Abdolhoseinzadeh, Sharareh, 229–30
affirmative action measures see gender quotas
Afghanistan, 94, 261
ahadith, on motherhood, 246
Ahmadinejad, President (Iran), 1, 3, 64, 169, 235, 238, 239, 255–6, 258
AKDER (Women’s Rights Organization against Discrimination), 38, 59, 75, 154
AKP (Justice and Development Party), 3, 16, 35, 100
authoritarianism, 135, 164
conservative gender ideology, 55–6
electoral strategies, 2015, 132–3, 134–5
on gender quotas, 52, 110
and the Gezi Park protests, 130
goal of international integration, 48
headscarved women activists, 152–6
and headscarved women candidates, 76, 143, 147
on Istanbul Convention, 23
and KADER, 59
landslide victory, 2002, 97
nationalist discourses, 55
state of emergency and new presidential system, 136, 137
women appointed as Ministers, 56, 120
women MPs/candidates, 89, 97, 101, 102, 127, 129, 136
Women’s Branch, 2, 11, 73, 113–16, 119, 163
and women’s dress code/headscarf ban, 76, 147–8
see also Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip
Aksoy, Hürcan, 75
Algeria, 19; see also Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria)
Amin, Camron, 176
ANAP (Motherland Party, Turkey), 92
‘Arab Spring’ protests, 283
Arat, Yesim, 14, 89–90, 93, 95
Assembly of Experts (Iran), 185, 187, 191–2, 195
Association for the Support of Women Candidates see KADER

Bahar Newspaper, 250
Bangladesh, 16
Basi, 226, 237
ba’yah, 248
Bayat, Asef, 25
Bayat, Rafat, 253
BBC Persian, 260, 275–6
BDP (Peace and Democracy Party), 103
Behrouzi, Maryam, 1–2, 63, 185, 186, 188, 200–1, 209, 221, 234–5, 258–9
Beijing Platform for Action, 1995, 24
Benli, Fatma, 132–3, 151
Biagini, Erika, 34–5
Bjarnegård, Elin, 229, 231
bloggers see journalists/bloggers
Böhrüler, Ayşe, 76
Bostan, Fatma, 152–3, 156, 159
Bulac, Ali, 155–6

Campaign Against the Battering of Women (Turkey), 92
campaign financing, 12
candidacy, women’s, 102, 106, 107, 121, 219
candidate selection and ranking, 107
Capital City Women’s Platform see CCWP
(Capital City Women’s Platform)
Categorisation (of women’s groups), 56–7, 58
Cavdar, Gamze, 111, 118
CCWP (Capital City Women’s Platform), 38, 59, 75, 154
CEDAW, 34, 48, 49, 53, 74, 144–5, 150–2
Turkey and 2010 Committee, 151, 152
and Iran, 268–9, 257
Center for Women’s Participation (CWP), 45, 251, 268, 277
Ceren (pseudonym), 2
chador, 227, 229–30
child custody, 185, 246
China, 54
CHP (People’s Republican Party), 3, 16, 59, 74, 82, 87, 164
identifies as feminist, 129
women MPs, 97, 127
women MPs/candidates, 101, 102, 129, 137
women’s branches, 111
Ciller, Tansu, 92–3, 97
Civil Code, 1926 (Turkey), 89, 92
civil society
and international community, 29
and international norms, 52
Iran, 65, 173
mobilisation of, 53
Turkey, 85, 90, 149, 150
see also women’s rights groups
clerical elites, 178, 182, 185, 186, 211, 245;
see also Council of Guardians (Iran);
Iran, theocracy
closed electoral party lists, 66, 123, 124
