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## THE DEMOCRATIC AND POLITICAL MOBILIZATION OF WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

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### Abstract

Women, as a massive part of society in Afghanistan, were isolated in the strongest possible way in a historical period from 1996 to 2001. Historically, women's movements in Afghanistan in the first and second decades of democracy could be interpreted as a turning point from traditionalism to modernism. But religious fundamentalism, the ideological clashes of the 1980s, and the civil wars shattered women's political dynamism to the point of total deprivation of political and civil rights under the Taliban 1996. The collapse of the Taliban regime in 2001, is known as the beginning of the formation of a new women's political and social movement despite gender discrimination in a patriarchal society has opened a new socio-political window to them.

**Keyword:** *Women's rights. Democratic Socialization. Religious fundamentalism. Socio-political movements.*

### Introduction

The women's movement in Afghanistan is one of those new and emerging social phenomena that is still less well known and controversial to writers and social scientists. However, due to gender inequalities and oppression in societies like Afghanistan, there has always been resistance and litigation to varying degrees. These resistances and protests, given the social and historical contexts, have sometimes subsided and sometimes become an effective force that has been able to influence social activism and the process of history-making.

In the contemporary history of Afghanistan, women's activism and resistance for women began with the Amani movement under the leadership of Queen Soraya Tarzi and has continued to this day. The acquaintance of Afghan women with the outside world and the achievements of women around the world have always been a model in the process of Afghan women's struggle. The rise of educated women, and the widespread presence of the international community in the country, has made the field of women's activism more active than ever. The guarantee of women's citizenship rights in the constitution, the implementation of the short system of "positive discrimination" for women in the National Assembly, local councils, and government departments have unprecedentedly involved women in national and public affairs.

The Government of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan has also adopted various conventions on human rights and special protection for women and has committed to implement them, which has included major achievements for the women government. But these reforms have remained limited at the level of government institutions and civil society and have not yet been able to improve the general and traditional culture of society. In the religious readings presented to the people, the dominant literature in the context of society, the traditional and indigenous structures that govern the public mind and interpersonal relations, women are considered as the second sex and do not have equal rights and privileges. This confrontation can be considered as the clash of tradition and modernity in which women have been the main victims and have been subjected to a lot of violence.

activists of the women's movement in Afghanistan play a major role in managing the current situation and influencing this process in the history of society. The concept of the women's movement in Afghanistan still seems to be an unproven concept that some writers

Are opposed to applying to women activists and believe that something called the women's movement in Afghanistan has not yet been formed. Other writers in their writings talk about the women's movement in Afghanistan and claim its presence in society. But methodically and scientifically, no one has yet written about how the women's movement in Afghanistan is a movement and what its characteristics are (Zia, 2014: 9).

In the social sciences, social movements are divided into classical movements and new movements. New social movements, both in terms of their specific characteristics and because of the change in the conditions and contexts in which the movement takes place. They are different from classical movements. In this book, entitled "An Income to the Women's Movement in Afghanistan after 2001", the author claims the presence of the women's movement in Afghanistan and defines it as new social movements. The women's movement in Afghanistan has several characteristics, such as civil society-oriented and confrontation with traditional culture, challenging the type of male-dominated politics, change in the public mind, symbolic protests and culture, lifestyle, and political participation, Flexibility, decentralization, and reliance on mass media are its hallmarks.

The three main components of "identity, antagonism, and totality" form, according to Ellen Thorne, a well-known contemporary sociologist of social movements. These three components have been studied and explained in the Afghan women's movement. Who are the activists of the Afghan women's movement? Why do they act? What are they facing and what are their goals? Some questions have been answered in this study (Daruish, 2013).

I hope that this research can give the reader a fairly clear picture of the women's movement in Afghanistan and pave the way for raising bad issues in this regard so that other researchers and writers can study in this section.

### Literature Review

In Afghanistan, unfortunately, less is being done to identify and address issues scientifically. With much effort, I have not been able to find any new research papers that specifically address the women's movement in Afghanistan; Therefore, I refer to the research that has been done on other important issues related to women, and the research that you will study is the first research work in this field that specifically discusses the "women's movement.". In this section, I will mention some scientific articles and books that have been written about various issues of Afghan women.

