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The typology of the women's movement identity in Afghanistan

After the year 2001

'Bonn conference'

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ABSTRACT

The Afghan women's movement after the Bonn first conference, with the coming and introduction of new system and presence of the international community in the country, it gained new prosperity and was able to raise its demands at the highest level of the society and with the help of international institutions to force them to obey. On the contrary, it has not been very successful at the lower levels of society and rural areas in a way that we are witnessing more violence and more misogyny in the country. According to some of the researchers, the demands of the activists of this movement are not based on the needs of the women and socio-economic condition of the country and are limited to a specific group of women. The purpose of this study is to explain what social groups of activists in the women's movement in Afghanistan consist of and what their views are on the situation of the women. In this study, after analyzing the interviews of 80 activists women, we found that the Afghan women's movement is a movement by educated and intellectual women that are living in the capital and other major cities or abroad and they believe in gender inequality and oppression of Afghan women that are led and they want the gender equality and the promotion of women in society

Keywords: Women's movement, feminism, identity and attitude.

INTRODUCTION

In the societies that experience transition conditions, the existence of change movement is essential. In a way, on the one hand these movements arise from the conditions of change which has aroused and nurtured a number of people, thus defining the path of change which has aroused and nurtured a number of people, thus defining the path of the change on the other hand; these movements are accelerating social change. In traditional societies like Afghanistan, the focus is on three important elements of social power, such as status, wealth and freedom of action in the hands of men have made the arena extremely limited

and more difficult for women (waezi, 2013). But, with the efficiency of the new political system, the relatively modern constitution, the return of individuals' especially educated and elite women to the country, academic growth among women paves the way for the active presence of women in the society, new requests and demands, it has created protests against the current situation and gender inequalities.

Today, we are witnessing the creation of various institutions, organizations and groups by women that they contribute to equality, citizenship, the promotion of society, and the spread of democracy in the process of society transition.

The unprecedented increase in women's rights activists in Afghanistan and active institutions in this part is the important and valuable achievements for the development of democracy and crossing the transition conditions is very important and valuable.

But dispersion, lack of unity of opinion and lack of clear definition from the current situation the ground for coordination and cohesion between these institutions and women's rights has made it difficult.

Generational rupture and thought is another feature of the Afghan society that decades of war and repeated changes have created a different system, women who founded the socialist-oriented democratic women's organization of Afghanistan in the 1970s, women who organize their social and political activities in the accordance with political Islam, they organize their social and political activities, women they have returned home with higher education and different experience.

All of them are now engaged in socio-political activities and struggles to change the situation in favor of women. Now lack of effective leadership in the women's movement is the important challenges that reduce aging and the possibility of its effectiveness.

The researchers believe that the women's movement has not yet been able among women to influence and all social strata and look at society from the prospective of women in a way that can question the status of women, criticisms that are made is an outside look at the situation of women that intellectuals are looking at, if this look is transferred to the text and make the women look at herself can hope that influential leaders will grow from the text of the movement (Mousavi, 2014).

Despite that, there are important identity and political challenges facing women that have exacerbated the difficulties of the women's movement. Lack of mental independence and

environment to the political and intellectual domination of men with economic dependence on men, failure to reach a drafted manifesto and identity-oriented and egalitarian ideas, lack of clear definition of needs, possibilities, capabilities, and ideals, beliefs and the requirements of a women's movement, the lack of a dynamic, cohesive and united women's organization is one of the important challenges of the women's movement in Afghanistan (waezi, 2013).

At the highest levels of government and current laws, many reforms have taken place in favor of women, passing special laws in favor of women, law on the elimination of violence against women, gender regulation, positive discrimination in government departments and bodies and relatively large political participation of women it contains the fact that the legal and political problems for women have decreased. But it seems that an important challenge and a fundamental issue for Afghanistan's women is the social and cultural situation in which women are the main victims at the community and village level. Violence against women, at the family, community, and work place levels, lack of immunity for women gender discrimination and the recognition of women as second sex in public cultural are issues raised by women's rights organization and women's movements are protested and fought against through campaigns, protest, and publicity.

