

## The Rhymes of Zhina Movement

### Content Analysis of Revolutionary and Protest Music of Iran 2022

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#### Abstract

*The Zhina movement that erupted following the death of Mahsa Zhina Amini, under custody for allegedly wearing her headscarf incorrectly, is Iran's most prolonged and pervasive movement since the 1979 revolution—repeatedly referred to as a revolution by the actors who participated in the movement as well as political analysts. This movement has had many cultural, social, and political influences. Music as a critical cultural manifestation, artistic self-expression, and an integral part of people's daily life both affected the movement and was impacted by it. This article takes a closer look at the protest and revolutionary songs published since the beginning of the Zhina movement in September 2022. Using a qualitative content analysis approach, it explores the contents published during the movement concerning meaning-making, collective imagination, and representation of Iran's social and political situation. Ten main themes were extracted, including oppression, resistance, the conflict between good and evil, the connection between previous social movements, representation of slogans, symbols, and victims, woman and embodiment, homeland, nations and ethnicities, religion, action request, and desired future vision.*

#### Keywords

Zhina movement, revolutionary and protest music, social movement

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## 1 Introduction

Since the 1979 revolution, the Zhina Movement can be considered the most significant social movement in Iran. Not only did it expand to more than 100 cities nationwide, but the protests on the streets continued for more than 100 consecutive days. Different social classes were involved, and international coverage and sympathy created an atmosphere of delegitimization for Iran government inside and outside the country. Increasing repression and violence by the government prompted the extension and expansion of the number of protest actions. The movement has continued in various forms ever since.

Numerous amounts of digital art, video clips, graffiti, performances, paintings, songs, musical pieces, and other artistic artworks were created during the movement. Each of them emphasized protest actions and resistance to the repressive system in their particular manner. This paper examines revolutionary and protest songs made or published during the Zhina movement, from its start in September 2022 up until January 2023.

Regardless of genre, most of these songs, especially the ones produced inside Iran, have been made as underground music due to the widespread suppression of digital media and their protest themes. Their focus on

protests is the main criterion for labeling the songs as underground music.<sup>1</sup>

Underground music, however, can be defined as criticism of the culture industry, youth challenges, and subcultures in opposition to official culture according to the definition. They also protest the values and norms of current capitalist culture,<sup>2</sup> which this paper does not address directly. Instead, the focus of the article is the protest songs of the Zhina Movement, and an attempt has been made to extract the main themes using content analysis.

In the past century, Iran as a country has undergone tremendous changes. These cultural, social and scientific transformations not only had a ripple effect on artistic and musical expression but also, in some cases, acted like tidal waves, disrupting and uprooting everything in their path.<sup>3</sup> For example, during the Green Movement (June-December 2010) in Iran, many famous artists and lesser-known and amateur ones published numerous songs encouraging people to join protests.<sup>4</sup> Some of them were re-sung during the recent movement or changed into original protest songs to emphasize the importance of the moments<sup>5</sup> and connect the history of resistance.

This qualitative research analyses 179 revolutionary and protest songs published about and during the Zhina Movement in their social and political

1 Ravadrad & Faeghi, "Bāznemāi-e Mo'zālāt-e Ejtemā'i-e Jāme'e [Representation of Society's Social Problems]," 40.

2 Kowsari, "Musiqiy-e Zirzamini dar Irān [Underground Music in Iran]," 129-130.

3 De Bano, "Music and Society in Iran," 369.

4 Ansari, "Green's art," *ISEA2013*, November 13, 2013.

5 Ooryad, "Sorud-e Zan-Šodan [Anthem of Woman-Becoming]," *Iran Transition Council*, November 13, 2022.

context. The study investigates how lyrics form shared meaning in people's minds by examining their linguistic structure. The list of songs can be seen in the appendix of this article.

## 2 Protest and Revolutionary Songs and Social Movements: Theory and Literature

As stated by Giddens, social movements are "an attempt at a collective representation of the institutionally repressed area of life"<sup>6</sup>. Della Porta and Diani defined it as a distinct social process consisting of the mechanisms through which actors engaged in collective action are involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks and share a distinct collective identity.<sup>7</sup> During social movements, art and especially music plays a significant role in creating distinct collective identity and involving more actors in the movement. As still, music like "Bella Ciao" and "El Pueblo Unido Jamás Será Vencido" play an essential role in creating a shared collective identity in anti-fascist movements worldwide.

It is not the first that time music, songs, and anthems have been involved in social change in Iran. During the 1979 revolution, a plethora of songs reflected and fueled the protests that resulted in the overthrow of the monarchy. Iran has undergone radical changes since the 1979 revolution. So are the themes and

songs that propose the moral imperative of social change, communicate the facts and events, or actively call people to participate in social change over the past 44 years. These transformations can easily be spotted in lyrics and social and political contexts, while significant theme in these protest songs has remained almost identical: opposing tyranny, dictatorship, and seeking freedom. It is crucial to consider music as a cultural product and practice that can solidify collective identities, emotions, and meanings while sustaining the movement's ideas over time. Additionally, it is essential to take a closer look at the role of collective representation (in the songs) in shaping a scenario for social performance, which makes them effective in motivating actors to take collective action.<sup>8</sup>

Among the ideas on the association between music and social movements, the framework adopted in this study posits that social movements ought to be viewed through the perspective of the actors who connect them in collective action. Furthermore, this perspective regards music as a critical element of the process of collective meaning-making and identity formation.<sup>9</sup> From this point of view, social movements are the process of meaning-making in which those involved push for societal changes based on specific notions.<sup>10</sup> The impact of such social movements is not limited to the political scene. It represents a cultural change in the values of different

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6 Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity*, 208.

7 Della Porta & Diani, *Social Movement*, 20.

8 Baghernia Abkenar, "A Playlist We Know," 24.

9 Ibid, 24.

10 Spillman, "Introduction."

actors and a drastic shift in their preferences in their daily life. In this view, social movements can be considered a process of meaning-making, identity formation, and collective imagination.<sup>11</sup> According to Habermas, new social movements are emerging in cultural reproduction, social interaction, and sociability, and their goal is issues related to ways of life.<sup>12</sup>

The Zhina Movement is an instance of a so-called new social movement. According to Touraine, contrary to old social movements, new social movements generally concentrate on cultural problems since the dominance which is challenged in these new movements is not only the ownership of the means of production but also the domination and control of the production of symbolic goods, i.e., information, images, and culture.<sup>13</sup> In defining social movements, Touraine also attends to their meaning-making, interpretive dimension, and historicity.<sup>14</sup>

There are different and sometimes conflicting definitions of protest music. For example, Denisoff argues that a protest song is a socio-political statement as well as creating awareness, and it sometimes leads to a solution.<sup>15</sup> Weinstein suggests a definition of “protest” as an opposition to the policy, an action against the people in power grounded in the sense of injustice.<sup>16</sup> Here, what we are considering as protest

songs, are pieces of music that convey opposition to the current situation in Iran. Aside from protesting against Iran's regime and policies, it also involves songs that their goal is to make the revolution happen. They provide a revolutionary solution by encouraging activists and expressing clear opposition to the government.

When examining the interplay between music and social movements, it is apparent that the Zhina movement distinguishes itself from other post-revolutionary social movements and protests in Iran regarding its impact on the social imagination and formation of shared identity among its participants. While social movements and countywide protests in Iran, especially the ones that occurred during the past decade, had significant impacts on Iranian society and have spread geographically, they have not had the same influence on the artistic works produced or the range of social classes that participated as the Zhina movement. Zhina movement and Green Movement succeeded in making a global impact and involved not only all the social classes, ethnicities, genders, and nations in Iran but also encouraged people from all over the world to participate and act. In contrast, other social movements or protests like Bloody November could not successfully build a common identity among people<sup>17</sup> as well as 2017-2018

11 Eyerman & Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 10.

12 Ghaneirad and Khosrokhavar, “Jonbešhāy-e Ejtemā’i-e Jadid [New Social Movements],” 242.

13 Moshirzadeh, *Dārāmadi [Introduction]*, 198.

14 Ghaneirad and Khosrokhavar, “Jonbešhāy-e Ejtemā’i-e Jadid [New Social Movements],” 252.

15 Haynes, “From Vietnam to Iraq,” 1.

16 Ibid, 1.

17 Madani, *Ātaš-e Xamūš [Exstinguished Fire]*, 43.

protests, which was difficult to single out a specific demand as a central demand of the protest.<sup>18</sup> This movement created a central slogan that included potent symbols and a successful informal interaction network directly related to artistic creativity.