1. Perhaps the only book of its kind in Afghanistan written in Persian is "The Book of Political Participation in Afghanistan", which was published in 2016. The author of this book, Fatimah Jafari, has studied the issue of women's participation in the political arena from different aspects. The issue of women's political participation, the history of women's participation in contemporary Afghan politics, national and international legal protections for this phenomenon, the challenges it faces, the opportunities available after 2001, the presentation of successful models from other developed countries with experience The personalities of the author are one of the important topics that are discussed in detail in the book (Jafari, 2016).

2. Another important book written in connection with the subject of this research is the book "Afghan women under the pressure of tradition and modernity" written by Seyyed Abdullah Kazem. This book discusses the women of Afghanistan and their social and cultural status. The issues raised in this book are also of fundamental importance for identifying and explaining the mentioned issue (Kazem, 2005).

3. Fakhreh Mousavi is a Ph.D. student in Political Science at the Center for Political Science Studies, University of Lyon, France. She has written her master's thesis on the factors influencing women's political participation in Afghanistan. This dissertation is one of the best dissertations of 2007 in Tehran universities. This paper examines the factors that have hindered or hindered women's participation. In this dissertation, Fakhreh Mousavi enumerates the reasons for the lack of growth in women's participation, patriarchal and Behran governments in the government, and government modernization programs. One of the important issues raised in this dissertation is the self-doubt of Afghan women. He believes that in addition to the political, social, and economic situation in Afghanistan, women are also hindering their presence in the social and political arena (Mousavi 7 2007).

4. Another article by the same author entitled "Leadership in the Afghan women's movement after the fall of the Taliban." In this study, the issue of leadership in the Afghan women's movement is addressed. He mentions Malika Soraya Tarzi, Mina Keshvar Kamal, Anahita Ratbzd, and Sima Samar as the leaders of the Afghan women's movement.

5. Hafizullah Emadi, a researcher and professor at the University of Hawaii in the United States, is another author who has written valuable works on Afghanistan. Some of them are about women. The book "Politics, Development, and Women in Afghanistan" was published in New York in 2002. The author discusses the policies that have been designed and implemented at the macro level in Afghanistan, and in this regard, examines the situation of women and their presence in society. In this book, Emadi mentions all the activities of women that have led to the growth of the status of women in the twentieth century. This book analyzes all the economic, political, social policies of Afghanistan with the historical order and socio-political developments that have taken place. In this book, the reader gets acquainted with the social, political, and social structure in Afghanistan that has shaped people's lives over the years. The book describes the territorial, geographical, people, ethnicities, and life of the people in this book and examines the socio-political policies that have led to the development in Afghanistan (Emadi 7, 2002).

6. Another book by this author that deals with the subject of our research are the book "Repression, Resistance, and Women" which was published in New York and deals with the socio-political situation of women under the banner of oppressive governments and patriarchal society. This book examines the situation of women in Afghanistan from the last century and examines the issue of modernization in Afghanistan. In this regard, according to Emadi, women are of great importance. Emadi believes that to create a modern society in Afghanistan, governments have made great efforts to take Afghanistan out of an ethnic situation and transform it into

a homogeneous and modern society. In this way, the social structure in Afghanistan needed to change; so the politicians undertook renovations to change the face of Afghanistan. Women were a good choice for these changes to grow faster; therefore, in Afghanistan's development programs, a place for women to be changed. This book provides a detailed account of women's lives in Afghanistan (Emadi, 2002).

7. Valentine Moghaddam is an Iranian writer and expert on international relations and the situation of women in the Middle East, who has written valuable articles on women in this field, as well as articles on Afghanistan and the situation of women during the Taliban era. Of course, her articles are not specific to the Taliban era; besides, the situation of women in the communist era has been studied. Valentine's view of the situation of women in Afghan society is a sociologist's view of social structures in Afghanistan. In his articles, he examines both Afghan societies as it is and the policies that compelled society to react (Moghaddam, 2002).

8. Dr. Mojtaba Maghsoudi, Professor of Political Science at the Islamic Azad University, in a research paper entitled "Political Participation of Afghan Women in the New Power Structure after 9/11" has addressed the issue that according to the traditional culture of Afghan society, the system to what extent has the new policy been successful in improving women's political participation? In this article, the fields of women's political participation and the nature and quality of Afghanistan's new political system are discussed and discussed (Maghsoudi, 210:179).

