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VOICES AND SILENCES: PROBLEMS IN THE STUDY OF WOMEN, ISLAMISM AND ISLAMIZATION

Sherifa Zuhur

Islamism and Women or Women Under Islamization

What we have learned about Islamism and women and women under Islamization as social and political processes over the last decade and a half? How should we document some of the methodological problems encountered in this endeavor? When I began my dissertation research in the 1980s, I gathered a stack of books and a long list of articles in those pre-Internet days with the help of a librarian skilled in subject and keyword searches in the computerized catalogues then available. This excluded many articles in Middle East journals that are rarely archived. There was also a tower of newspaper and magazine articles, which I scrutinized with greater care. And I collected another huge pile of full cassette tapes of interviews and oral histories of Egyptian women, from about 200 subjects. Much of this material, and that subsequently published, was fraught with the methodological problems and lacunae that I mention here.

After publishing my dissertation in book form, I experienced a season of numerous speaking engagements including one session of testifying to Congress (in the wake of the Algerian coup). I thought I was to speak on Islamist women in Egypt, but was informed that my task was to predict the effects of Islamism on women in the Middle East. My audience was concerned with basic questions like the apposition of "feminism" and "Islam" or whether freedom and Muslim women belonged in the same sentence. They took it for granted that Islamists oppose modernization (a very problematic assumption).

Moving to the Midwest, the West Coast and then overseas, I enjoyed the shift from "professor/public speaker/so-called "expert" back to "researcher in the field." I tried to keep track of the newer materials on women and Islamism and women under Islamization. Graduate students were interested in the terrific vitality of gender studies and Middle East scholars and students often shifted their research from neo-Marxist or other topics quite distinct from religion to this new field -- which is now, in the wake of September 11th being re-defined as "terrorism studies."

These distinct topics -- Islamism and women -- and --women under Islamization overlap somewhat. Researchers in *both* topic areas have described women who are related to, support, or are supported by members of Islamist organizations, Muslim women who indirectly reflect, slowly acquire, or refute Islamist views, or women who actively propose an Islamist worldview and gender ideology through writing, other forms of discourse, or actions. Both topics are frequently confused with general considerations of Islam and women, and so researchers must often address misconceptions concerning Islam, or Islamic law, in addition to their intended topic.

When I began my research in Egypt, "Islamism" was a term that most eschewed in favor of "fundamentalist", and I explained my preference for the term at the outset of each public lecture. I preferred the term Islamist, to the French *integriste*, or the English "fundamentalist" because a 'return to the fundamentals' insufficiently described what we were observing in the Islamic world. Martin Marty and Scott Appleby provided a defense for the term "fundamentalist" in their series on global manifestations of fundamentalism. They defined it as representing various aspects of "fighting" -- fighting for religion, fighting against the State, and so on.¹ While I had interviewed many Islamists who could be classified as being

"oppositionists," I met just as many who were not interested in "fighting" at all. So, while I accept the utility of the term "fundamentalist" for a project such as Marty and Appleby's that examines phenomena in Hinduism, Judaism, Islam, Christianity and even Buddhism, I find the term "Muslim fundamentalist" to be too fraught with immediate negative connotations. Those who study the Middle East and the Islamic world and others who live and reside in the region and Europe now commonly used the terms Islamism and Islamist.

Islamization, on the other hand, is a phenomenon that is not necessarily related to "fighting" or "terror" and has been ongoing for many years. It has affected entire countries like Egypt, states like Pakistan that were dedicated to the principle of Islamization, and particular sectors of other nation-states like the Shi'a community of Lebanon, the Palestinians inside of Israel and in the occupied territories, and the Sunni population of Syria. Islamization is a process and also an aim of moderate Islamist groups, like the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt. Moderates believe that Islamization will be effected over time, through education and the building of institutions and activities. Most importantly for the purposes of this chapter, Islamization may or may not accompany the strengthening of "political Islam" or an Islamist opposition.

Islamist organizations and ideas have arisen in other time periods, but the current preoccupation with "terrorist organizations" is based -- in terms of content and methodologies -- on highly preliminary analyses of the potential threat of Islamist movements outside of Iran in the wake of the Iranian revolution. Scholars published books and articles the Muslim Brotherhood or younger, more radical groups that it had inspired, on specific events like the uprising in Mecca, movements in Syria, Lebanon, North Africa, or Islamism's effects on particular countries, or communities.² Many of these particular studies presented Islamism as a non-gendered phenomena that incidentally subscribed to a certain (conservative) gender code. Apparently most scholars viewed women as well as Islamist gender ideology to be an ahistorical phenomenon. They did not apprehend some of the key differences between newer and older attitudes, for instance in the preference for the *hijab* as opposed to modesty garments worn in earlier decades. They were not particularly interested in, or did not have access to women who were directly involved with specific organizations, or to groups composed of women. In a survey of many books or articles from this period, I found that most authors devoted only about one half to four pages of entire books to any discussion of women, gender or the *hijab*, and perhaps (but not necessarily) a sentence or two in articles. Some fail to refer to women entirely.