The arts play a significant role in social movements, as they can "encourage activists by empowering and deepening commitment and harmonizing activists' agendas to reinforce group values and ideas. The arts are also used to communicate the issues and ideals of the movement beyond the activist group. By representing the history of an issue, the arts may establish or revise an emotional tone or a public perception. Along with critiquing societal issues, the arts may also be used to critique movement ideology, keeping the movement grounded and true to its purpose. Finally, the arts provide elements of pleasure and aesthetic joy, important for activists to recharge and rejuvenate their energy and efforts to continue their work in a social movement."<sup>19</sup> The broader range of the artistic productions in this movement can indicate the power of this movement in shaping the identity of all people involved. The most important task of this movement is to create this common ground for the latter so that all participants who cannot contact each other directly can say who we are and what our goal is. It makes the high volume of artworks more meaningful for conveying this meaning and common sense and spreading it

across the country and even the world. As we will see further in this paper, art can communicate important messages and information about conflict as it did in the Zhina movement by reciting movement goals, victims, and slogans and even remembering the linkage between all movements and protests that happened before. Plus, when there are iconic works of art, and people can relate them to the conflict that is happening, it can send a signal to make people think about what this movement means, what is the vision of the movement in the future, and how can we make actions to achieve it.<sup>20</sup>

Cultural performances such as protest songs are also influential in building collective representation and imagination. They can unify people by creating shared meaning and representing the ideas and notions of a specific movement. Some of them, like the famous song "Baraye," can become the symbol of the movement, spread rapidly throughout the world, and reinforce solidarity between social actors and even others who have not participated in the movement. "Baraye", which means "For" or "Because of" was written and performed by Shervin Hajipour, It was one of the first protest songs of this movement that was published on the singer's Instagram account on September 28<sup>th</sup>, inspired by the movement, less than two weeks after the funeral of Mahsa Zhina Amini, which was the starting point of the nationwide manifestations. The song received significant attention and was

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<sup>18</sup> Azad Armaki and Hajali, "Peydāyēš-e Jam'iat-e Mo'tarez [Emerging Protest Crowd]," 492.

<sup>19</sup> Milbrandt, "Understanding the Role of Art," 8.

<sup>20</sup> WellesleyCollege, "Shiva Balaghi," 1:20-1:55.

shared, republished, and covered many times quickly. Shown on the self-recorded video, Lyrics is a collage of protesters' tweets during the first few days of the movement sharing their misery, pain, and grief and expressing why they support these protests in short.<sup>21</sup> The reasons covered a wide range of topics from the environment to economic problems to arrested students and even problems of refugees. When those tweets were gathered in a piece of music, they became powerful and effective lyrics that reflected different groups' concerns, which many could identify with. The song received over 40M views in less than 48 hours and became an instant hit. This song, with the help of dramatic and artistic,"<sup>22</sup> amplified the conflict between protesters and the Islamic government on many different fronts. Innovative cultural actions in social movements profoundly affect artistic production as a form of cultural expression<sup>23</sup> and create a sense of liberation. Marcuse states, "Artistic imagination creates new objects in both language and images: an environment in which humans and nature are liberated from reification and domination. As a result, it ceases to be mere imagination; it creates a new world. The power of knowing, seeing, hearing, which is limited, repressed, and falsified in reality, becomes in art the power of truth and liberation."<sup>24</sup>

The link between music and social movements is a two-way road. Protest

music is created in the context of a wide range of thoughts during protests. In contrast, the movement uses them to advance while it is affected by the events and evolution of the movement. According to Reed, "social movements adopt existing cultural structures to support the new goals and strategies set by the movement."<sup>25</sup> Music, as a cultural structure, is one of the pillars of people's daily life and can spread the movement's ideas.

Music and artistic productions are also essential in remembering and shaping the top moments of social movements. These musical components of collective identities have rarely been explicitly addressed during social movements and protest actions. Focusing on the interaction between music and social movement, we examine this collaborative learning process through music, memorization, and mutual meaning-making in this article.

In Iran, revolutionary and protest music has been turned into a discursive arena where, on the one hand, the anti-establishment side seeks revolution, which is active during the movement pursuing to express its existence, and even its predominance, through songs and other musical performances. In contrast, the pro-establishment side seeks to repudiate such presence and, more importantly, its predominance by

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21 Holmes, "Coldplay perform Iranian protest song," *Guardian*, October 31, 2022.

22 Alexander, "Cultural Pragmatics," 59.

23 Eyerman & Jamison, *Music and Social Movements*, 6.

24 Marcuse, *Art and Liberation*, 125.

25 Reed, *The Art of Protest*, 14.

attempting to silence its musical discourse.<sup>26</sup>

### **3 Data Analysis**

In this paper, we approached the protest songs without having a preconceived theoretical framework. We started by collecting and analyzing data to construct a theoretical framework. By the initial review of 179 musical works published during the Zhina movement, 718 primary themes were identified. Ten main themes were identified by categorizing and re-categorizing primary and repetitive themes. Finally, based on their relationship, these ten themes were classified into five categories and separated. Themes of oppression, resistance, and the conflict between good and evil were categorized as the state of the current situation. The second category is the connection of this movement to previous social movements in Iran. The third one, which is related to the Zhina movement, consists of four themes: representation of slogans, symbols, and victims, woman and embodiment, homeland, nations and ethnicities, and religion; the last three themes were classified into the category of the problem proposed, and finally, themes of call to action and desired future vision were made separate categories.

All codes extracted from this analysis are represented in the table below:

*Table 1: Themes and Categories*

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26 Leone, "My Schoolmate: Protest Music in Present-Day Iran," 360.

Main Theme	Category	Codes
Oppression	The State of the Current Situation	Suffocation, Murder, Despair, Repression, Slaughter, Deception, Despair of Reform, Courage, Complaint, Disorder, Prison, Current Situation, Conflict, Dissatisfaction, Curse, Mourning, Grief, Regret, Depression
Resistance	The State of the Current Situation	Resistance, Revolution, Struggle, War, Ideal, No to Execution, Negation, Street, Uprising, Revenge, Criticism of Capital, Subversive, Negation of Slavery, Martyr
The Conflict Between Good and Evil	The State of the Current Situation	Good and Evil, Iranian Myths, Binary Confrontation, Natural Phenomena
Connection With Previous Social Movements	Connection With Previous Social Movements	Aban, Previous Movements Victims, Khavaran, Green Movement, 1979 Revolution, Black Fish, Gohar Eshghi, Previous Movements, Green Movements, Girls of Enghelab Street, Connection between Movements, Neda, Navid, Dey Movement
Representation of Slogans, Symbols and Victims	Zhina Movement	Woman Life Freedom, Dead's of the Movement, Mahsa, International Reception, Slogans,
Women and Embodiment (Problem Proposed)	Zhina Movement	Hair, Body, Kiss, Hijab, Dance, Woman, Girls, Right to Choose, Equality, Women Right,
Homeland, Nations and Ethnicities (Problem Proposed)	Zhina Movement	Ethnicities, Nations, Motherland, Homeland, Iran, Kurdistan,
Religion (Problem Proposed)	Zhina Movement	Religion Critic, Mandatory Hijab, Negation of Religion, Anti-Religion, Clergy, Pulpit, Religious Elements
Call to Action	Action Request	Protest as Action, Uprising Request, Invite to Action, Us, Me and You, Unity, Solidarity, Inviting to the Street
Desired Future Vision	Desired Future Vision	Hope, Better Future, Dream, Brightness, Victory, Desired Future, Freedom Wish, Hope for change, Sunrise, Spring