Although other articles on this subject have been sporadically written by various authors; however, for reasons such as the non-methodical and scientific nature of these articles, or their non-publication in reputable journals, we have omitted to mention them in this section. The innovation of this research goes back to the subject and issues that have been raised here for the first time. Specifically, what is the identity of the Afghan women's movement, the opposition, and hostility of the movement, and the slogans and ideas of this movement are methodically discussed in this book.

### **Social movements**

Social movements are among the influential social phenomena of modern times. Sociologists consider social movements as important factors in social change, although they do not agree on how effective they are. Activist sociologists give more credence to this phenomenon. Social movements can be classified according to the centrality of thoughts and ideologies, the mechanism of influence, the number of members, class support, and historical periods. In this paper, social movements based on goals, the centrality of ideologies, and the mechanism of influence are placed in two main spectrums: micro and macro.

Social movements are different from institutional and bureaucratic organizations in terms of structure, goals, actors, and mechanisms of collective action. Although some have explained social movements and the contexts of their formation with theories of revolution, and the theoretical views of movements overlap with revolutions, from Marx and Durkheim to the new generation of sociologists such as Thorne, Smelser They have theorized to explain this modern collective phenomenon. Marx from the point of view of class, Durkheim from the point of view of the collective phenomena of the transition period, Thorne and Smelser from the point of view of racialism and structuralism have explained the movements. Social movements in their evolution may become political parties. The reverse state and regression of movements may also occur due to changing conditions and the achievement of goals, organ collapse, and structural pressures.

### **Classification of social movements**

The transformation movement is one of the types of social movements that aim at a comprehensive change in society. The changes that the members of these movements are seeking are rapid and enormous, comprehensive, and violent. These movements often lead to revolutions and change the structure of society. The reform movement usually has more limited goals and wants to change only some aspects of the existing social order. The movement addresses specific types of inequality or injustice and discrimination. Transformational and reformist movements both call for change at the community level; the main difference is that reform movements involve a long-term social process.

The salvation movement is a movement that seeks to save people from those lifestyles that they find corrupt. Many religious movements, if they turn their attention to personal salvation; they are considered as salvation movements. The leaders of these movements believe that the spiritual growth of individuals is a true sign of their worth. The change movement is another group of social movements that work intending to make a slight change in the customs, habits, and norms of individuals and wants to change certain characteristics.

### **Historical study of social movements**

Social movements emphasize the importance of activism in achieving goals in today's societies; they reflect. Historical attitudes can be influential in examining social movements. Social movements are not merely irrational responses to social strife or injustice. They contain perspectives and strategies that show how these differences and injustices can be overcome. Social movements cannot be understood as forms of association and cooperation. Social movements emerge in deliberate conflict with other groups, usually with formal organizations and sometimes with rival movements.

All most all social movements have interests or goals that they pursue; there are views and opinions that movements oppose. Changed perspectives can also change the direction of social movements. Social movements must be in the context of what is called the field of action; to be studied. The term refers to the connections between the social movement and the forces or factors against which the movement is confronted. The process of reciprocal dialogue that exists in the field of action may lead to a change in the context in which the movement seeks to combat it, but it may also lead to a consolidation of the views of both sides. In either case, the movement may disappear or be institutionalized as a permanent organization.

## The women's movement in Afghanistan

The women's movement in Afghanistan is called the social movement for women's rights in Afghanistan. Among the organizations currently working to defend women's rights in Afghanistan are the KhadijehKobra Organization in Kandahar led by Maryam Durrani, Young Women for Change, the Afghan Women's Political Participation Committee, the Afghan Women's Network, the National Union of Afghan Women, the Fifty Percent Campaign, The Revolutionary Association of Afghan Women (RAWA), the Institute of Martyrs, noted.

### History

During the reign of Amanullah Shah, a women's organization was formed to advance and rescue women from deprivation, and pursuing women's rights and freedoms, especially in education, the right to education, the right to work and rest, the right to personal liberty, individual immunity, freedom of speech and Expression, gatherings, political and civic activities, and study trips abroad. During the Amani period, the Women's Support Association was established in Kabul, which focused on literacy, sewing, weaving, and housework.

