Islamic feminism on the web 2.0: the case of blogistan

Feminismo islámico en la web 2.0: el caso de blogistán

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ABSTRACT

The present article shows the results that are part of Islamic Feminism in Iran project that was developed within the Delfin Program in the summer of 2017, from which theoretical and methodological discussion between internet and islam were generated (Medina, 2019), and the empirical observation (Sepeda, 2018). The present paper brings the reader closer to the feminist proposals that have been elaborated through Islamic theology and practice, which is called Islamic feminism. Here we approach this movement of thought and praxis from the Iranian case that was generated in the mid-twentieth century in response to the political regime of Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (1941-1979), as well as the new regime of Ayatollah Ruholla Khomeini who managed to configure and expand as a web 2.0 movement, that is, on the internet, which is called blogistan because it was mainly spread through blogs. The term blogistan is exposed as part of the dynamics of the virtual umma of the internet (Roy, 2003), and the feminist discourse and its impact outside of Iran is analyzed from the virtual ethnography. The blogistan case is observed as a praxis and resistance space that escapes the Iranian political authorities and that in the space of the flows (Castells, 2011) can mobilize, adhere or reconfigure other proposals.

RESUMEN

El presente artículo muestra los resultados que son parte del proyecto El feminismo islámico en Irán, que se desarrolló dentro del Programa Interinstitucional para el Fortalecimiento de la Investigación y el Posgrado del Pacífico, Delfín 2017, del cual se generaron discusiones teóricas y metodológicas sobre la relación internet e islam (Medina, 2019), así como el seguimiento del caso empírico (Sepeda, 2018). Este texto acerca al lector a las propuestas de feminismo que se han elaborado desde la teología y la práctica islámica, el llamado feminismo islámico. Se aborda esta corriente de pensamiento y praxis desde el caso iraní que se generó a mediados del siglo XX como contestación al régimen político de Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (1941-1979), así como al nuevo régimen del Ayatollah Ruholla Jomeini, que logró configurarse y expandirse como un movimiento en la web 2.0, es decir, en internet, el cual fue llamado blogistán por difundirse principalmente a través de blogs. Se expone el término blogistán como parte de las dinámicas de la umma virtual de internet (Roy, 2003), y se analiza el discurso feminista y su impacto fuera de Irán a partir de la etnografía virtual. Se observa el caso blogistán como un espacio de praxis y resistencia que escapa a las autoridades políticas iraníes y que en el espacio de los flujos (Castells, 2011) es capaz de movilizar, adherirse o reconfigurar otras propuestas.

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1

Introduction

Islamic feminism is an ideology developed and carried out by Muslim women. Feminism, as a movement within the Islamic practice, was coined by Yesim Arat, Nilüfer, Göle, Fariba Adelhak and Feride Acar in 1990. In 1992, the term appears under the Islamic interpretation in *Zanan*, a magazine founded by Iranian journalist Shahla Sherkat (Torres, 2015, p. 35). As other prior and contemporary feminisms, this ideology aims at seeking gender equality in public and private life. In the Islamic context, social justice is sought through a Koran hermeneutics.

Islamic feminism appears at a time of breathtaking social changes, not only in its local setting but rather in the broadest social fabric, in the world of technologies that caused an impact on the global community and that redefined not only the means of communication but also ways of being, doing and belonging. The incursion of the use of the Internet and other communication technologies represent a key moment in the analysis to understand the accelerated changes in the world and in the social phenomena of a late modernity (Giddens, 1994), from the perception of time and space to social mobilizations, as well as the diffusion and interpretation of messages. The use of the Internet as a network has allowed new virtual geographies, new spaces of interaction and social construction.

Within this context, this paper aims at observing how Islamic feminism in Iran manages to get out of its territorial boundaries and extend to new geographies. This Iranian movement was powered by Muslim women who, within their local settings, were censured and, seeking claim channels, found in the Internet an alternative space to diffuse, socialize and demand a social change based on the reinterpretation of the Koran.

This case sets forth a text in which the reader will find what the Islamic feminism movement is seeking, its hermeneutic bases, a brief theoretical discussion on Islam and the Internet that leads to the incursion of Islamic feminism in cyberspace and in the Iranian context in Web 2.0

This empirical study is sustained in the virtual ethnography, the collection of data and analysis during a period of ten months approximately in 2017. Twelve blogs were revised, of which eleven were generated from Iran and My Stealthy Freedom was operated from New York. This revision aimed at showing the contents with which the feminism that emerged from Iran was disseminated through a blog named blogistán (Cruz, 2012, p. 140).