### 3.1 *State of the current situation:*

### 3.2 *Oppression:*



Suppression and suffocation have been mentioned in 78 songs. Suffocation, blood, despair, suppression, deception, despair, mourning, pain, and other similar words show the extent of oppression. Asmand Believes, Protest literature -In which song lyrics can be included in it- is a dynamic and idealistic literature that defends the rights and values of society. It is a literature that does not tolerate inequality, can never ignore discrimination, and be indifferent. Its purpose is to protest something, usually the political situation.<sup>27</sup>

In many protest songs published at this time, the description of suffocation is a prelude to intervention in the existing situation. “Sorud-e Barābari [Anthem of equality],” which is also known as “Taqir Barāy-e Barābari” [Change for Equality] first performed in 2008, was widely republished, shared, and chanted in the protests worldwide, especially by feminist groups in the movement’s early days, The song itself amplifies hope, courage, and resilience of the women fighting for a better day, and talks about intervening in conditions, solidarity, and building a promising future based on the equality of men and women. It also mentions the methods of repression to express the need for this intervention. It is a feminist song in Farsi made in 2007 by some feminist activists during a campaign called “One Million Signatures for the Repeal of Discriminatory Laws” against women.<sup>28</sup>

*No stoning/no on the threshold of the gallows/no crying many times/no shame and disdain (Sorud-e Barābari [Equality Anthem])*

The prison has been used in protest songs of the movement to symbolize repression and boredom from the existing situation.

*Let the air in the prisons/ even the prison is disgusted with itself/ His lungs are full of prisoners/ he wants not to be! / So that the bird can be freed (Zendunāy-e Xaste [Tired Prisons])*

Expressing despair and unbearable living conditions due to repression and lack of freedom are mentioned in some songs. In the text of the song below, the sadness of unbearable conditions is expressed poetically. In this work, the singer expresses the current difficult situation by being tired of waiting for morning to arrive (which means a positive development and fundamental change in the current situation).

*We’re at the end of our rope. Enough of you saying that the morning is near (Irān-e Man [My Iran])*

In many songs such as this one, there is a mention of the idea of the prominent arrival of the promised liberation day and how it has failed so far. While darkness and terror are at their peak, there is no sign of a bright future or a positive change on the horizon.

Blood has been used in many works as a symbol of oppression.

27 Asmand Juneghani, “Taqābol-e Adabiyāt-e Eterāzi [Opposition of Protest Literature],” 16-17.

28 Shojaei, Mokavi and Marzban, “Se Revāyat az Tavalod-e Sorud-e Barābari [Three Stories About the Birth of the Anthem of Equality],” *Melliun*, March 9, 2013.

*Ab... O worlds/ O living in time/  
[There's] A place on the ground/ [that] people's  
blood/ [is] remaining on the ground (Azādi  
Agar [Freedom, If])*

Streets covered in blood or bloodshed are repeatedly used to convey the brutality people are dealing with. These images are inspired by the heartbreaking photos and videos of manifestations aggressively repressed by the police and direct shootings, bodies covered in blood, and the beating of the citizens that were widely shared daily.

### 3.2.1 *Resistance*

Struggle, resistance, and resilience are the focus of some of the other protest songs of this time to describe the current situation, which is mentioned in 44 pieces. In this theme, the aim is to narrate the current crisis not from a hopeless point of view but to describe how to resist and stand against oppression. For this purpose, words such as revolution, resistance, street, uprising, rebellion, revenge, and the like have been used,

*Our land has been invaded; we are ready for  
the revolution/ we fight like a lion to see the  
freedom of our people (Šureš [Rebellion])*

*Long live the revolution of the 80th  
generation of women (Mā [Us])*

The word “street” has acquired a symbolic meaning and refers to the continuous presence of the people. The street is the most critical arena of struggle and resistance and maintaining it for nearly four months is one of the essential characteristics of this movement. Being on the streets means acting in various ways, such as

protesting, writing slogans, distributing leaflets, chanting at night, etc.

*The street is flooded with your hair like  
spring / with your warmth / my heart is firm  
(Be Mahsā be Nikā Qasam [Swear to Mahsa,  
Swear to Nika])*

*Children of the country/ without fear of the  
devil/ when night comes together in the street  
(Zan, Zendegi, Azādi [Yek Qatre  
Xun][Woman, Life, Freedom])*

The emphasis on negation and its importance in protest songs is also a symbol of confrontation and resistance. The movement started with a protest against the government’s systematic harassment of Zhina Mehsa Amini. As a form of resistance, the protests demonstrated the denial of oppression and dominance through collective actions.

*No, no, no! / No! No! No!/ No to  
mandatory hijab/ No to any censorship/ No to  
autocrats/ No, no, no, no to the country's  
shame. (Na, Na, Na [No, No, No])*

### 3.2.2 *The Conflict Between Good and Evil:*

The antagonism between good and evil or between protagonist and demon is another way of expressing the present situation in 42 pieces of music in the movement. This form of expression uses various narratives. The conflict between good and evil is reflected in different forms in Iranian culture reflected in Zoroastrianism as well as epic myths and tales in Shah-name, which is an inseparable part of the folklore culture of Iranians. The epic of Karbala and the conflict between right and wrong is one of the religious

expressions of this conflict<sup>29</sup>, which is less discussed in the songs of the current movement compared to Green Movement artistic works which religious elements were represented more in its ideology and symbols.<sup>30</sup> In these epics, characters representing so-called “Good” also suffered the dominance of unjust opponents and evil forces. Despite their efforts, they endured a lot and sometimes even got killed, but their righteousness was proved later, and the uprising heroes avenged them. Another way of expressing this conflict is the use of natural elements, which in popular culture have positive annotations (such as lion, perfume, flowers, stars, tulips, sun, morning.) or negative (such as hyena, wolf, jackal, night, stone.) or human-made objects such as the wall, cage, sickle, light, chain, lantern.

*I've been fed by fear again/ But the wall is starting to crack (Nasl-e Zed [Z Generation])*

*The darker you get; O cold is the night! / We are like bright stars (Mo'jeze [Miracle])*

*Oh, if hyenas behave like hyenas / or if wolves think of rabies for a moment/ ... Won, if they involve this lion in awakening (Vāy Agar In Šir Rā Darğir-e Bidāri Konand [Won, If They Involve This Lion in Awakening])*

One form of creating this conflict is using mythology as a confrontation between the protagonist and the enemy, echoed in Iranian literature and cultural heritage. Using Iranian mythology including fighting "Kaveh" and

"Fereydoun" with "Zahhak," using the mythology of the Dragon, or referring to "Siavash," "Rostam," "Tehmina," and "Sohrab" are the example of it. These references are meaningful when representing a glorious Iran in the past is considered while avoiding using religious allegories to represent good and evil in protest poems. A kind of nationalism rooted in the elements of ancient Iran could be traced here. Some scholars believe that the primary source of these mythologies in Iranian literature is “Shahnameh”. Referring to Shahnameh and its myths can be considered as returning to the Iranian identity against the Islamic identity,<sup>31</sup>

It contradicts the Green Movement, in which slogans and lyrics were primarily religious. Alongside Iranian mythology, a few songs and slogans mainly refer to Karbala and the conflict between Hussein and Yazid as one of the most critical pillars of Shiite thought. “Kaveh” versus “Zahhak” mythology and religious myths - divine and satanic - were also frequently used in the 1979 revolution.<sup>32</sup>