During the reign of Mohammad Zahir Shah in 1322, the Women's Union, of which twenty women were members, established the Higher Women's Institute in the center of Kabul intending to organize, educate, and enlightening Afghan women. At the suggestion and pursuit of Babi Zainab, Amanullah Shah's sister, a plot of land was allocated to the institute, where a kindergarten, school, cinema, and offices were built. Its school provided literacy for adult women.

The activities of the Higher Women's Institute were limited to technical and vocational education. In 1342, the name of this institute was changed to "MirmanoTolneh" and under the supervision of the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs of Afghanistan. "Strengthen the healthy." In the early 1970s, the Women's Institute named June 14th each year Mother's Day in honor of Motherhood. Later, Saleh Farooq Etemadi came to the management of MirmanoTolneh. He paid special attention to Demirman and Tulneh's vocational school and helped Afghan girls study abroad.

In 1344 (November 1965) the Democratic Women's Organization of Afghanistan was founded in Kabul by Dr. Anahita Ratbzd, Soraya Perlika, Kobra Ali, HamidehSherzai, Moment Basir, and JamilehKeshtmand. One of the activities of this group is holding demonstrations for women's rights. For the first time in Afghanistan, women took part in a demonstration of three scorpions organized by leftist groups. In 1968, some conservative members of the Wolesi Jirga wanted to pass a law banning Afghan girls from studying abroad, but by organizing a women's organization, hundreds of girls protested against the proposal, calling it unconstitutional and equal.

They knew the rights of men and women. As a result, the Wolesi Jirga rejected the proposal. In 1349 (1970), members of the extremist faction of the "Muslim youth" against shooting shorts and fashionable women, shot at the feet of girls and women who wore shorts and sometimes sprayed acid on some of them. The women's organization organized more than 5,000 women and girls in Kabul and staged large-scale demonstrations by the government to demand that the perpetrators be investigated and punished. The government also arrested and imprisoned several perpetrators. Provincial Women's Councils, one of the oldest women's organizations in Afghanistan and the region, were established at this time. These councils have 165,000 members in 31 provincial councils, 25 city councils, 38 district councils, 25 district councils, and 3,100 primary organizations. Anahita Ratbzd, who in addition to being a member of the Afghan Women's Democratic Organization, also represented the people of Kabul in the 12th parliament, played an important role in the formation of women's provincial councils.

### Taliban period

In the month of 1992, the Taliban came to power in Afghanistan and deprived women of many social rights. The Higher Institute of Women and Mirmano also merged Tolneh and hired male employees instead of women. The Taliban rule ended in 2001. Now, after the ouster of the Taliban, the Ministry of Women's Affairs of Afghanistan was established within the framework of the Interim Administration of Afghanistan in December 2001, according to the Bonn Conference. There are also women's organizations, including the Afghan Women's Political Participation Committee, the Afghan Women's Network, the Afghan National Women's Union, the Fifty Percent Campaign, and Young Women for Change, the Afghan Women's Revolutionary Association (RAWA), the Martyrs' Institute, and Women's Advocacy in Afghanistan. Afghanistan has worked and is working.

### Politics, its areas and divisions

Political science is concerned with analyzing and examining the political aspects of social phenomena. "Political analysis helps man to better understand the world in which he lives and to choose the best from among the various branches in front of him, and finally to succeed in small and large changes, each of which is one of the undisputed aspects of life. They can be more effective." The center of gravity is the analysis and study of the political science of the state. Another view is that political science deals with the government. If the third group accepts a combination of these two theories, such as Paul Janet, a French thinker, and researcher, he says that political science is part of the social sciences that discusses the foundations of government and the principles of government (Pamela and Wallace, 2002: 324).

Traditionally, it has often been argued that government review also includes government, because government acts through government agencies for practical purposes. Harold Laski said; "... According to the intentions of the Practical Administration, the government is the government." But in some ways, the word government is more pervasive. If "government" is used in a broad sense, it relies on the fundamental idea of control and obedience, a phenomenon that has developed with human society. According to Sejvik, political science "examines societies with governments, that is, societies whose members, at least in certain matters, are accustomed to obeying the orders of certain individuals or groups of people who are part of society. This definition expands the field of political science and extends it beyond the state.