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

2

The Feminisms Route and Islamic Hermeneutics

Historically, feminism has been defined in three waves. The first began with the proclamation of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity, which emerged within the French Revolution but not with the goal of contributing to the rights of women of the 18th century. In the 1789 revolutionary France, the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen proclaimed on August 28th, excluded women from all integration and recognition as individual, citizen and social stakeholder.

Olympe de Gouges, in response to the Declaration aforementioned, exposed the revolution and wrote the Declaration of the Rights of Woman and Female Citizen in 1791; which led her to be executed by the guillotine. This event gave rise to what we identify today as feminism which, at the end of the 18th century, did not have any theoretical connotation or approach (Varela, 2008, p. 17).

Feminism of the Age of Enlightenment crossed the European boundaries and gave rise to its second wave linked to the civil rights and the abolition of slavery in the United States of America at the beginning of the 19th century. Anti-slavery movements together with feminist constituencies acquired a central role in 1830.

Lucretia Mott founded the first women society against slavery; however, in 1840, when the World's Anti-slavery Convention was held in London, the North-American delegation was not recognized since it was represented by four women; hence, prohibiting their participation (Varela, 2008, p. 36).

In 1866, the 14th Amendment was presented to the Constitution of the United States that granted the votes to slaves but not to all since this amendment explicitly denied women to vote (Varela, 2008, p. 39); once more, only men would enjoy these rights as occurred in the revolution for Liberty. The suffrage was not only a promotional movement for women's votes but brought about a change in the political and social life.

The second wave of feminists revendicated the right to free access to higher education and to all professions, civil rights, sharing parental authority of children and administrating their own assets; therefore, acquiring a visible empowerment before society. The second feminist wave not only showed the civil rights shortcomings but also the different struggles every woman was waging.

Sojourner Truth, of African origin, showed that her struggle was threefold given she was: a woman, black and a slave. Her "Ar'n't I a Woman?" speech shows the discriminatory triangle she experienced day after day:

> That man there says that women need help to climb into a carriage, to cross the puddles and that they must have the best seat everywhere. But no one helps me climb carriages or cross puddles, nor give me

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

3

the best place! And aren't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arms! I have ploughed, sown and harvested, and no man could head me! And aren't I a woman? (Truth, 2008, p. 45).

Pluralism defined feminism, with a variety of contexts, needs and demands. By the 1960s and 1970s, another *ism* was born: radical feminism. Radical feminists carried through the famous 20th century women's revolution and carried out a series of modifications quite provocative for traditional society.

Together with the Marxist, psychoanalytic, anticolonial currents influenced by the Frankfurt school, feminists caught the attention and the focus necessary to make their new vision of feminism known. The most emblematic contributions of radical feminism were the definition of the concepts of patriarchy, gender and sexual cast. Patriarchy is the "system of male dominance that determines women's oppression and subordination. Gender expresses the social construction of femininity and, sexual cast refers to the common expression of the oppression lived by all women" (Varela, 2008, p. 85).

For radical feminist, it was not only to gain public space, workplace equality education or civil and political rights, but also it was necessary to transform the private environment. With Kate Millet's motto "the personal is political" (Puleo, 2005), radical feminists identified areas of life that until then had been considered private as centers of dominance, and they revolutionized the political theory by analyzing the relations of power that make up family and sexuality. Besides stirring up the political and feminist theory, radical feminist made three significant contributions: public manifestations, the development of self-awareness and the creation of alternative aid and self-help centers.

The birth of feminism was remarkable, nevertheless, some women did not feel identified with the first-wave feminism, powered mainly by white Western upper-middle class women. The reality of these women did not fit with the experiences of low- income minimal education black African women. They insisted on the fact that their problems were much more complex than the sole gender situation. They were permeated with racism, institutional oppression, social exclusion as well as the lack of civil and human rights. Muslim women also saw themselves entangled in this situation; they did not feel the freedom to proclaim themselves feminists since their context was not similar to that of Western women.

Hence, the creation of Islamic feminism was inevitable. This movement began to be perceived in the 1990s as of the diffusion of *Zanan*, the Iranian magazine founded by Shahla Sherkat in 1992 (Grosfoguel, 2016, p. 159). Egypt, Morocco, Indonesia, Tunis and Malaysia also embarked in the ranks of Islamic feminism.