Active women have so far used civic methods to raise public awareness; this way of fighting depends on their lifestyle and beliefs.

The type of attitude and active experience of the women's movement in relation to their living conditions constitute the identity of the women's movement and the identity of this movement determines their movements, strategy and tactics of struggles.

In this article tried to provide a clear picture of the characteristics of women activists in Afghanistan and their evaluation of their position and Place.

A look at the situation of the women's movement in Afghanistan:

The Afghan women's movement though rooted in the distant past; but with the advent of the new political system, it has undergone change in various sectors.

In Afghanistan today, if we want to classify the women's movement in to a social movement for human rights and democracy; we will see that this movement is classified in the group of

new social movements due to its influence and dependence on social and internet networks and direct communication with media.

This movement, on the one hand, in the new ideas of the women's world that emerge from the heart of modern western thought, has roots, and on the other hand, its roots in different strata of Afghanistan society are weak, or that political and social consciousness in all social strata and classes has not grown enough and has caused problems for this movement at various levels.

The issue of cohesion in the leadership of social movements is one of the most important components to achieve the desired goals, which unfortunately in the Afghanistan women's movement, missing or faded. This movement, like other new social movements; rather, for various environmental reason, it is concentrated in the capital and some other metropolises such Balkh, Heart, and other safer parts of the country.

An important factor that prevents the movement from spreading to remote areas among women in different province is insecurity.

In security does not allow leading women and elites of the women's movement traveling to small towns and villages and mobilize women; therefore, the scope of their activities in the capital and some other metropolises that are relatively secure, it has condensed. The women's movement in Afghanistan points to certain issue that they think are greater priority to Afghan women; such as empowerment, elimination of violence against women and participation in politics, society, Economy and culture.

Despite the fact that post-Taliban, Afghan women's group activities have been the result of the new system, it has been more in the form of formal organizations and institutions that they implemented their programs in the form of projects with the support of the international community and other foreign donors. As a result, fewer of researchers believe in the women's movement in Afghanistan (Bakhtari, 2010). It seems that the view of these writers on the concept of women's movements is a classical view based on traditional theories of social movements in the social science. With this in mind, we cannot consider the activities and actions of Afghan women in this period under the name of women's movement. For the first time, members of the women's political participation committee and members of the 50% campaign spoke on March 8th 2010 about the need to establish a women's movement in Afghanistan and called on women across the country to join the

movement. Other women's activities Afghanistan is joining the "Billion Uprising of women around the world" movement in 2013. The main concept of uprising of a billion women is the collective resistance of women against all kinds of violence. The Afghan Women's Network and the ministry of women's affairs are launching the movement across Afghanistan and trying to spread their message against the abuse of women. Similarly, other groups and organizations with a focus on women's issues have been formed during the period; for example, young women for change, the Afghan women's Network and the Afghan National women's organizations those has been formed during this period and operate in a variety of ways. The women's movement in Afghanistan is an egalitarian movement and new kind of social movement that struggles to express itself and its identity by changing the Public mind in the concept of gender. The latest campaign which was launched by women in Afghanistan is entitled "Where is my name?". The campaign was launched against the non-naming of women in Afghanistan society and addressing them with kinship titles. In Afghanistan, it is common for women to be more defined as kinship and to address them as: wife, mother, sister, daughter, and so on. And their proper names are seldom used; this issue is rooted in the general mentality and culture of the society, which is also institutionalized in social structures. The notion of women's dignity in Afghanistan, in the first place, obscures the personal identity of women and shapes them, honoring women violates other fundamental rights in addition to our individual identity. Individual independence, the right to choose and other human rights of women are the main victims of this issue. Honor is one of the concept and values in the moral system of Islamic countries. In these societies, the protection of honor is an honor. Honoring in Afghan society, honor is synonymous with a range of moral qualities; such as: modesty, chastity, honor chastity and some other behavioral characteristics are also used for property such as land, property, and female relative. Which its protection and maintenance is considered zeal. (Sadeghiar, 2012). This concealment of individual identity by the public mind and institutionalized structures of society is considered one of the most important obstacles to the development of women that the women's movement fights in various waves.