The traditional concept of political science is not considered appropriate as the science of examining the state or government. This concept emphasizes form and leads to legalism or excessive apparent accuracy in enforcing laws. It also ignores the dynamic process and results. It is now generally accepted that political science should include informal organization and political behavior in society, which includes the formal structure of government as well as the political forces influencing it (Roche, 2006:1331). The equating of political science with the study of the new government has also been protested. The word "government" had no political use until more than the fifteenth century, and when it was used, it was described as "new." The definition of political science with a specific view of government, according to protesters, leads to the conclusion that the new state is the ultimate (rather than transitional) form of political organization that political science deals with and is the only political entity that promotes human well-being. Provide.

Therefore, the field of knowledge that political science is now trying to cover. It goes beyond the government. Kathleen believes that "politics" is the study of organized human society and, above all, the political aspects of society's life (Mousavi, 2014).

Thus, in the case of the two journals, "politics" examines the political relations that have arisen simultaneously with the gathering of human beings. Such views broaden the field of study of political science to such an extent that it encompasses all things. Which deals with the political aspect of social life or examines the political relations of human beings with each other. But given the pervasiveness of political science and its newly acquired capabilities, it is necessary to resist this temptation and not put anything related to human life in organized society there. Researchers and thinkers such as Harold Laswell, Charles Mariam, Max Weber, Bertrand Russell, Watkins, and Hans Moore Genta have emphasized the dynamic destiny of politics, arguing that power is the fundamental concept of politics and unites all branches of political science. "Political science, as an empirical system, is the study of how power is formed and shared," La Sole said in his definition of political science. And "political action is action based on power." Politics and political science deal with the power that exists in society in terms of nature, basis, field, and results.

The focus of the political scientist is clear and obvious, and it is the recognition of the struggle for the acquisition or maintenance of power, the exercise of power or influence over others, or the prevention of its practice. It has also been said that "politics is a category of power, that is, the ability of agents, brokers, and social institutions to maintain or change their own social or material environment." "It's a matter of resources that form the basis of that ability and the forces that exert and influence it (Bakhtari, 2010)." Attention and emphasis on power have eliminated traditionalist formalism and led to a realistic analysis of the political process. The power-oriented definition of political science also calls for attention to the fact that government-controlled forces are the same as those in other organized groups such as the family, the trade union, and cooperatives (most of which are non-political).

However, theories about the definition of power politics are not satisfactory in some respects. First, these theories do not distinguish between the social and political spheres of power. The relationship between power and influence is "political" when it is organized to some extent, and it is "political" where the actions of organizations are considered legitimate, claiming obedience and respect for the people. Second, the policy of power struggle is not far from purposeful motives. But the emphasis on power undermines the goals for which power has been used and the contradiction of goals from which power emerges. The end of politics is to reach a policy - a compromise between opposing interests and certain common values. David Easton also believes that politics is about "the authoritative distribution of values to society."

However, the most important element in determining and implementing politics is power, and recognizing it is the primary task of political science. Nuclear power and the center of gravity create politics, and all conflicts in political life are related to power.

Finally, a kind of Noli himself defines politics: "All those activities that are directly or indirectly associated with the acquisition of state power, the consolidation of state power, and the use of state power." Another is that politics is a struggle to gain, maintain, increase, or demonstrate power. If we want to have a relatively comprehensive definition of politics, we can define it as a policy of peaceful or non-peaceful leadership of relations between individuals, groups, and parties (social forces) and government work within a country, and relations. It is between the government and other governments in the world.

According to this definition, we can name an individual's policy, a group's policy, a party's policy, and a government's policy. And internationally, it defined the government's foreign policy. Politics refers to the interests of each of the social forces. In the event of a dispute between those forces, these interests will collide, and if there are unity and cooperation between them, it will be coordinated. In other words, social forces, if conflicts of interest or conflicts of interest, conflict with each other, and unite if they coordinate and share interests. How these leads are coordinated and guided in creates policy? Politics is the arena of conflicts and coordination of the interests and relations of social forces. In this definition, the use of power is also considered. Politics arises from conflict or coordination, in any case, it arises from power, except that in conflict, power is non-peaceful, by force, coercion or violence, and in harmony peacefully, by way of Encouragement, rewards, or the like is used.