Cold War, 94
co-leadership system, 126
communism, 94
conservative factions/groups, Iran, 199–200, 206–10, 211, 220–1, 233; see also
Principlists
conservative religious parties/movements,
3, 6, 9, 13, 16, 20–3, 32–5, 39, 48–9, 62–4, 109, 117, 155–6, 183–7, 190
conservative women MPs, Iran, 1, 198, 221–2, 224, 236
Constitutional Court, 147
and Fazilet, 146
Constitutional referendum, 2010, 147
Constitutional referendum, 2017, 135, 136
constitutional revolution, 1906–11 see Iran
constitutionalism, 29
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women see
CEDAW
Convergence of Women (Iran), 256
Coordination Council of the Reformist Front (Iran), 217
Council of Guardians (Iran), 64, 171, 191–2, 194–200, 202, 213, 222–33, 266, 277
and rijal, 249–50
CSW, 267–8
cultural and social obstacles, 11, 15–16, 31
Davachi, Azadeh, 199
DEHAP (Democratic People’s Party), 126
Demirel, Suleyman, 92–3, 145
Demirtaş, Selahattin, 132
Democratic Left Party (DSP), 145
Democratic People’s Party (DEHAP), 126
Democratic Society Party (DTP), 126
democratisation, 22, 23, 67, 109, 282–5; see also
Turkey
descriptive representation, 21, 23, 24

discursive opportunity structures, 31, 32, 49, 55, 144, 241–2; see also framing
divorce, 80, 185, 198, 248
dress code, women candidates, Iran, 227–33
DTP (Democratic Society Party), 126

Ebadi, Shirin, 190–1, 275–6
Ebrahimi, Masoumeh, 43, 250, 251, 289
EDP (Equality and Democracy Party), 39
Effekhar, Laleh, 201n, 221–2
Egypt, 33, 34–5
elections, parliamentary, Iran
1963, 180
2000–20, women’s participation, 197, 198
2004, 202
2008, 234–5
2016, 170, 201–2, 211, 216, 224, 235–6, 265–7
elections, parliamentary, Turkey
1950, 89, 110
1999, 97
2002, 98
2007, 98, 102, 124, 126–7
2011, 11, 99, 129, 152, 156–9
2018, 59, 100, 105, 121, 136, 164
elections, presidential, Iran
1997–2009, women’s participation, 197
2009, 255–6
2013, 250, 259
2021, 276, 277
elections/electoral systems, 27, 66–7
electoral rules, 13
female participation, 55
lack of free and fair, 210
majoritarian, 12, 20, 28, 52, 65, 106–7, 122–3, 279
and opportunity structures, 31
voluntary gender quotas, 24, 103, 124–6, 131
electoral competition/strategies, 50–2, 107–10
Elham (pseudonym), 217–18, 253

Eligur, Banu, 94
Emani, Shahrbano, 222
Equality and Democracy Party see EDP
(Equality and Democracy Party)
Eraslan, Sibel, 58, 96
Erbakan, Necmettin, 95, 97, 111
Erdoğan, Recep Tayyip, 2, 26, 77, 95, 96, 97, 134, 135, 285
democratisation rhetoric, 149
on gender quotas, 163
presidency, 137, 164
removes headscarf ban, 147
women’s branches and voter recruitment, 112
essentialism, 19
Etehad (Union of Islamic Iran People Party), 220, 290
European Union (EU), 28, 60, 109, 141, 143, 145, 148–9
factionalism, 28; see also Iran
culture
family law
Iran, 180, 185, 245–6
Turkey, 80, 81
Fatima (Prophet Mohammad’s daughter), 49, 182, 240, 250–1
Fazilet (Virtue Party), 97, 132, 145–6