In most cases, the women's movement in Afghanistan is in line with the law and the government. Laws that recognize the individuality of women; Laws that recognize and provide for the human rights of women; but these laws are not enforced because of the resistance produced by the context of a patriarchal society.

Outside the cities, instead of enforcing the law, especially laws related to family and personal status, people uses informal justice or traditional judicial methods, and the main victims of these traditional judicial methods are women; thus, the women's movement moves in line with government laws and institutions and against the prevailing social norms and traditional culture. In some of our neighboring countries, the opposite is true; For example, Iran, with which we have the most cultural interactions, women activists in this country starts from the bottom of society and rise to higher levels. They first tried to avoid any political confrontation with the government; but now, by raising public awareness, they are trying to raise some of the demands of women at political level which was exemplified by the "change the face of the parliament" campaign in 2016 (vahdati, 2010). In Afghanistan, the post-Taliban women's movement has reversed this, from the women's political participation committee to the reform of laws and the enactment of specific laws in support of women. It is now beginning to move on the horizon of society, raising public awareness and mobilizing women to support specific laws and their participation within the law.

Afghan women activists are not just thinking about changing the situation of women. They think about the important problems of the country and change the living conditions of all citizens and present a plan. Educated and intelligent women of Afghanistan have come to believe that change in the status of women is not possible without a change in the status of society (Yusufzadeh, 2013) in Afghan society, there are many educated women who have fought on the battlefield; women who have had a great hand in the field of culture and art and have made a great impact in the field of education; women who have pioneered health; but these women have never been leaders. However, in the history of movement, Afghan women have been, among the elite women who have led at least one group of women in society, we can name Queen Suraya, Mina Keshvar and Anahita Ratebzada, who in her time, led the majority of women activists. They were in charge (Mousavi, 2014) with the advent of the new political system in Afghanistan, the social spirit and living conditions of society, especially women also changed. Freedom of expression and freedom of association and the emergence of democracy in the country has provided the ground for women to become auctioned with the various ideas and current of thought common in the world and to claim their rights in various ways. These historical features have the way for the creation of the Afghan women's movement in its new definition. This movement does not have a single leadership and special authority; rather, it has several networks and authorities that act

with similar demands. The structure of this movement is fluid, decentralized, open voluntary and participatory. However, this is one of the most important obstacles to defining common goals and common plans among women activists in Afghanistan.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study seeks to identify the views of members of the Afghan Women's movement. Therefore, we are looking for theories that include the various branches of feminism and the prevailing views and show their perspective on the evaluation of the situation of women and the factors that cause this situation. According, the theory of the contemporary sociologist George Ritzer forms the theoretical framework of this article. Ritzer focuses on the fundamental theories of feminism around the most fundamental answers to the two descriptive questions, "what do we know about women?" and an explanation of "why is the situation of women like this?" divides. With the help of this theory, we can understand and explain the assessment of women activists of the current situation of women and their position. In general, Ritzer Explains three feminism theories that offers different answers to this question: The theory of gender difference, the theory of gender inequality, and the theory of gender oppression.

Theory of Gender Difference: In this theory, the position and experience of women in most situations is different from the position and experience of men in the same situation. The main content of these theories is that women have different views and perception of values, value judgment, motivations, interest, literary creativity, sense of identity, the process of awareness and perception in the construction of social reality (Lorestani, 2003: 25-25). Theories of gender difference to deal with what is actually called "essentialist reasoning"; that is the assumption that fundamental differences between men and women are immutable. This immutability seems to be traceable to three factors:

- A) Biology; B) Institutional social needs for men and women to fill different roles, for men and women to fill different roles, especially in society and not exclusively in the family; c) the existential or phenomenological needs of human beings to create an "other" as part of a self-descriptive action. (Ritzer and Goodman, 2011) in general,

the feminist response to social biological has often been oppositional. This section includes three categories of theories gender difference:

- Cultural feminism
- Theories of institutional necessity
- And theories based on existential philosophy and cognitive phenomenology.