The programs and methods of individuals, groups, and parties, governments, and governments to achieve goals are also called politics. This meaning of politics is related to its planning and pursuit, and of course, it is always associated with its first meaning. Politics is the most sensitive area of human activity in society and is strongly influenced by the culture, people's thinking, group and personal interests and theories, and the economic factors of any society, and it affects itself (Castells, 2001:244). In the light of this definition of politics, "political science" can also be defined as follows: Political science is a field of social consciousness whose task is to systematically recognize the principles and rules governing political relations between social forces within a country, and relations between Governments are in the international arena.

This field of social awareness and knowledge reveals the function of the principles and rules governing the relations between social forces and teaches how they function. To discover these principles and rules, political science in general examines the organization and functioning of governments, political parties, and influential groups, social institutions, and political thought. In terms of international relations, it studies international institutions and organizations, politics, and government in various countries, public diplomacy, international relations, international law, and foreign policy of countries to gain the necessary knowledge and awareness about the foundations of relations between them. Find. Understanding these issues and pointing to politics, power, government, and the harmonization of interests and social relations, the proposed study seeks to examine the concept of politics, women and politics, the political dynamism of women in Afghanistan.

### 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, has changed in various sectors. In Afghanistan today, if we want to classify the women's movement into 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 networks and the Internet and direct communication with the media. On the one hand, this movement is rooted in the new ideas of the women's world that emerge from the heart of modern Western thought, and on the other hand, its roots are weak in different strata of Afghan society or political and social awareness at all levels. And social classes have not grown enough and have plagued 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 is unfortunately missing or lacking in the Afghan women's movement. This movement, like other modern social movements, is not universal; rather, due to various environmental reasons, it is concentrated in the capital and some other metropolises such as Balkh, Herat, and other safer parts of the country. An important factor that prevents the movement from spreading to remote areas among women in different provinces is insecurity.

Insecurity does not allow leading women and elites of the women's movement to travel to small towns and villages and mobilize women; therefore, the scope of their activities in the capital and some other metropolises that have relative security has become denser. The women's movement in Afghanistan points to certain issues that they think are more important to Afghan women; Such as empowerment, elimination of violence against women, and participation in politics, society, economy, and culture. Even though post-Taliban Afghan women's group activities, the new system has been effective, mostly in the form of formal organizations and institutions that have implemented their programs on a project basis with the support of the international community and other foreign donors. As a result, fewer researchers believe in the women's movement in Afghanistan (Bakhtari, 2010). It seems that the view of these writers, in the sense of the women's movement, is a classical view based on traditional theories of social movements in the social sciences. 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 8, 2010, about the need for a women's movement in Afghanistan and called on women across the country to join the movement (Statement of the Afghan Women's Political Participation Committee and the 50% Campaign). 1389). Another Afghan women's movement in 2013 is joining the "Million Uprising of Women around the World" movement. The main concept of the uprising of one million 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 throughout Afghanistan 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 this period; For example, Young Women for Change, the Afghan Women's Network, the National Union of Afghan Women, are other well-known Afghan women's organizations that have been formed during this period and operate in various ways.

The women's movement in Afghanistan is an egalitarian movement and a new type of social movement that struggles to express itself and its identity by changing the public mind in the concept of gender. The latest campaign launched by women in Afghanistan is entitled "Where is my name?" Was. The campaign was launched against the non-naming of women in Afghan society and they are addressing them as kinship. In Afghanistan, it is common for women to be more defined as kinship, referring to them as wives, mothers, sisters, daughters, 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. Women's self-esteem in Afghanistan, in the first place, obscures women's identities and shapes them. Honoring women violates other fundamental rights in addition to protecting our 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 concepts and values in the moral system of Islamic countries. In these societies, the protection of honor is an honor. In Afghan society, honor is synonymous with a range of moral qualities; Such as modesty, chastity, honor, chastity, and some behaviors. Other behavioral characteristics are also used for property such as land, property, and female relatives. Its protection and maintenance are considered zeal. (Sadeghiar, 1391). This concealment of individual identity by the public mind and the institutionalized structures of society is considered one of the most important obstacles to the development of women, which the women's movement fights in various ways.