*The trees of braids flag are in Kaveh's hand/ shaking the heavens/ the end of this story is not bad/ this Fereydoun kills Zabak (In Fereydun Mikošad Zabbak Rā [This Fereydun Kills Zabbak])*

*It is the way how my mother raised me/ that I am Ariobarzan for my homeland/.../ The same woman who is behind me / whose lullaby*

29 Elhami Nia, “Vižegihāy-e Axlāqi [The Moral Characteristics],” 120.

30 Sarkouhi, “Cerā Āsār-e Honariy-e Mandegāri [Why did not Lasting Artistic Works],” *Radio Zamaneh*, August 5, 2019.

31 Shahbazi, “Hadaf-e Ferdowsi [Ferdowsi's Aim],” 35-36.

32 Nikfar, “Āqāz-e Yek Enqelāb [The Beginning of a Revolution?],” *Radio Zamaneh*, October 22, 2022.

*is the story of Rostam (Ke Parvardey-e Dāman-e Yek Zanam [A Woman has raised me])*

### 3.3 *The Connection with Previous Social Movements of Iran*

In 22 of the pieces of music, previous social movements or other types of repression are mentioned. It represents how social movements are linked in the minds of people. They allude to the history of the struggle against oppression.

The current movement has revived the memory of the most iconic victims of the Regime's violence in previous uprisings. There were mentions in the songs that people have not forgotten about them and will pursue justice. Among the most resonated names was Neda Aghasoltan (who was killed by direct gunshot in the manifestation after the disputed presidential election in 2009, also known as Green Movement. Witnesses filmed her death, and a few artists paid tribute to her memory.), Navid Afkari (a wrestling champion that was sentenced to death and executed in 2020 for allegedly killing a security guard during the 2018 Iran protests), the political prisoners that were mass executed over the summer of 1988 and were buried in Khavaran cemetery in mass-graves, and also those who were killed during the bloody November (the violent oppression of protests in many cities in November of 2019). The collective memory of previous movements and oppressions and their dead (like Neda, Navid, and Khavaran)

is embedded in people's minds. The date of the formation of the collective subject of change (or "we") can be the continuation of the protests of 2017–2018 protests (Dey Protests), Bloody November (Aban Protest), the 2021 protests (protests of 1400), and the Green Movement,<sup>33</sup> the hostile attack on dormitories of the Tehran University in 1999 and the women's, student or labor movements and in short, all social movements and protests that happened before Zhina movement. Each of the previous movements is integrated into this movement to connect them all.<sup>34</sup>

Social imagination as a factor of subjectivity comes to life through art - as one of the forms of its manifestation - and can connect different social movements by providing a common ground for them that can last in time. On the other hand, in times of social crisis, the social imagination of activists also transforms. For instance, some research shows that during the 2017-2018 protest in Iran, the experience of discrimination and humiliation which came from the deterioration of the material life of the individuals and also the loss of social hope affected the social imagination of the people.<sup>35</sup> Such a situation is seen more clearly during social movements because social movement causes new dynamics of social imagination in different types which can be reflected in the artistic works, therefore it is affected by all the social movements in contemporary Iran, and the transformation of social imagination is

33 Asghari, "Naqshēhāyi Barāy-e Āyandey-e Irān [Plans for the Future of Iran]," *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Siyāsi [Political Economy Critique]*, February 20, 2023.

34 Nikfar, "Kerāmat va Omid [Dignity and Hope]," *Radio Zamaneh*, October 06, 2022.

35 Nowroozpour, "Tahlil-e E'terāzāt-e Siyāsi-e Dey Māh [The Analysis of Political Protest of Dey]," 218.

also the result of the dynamics of various social movements<sup>36</sup>.

During the Zhina movement, songs related to the Green Movement were frequently observed to be transformed into original musical works with minor adaptations to their text. Fischer believes that the same thing happened during the Green Movement when the revolutionary music of 1979 played a crucial role.<sup>37</sup> For the part of the audience who participated in the Green Movement before, listening to these versions reminds them of the summoning togetherness of the protesters during the Green Movement. Musical works from the 1979 revolution passed through the same process. Some works were published without changes and only with images of everyday resistance; some were republished with changes in the text, and others were used in the text and context of other works.

*From the Khavarans of full of corpses. (Be Samt-e Fardāy-e Jabān [Toward the Future of the World])*

*With the flood of Aban's blood/ mixed with injustice/ our only sin was the roar of anger/ in response to hatred (Sogand [Oath])*

*It was Aban / The moon was shining / A small fish was on the street (Rāb-e Māhi [Fish Way])*

*God is the blood of our Neda/ God is Yalda, God is Pouya (Xodānur [Khodanour])*

In these protest works the 1979 revolution is also mentioned in two different ways. While some of them

cherish the memory of the dead of the previous revolution, most of them narrate a form of regret, which can be considered a traumatic experience.<sup>38</sup>

*Hear it today/ with a resounding sound/ as the Jungle Movement/ until the battle of every hero/*

*They gave up their lives / in Siabkal (Šer-e Āzādi [Freedom poetry])*

*Optimistic people of 79/ Drowning in hope and bewilderment of oil share (Mādar-e Irān ze Jā Barxāste [Iran's Mother Has Risen])*

Reference to the Girls of the Enghelab Street (girls who publicly removed their mandatory hijab and appeared in the city center during the winter of 2018) in some of the works shows the common ground of this movement with the previous actions and struggles of Iranian women during all these years.

*I swear to Mahsa/ to Nika/ to flowing blood/ to Rira, to Pune, to the death of youth/ to Vida, whose flag broke the enemy's body (Be Mahsā be Nikā Qasam [Swear to Mahsa, Swear to Nika])*

### 3.4 Zhina Movement

Addressing the movement itself, its content, demands, and slogans is one of the recurring themes in the musical works published in the recent movement. The musical pieces' mention of slogans and symbols of the movement recounts the reminiscent role of music in the movement. Music helps

<sup>36</sup> Khosrokhavar, Paivandi and Motaghi, "Taxayyol-e Ejtemā'i [Social Imagination]," 52.

<sup>37</sup> Fischer, "The Rhythmic Beat," 535-536.

<sup>38</sup> Hajinia, "Osturehāy-e Enqelāb-e 57 [The myths of the 1979 Revolution]," *Radio Zamaneh*, January 23, 2023.

to inscribe the ideas and concepts in the collective memory of the activists.

Movement themes include women's problems and embodiment, national or ethnic identities, the homeland, and a sense of nationalism, as well as religion. Songs also mention international recognition of the movement and its references. More than anything else, this movement gained international dimensions due to feminist demands and dealing with women's issues, and this global attention was represented in the songs.

*Women should live in freedom, not oppression/ because of your efforts, the world can see. (Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi [Woman, Life, Freedom], Marsh Family)*

*The blood started to boil in the veins/ The world was stunned by this roar (Yārān [Fellows])*

### **3.4.1 Representation of Slogans, Symbols, and Victims**

Eighty movement-related songs illustrate slogans, symbols, and the dead of the movement. Fatemeh Shams believes: "The most important component of the protest poem is a meditation on everyday life, ... and hope, distancing from political slogans and at the same time remaining loyal to the ideals hidden in the three symbolic words of the main slogan of this revolution, namely "Woman, Life, Freedom."<sup>39</sup>

*And the secret name in my throat/ which is Mabsa, which is Nika, my homeland. (Esm-e Ramz [Watchword])*

Slogans of the movement and primarily "Woman, Life, Freedom," are present in many songs; one of the examples of the representation of the slogans of the movement in the lyrics of the songs is the song "Āzādi (Freedom)" by the Egyptian singer Ramy Essam, which is wholly composed of the slogans of the streets of Iran.