Gender inequality theory: According to these theories, the position of women in most situation is not only different from the position of men, but also less than and equal to it, and these inequalities originate from the organization of society, not from biological and personality difference (Lorestani, 2003: 26). Four themes define the nature of feminist theorizing about gender inequality. First, men and women are not only differently, but also unequally placed in social situations. More precisely, women have less materials resources, social status, power and opportunities for self-actualization than men who have occupied a similar social status; this position may be based on class, race, occupation, ethnicity, religion, education, nationality, or any combination of these factors. Second, this inequality stems from the organization of society and not from important biological or personality differences between men and women. Third, although individual humans may differ somewhat in their capabilities and characteristics; but there is no important natural difference that distinguishes the two sexes (Ritzer, 1995: 470).

In fact, all human beings are characterized by strong need for freedom for self-actualization that allows them to adapt to the constraints or opportunities of their situation. Therefore, it can be said that there is gender inequality that women have less power than men to meet their need for self-fulfillment. Fourth, all theories of inequality assume that both women and men will inevitably reach naturally to more equal social situations and structures. In other words, they say it is possible to change that. In this sense, theorists of gender inequality are not odds with theorists of gender differences present a picture of social life in which gender differences, regardless of the reason, are considered stable and inherent in personality and less changeable (Ritzer and Goodman, 2012). The main types of the theory of gender inequality are: liberal feminism and social feminism.

Theory of gender oppression: these theories express the position of women in terms of the direct power relationship between men and women. Women are oppressed; in other words; citizenship is subject to the abuse of men. This pattern of oppression is deeply ingrained in the organization of society and has created a patriarchal structure (Lorestani,

2003:26). Theories of gender-based oppression describe that status of women as a consequence of the direct power relationship between men and women; in this regard, men have fundamental and tangible interest in monitoring, using oppressing and dominating women. According to the theorist of gender oppression, the situation of women is the same as the situation dominated and oppressed by men. This pattern of gender oppression has penetrated the deepest and most pervasive from in the organization of society and has created a kind of fundamental arrangement of domination that is commonly called patriarchy. Patriarchy is not a purposeless and secondary consequence of a set of other factors in biological process, the socialization of sexual maps or the class system. Patriarchy is a kind of basic structure of power and there is a strong and deliberate intention behind it. In fact, theorists of gender oppression believe that gender differences and gender inequality are by-products of patriarchy. While older feminist theorists focused on gender inequality. One of the hall makers of contemporary feminist theory is the extent and intensity of its focus on oppression. Most contemporary feminist theorist agrees to some extent with the theory of oppression. Two main branches of the theory of gender oppression are psychoanalytic feminism, radical feminism and social feminism (Jaggier, 2015: 42).

RESEARCH BACKGROUND

Some of Afghan scholars have written about the women's movement and women's social and political activities in Afghanistan, and we will give an example of them. Dr. Alemah has written an article entitled "NGO ism" against the Afghan women's movement, 2010" about the consequences and negative effects of projecting women's activities on this analytical movement. Shirin Nazari has written and published an article entitled "History of the Afghan women's movement, 2004". Manizha Bakhtari, another author of Afghanistan in the article "recognizing the role of women in Afghanistan in the world women's liberation struggle. Fakhreh Mousavi, numerous articles" leadership in the Afghanistan women's movement in 2014", "intellectual loopholes and women's' movement in Afghanistan in" 2014," women and history of Afghanistan, 2014" has been written that have discussed various issues of the women's movement. But this study specifically examines the issue of identity in the Afghan women's movement and explains its dimensions.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

The identity of the movement: the people of the movement, the spokesperson of which individuals or groups of people and interests of the defender and protector (Roche, 2006: 130) define its identity. Although many variables such as: age economic status, education, place of residence is effective to explain this concept but in this study, three variables to explain the identity of women activists; third level of education, place of residence and type of attitude toward the situation of women are considered. Activists and agents of the

Women's movement: any collective movement or social movement consists of a number of people who work directly or indirectly in line with its goals and take action to create and sustain it. The characteristics and conditions of these people are important and influential variables in the women's movement.