Felicity Party (Saadet), 38–9, 112, 137n, 291
female seminaries (houzeh), 63, 185, 192, 204, 221–2, 237
feminism/feminists
Iran, 55, 198
Islamic, 91
Kurdish, 91
Muslim, 58–9
Muslim scholars, 247
and nationalism, 22
obstacles to, 21
Ottoman, 78–9
secular, 59, 64, 75, 91, 93
Turkey, 57, 74, 91, 118
Turkey’s state feminism, 26, 86
see also KADER
Ferree, Myra Marx, 48
Fethullah Gulen, 94, 135
forced unveiling and veiling, Iran, 178, 179, 186
framing, 30–1, 34, 143, 145
religious, 49, 55, 65, 242, 246–52
resonant/radical, 48
revolutionary, 252–5
secular, 152–7, 159, 160
see also gender justice
gender complementarity, 62, 255, 260, 262
gender equality, 50, 55, 71–2, 188
gender inequality, 44
gender justice, 240, 259–67
and 2016 elections, 265–7
gender quota debate, Iran, 174, 219–20,
233–5, 240, 252, 261–2
gender quotas, Turkey, 19, 23–4, 51–2, 63,
66, 108–10, 118
AKP and CHP on, 129
Erdoğan on, 163
and List PR, 123
and pro-Kurdish rights parties, 126–7
see also KADER; voluntary gender quotas
gender segregation policy, Iran, 228–9
Gezi Park protests, 130
Ghazipour, Nader, 232
Gorji, Monireh, 185, 251
government and structural obstacles, 11–12,
173–4, 224; see also women’s party branches
Green Movement (Iran), 2009, 169, 172–3, 283
Gulfidan, Fezal, 118, 127, 162
Haghighatjoo, Fatemeh, 223–4
HDP (People’s Democratic Party), 39, 59, 102, 103, 109–10, 129
2015 parliamentary elections, 132–5, 164
2018 parliamentary elections, women MPs, 137
and inclusivity, 143
and KADER, 132
as pro-minority, 130–1
headscarf ban, 53, 75–6, 95, 121, 145–7
CEDAW on, 151, 152
headscarved women, 36, 38, 59, 72, 80,
132–3, 137, 148; see also headscarf ban; hijab; pious women’s rights activists
hijab, 11, 61, 86, 183, 227–30, 245, 250n
Hizmet (Service) Movement, 135
homosexuality/LGBT, 22, 75, 131
Hoodfar, Homa, 215, 269
House of Political Parties, The (cross-party alliance), 233–4
human rights discourse see international human rights discourse
Hurriyet newspaper, 159, 164
Ilicak, Nazli, 146
illiteracy, 178, 186
independent candidates, 225
Indonesia, 16, 19
Inglehart, Ronald, 15–16
institutional and structural obstacles, 11–12,
20, 188–200; see also Council of Guardians (Iran); judiciary, Iran
international community, 28–9, 52
international human rights, 34, 48, 143, 144–5
international women’s rights, 91
Iran
ban on reformist parties, 219–20
bill reverses women’s family rights, 180, 185
civil code, 190
civil society, 65, 173, 284
committees and campaigns for gender equality, 235–6
conservative revival, mid-2000s, 253
constitutional revolution, 1906–11, 169, 175–6
continued authoritarianism, 28
Council of Guardians, 64, 191–2, 194–200, 222–33
factional politics, 28, 52, 65, 192–5, 212–22, 232–3, 259
female Minister of Health, 238–9
fragmented authoritarianism, 213
gender quotas. see gender quota debate
gender segregation policy, 228–9
women’s political representation

Iran (cont.)