*Freedom, Woman, Life, Freedom/ Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, we are all together/ Be afraid, be afraid, we are all together/ If we don't stand together, we will be killed one by one/ We will fight, we will die, we will take back Iran (Āzādi [Freedom])*

"Woman, Life, Freedom" and other slogans that most actors agree with are not the only slogans and symbols used in protest music. Even slogans such as "Man, Homeland, Prosperity," which have been highly disputed and have been the subject of many debates and received many criticisms, appeared in some works, especially the song "Baraye," the iconic song of the movement. Some believe that the latter aimed to re-establish the dominance of Pahlavi male-centered nationalism, which is promoted by the monarchists and is based on patriarchal ideas which do not represent the values of the Zhina movement.<sup>40</sup>

On the other hand, the movement's dead are the most prominent symbols of collective effort. As symbols of meaning-making and action mechanisms

<sup>39</sup> Shams, Interview.

<sup>40</sup> Hooshyari et al, "Enqelāb-e Irān, Eslām-e Siyāsi [Iranian Revolution, Political Islam]," *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Siyāsi [Political Economy Critique]*, October 7, 2022.

for mobilizing and fighting injustice, these names unite the dominant frameworks for representing oppression by the system.<sup>41</sup>

*The wind in Zhina's hair, tied Sarina's shoes. / My oh my, Romina's neck/ they must leave (Āvāz-e Leylāhā [Leilas' Son])*

*Neda, Zhina, Nika, Navid, Sarina/ Your name has become our watchword (Nemixām [I Don't Want])*

### 3.4.2 Problem Proposed

Iran has been a heterogeneous and plural complex entity governed by a centralized state throughout its modern history, both in Pahlavi and Islamic Republic regimes. In the Zhina movement, more than other previous social movements, we saw the participation of those parts of Iran that have suffered the most from the centrist governments. The Zhina movement started in Saqez in Kurdistan, Zhina's hometown. Its central slogan, (woman, life, freedom) originated from Kurdistan, and the most frequent protests occurred in Zahedan. From this point of view, this movement is different from the previous movements that were more focused on the center.

During the Zhina movement, we faced a range of political and social imaginations in which many demands and multiple voices were heard from different parts of Iran. The same voices appeared in the movement's poems and songs, which had yet to be widely discussed. Some of these problems were

proposed for the first time or at least considered as a central issue for the first time compared to protest songs of the Green Movement or the 1979 revolution.

### 3.4.3 Women and Embodiment

Zhina Mahsa Amini's death under custody turned her name into a code for this revolutionary movement. The slogan of the Kurdish women's movement in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Turkey (Woman, Life, Freedom), which indicates woman in it, became the main slogan of this revolutionary movement and was reflected in the movement songs. Furthermore, women's issues are represented in 49 songs and embodiment in 39 songs.

Women's problems in the centrist and patriarchal state of Iran, under religious hegemony, have not always been considered a main priority. Despite all its efforts and advances, the women's movement has constantly faced opposition and pushed back even among the protesters, which prioritize other social problems more critically than women's problems. Mandatory hijab in Iran is a policy intertwined with body control, workforce management, and organizing the public arena.<sup>42</sup> Therefore, when a movement like the women's movement, which has generally challenged Iranian society, claims its demand, it is as if it is speaking to the government/state or the girls who reject the mandatory hijab in their daily life while challenging a traditional way of

41 Mazloomzadeh, "Hargez az Tars Namordeand [They have Never Died of Fear]," *Zeitoon*, January 23, 2023.

42 Aslanzadeh, "Hejāb-e Ejbāri [Mandatory Hijab]," *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Siyāsi [Political Economy Critique]*, January 07, 2023.

life and order, the reflection of their action becomes anti-system.<sup>43</sup> It is most recent social movements in Iran that have paid more attention to embodiment and body politics. “A host of contemporary phenomena, ranging from AIDS to women’s rights and assisted reproduction, from gay and lesbian movements to the Human Genome Project, have fore-grounded the body–power relation.”<sup>44</sup> The term body politics is commonly used to refer to the operation of power concerning the actions of the overall body. Nonetheless, it also refers to the practices and policies used by society and the state to discipline the human body. It is because bodies are the central core of the family, economies, social and political institutions, and form governments, civil society, and citizenship.<sup>45</sup> Thirty-nine pieces of music have pointed to this subject. Keywords such as body, hair, dance, hijab, woman, choice, kiss, and woman's rights indicate these topics.

*No to the forced hijab.../ No to the morality police/ Enemy of free women (Na, Na, Na [No, No, No])*

*Choosing the type of cloth is a matter of taste, not a rule (Haqqame [It's My Right])*

*I am a woman; my life is forbidden/ they draw a cross on my body (Qafas-e Pārcei [Fabric Cage])*

*Come and kiss you, that kiss is our protest/ Come; these kisses are the weapon of our generation (Biyā [Come])*

#### 3.4.3.1 Homeland, Nations and Ethnicities

The concepts of nation, ethnicity, and homeland are echoed in 24 music. The main definitions of nationalism and homeland are strategies, ideas, and explanations based on understanding the nation-state. Mohammadpour believes: “Iran is not a single culture, but a geography whose cultures have lived side by side for centuries and have been influenced by each other.”<sup>46</sup> The events in the Zhina movement have opened a new horizon for activists who were not heard before, which can be seen in the released music. In general, two types of views can be seen in these representations. The first type is based on the unifying symbol, unity, and identity. The other type is contingent on accepting differences and pluralities and recognizing other nations and ethnicities in Iran’s geography.

*Baloch, Kurds and Lors, Turks, Arabs, it doesn't matter/ No one sleeps well these days/ With every clothe and your belief for/ Free Iran/ Prosperous Iran (Irān-e Zibā [Beautiful Iran])*

*From Baluch and Kurd and Lor/Hazara and Turkmen/ Arab and Azari/Mazni and Gilki/ Our shout for freedom/ in our mother tongue/ the revolution of the nations/ the*

<sup>43</sup> Azad Armaki and Hajali, “Peydāyēš-e Jam’iat-e Mo’tarez [Emerging Protest Crowd],” 492.

<sup>44</sup> Sassatelli, “Body Politics,” 347.

<sup>45</sup> Al-Ali, “Degargunihāy-e Siyāsi [Plitcal Transformation],” *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Siyāsi [Plotical Economy Critique]*, February 02, 2023.

<sup>46</sup> Mohammadpour, “Emtena'-e Andišey-e Farhangi [Refusal of Cultural Thought],” *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Siyāsi [Plotical Economy Critique]*, February 15, 2023.



*revolution of the nations (Enqelāb-e Mellathā [Nations Revolution])*

*All of us, all of us/ Our backs are bent under oppression and cruelty/ We are all kolbars - cross-border labor- whose backpacks are joy and freedom/ Motherland (Sarẓamin-e Mādari [Motherland])*

As evident in published musical works, the latter's voice was heard more in the movement's early days. The first voice became more dominant during the movement as street demonstrations decreased. By the discourse of "Secession" and constructing center-periphery and chaos-stability, these voices intend to warn people about the chaos of the social and geographical "margins." They want the margin to remain entitled to the paternal compassion of the center by rejecting the demands and merging with the centrist and authoritarian voice.<sup>47</sup>

Another critical point in the poems is the feminine aspect of the country in the songs, which can be seen through words like "motherland," "mother of Iran," or "mother of the country." Kamran Matin believes that in the imagination of Iranian nationalism, the homeland has a feminine aspect based on the definition of honor, whose control and protection are a man's duty. This view conflicts with the primary goals and values of the Women, Life, Freedom movement.<sup>48</sup>

*I will leave you in your arms one day, Azād Azād/ A mother named homeland taught us hope. (Ye Ruzi [One Day])*

*Iran's mother got up/ demanded her country back from its enemies. (Mādar-e Irān ẓe Jā Barẓāste [Iran's Mother Has Risen])*

*We will see your smile again, lady Iran/ Don't be afraid, I will hold you in my arms/ lady Iran (Irān Xānum [Lady Iran])*

### 3.4.3.2 **Religion**

Religion is discussed in 17 works. Zhina Mahsa Amini's death resulted in different reactions and approaches to religion in protest music. For instance, some believe this movement is a sudden reaction to forcing hijab as a Sharia order<sup>49</sup>; while others believe this movement focuses on political Islam<sup>50</sup>. These differences are also reflected in the protest song themselves.