Feminism: in Persian, for feminism, equivalents such as "feminism", "advocacy of women's rights" and "women's liberation movement" have been proposed and used for this term (Rezvani, 2008). Even now, the use of this concept has become common and pervasive for all groups related to the issue of women's rights (Zibaeinejad, 2003: 14). Feminism is, in fact, an organized movement for women's rights as well as an ideology for the transformation of society, the aim of which is not merely the realization of women's social equality; Rather, he dreams of ending all kinds of radical and class discrimination and oppression, and so on (Abbott and Wallace, 2001: 223).

Attitude of women activists towards the situation of women: This variable explains how women activists evaluate the current situation of women, their position in Afghanistan? Movement activists' assessment the situation of women is based on three theories; feminist theory, gender differences theory, gender inequality, and gender oppression.

RESEARCH METHOD

This article is a descriptive research that has been used by both interview and documentary methods to answer the questions. The 80 activists of the Afghan Women's movement who are members of various groups in society have been interviewed at home country and abroad. Secondary data-sources such as books, articles, and media reports have also been

used. The data obtained from the interviews were analyzed by quantitative and qualitative content analysis

INFORMATION ANALYSIS

The identity of the Afghan women's movement as mentioned in the introduction, the concept of identity in the Afghan women's has three variables including their level of education, place of residence and the type of assessment of the status of women in Afghanistan. Each of these variables has been asked of the interviewees and their answers are analyzed in this section.

Variable numbers of activists' women's education in Afghanistan.

Table 1: the variable of the level of education of activists' women

| Level of Education | Frequency | Percentage |
|--------------------|-----------|------------|
| Bachelor | 56 | 70% |
| Master | 18 | 22% |
| Doctorate | 6 | 9% |
| Total | 80 | 100% |

As shown in the table, we have interviewed "80" activists of the women's movement in Afghanistan, the 56 of whom have bachelor's degree or a student of this course, which is 70% of the total interviewed. The "18" of them have a master's degree which is 22% of and "6" others have these figures show that the Afghan women's movement is made up of people who have higher education or are perusing Doctorate degree. Women's familiarity with the modern world and new theories in the humanities has accelerated women's activism in Afghanistan and raised their demands. It is common in societies that the pioneers of social change and reform are educated and knowledgeable people. Illiterate people and the following masses are more passive, in Afghanistan too because of the increasing level of empowerment of educated women and their awareness of their rights and privileges, and their interaction with militant women in other societies, educated women in Afghanistan have also mobilized the women's movement.

The variable of the activists' Afghan women's movement place of residence

Table 2: The Variable of residence of women activist:

| Location | Frequency | Percentage |
|-----------------|-----------|------------|
| Kabul | 47 | 59% |
| Other provinces | 13 | 16% |
| Abroad | 20 | 25% |
| Total | 80 | 99.8% |

From the sum of women we spoke to, 47 live in Kabul and “13” in other province of the country. Most of which are large cities such as Heart, Balkh, Nangarhar, and other relatively safe cities, and another 20 in they live abroad. This presence of active women in the center and big cities has more security reason; this means that women, due to the presence of the armed opposition and extremist forces, cannot easily travel to areas outside Kabul and study the lives of rural women; Thus, there is a deep gap between the living conditions of rural and urban women and their needs and demands. The needs of women in rural areas, basic and human needs such as the right to access health service , the right to choose a spouse, the right to life, the right to access to education, the right to respect and dignity, and protection from domestic violence from their demands. Demands from rural women themselves are never met, and urban women have not yet been able to speak out. According to some of the same women we interviewed, they are alienated from women’s organizations and gatherings in big cities and look at them with distrust. Due to more security and more suitable facilities in the center and metropolises, educated and active people have also been concentrated in these areas.