Green Movement, 2009, 169, 171–3, 283
High Council of Women’s Organisations, 179–80
and the hijab, 61, 183, 227–8
institutional and structural obstacles, 213
and the international community, 29, 48–9
Islamic human rights ideology, 267
Islamic regime’s female dress code, 178
Islamic Republic’s constitution, 191
labour market, women in, 20, 198, 260
nationalism and secularisation, 178–9
Pahlavi rule, 1925–79, 176, 177, 179–80, 182
political party barriers to women’s candidacy, 199–200
post-revolutionary, legal obstacles, 189–92
post-revolutionary, women’s representation, 185–9, 236
presidential candidacy, and gender, 249–50
presidential elections. see elections, presidential, Iran
reformist/Khatami era, 1997–2005, 9, 64, 173, 217–19, 253, 268
Supreme Leaders, 187, 195
theocracy, 17, 26, 29, 50, 170, 176, 187
two-round electoral system (TRS), 28, 193, 214
UN Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), 267–8
‘woman question’, 175–81
Women and Family Affairs Office, 44, 45, 234
women candidates’ dress code, 227–33
women post-revolutionary MPs, 185, 198
women’s caucus and rights bills, 223
women’s coalitions, pre-2009 presidential elections, 256–9
women’s ideological diversity, 61–5
women’s suffrage and legal rights, 176, 180
see also elections, parliamentary, Iran;
Green Movement, 2009; Rouhani, President Hassan
Iranian Constitution, on political parties, 211
Iranian Elections Act, 224–5
Iranian revolution, 1979, 8, 14, 55, 80, 169–70, 181–3
Iranian women’s movement see Islamic women activists; women’s movement, Iranian; individual activists
Iran–Iraq war (1980–8), 9, 212, 246
Iraq, 19, 261
ISIS, 248
Islam
reform-oriented interpretations, 18, 54–5, 64, 171, 183, 246–9
see also religion, role of
Islam, political, 5, 25, 29
Islamic Coalition Party, 200n, 220–1
Islamic Iran Participation Front, 39; see also Mosharekat (Participation Front)
Islamic justice, 243–6
Islamic law, 190, 245, 254
Islamic Republic see Iran
Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps, 212
Islamic women activists, 142–3, 243–6
and religious discourses, 246–52
and revolutionary gender discourse, 252–5
and transnational activist networks, 269–70
see also women’s movement, Iranian
Islamic Women’s Coalition (Iran), 207, 238, 254, 256–7, 259, 289
Islamisation, 29, 59, 78, 186
Islamism, 72
Islamist parties, 33, 58, 94–5; see also conservative religious parties; Refah
Istanbul
2015 parliamentary election, 122
multi-party system, 38
Refah, 96
Istanbul Convention 2021, 23, 285
Jordan, 17, 273
journalists/bloggers, 40, 44, 105, 172–3, 186, 284
journals, women’s, 67, 79, 245
judiciary, Iran, 192, 213, 232
judiciary, Turkey, 136
Justice and Development Party see AKP

KADEM (Women and Democracy Association), 23, 37
KADER (Association for the Support of Women Candidates), 9, 37, 59, 60, 102, 115–16, 117–18
‘275 Women in Parliament’ campaign, 127
and 2011 electoral campaign, 157–9, 162
and 2015 electoral campaign, 131–2, 164
quota campaigns, 124–7, 163
Kadivar, Jamileh, 248, 251
Kamrava, Mehran, 213
Kaplan, Hilal, 156
Karahanoglu, Gunul, 121
Katzenstein, Mary, 31, 246
Kavakci, Merve, 76, 97, 132, 145–6, 148
Kavakci, Ravza, 132, 147
Kemal, Mustafa, 72, 77, 80–5, 89, 111
Keshavarzian, Arang, 13, 181–2, 213
Khaled, Minoo, 231–2, 236
Khamenei, Ayatollah Seyyed Ali, 187–8, 259
Khatami, Fatemeh, 227
Khatami, Mohammad, 9, 172, 216, 263
Khomeini, Ayatollah Ruhollah, 55, 176, 180, 183–4, 187, 212