*The body of my nine-year-old little sister/ was forced wrapped by a black chador / for drinking two drops of alcoholic beverage/ I tasted the bitterness and blackness of the whip Motavalled-e Dabeye Šast (Born in 60 Decade)*

*That paradise whose path is force, fear, and coercion/ is a dirty illusion/ from a sick thought. (Haqqame [It's My Right])*

*Cut the bread of this nation/ in the name of religion/ He is nosy, even in our reproduction (Marg bar Diktātor [Death to the Dictator])*

47 Towfigh & Yousefi, "Enqelāb-e Melli yā Enqelāb-e Mardom [National Revolution or People Revolution]," *Naqd-e Eqtesād-e Sīyāsi [Political Economy Critique]*, December 12, 2022.

48 Matin, "Mašrut Kardan-e Taškil-e E'telāf [Making the Formation of a Coalition]," *Giareng*, January 27, 2023.

49 Nikzad, "Honar-e E'terāzi [Protest Art]," *Radio Farda*. November 7, 2022.

50 Vahabi, "Eslām-e Sīyāsi, Jonbeš-e Zan, Zendeġi, Āzādi [Political Islam, Woman, Life, Freedom Movement]," *Radio Zamaneh*, November 11, 2022.

Even music songs that directly criticize religion create a contrast between “our” religion and “your” religion. Typically, such approaches to religion emphasize confrontation with other interpretations of religion by those in charge. Vahabi believes that the most prominent feature of the “Woman, Life, Freedom” movement is challenging the dominance of the Walayah system by “liberating life” from the constraints of political Islam and back to everyday life.<sup>51</sup>

*I hate your religion/ curse your religion/ your forehead calluses and your heavy hearts (Bizāram Aẓ Din-e Šomā [I hate Your Religion])*

### 3.5 Call to Action

The most repeated theme among these songs is the call for movement, action, or change represented in 95 pieces. In order to change the situation, some effort is required to deal with an overwhelming reality and accumulated anger and sadness. Call to protest, revolution and uprising, unity, solidarity, and presence on the streets are some of the main words that answer “What now?”

In order to overcome these difficulties, the narrator explains that now is the time to act, and action requests are part of the solution.

*Come to my way/ Come to my way/ Come by my side / so that we pass. / For our generation from these bullets / stay by my side so that we pass. (Biṽā [Come])*

*It’s a battlefield, you’re of any color/ Come, it’s difficult without you/ It’s a battlefield, come when it’s time to attack / fearlessly in the heart of the enemy (Meidun-e Jang-e [It’s a Battlefield])*

A call to action represents us (me and you) joining forces to enact a common enemy and providing grounds for solidarity. It is an overt invitation to motion, change, and participation.<sup>52</sup>

*From your throat to our voice/ Bella Ciao, Bella Ciao, Bella Ciao, Ciao, Ciao/ We wake up on a moonlit night/ Someone says, come on, people/ Either all together or all alone/ We are awake until tomorrow (Bellā Cāw [Bella Ciao], Boloori Sisters)*

*Let’s agree and/ we walk hand in hand and/ hold hands and/ get rid of oppression (Sorud-e Barabari [Equality Anthem])*

### 3.6 Desired Future Vision

Songs bring the image of a utopian future in which there is no sign of oppression. Happiness, freedom, joy, liberation, and hope are among the concepts depicted in the picture of the desired future. This theme was included in 82 songs. The picture is represented in some songs by binary symbols such as freedom, dawn, paradise, and spring and used in opposition to prison, night, hell, and winter.

*My longing for liberation broke into the prison of sorrow. / The sweet smell of dawn passed through my fortress (Xun Aẓ Roxam Bešoy [Wash the Blood of My Face])*

51 Vahabi, “Eslām-e Siyāsi, Jonbeš-e Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi [Political Islam, Woman, Life, Freedom Movement],” *Radio Zamaneh*, November 11, 2022.

52 Baghernia Abkenar, “A Playlist We Know,” 59.

*Free yourself, free yourself from the shackles  
of your desires. / Look, look at the morning  
ahead! / What is left of this night except for two  
spots of sadness? / Make a new plan for  
happiness (Sorud-e Zendegi [Life Anthem])*

*Yesterday was a path full of sadness/  
Today is full of twists and turns/ With our  
hands, everyone's hands/ Tomorrow is the  
world's paradise (Fardāy-e Azādi [The  
Upcoming Freedom Day])*

In Fischer's view, the aesthetics of politics, in particular music, allow the production and reproduction of alternative futures through the infrastructure of the public sphere and civil society.<sup>53</sup>

*Women's liberation is possible/ this  
movement is the originator of it (Sorud-e  
Barābari [Equality Anthem])*

#### 4 Conclusion

What distinguished the Zhina movement from other contemporary movements in Iran was reflected in the slogan "Women, Life, Freedom" and its progressive demands. In this movement, women regained their subjectivity more than ever, and subjugated bodies resisted the terrifying force of oppression. In addition to commemorating Zhina Mehsa Amini's memory, musical pieces discussed oppression addressed women's issues, and represented the slogans and goals of the movement. The song "Braye" composed by Shervin Hajipour, "Sorud-e Barābari - (Equality Anthem) -," songs like "Be Nām-e Doxtarān-e Sarzamin-e Āftāb" - (In the Name of the Girls of the Sun Land) - and "Āvāz-e Leylāhā" - (Leilas' Songs) – both produced by unknown artists and

the works of artists like "Mehdi Yerahi" are among them. Countless covers of revolutionary songs and their reflections showed the influence of music on this revolutionary movement. A video of the students at Sharif University singing the song "Sorud-e Zan" - (Woman's Anthem, which was produced by Mehdi Yerahi in the very first days of the movement and became one of the iconic pieces of music produced for the movement) - or other revolutionary songs sung by students in universities and schools are examples of it.

The revolutionary nature of this movement can be understood from the vocabulary and concepts used in these songs. For the first time in the history of post-revolution struggles, the issue of women and compulsory hijab came from the margins, became a primary demand of the protestors, and positioned itself in revolutionary and protest music. Mandatory hijab is a symbol of subjugation and domination over human bodies. The protest music pieces published at this time played a significant role in rejecting such repressive policies, breaking the legitimacy of established power, and symbolizing repression and the connection between this movement and previous protests and movements in Iran. Furthermore, they encourage those who listen to them to stand up, act and create a desirable future. The farther we get from the early days of this movement, the louder the reactionary, patriarchal, and authoritarian voices echo. The same voices feared the weakening of the male position and

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<sup>53</sup> Fischer, "The Rhythmic Beat," 535.

patriarchal values. In the times of media hegemony, art can create an alternative way to think and create meaning. The progressive music produced in the movement's early days can continue to exist in the social life of Iranians and create meaning and influence society.

Innovations in initiatives and creative ways of expression in art can always remind us of what we were looking for compared to our current situation. Despite its dynamic and changing nature, the social movement, like everything else in human life, needs care, revision, and maintenance of its progressive values. Enforcing the individuals' voices and calling for collective social action, art, and music, can help sustain the values and radical demands of the movement. It can also provide a critical view and promising future for everyone involved in the movement. The relationship that movements have with artistic creativity helps the emergence of the new that makes a change in societies possible through movements and keeps the hope for a better future alive.