We have gathered for various reasons, including insecurity in the surrounding areas and lack of facilities and work space in the center some other large cities as well as provincial capitals. Due to the long and burning civil war in Afghanistan, many people, including elite women and intellectuals, have migrated to neighboring countries and the west. However, some of them have returned to the country and are carrying out significant activities and commuting between Afghanistan and their second country. They are educated and they are not indifferent. Based on the mentioned points, it can be said that the women’s movement in Afghanistan consists of women who live in the center of the country and other big cities or who live abroad; but they are active in issue related to women. Women with higher education; familiar with modern culture and human rights; they serve in various public and private positions and posts. These women are informed, advocated and organized through

media and social networks. They act as a force for law enforcement against violence and gender discrimination. However, rural women also participate in public affairs by participating in elections as voters and participating in local councils; but this participation is not accompanied by gender awareness; but in the

Future it can be a good factor in the growth of the movement and its localization.

When you interview women activists in Afghanistan, they have less cohesive feminist and gender perspectives. In a way that it is difficult to include their view under feminist perspectives, women who have learned more from life experiences and are less familiar with scientific theories about women's analysis. Among these women are those who work with women's rights and complain about gender inequality in society; without having a scientific analysis of this situation. The attitude of Afghan women towards the situation of women in the country is not specific and is scattered; but according to the examples and cases that they enumerate, they are divided as follows;

The variable type of attitude of movement activities towards the position and status of women

Table: 3

| Assessment of the current situation of the women | Frequency | Percentage |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Gender differences | 5 | 5.6% |
| Gender inequality | 41 | 51.25% |
| Gender oppression | 34 | 42.25% |
| Total | 80 | 100% |

In the table above, as can be seen, the most common view of the status of women according to Ritzier is the view of inequality; more than (51%) of the people we interviewed assess their position on the women in the country according to the theory of gender inequality, which evaluates women more than men in an unequal situation. According to these people, women in our society are not only different but also unequal in all situations compared to men, and these inequalities originate from the organization of society, according to these people, to men, both at the lower levels society, such as the family, offices and political positions, and at the highest level. The position of women is more symbolic and less influential (5.42%) while the position of men is influential and fundamental.

Another important part (42%.5) of the women involved in this conversation is their assessment of the status of women, according to the theory of gender oppression. According to these people, women are subject to restraint, citizenship, coercion, abuse and abuse by men. The dominant patriarchal social structures in Afghanistan have institutionalized this pattern of oppression and imprisoned women. Women are not allowed to attend under the guise of honor and titles such as weakness and other definitions based on kinship. A small number (6.5%) of women were evaluated according to the of gender differences; Thus, most activist in the Afghan women's movement base their assessment on gender inequality and gender based oppression

CONCLUSION

The women's movement in Afghanistan has entered the Afghan literature as a modern phenomenon that is expanding and becoming discourse using the existing conditions and facilities. The women's movement seeks to challenge and impose its existing policies, economics, law, media, education, culture, structures, and social relations. However, this movement has not been able to cover the whole country and its reflection is limited to the capital and some metropolises. In this study, we have tried to introduce the actors and agents of the women's movement in Afghanistan. Their personal characteristics, living conditions and their intellectual and value beliefs represent the identity of this movement, which is a fundamental step in recognizing it. Interviews with women activists in this article show that all members are highly educated and familiar with feminist theories and women's liberation influenced by women fighters from other societies and their experiences. Similarly, most of the active members of this movement live in Kabul and other metropolitan areas that have relative security, facilities, and service, and the other important part of them live abroad, but directly and indirectly in protests, campaigns. And the decisions of this movement are influential. Problems of insecurity and lack of facilities in small towns and villages have made elite and intellectual women unable to travel to those areas and share their demands with rural women and mobilize them at the same time. The conversations that have taken place show that the majority of the movement's activists have egalitarian beliefs and goals, and that their assessment of the status of women is based on the theories of gender inequality. Women with Marxist theories who began their activity in the 1970s for gender equality and political and economic rights are now an important part of the movement, as well as women with tendencies in recent years.

Liberal feminists from Western countries and domestic universities have entered society and are part of the movement seeking to restore individual identity and the disenfranchised basic rights of women. A significant proportion of these women, as outlined in the previous pages, are based on theories of gender oppression which believe that Afghan women are abused by men, dominated by subjugated to patriarchal social and political structures? That these structures must be modified or transformed thus, in a nutshell, the Afghan women's movement is made up of educated, intellectual, and urban women who believe that Afghan women are in an unequal and gender-oppressed position.

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