяси өлшемнің де пайда болуы болды.

Түйін сөздер: әйелдердің қоғамдық қозғалыстары, феминизм, патриархат, гендерлік теңдік, гендерлік теңсіздік, Иран.

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Женские социальные движения и классификация феминизма в Иране

Аннотация. Данная статья посвящена анализу развития женских общественных движений в Исламской Республике Иран. Когда мы говорим о женском движении, подразумевается несколько идентичностей, каждая из которых имеет собственное проявление. Кроме того, все женщины и даже мужчины, которые считают себя участниками женского движения и придерживаются различных феминистских подходов, имеют много других идентичностей.

Иранское женское движение не является исключением из этого принципа и сформировалось со времен династии Каджаров (1725–1996). В эпоху Пехлеви (1925–1978) женское движение развивалось в рамках государственного подхода, а после Исламской революции в Иране в период Исламской Республики

Иран (с 1978 года по настоящее время) «светский феминизм» развивался наряду с исламской идентичностью и «исламским феминизмом».

Иранское общество традиционно было мужским (патриархальным) обществом, и под воздействием религии патриархат значительно усилился. Поэтому женское общественное движение в Иране возникло как движение за равные права для мужчин и женщин, в первую очередь за право на образование и право голоса. Второй этап развития женского движения также фокусируется на правах женщин и женской эмансипации и актуализирует такие проблемы, как право на развод и противодействие принудительному ношению хиджаба (чадры), а также другие вопросы, относящиеся к достоинству женщины как свободной личности. При этом отличительной чертой развития женских общественных движений в Иране стало то, что наряду с социальным измерением этого явления возникло и политическое, поскольку иранское правительство на разных этапах выступало против феминистской повестки.

Ключевые слова: женские общественные движения, феминизм, патриархат, гендерное равенство, гендерное неравенство, Иран.

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