While Islamic feminism can be observed in the academic debate of the 1990s, its background goes back to the 1940s and 1950s, during the decolonization in which a

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

4

nationalist feminism that gradually lost its force after the margination toward women. Therefore, secular feminism arises but does not bear fruits in Arab countries since Islam is deeply rooted in everyday life; hence, it is necessary to formulate a feminism in line with the Muslim *habitus* (Grosfoguel, 2016, p. 161).

Secular feminism is not linked to people that accepted the Islamic practice in their lives; as a result, the Islamic feminism appears where young people having access to the study of Islam perceived that said feminism is controlled by men responsible of the margination of women, since these men crystalize the translations and interpretations of Islam that subsequently adhere to society and give way to inequality between men and women.

Unlike the first feminisms, Islamic feminism is based on religion, but it also gives the possibility to find or construct a social, political and cultural structure that includes gender. Its weapon is the *iytihad* or the capacity of reflection used by schools of jurists to create the Islamic law, as well as the *tafsir*, the exegesis and hermeneutics to interpret the Koran, and the *sunna* or prophet's traditions.

While the *iytihad* seeks to adapt the Koran to the context of situation; the *tafsir* is considered a science of the religious interpretation that must avoid literality and use a re-interpretation and an epistemological reassessment that address the contexts in which passages were produced. This is the only way to understand that the Islamic law or *sharia* is a human production generated by jurists that bestowed it with a halo of divinity and immutability.

Valentine Moghaddam (2016) defines this approach as Islamic feminism: "A reformist movement focused on the Koran created by Muslim women endowed with the linguistic and theoretical knowledge necessary to challenge the interpretations about the situation of women, and at the same time, as to refute the Western stereotypes and the Islamic orthodoxy (p. 145).

The development and acceptance of the Islamic feminism has allowed some Muslim majority countries or Islamic countries to revisit the topic of the inclusion of gender in the political agenda. It is also interesting to note that it contributes to Western countries where Islamic communities are located, whether migrants or converted, who debate the role of the Muslim woman in both the public and private spheres.

When talking of Islam in those areas, it is frequent to face ideological barriers that belong to the fabric of historically woven relations of power that results in Islamophobia, or that which is the same, a cultural racism. That is, the rejection of a large cosmovision supposedly inferior and remote from the Western models of thought in its broad sense. According to Grosfoguel (2014), who ponders on the theory of the system of Wallerstein

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

5

world, Islamophobia is "an epiphenomenon of the political economy of said system and, more specifically, of the relentless accumulation of capital on a global scale" (p. 83).

As early as the 16th century when this system was developed, it began to draw a division of economic power that imposed not only a division of labor but also a marked economic and political ideology that created a system of racial and cultural divide as subaltern societies, i.e., hierarchies, which Grosfoguel reunites in the idea of a heterarchical structure, alluding to "multiple hierarchies of power interwoven in historically complex manners" (Grosfoguel, 2014, p. 84). It is here that we can ponder on a system of hierarchies based on a Judeo-Christian interpretation, a vision of the world that offers ontologically a wide range of things that make up a type of reality.

Berger's sociological model (1999) conceives religion as a cosmovision that gives meaning and order to life, through knowing, interpreting and constructing reality, it opens the possibility of conceiving Islam as a system of beliefs that orders the lives of its worshipers, while the latter, by understanding or interpreting this (onto)theological basis, construct reality. The imposition of a world-system, hierarchized by colonialist powers, has contributed negatively; moreover, over the centuries, they have carried the burden of a racial root that, despite the social changes, resort to the metamorphosis to change the discourse and the domination models.

In this context, Muslim women propose a tailor-made feminism. Islamic feminism seeks an epistemic deconstruction of the world-system, i.e., of the hierarchical imposition and the imposition of a racial, economic, leading patriarchal system, though nuanced in discourses, of a white Christianity made by men.

This has involved not only substantial changes regarding the recognition of the theological and social role of women in the world as a divine creation and to the likeness of men, but rather in the openness and reinterpretation of the Koran regarding gender in its broadest sense. Hence, it has been necessary to rethink and reconstruct the vision that the patriarchal system has imposed upon women and her role in the family, society and any circuit in which they achieve evolving; it was also necessary to rethink the role of their counterpart, men.