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## Appendix

Row	Song Title	Vocalist	Language or Dialect
1	Mādar-e Irān ze Jā Barxāste (Iran's Mother Has Risen)	Unknown	Farsi
2	Sorud-e Barābari (Equality Anthem)	Shirin Ardalan, Azadeh Faramarzi	Farsi
3	Ey Zan, Ey Hozur-e Zendegi (O woman, O presence of life)	Unknown	Farsi
4	Irān-e Man (My Iran)	King Raam, Gdal, Erfan, Rana Mansour, Hamed Nikpay	Farsi
5	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Madgal	Farsi



6	Mo'jeze (Miracle)	Siavash Ghomeishi	Farsi
7	Meidun-e Jang-e (It's a Battlefield)	Toomaj Salehi	Farsi
8	Esm-e Ramz (Watchword)	Unknown	Farsi
9	Be Samt-e Fardāy-e Jahān (Toward the Future of the World)	Dariush	Farsi
10	Be Nām-e Doxtarān-e Enqelāb (In the Name of the Girls of the Sun Land)	Unknown	Farsi
11	Muhato Bāz Kon, Beist (Hair down, Stand up)	Kct	English
12	Dar Zamin-e Man (In my Land)	Bijan Nekoubin	Farsi
13	Hanuz (Yet Still)	Hamed Nikpay	Farsi
14	Sorud-e Rahāi (The Anthem of Liberation)	Alborz, Keyvan, Kian, Sormeh, Sara Mohammadi	Farsi
15	Pāyān (The End)	Samavayo Band	Farsi
16	Pegāh-e Omid (The Morning of Hope)	Derakhte Gerdoo	Farsi
17	Nabz-e Āsfālt (Asphalt Pulse)	Peyman Salimi	Farsi
18	Žinā (Zhina)	Shahram Nazeri	Kurdish
19	Sorud-e Zan (Woman's Anthem)	Mehdi Yarahi	Farsi
20	Irānam Ce Konam? (What Should I Do My Iran?)	Misagh, Ehsan Karami	Farsi
21	Az Mā (From Us)	Unknown	Farsi
22	Xune (Home)	Surplus	Farsi
23	Tanhā (Alone)	Rastak	Lori
24	Irān Xānum (Lady Iran)	Erfan Ghadiri	Farsi
25	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Shine & Shid	Farsi
26	Biā va Hamsedā Šo Bā Man (Come and Sing with Me)	Unknown	Farsi
27	Agar Barxizim (If We Rise up)	Unknown	Farsi
28	Na, Na, Na! (No, No, No!)	Eskandar Abadi	Farsi
29	Mammad Nabudī Bebinī (Muhammad, You Were'nt There to See)	Unknown	Farsi
30	Jašn (Celebration)	Azbon Band	Farsi
31	Xašm-e Mā (Our Anger)	Hani Niroo	Farsi
32	Barāy-e (Baraye)	Shervin Hajipour	Farsi
33	Fekr Kardeid (Have You Thought)	Roobeh Emad	Farsi
34	Zendunāy-e Xaste (Tired Prisons)	Nader Tajalli, Bianca di Luna	Farsi
35	Gerye dar Ragbār (Crying in a Shower)	Googoosh	Farsi
36	Nabz (Pulse)	Surplus	Farsi
37	Ci Cešme (Chi Cheshmeh)	Aida Shahghasemi	Lori
38	Bellā Cāw (Bella Ciao)	Bolori Sisters	Farsi
39	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
40	Doxtarān-e Sirus (Daughters of Siroos)	Mahya Hamedi	Farsi
41	Barandāzam (I'm Subversive)	Pishahang	Farsi
42	Marg bar Diktātor (Death to the Dictator)	Dadkhah	Farsi
43	Xun-e Arqavānhā (The Blood of Eastern Redbud)	Students of Kurdistan University	Farsi

44	Jin, Jiān, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
45	Bar Pā Xiz (Get Up)	Confederation of Iranian Students	Farsi
46	In Yeki Ham Vāse (This One is Also For)	Hichkas	Farsi
47	Yek Tār-e Mu Tā Āzādi (A Hair's Breadth to Freedom)	Pendar	Farsi
48	Jašn-e Āzādi (Celebration of Happiness)	Unknown	Farsi
49	Sedāy-e Mā (Our Voice)	Sahand Sotoudeh	Farsi
50	Kaf-e Xiyābunā (The Pavements)	Unknown	Farsi
51	Biyā be Meydān (Come to the Field)	Naser Razzazi, Ebi, Shahin Najafi	Kurdish, Farsi
52	Vāy Agar In Šir Rā Dargir-e Bidāri Konand (Wow, If They Involve This Lion in Awakening)	Unknown	Farsi
53	Ce Mikoni (What Are You Doing?)	Dariush	Farsi
54	Irān-e Zibā (Beautiful Iran)	Shahin Rashidi	Farsi
55	Haqqame (It's My Right)	Golazin	Farsi
56	Begu (Say)	Bomrani	Farsi
57	Zolm Nemimānad (Oppression Will not Last)	Unknown	Farsi
58	Sorud-e Āzādi (Freedom Anthem)	Unknown	Farsi
59	Āzādi (Freedom)	Ramy Essam	Farsi
60	Āvāz-e Āzādi (Freedom Song)	Milad Bagheri	Farsi
61	Āzād Yāšām (Be Free)	Unknown	Turkic
62	Dobāre (Again)	Googoosh, Leila Foroohar, Sogand, Shahrzad Sepanlou, Darya Dadvar, Shohreh Aghdashloo	Farsi
63	Cakāvak-e Xunin (Bloody Larks)	Saman	Farsi
64	Xiyābān (Street)	Hamid Sharifi	Kurdish
65	Xuney-e Mādarbozorge (Grandma's House)	Unknown	Farsi
66	Esm-e Ramz (Watchword)	Unknown	Farsi
67	Radd-e Enkār-e Xašm-e Mā (Rejecting the Denial of Our Anger)	Children of the Profound	Farsi
68	Marg bar Setamgar (Death to the Oppressor)	Roozbeh Emad	Farsi
69	Ey Jallād Nangat Bād (O Executioner, Shame on You)	Unknown	Farsi
70	Xizeš (Uprising)	Welat Art House	Kurdish
71	Āvāz-e Leylāhā [Leilas' Son]	Unknown	Farsi
72	Ey Šarqiy-e Qamgin (O Sad Eastern)	Unknown	Farsi
73	Bā Ham Yeki (One Together)	Sogand	Farsi
74	Doxtar-e Bad (Bad Girl)	SMaryam Salehigand	Farsi
75	Mārš-e Zan (Woman's Anthem)	Aria Torkanbouri	Turkic
76	Fardā (Tomorrow)	Surplus	Farsi
77	Faryād-e Ettehād-e Mā (Our Unity Song)	Rastak	Farsi
78	Parandey-e Šekāri (Bird of Prey)	Firmesk	Kurdish
79	Be Pā Xizid (Stand Up)	Unknown	Farsi
80	Zan-e Āzāde (Freedwoman)	Negin Parsa	Farsi
81	Māh-e Kāmel (Complete Moon)	Maryam Salehi	Farsi