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 use 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, in Iran, with which we have the most cultural interactions, women activists in this country start 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 the political level, as 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 highest levels of society, government structures have begun to operate. From the Women's Political Participation Committee to the reform of laws and the enactment of specific laws in support of women. Even now, it is starting to move on the horizon of society and to raise public awareness and mobilize women to support specific laws and their participation within the framework of 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, many educated women 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 been at the forefront of health; but these women have never been leaders. However, in the history of the movement, there have been Afghan women. Among the elite women who have led at least one group of women in the society are Queen "Soraya", "Mina KeshvarKama" and "Anahita Ratbzad", who in her time, led the majority of activists. The woman was 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 have provided the ground for women to become acquainted with the various ideas and currents of thought common in the world and to claim their rights in various ways.

These historical features have paved 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 multiple 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 agenda among women activists in Afghanistan. Some 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. Allameh 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 Naziri has written and published an article entitled "History of the Afghan Women's Movement, 2004". Manijeh Bakhtari, another Afghan author, in "Recognizing the Role of Women in Afghanistan in the Women's Liberation Struggle of the World," by Fakhreh Mousavi, an Afghan researcher at the University of Lyon, France. Women in Afghanistan in 2014 ", " Women and History of Afghanistan, 2014 "have 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.

## Conclusion

As stated in the first chapter of this study, the main issue in this study is to describe the women's movement in post-Taliban Afghanistan. With the advent of the new system and democracy, a new page was opened in the lives of the people of Afghanistan, especially the women of this country. This opportunity created the ground for women to enter society more widely and actively and to participate more in the field. Have public. The significant presence of women in various fields, the creation of new structures, and the emergence of new issues related to women's rights and gender equality among the people of Afghanistan, especially women, are the result of the collective efforts of some active women who were able to: To create a new wave against indigenous traditions and gender inequalities so that a new phenomenon called the women's movement in Afghanistan enters the social and political debate.

Using Manuel Castells' typology of the women's movement and Alan Thorne's theory of social movements, this study examines the post-Taliban Afghan women's movement. The theoretical framework in this study is a combination of "Three Principles of Social Movements" by Alan Thorne's theory and "Typology of Women's Movement" by Manuel Castells. Thorne defines a social movement by three principles.

- Identity refers to the definition of movement, that is, what is moving and which members of society speak?
- Fighting or opposition is what is defined by the movement as the enemy and the movement must argue with it.
- The social goal or generality refers to the movement's view of the social order or social organization that the movement seeks to achieve in the historical horizon of its collective action.

To understand the views and attitudes of Afghan women towards the situation of women and society, using the Castells typology, three types have been specifically selected that seem appropriate for a theoretical explanation of the Afghan women's movement:

1. Legal feminism views women as human beings, acts against patriarchal or patriarchal capitalism, and demands equal rights for men for women.
2. Cultural feminism focuses on the women's community, opposes patriarchal values, and seeks cultural autonomy for women.
3. Practical feminism sees women as exploited domestic workers, opposes patriarchal capitalism, and seeks to restore survival and dignity for women.

Therefore, according to these sociological theories, an attempt has been made to answer the following questions.

1. What is the identity of the women's movement in Afghanistan?
2. What social phenomena do the activists of the Afghan women's movement take action against?
3. What are the goals of the Afghan women's movement?

Using exploratory studies and previous observations, the following hypothesis was raised regarding the research questions: "Activists of the women's movement in Afghanistan are mostly elite and educated women living in metropolitan areas of Afghanistan, or abroad. The situation of women is more in the framework of theories of gender inequality and rarely in the framework of theories of gender oppression that seek to correct inequalities based on the time when cultural attitudes that presuppose women as second-class human beings prevail over male social structures. "And women are active in society to gain equal rights with men and respect for the



human dignity of women." Research Method in this research, it is a field and library method that has been done by using authoritative books and sources and interviewing eighty activists of the women's movement in Afghanistan who are elite in various fields. The information has been collected and analyzed have taken.

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