Rethinking Muslim masculinities, i.e., the perception of "the dominant Western culture as a result of stereotyped discourses" (Bosch, 2018, p. 81), also plays a key role in earning the right to be someone outside fundamentalisms and the impositions of gender roles, even that of homosexuals (Al-Haqq Kugle, 2018). In this sense, the discourse of Islamic feminism also brings about the end of the stereotypes associated to Islam and to Muslim women, which gives the opportunity to expose to the world their reality and the proposals to solve the wrongs they experience on a daily basis.

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

6

Islamic feminists do not eliminate the idea to converge with other feminists since it is necessary for them to create empathy and mutual support leaving behind any rivalry; this, however, is not simple. The tensions between Islamic feminism and other feminisms is evident. The ideological assumptions of Western feminism that sustain that Islam is the root of women's oppression and that the only solution found to free them of this situation is to shut Islam from their lives. This perception created a debate in pro and in con of Islamic feminism.

Asma Lamrabet (2014), one of the representatives of Islamic feminism, proposes to re-read the Koran to reformulate hermeneutically and to decolonialize the dominant interpretations of the traditional schools that subordinate the capacity of women of directing their own lives.

As paradoxically as it seems, Islamic feminism is also diverse and it is conducted from different fronts; e.g., the rupture of activities traditionally imposed upon women as is their attire, the incursion in the public arena or, on the other hand, the return to traditions as a sign of fight. An example of this has been the use of the veil, an object with religious significance that has been present in the political discourses and debates not only from the perspective of the West but also within the Islamic feminism, but with other nuances and meanings, hence achieving it political framework.

Marcos points out that "university women, professionals, intellectuals and with high-level employment, have decided to return to wearing the "veil" that, sometimes, not even their mothers had to wear" (Marcos, 2002, p. 57); he also mentions that as Ahmed explains that "those that have been colonized and exploited, in turn, chose to wear the veil as a resistance discourse. They defended it against the attacks they came to perceive as aggressions made to their most sacred and personal values" (Marcos, 2002, p. 58). Likewise, the author clarifies that "in this context, the veil that covers the women is no longer a private practice of religious modesty or bodily control on women but it has transformed into a multivocal and poly-semantic symbol: political, economic, social and psychological" (Marcos, 2002, p. 59).

The practice of the Islamic feminism responds to different situations, whether originating from local contexts where Muslim women are placed, migration scenarios and perceptions rising from the cultural discrimination, dialogues with political spheres and the resistance at different levels. Hence, the feminist practice from Islam has dabbled into several social spaces and has taken public spaces as discursive and action trenches, as cyberspace has been.

Cyber-Islamic Feminism or the Route of Diffusing the Fight on Web 2.0

Multiple functionalities can be found within the sphere of the Internet, from a recreational activity to conducting an in-depth research. Internet, as a communication

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

7

tool, allows to cut down time and distance so individuals may transmit messages at high speed. Different platforms are used as information support such as personal sites, blogs, videoblogs and forums. Other sites such as Facebook, WhatsApp, Instagram or other similar sites allow establishing interpersonal and even emotional communication.

These spaces generated on the web have acquired an important role in contemporary societies and have become a common way of communication and information. Hence, the Internet "allows the users to interact, share information, coordinate actions and, in general, stay in touch" (Orihuela quoted in Jabalera, 2012, p. 88). The content found on the Internet is extremely diverse and, as a market, it creates offer and demand.

Religious search or practice is not exempt from technology; hence, transmitters, receptors and consumers provide activity to the cyberspace, i.e., to the space of flows where there is a material organization with a variety of social practices that occur within a shared time (Castells, 2011, p. 445) and which, referring to the religious activity, acquires the name of cyber-religious activity, a space of communication with the religious discourse (Galavis, 2003, p. 85).

The interest in studying the practice, diffusion and experience of Islam on the Internet, led to the term *cyber-Islam* to describe the virtual network consisting of sites with Islamic contents where the participation between the transmitter and the receptor may or may not be given (Guerrero, 2010). The main characteristic is the offer of the discourse and several interpretations of the religious practice, Islamic law, offer of religious services, mentorships, multimedia files and even experiences with avatars to visit sacred sites and forming communities that generate a sense of unity.

Another characteristic of the cyber-Islam is that it generates an arena not strictly of dialogue or harmony but a space for Islam diversity, from the strictly religious rooted in personal, collective and institutional experiences, to its crossing with gender, politics, economics, world order, secular perceptions, among others. Therefore, what is generated in cyber-Islam, is a deregulation of hegemonic and institutional postures that dictates the Islamic practice (Medina, 2019, p. 105).