82	Āzādi (Freedom)	Kamyar	English
83	Tuŕey-e Omid (Ration of Hope)	Niki Atash Afrooz	Farsi
84	Az Xaŕm-e To (From Your Anger)	Hero & Frya, Armin Nejad Yousefi, Mehran Mirmiri, Hiva Rahaci	Farsi
85	Jang Ast Mādar (Mother, It's War)	Mahboubeh Golzari	Farsi
86	Ey Zan (A Woman)	Minoram	Farsi
87	Ey Zan (A Woman)	Redline	Farsi
88	Sogand (Oath)	Music students of Culture and Art University	Farsi
89	Rāh-e Kuce (Alley Way)	Music Students	Farsi
90	Jange, Jange (It's War, It's War)	Unknown	Baluchi
91	Tabl-e Azā (Mourning Drum)	Bahman 19	Farsi
92	Qoqnuŕ (Phoenix)	Rana Mansour, Martik	Farsi
93	Xāk-e Bi Āyene (Mirrorless Soil)	Fanoos Band	Farsi
94	Zan, Zendeġi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
95	Āxarin Omid (The Last Hope)	AzShanbe	Farsi
96	Be Nām-e Gohar-e Eŕqi (In the Name of Gohar Eshghi)	Unknown	Farsi
97	Biyāyid, Biyāyid (Come, Come)	Babak Sharifi Majd	Farsi
98	Mā Yek be Yek Mahsāyim (We Are Each Mahsa)	Mahtab Haghighi	Farsi
99	Daryā Ŗodim (We became Sea)	Behrouz Paygan	Farsi
100	Inak Zan (Now Woman)	Unknown	Kurdish
101	Pāyān (The End)	Kourosh Hashemi	Farsi
102	Zan, Zendeġi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Marsh Family	English
103	Jin, Jiān, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Bistoon Band	Kurdish
104	Zan, Zendeġi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
105	Fāl (Omen)	Toomaj Salehi	Farsi
106	Sarzamin-e Mādari (Motherland)	Unknown	Kurdish
107	Nemixām (I Don't Want)	Ayda Rastgou	Farsi
108	Irān, Irān (Iran Iran)	Sepideh Jandaghi	Farsi
109	Rang-e Jahannam (The Color of the Hell)	Mahboubeh Golzari, Kourosh Shahani	Farsi
110	Guŕ Farā Dahid (Listen)	Najmadin Gholami	Kurdish
111	Mā Zende Mimunim (We Survive)	Yasaman Saleki	Farsi
112	Toqyānam Ārezust (My Rebellion Is My Desire)	Music Students	Farsi
113	Āzādi dar Raġ-e Man va Toŕt (Freedom Is in Your Veins and Mine)	Unknown	Farsi
114	Motavalled-e Dahey-e Ŗāst (Born in 60 Decade)	Sina Vaziri	Farsi
115	Hey Rafiq (Hey Comrade)	Unknown	Lori
116	Biyā (Come)	Unknown	Farsi
117	Pāŕo Az Xāb-e Cehel Sāle (Wake Up from Forty Years of Sleep)	Unknown	Farsi
118	Faryād (Scream)	Azadi Radio	Farsi
119	Xoruŕ (Seething)	Maryam Parsi	Farsi
120	Xun Az Roxam Beŕoy (Wash the Blood of My	Homayoun Shajarian	Farsi

	Face)		
121	Qafas-e Pārcei (Fabric Cage)	Maria	Farsi
122	RajazMuye (Rage and Moan)	Kourosh Shahani, Rezaei	Farsi
123	Ye Ruzi (One Day)	Koroush, Raha and Sami	Farsi
124	Šo Kon Xatar (Stand Up, Take the Risk)	Unknown	Farsi
125	In Fereydun Mikošad Zahhāk Rā (This Fereydun Kills Zahhak)	Unknown	Farsi
126	Bar Xiz (Stand Up)	Edris Foroughi	Gilaki
127	Rāh-e Māhi (Fish Way)	Gorooh Sorood	Farsi
128	Parvāz-e Āzādi (Freedom Fly)	Unknown	Farsi
129	Duš be Duš-e Ham (Side By Side)	Music Students	Mazanderani
130	Zahhāk (Zahhak)	Dang Show	Farsi
131	Eždehāy-e Zamān (The Dragon of Epoch)	Unknown	Farsi
132	Fardāy-e Āzādi (The Upcoming Freedom Day)	Shabnam Tolouei, Arash Sobhani, Golrokh Aminian, Mehran Aminian, Lisbeth Helgesen Faramarz Aslani	Farsi
133	Mibusamat (Kiss You)	Erfan Ghiyasi	Farsi
134	Mā (Us)	Kourosh	Farsi
135	Xošā Rāh-e Āzādi (Blessed the Way of Freedom)	Bandar Abbas Artists	Bandari
136	Žinā Zende Ast, Dalir va Javān (Zhina Is Alive, Brave and Young)	Unknown	Kurdish
137	Vatan (Homeland)	Unknown	Farsi
138	Sorud-e Zendegi (Life Anthem)	Mehdi Yarahi	Farsi
139	Enqelāb-e Mellathā (Nations Revolution)	Unknown	Farsi
140	Bāyad Jangid (Must Fight)	Neghab	Farsi
141	Biyā (Come)	Unknown	Farsi
142	Mā Taslim Nemišavim (We Won't Give Up)	Hero and Frya	Kurdish
143	Man Negarānetam (I'm Worried about You)	Tina Emi	Farsi
144	Kuculu (Little One)	Solmaz Naraghi	Farsi
145	Sorud-e Kiyān (Kian's Anthem)	Redline Band	Farsi
146	Mā Irānim (We Are Iran)	Unknown	Farsi
147	Ke Parvardey-e Dāman-e Yek zanam (I've Been Raised by A Woman)	Music Students	Farsi
148	Az Janq Mitarsim Na (Are We Afraid of War? No!)	Dang Show	Farsi
149	Man Ham az Koštegān-e Ābānam (I'm Also One of Aban's Dead)	Mona Namin	Farsi
150	In Dafe Farq Dāre (This Time Is Different)	021G	Farsi
151	Az Xun-e Javānān-e Vatan Lāle Damide (A Tulip Has Been Raised From the Blood of the Youth of the Country)	Unknown	Farsi
152	Barāy-e Irān (For Iran)	Mina Deris	Farsi
153	Sorud-e Ābān (Aban's Anthem)	Unknown	Farsi
154	Nasl-e Zed (Z Generation)	Subvert	English
155	Āzādi Agar (Freedom, If)	Pirouz Band	Farsi

156	Yārān (Fellows)	Farzad Fattahi	Farsi
157	Irān Sedāyat Mikonad (Iran Is Calling You)	Hadi Hajilou	Farsi
158	Aqab Nemikešam (I Wont Pull Back)	Kimia	Farsi
159	Ey Zan Ey Hozur-e Zendegi (O Woman, O Presence of Life)	Unknown	Farsi
160	Dige Cizi Namunde (There's Nothing Left to Get There)	Unknown	Farsi
161	Nedāy-e Jang (Call of Battle)	People Band	Farsi
162	Lālāyi (Lalaci)	Sanandaji Students	Kurdish
163	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
164	Šureš (Rebellion)	Rafar	Kurdish
165	Donna Vita Libertà (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Fabio Tricomi, Azadeh Ahmadian	Italian, Farsi
166	Raqs-e Piruzi (Dance of Victory)	Bijan Mortazavi	Farsi
167	MarāmNāme (Manifesto)	Unknown	Farsi
168	Xodānur (Khodanour)	Ardavan Hatami	Farsi
169	Šer-e Āzādi (Freedom poetry)	Unknown	Farsi
170	Dast-e Hamo Migirim (We Hold Each Other's Hands)	Music Graduates of the University of Arts	Farsi
171	Be Mahsā be Nikā Qasam (Swear to Mahsa, Swear to Nika)	Unknown	Farsi
172	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi (Woman, Life, Freedom)	Unknown	Farsi
173	Zan, Zendegi, Āzādi [Yek Qatre Xun](Woman, Life, Freedom)	Madgal	Farsi
174	Raqs-e Āzādi (Freedom Dance)	Darya Dadvar	Farsi
175	In Niz Bogzarad (This Shall Pass)	Ashkan Shafiei	Farsi
176	Faryād Kon (Shot out)	Navid Zardi	Farsi, Kurdish
177	Kuce be Kuce Sangaram	Unknown	Farsi
178	Doxtar-e Irān (Daughter of Iran)	Matin	Farsi
179	Bizāram Az Din-e Šomā (I hate Your Religion)	Saba Zameni	Farsi