and women’s political engagement, 253–4
Koorlaee, Elahe, 217, 222, 225, 227–8
Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), 126n, 134
Kurds/Kurdish rights, 24, 55, 57, 59–60, 76; see also feminism/feminists; gender quotas; HDP

labour market, women in, 18, 19–20, 260
Ladies’ Commissions see women’s party branches
leftist political parties, 46, 90
LGBT individuals, 22, 75, 131
List of Hope (Omid), 201n, 202, 216, 266
List PR (electoral system), 27, 28, 106, 107, 122–4
list proportional representation system (List PR) see List PR (electoral system)
Liu, Dongxiao, 54
lobbying, 31, 48, 106, 258
Iran, 215, 216–17, 222
women’s branches, 73, 117
see also framing; gender quotas
local councils, 107
elections, 2, 72, 102, 229–30
magazines see women’s magazines
Maghreb (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria), 6, 16
Mahdavi-Kani, Ayatollah, 211–12
Mahmood, Saba, 33
majoritarian electoral systems, Iran, 12, 20, 28, 52, 192, 220, 234, 279
Maksoud, Hala, 83
male guardianship, 176–7
male political elites
on female under-representation, 102
Iran, 170, 176, 188, 216–17
Iran’s first female minister, 256
and Kemal’s nation-building, 85
motivations for women’s inclusion, 6–7
and women’s dress code, 231
see also lobbying; political elites
Mansoury, Azer, 220, 247–8, 252, 266
Manuchehrian, Mehrangiz, 180
Marxism, 54, 90
Mashini, Farideh, 217, 218–19
Matland, Richard E., 51, 108
mayors (Turkey) 2, 102
McCammon, Holly, 31
media campaigns, against gender discrimination, 60
MENA, uprisings, women’s groups, 7
meritocracy rhetoric, 263–4
MHP (Nationalist Movement Party), 101, 102, 131, 164
military coups see Turkey
militias, Iran, 226, 237
Mirkhani, Ezat-ul-sadat, 202–3, 245
modernisation, Iranian women, 175
modernisation theorists, East/West, religious/secular dichotomies, 15–16
Molaverdi, Shahindokht, 43, 44, 45, 234, 259–63, 268–9
Moradi, Nina Siahkali, 230–1
Morocco, 16
Mosharekat (Participation Front), 39, 64, 194n, 220, 222–3, 233, 252n, 290
Women’s Commission, 217–19
Motalefeh, 200n, 220–1
Motherland Party (ANAP), 92
mujtahida, 202–3, 245
Murray, Rainbow, 264–5
Muslim Brotherhood, 34
Muslim scholars, 245
Muslim Sisterhood, 34–5

Nasim (pseudonym), journalist/blogger, 172–3
national identity/nationalism, 80, 85–6, 131–2, 178
NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization), 28
natural resource exploitation, 19
neo-Principlists (Iran), 212
networks, tribal, kin-based or patronage, 18
NGOs, women’s, 10, 150–1
9/11 terrorist attacks, 15
non-partisan activists, 38, 59
Norris, Pippa, 15–16

official parliament news agency (ICANA), 263–4
opportunity structures, 31, 43–67, 105, 144, 204
and framing processes, 277–82
Optional Protocol (to CEDAW), 150, 151
Ottoman women’s movements, 78–9, 83
Oya (feminist CHP member), 74–5

Pahlavi rule see Iran, Pahlavi rule
Paidar, Parvin, 14, 175
Pakistan, 16
parliamentary gender quotas see gender quotas
party competition, 127, 130, 210, 214
party leaders
and discriminatory practices, 66, 123–4
see also co-leadership system
party structures, absence of, Iran, 211–22, 235
patronage, 18
People’s Republican Party see CHP
Phillips, Anne, 21, 51, 108
pious women’s rights activists, Turkey, 48, 53, 58–9, 73–7, 95, 96, 112
and the CEDAW, 145
secular framing and the 2011 election, 152–7, 159, 160
see also AKDER; CCWP; headscarved women pluralism, 91
political elites, 5, 13, 44, 50; see also male political elites