Cyber-Islam as an ontological concept and reality allows implementing innovative and necessary mechanisms of exploration and analysis that help understand the new forms of affiliation, perception, mobility and overflow of territorial boundaries. In this presentation, the term *cyber-Islam* opens the doors to understanding the link between Islamic feminism and the Internet as a tool to generate activism.

The use of dissemination platforms by Muslim feminists, while it is not a new and exclusive women's phenomenon, is a topic that has received little discussion. If we continue in this vein of developing compound words from cybernetics, we would possibly make a mistake. If to explain the link of Islamic feminism and its relationship

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

8

with the Internet, we would propose the term *cyberfeminism* and we would use the adjective *Islamic*, we would probably, by now, have a vague and erroneous discussion.

While cyberspace allows women as well as men to have a place to practice and disseminate Islam, rethinking Islamic feminism in this space requires an empirical task that does not arise from assumptions or similarities with other cases described from cyberfeminism. Cyberfeminism is a theoretical approach and a praxis that originated in the last decade of the 20th century and was developed by Donna Haraway and Sadie Plant in order to demand the informatics of domination, i.e., the use and male dominance of technologies, which led to the loss of the natural and the rise of the artificial, the cyborg. The approach is that the man-machine relationship is an extension of our body, our life and intimacy (García, 2007, p. 15).

From the above, other discussions surfaced about women's role, their access to technologies and the place they would occupy in the production, use and mediatization of said technologies. Further on, cyberfeminism went from being concerned only by the incursion of women in the technological plane to using it as a mean of heterogeneous and social demand, criticizing its homogenization. "Even the idea of a "movement as such" is based on an old rhetorical feminist style that has the tendency of homogenizing all women in the same 'you want/you need/you desire'" (Kuri quoted in García, 2007, p. 17).

This was the only way cyberfeminism could be thought of with activism achieved from the use of technology even though it is significant to think that many of the proposals on this topic were generated from groups or women with specialized training that had technological access and resources shared from international forums (García, 2007, De Miguel & Boix, 2002).

We think it is important to point out that since many feminist activisms have ventured in cyberspace not with the intention of mastering the use of technology or specializing in the technological field, but to use cyberspace as a mean to demand, disseminate and interact socially, experiences that are generated oftentimes from different non-specialized trenches.

From the above indication, we prefer to use *cyber-Islamic feminism*, a wordplay that positions, in different ways and from different contexts and demands, the fight of Muslim women in cyberspace. In this case, empirical data allows us to start from concrete facts to theorize based on the idea of a cyber-Islamic feminism that responds at this point in time to describing the route of dissemination of Muslim feminists in a technological context sustained by cyberspace or, more precisely, cyber-Islam where gender relationships are being questioned and where one can access a wide range of information and news from different parts of the world, the exchange of views, the

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

9

creation of synergies and, ultimately, seeking an inclusive citizenship defined from free, fair and equalitarian identities (Quiroga, 2011).

Iranian Islamic Feminism in Blogs

Before the Islamic revolution, a feminist activism existed in Iran unleashed by vindication against Muhamad Reza Pahlavi's policies and which continued in Komeini's mandate. The activism against the Shah was a turning point in extending the banner to seek an equalitarian society between men and women. This is when the term *Islamic feminism* was adopted.

The government of the Shah Komeini, together with the Islamic Revolution and the Islamic Revolutionary Party, repressed women who, at the beginning gave life to the revolution in search of a change. Iranian women opted for the Islamic revolution, they fought for its instauration thinking they would have a voice and power of decision in it.

At the beginning of the 1980s, Komeini and his religious political entourage controlled all the transcendental decisions and applied the most traditional Islamic doctrine. The activism between Islamic and secular women became visible; this however prompted increasing retaliatory violence: beatings, executions, prison and exile were among the mechanisms used by the new Iranian government.

Feminism in Iran united even Islamic women that noted that the policies implemented through the *sharia* did not correspond to the concept they had of their religion. Most of these women have higher studies and they considered the policies of the regime repressive and erroneous. The Islam they conceived would take women into consideration and would provide the equilibrium between genders; "unlike the regime, they did not talk about the glorious past but rather of the glorious future that would become reality through the understanding of an Islam more centered on women" (Hoodfar, 2011, p. 5).