political institutions, and gendered norms, 46
political Islam, 5, 25, 29; see also Islamist parties
political parties, and women’s representation, 65–6
political parties, Turkish women and, 10–11
polygamy, 80, 198
presidential system see Iran; Turkey
Principlists, 212, 216
professional associations, Iran, 215
Pro-Kurdish People’s Democratic Party see HDP (People’s Democratic Party)
proportional representation see List PR (electoral system)
Purple Roof Foundation, 92
Queen of Sheba (Bilquis), 49, 155, 245n, 247, 248, 280
quotas for female representation see gender quotas
Quran, 55, 246–9
reform-oriented interpretations, 18, 155, 177
radical framing, 48, 155
Rahbar, Fatemeh, 201n, 221
Index

Rahimi, Tahereh, 206–10
Rahnavard, Zahra, 186
Refah (Welfare Party, Turkey)
coalition with Ciller, 93
victory, 1995 elections, 146–7
women’s branches, 95–6, 111–13
reformist party women, Iran, 194, 198, 253, 265–7
reformists, 62, 63, 64, 207, 212–13, 216, 217
clerical, Iran, 218
and Council of Guardians, 223–4
mass disqualifications, 236
religious framing, 65, 247–8
and women’s dress code, 231–2
see also Mosharekat (Participation Front)
religion, role of, 5, 15–21, 26, 32; see also framing
religious and military organisations, 226, 237
religious discursive opportunities, 32, 55, 240, 246–52
religious expertise see clerical elites; mujtahida
religious markers, ban on see headscarf ban; headscarved women
religious training for leadership, Iran, 191–2
religious women’s rights activists, 17, 18, 180–1; see also Islamic women activists; pious women’s rights activists
Reporters Without Borders (RSF), 283–4
Republican People’s Party see CHP
revolutionary gender discourse, 252–5
Rezazadeh, Tahereh, 227
‘rights’ discourse, and women’s activism, 34
rijal, 191, 249–50
Ross, Michael, 19
Rouhani, President Hassan, 43–5, 212, 235, 239, 254–5, 259–60, 276–7
Five-Year Development Plan for 2016–21, 262–3, 265–6
Saadet see Felicity Party (Saadet)
Saanei, Ayatollah Yousef, 204
Sahin, Fatma, 56
Sayan Kaya, Fatma Betul, 119–20, 132
schools and universities, Turkey, headscarf ban, 146, 147
secular liberal discourse, 48
secular women activists, 64–5, 156, 157
Iran, 182–3, 259, 262
secularism, 26, 37, 58, 61–2, 72, 75, 146, 179, 182; see also feminism/feminists; Turkey
Senegal, 16, 23
Shaditalab, Zhaleh, 225
Shafaqna (online news, Iran), 252
Shahrzad (pseudonym), 43, 226
Shari’a law, 195
Shariat, Ali, 182
Shekarloo, Mahsa, 190
Shi’ism, and revolutionary gender discourse, 182
Shitrit, Lihi Ben, 31–2, 109
Shojaei, Zahra, 249, 251, 277
social constraints, 31
social justice issues, 50–1
social media, 232, 236
social mobilisation, 7
social movement theory, 30
Society of Militant Clergy, 211–12
Sohrabi, Nader, 29
Sönmez, Berrin, 58
Soviet Union, 94
state institutions, and gendered norms, 46
Studlar, Donley T., 51
subjectivity, and Muslim women’s agency, 33
substantive representation, 21
suffrage, women’s, 71, 83–5, 170, 176, 180
Supreme Leaders, 169n, 187, 192, 213, 225
Tajali, Mona, 8–11
Taleghani, Azam, 225, 249–50
Tehran, 8, 201–2, 266
Tekeli, Sirin, 83, 85, 89
theocracy see Iran
tokenism, 6, 25, 35, 222, 224
traditionalism/modernisation, Iranian women and, 175
training courses, women’s empowerment, 115–18, 219, 266
Tripp, Aili Mari, 6, 15, 285
True Path Party (DYP), 92–3, 97
Tuksal, Hidayet, 73–4
Tunisia, 6, 16, 17, 273
Turam, Berna, 94
Turkey and CEDAW, 150–2
Ciller as first Turkish female prime minister, 92–3
civil society, 90, 284
democratisation, 141, 142, 149
detentions of journalists, 284
eyear feminist projects, 26
electoral system, 27, 28
first multi-party election, 1946, 110
first women MPs, 86–93
independence movement, 79–80
and the international community/EU, 28, 60, 143, 144–5
Islamic revivalism, 93–103
Kemalist state/ideology, 80–5, 89
military coups and authoritarianism, 26, 57–8, 90–1, 93–4, 135
multi-party system and List PR, 28, 38, 82, 89–90, 122–4
Ottoman rule, 77–9
party leaders and discriminatory practices, 66
post-1980 feminist movement, 91–2
presidential system, 26, 136
pro-government women’s rights group, 2
Republican, 81–2
secularism, 26, 58, 82, 146–7, 152
‘soft-coup’ 1997, 147
state feminism, 86
transitional period, 1913–18, 80
women’s suffrage, 71, 72, 83–5
see also AKP (Justice and Development Party); elections, parliamentary
Turkish party women’s branches see women’s party branches
Turkish War of Independence (1919–23), 80
Turkish Women’s Union, 84–5
TV shows, Iran, on women’s rights, 245
two-round electoral system (TRS), 28, 193, 214
Union of Islamic Iran People Party (Etehad), 220, 290
United Front of Principlist Women, 209
United Nations (UN)
Commission on the Status of Women (CSW), 267–8
Decade for Women (1976–85), 91
United States of America, 94
universities, Turkey, headscarf ban, 146, 147
uprisings, 2011, 34
Vahid Dastjerdi, Marzieh, 1, 209, 238–9, 255, 258
Valdini, Melody, 6
veil see hijab
veiling/unveiling, Iran see forced unveiling and veiling, Iran
Vice President for Women’s Affairs (Iran), 43, 45
violence against women, 23, 45, 92, 231, 285
Virtue Party (Fazilet), 97, 132, 145–6
voluntary gender quotas, 64, 97, 103, 106
voter recruitment, 14, 73, 96, 112, 113
voting, female bloc, 10, 55
Waylen, Georgina, 46
Welfare Party see Refah
Westernisation, 29, 77–8, 175
White, Jenny, 14, 56
WLUML, 8–9, 36, 269–70
Women Living Under Muslim Laws (WLUML) see WLUML
women’s commissions, Iran, 217–19
women’s journals, 67, 79, 245
women’s magazines, 58, 67, 225, 228, 263
women’s movement, Iranian, 218
and the Council of Guardians, 198, 199
government activism, 173–4, 224
and international human rights, 268
and Islamic justice, 245
key roles in 1979 revolution, 169–70, 181–3
opportunity structures, 204
Pahlavi’s ban on, 179
politicisation of women, 165–6
see also Islamic women activists; lobbying; individual activists
women’s party branches, 110–22, 210, 217, 218–19, 220–1
Women’s Party, Iran, 179
women’s religious seminaries, 237
women’s rights groups (Turkey), 5–6, 14, 29, 57–8, 72, 86, 89
and CEDAW, 150–1
coalitions, 164
conservative religious, 34
and democrratisation, 23
NGOs. see NGOs, women’s
and opportunity structures, 54
politicisation of female political representation, 51
and social mobilisation, 7
and tokenism, 6
see also framing; grass-roots activism;
KADER; pious women’s rights activists
women’s subjectivity, and religious discourses, 33
World Conference on Women in Beijing, 233
World Economic Forum’s Global Gender Gap Report, 71–2
World War II, 89
Yemen, 16, 17, 273
Yeni Safak (New Dawn), 156
Yıldırım, Binali, 120
Yüksekdağ, Figen, 132
Zahra (pseudonym), 183, 234, 238, 243–5, 258, 269
Zanan (Women) magazine, 67n, 228, 246n, 263
Zeinab (Prophet Mohammad’s granddaughter), 49, 240, 251–2
Zeinab Society (Jameh Zeinab), 9, 39, 63, 192, 200, 202, 206, 221, 238, 244–5, 255, 257–9, 289
Zolghadr, Fatemeh, 264