Women, in order to spread their views and raise public opinion, ventured in the most important means of communication: the press. "The emergence of a plural, vindicated feminist press at the end of the 1990s, is the concrete manifestation of a flailing reality and of a very active movement among women" (Martín, 2001, p. 200).

Magazines were a primary tool that helped spreading feminism. *Zanan* was the first magazine for and by women; although it was shut down given the essence of its social and feminist demand.

This event persisted in many other magazines that followed the same thematic. The feminists, as a response, migrated to the Internet where they found the possibility to maintain contact with other activists from different cities present mainly on thematic

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

10

blogs. At first, the purpose of these blogs was to maintain women who sympathized with pro-feminist campaigns, organized and united.

These blogs created a shared feeling of accompaniment, a phenomenon generated from the collective use of the Internet and the creation of common cyberspaces and even virtual communities which Rheingold (2008), based on the way these spaces operate, defines as a support network among its members which characteristic is to transmit empathy between the transmitter and the receptor in offering support in any given situation.

Blogs with Islamic feminism demands diversified eventually. Local and international news were incorporated, as well as art, papers, downloadable books, films reviews, activity calendars, photographs, videos and poetry. An estimate of two million blogs of this type exist throughout the world (Plá quoted in Cruz, 2012, p. 140), and Iran is the fifth country with a greater number of feminist blogs. This way of venturing politically on the web was coined *blogstan*, "in reference to an alternative communication model that adapts to a society gradually more cosmopolitan borrowers of the original principles of the cultural revolution and aware of the repression mechanisms carried out by the current conservative government" (Plá quoted in Cruz, 2012, p. 140),

The dissemination of these blogs began to exit the Iranian boundaries to reach other countries with Islamic majority or with Muslim presence such as Europe and the United States of America mainly, since these countries are the main Arab-Muslim migration destination.

Blogs generated a dissemination tool for the fight of Iranian women in the face of the oppressive system. The Iranian feminine movement did not remain static within the borders of Iran, it went beyond the geopolitical boundaries and led women from other countries to adhere to the movement; hence the international impact of the campaigns in favor of women's rights in Iran. The blogs that have been reviewed show the topics being addressed are not only those of the issues of Iranian women but also those of Muslim women:

> Internet has emerged as a space of resistance from which patriarchal structures of the Iranian society are being broken while dealing with the difficulties of organizing the movement. The network is, in this way, an indispensable tool to develop a feminist awareness that seeks to take roots in the new generations through the gradual conquest of public space, even if said space is located in a virtual universe (Plá quoted in Cruz, 2012, p. 142).

The resistance on the network created transborder support and positioned not only Iranian women but Muslim women also in a reconstruction process in line with their needs.

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

11

Conclusion

Islamic feminism is a movement that emerges from a long historical process of decolonization, restructuration of thought and ways of constructing societies that not only include or must include women. Along these lines, Varela points out that "Latin American feminists, as the Arabs and Muslims, have developed their own theories and have given their personal imprint to what is today known as Latin American feminism and Arab feminism" (2008, p. 94).

In general, Islamic feminism questions the patriarchal system and observes masculinity and the different roles of gender as a patriarchal construction. Angulo-Espinoza points out that, by linking feminism with religion, it is necessary to see Islam as a religion that "cannot be catalogued as patriarchal, or as the origin of patriarchal masculinity in Muslim communities, but it can be, up to a certain extent, generator of this patriarchal system" (2014, p. 2).

Religious feminism gains momentum in the Iranian context and even becomes a political and international protest movement. The means of dissemination are no longer posters, magazines, marches, clandestine gatherings or public space; the system has suppressed them. The Internet as a tool is a new space which is functional and adequate for Iranian feminists to spread their manifesto through blogs.

Blogistan is a territory that shortens distances, mobilizes manifestos and creates a new virtual geography, a space inclined to resistance and politics; "the location of power and hence the spaces of resistance meet in ambiguous zones without borders" (Sarraméa, 1999, p. 92). Blogistan is part of the cyber-Islam, of a space where Islam is constantly redefined according to its practitioners, where being a woman and Muslim makes it possible to extricate oneself from traditional views, to come together and adapt to other places.

Therefore, blogistan is a space of gathering of political stakeholders that seek to shift power relations and achieve collective public actions that not only fall outside cyberspace but extend to their place of origin: the public space.

Paakat, Revista de Tecnología y Sociedad, Year 9, no. 17 (2019) ● September 2019-February 2020
eISSN 2007-3607 ● Universidad de Guadalajara

12

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13

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16