In the 1980s the Reagan government defined a global Green Threat and constructed a terrorist list including both states (like Syria, Lebanon, and Libya) and organizations. The list included nationalist organizations, and groups-in-exile, as well as Islamist organizations. Of basic concern was the potential danger or violence that any of these groups could utilize. Scholars continued studying Islamist movements and organizations for these and other reasons. They produced studies of particular Islamist ideologues³ new cases of specific groups, Islamism in a region, or a nation-state, usually without attention to gender⁴ or with about 6 to 13 index citations on women in entire volumes.⁵ I expressed my concerns about the exclusion of women from the phenomenon of Islamism in a short response piece for the journal *Contentions*⁶ to an article by Giles Kepel that summarized some of his ideas in *La Revanche de Dieu*, and a response article by Ibrahim Karawan since neither had mentioned Islamist gender ideology or the importance of women to Islamist movements. Such omissions, or 'silences' continued, and not only in the study of political Islam, but as Nikki Keddie has observed in the scholarship on religiopolitical movements generally.⁷ All the while, scholars of Middle East women's studies were actively producing papers, articles, and chapters concerning the impact of Islamization and Islamism, but the architects of the study of terrorism usually ignored them, or disparaged their

feminism. And for their part, scholars of Middle East women's studies were on occasion, antagonistic to newcomers, particularly male scholars who ventured into the topic area. In the mid-1990s, certain projects on global fundamentalism began to include some chapters on women and gender as in certain volumes of the Fundamentalism Project or in single chapters in works by Kepel, Sullivan and Abed-Kotob, Peter Marsden, Gregory Starrett and Larry Goodson as well as others.⁸

Islamism proved to be an important development in the region -- not a flash in the pan -- its longevity, inter and intra-regional connections, the Gulf War's effects on Islamist movements, the movements' anti democratic character in some countries or entry into legitimized politics in others, and a concomitant increase in Islamization regionwide all produced a tremendous confusion regarding the differential stances of citizens and governments toward Islamism; and about Muslims as believers and Muslims as political actors. This was also so because Islamists have engaged in a critique of secularized Muslims (sometimes posing the term "born Muslims" against the notion of "true Muslims"). In inter-Muslim debate, issues of gender have become a very problematic litmus test of orthodoxy, liberalism, or supposed vulnerability to Western influences. Beyond the work of regional specialists, the gender factor (or the 'woman question') has usually been trotted out to substantiate Islamist archaism, or brutality or that of Muslims in general. While the regional specialists who focused on Islamism and Islamic terror continued to ignore or minimize the importance of women, and Muslim spokespersons used attitudes on women and gender as a litmus test, "mainstream" feminist scholarship and post-modern cultural studies tended to demonize or fetishize Muslim women and the advent of Islamization and Islamism rigidified their opinions.

For example, Islam (defined by legal punishments for adultery, or other illicit sex, honor killings, and female genital mutilation) played a villain's role in Susan Okin's important essay-cum-book, *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?*⁹ which focuses on the dynamic of women's rights vs. the rights of multicultural groups. Some other contributing scholars (for instance Katha Pollitt) basically defended Okin's views that certain groups, Muslims, being a common culprit, resisted the imposition of civil and human rights on their members. Others, like Homi Bhabha responded vociferously to the original essay, accusing Okin of the inherent suspicion and arrogance of much of liberal Western feminism towards the Other -- the Islamic world, or more generally those who choose (or are forced to choose due to discriminatory practices) race, national identity or religious identity as their primary allegiance, and gender only secondarily.

This type of debate has only heightened since the events of September 11th. Perhaps the only beneficial aspect of the situation is that a good many Americans realized that they did not understand Islam, Islamism, and the Muslim world. It is unfortunate that this realization is often couched in the terms of sharply differentiated categories or zero-sum games -- either Muslim or democratic, either Muslim or feminist, either Muslim or progressive.

Women's/feminist gender studies in the US and Europe has also developed a new discourse around a particular term and idea, "transfeminism." This interdisciplinary, but more commonly multidisciplinary area has, like some other fields of study (political science) developed in a climate in which traditional "area studies" are regarded as a suspicious provenance for work on women. Universalists seek work that they can relate to without the translation or mediation of the area specialist. But they are also a bit hostile to ideas that do not readily "play" outside the region, or which suggest that local solutions should be developed by those with local expertise.

Area specialist attempts to interact with, publish, or speak within either "transfeminists" or "the mainstream", are often rebuffed for other reasons. Why? Area specialists are ill at ease

with grand theory; they don't produce clean sound bites; their views of women in the region are too complicated; they insist on data emanating from field work, or on-the-ground research that takes note of exceptions, transitional, undecided, and ambiguous situations. Hence, the limited audience for richer and more nuanced research.

The media, and the scholars who are closely linked to the foreign policy sector like Martin Kramer, would prefer that scholars more emphatically generalize -- and predict more accurately and frequently.¹⁰ Kramer authored a book entitled *Ivory Towers on Sand* and provocatively subtitled "The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America". He argues that a liberal scholarly tradition caused scholars to sacrifice good science since they sought evidence of what they hoped to find - the basis for democratic impulses in the region.¹¹ Leaving aside the tricky issue of whether or not attacks, revolutions, or coups can be predicted, Kramer had earlier maintained that we (Middle East) scholars should not differentiate between radical or moderate views of Islam as if such differentiations had the risk of creating a new "domino effect." In *Ivory Towers*, he particularly targets scholars who sidestepped analyses of Islam and Islamism (Edward Said), presented Islamic activism in too positive a manner (John Esposito), made much of Islamic reform (Dale Eickelman) or Islamist activity under the guise of civil society (A. R. Norton). Those of us who study women and Islamism and who do not clearly condemn Islam would probably fall into the rubric of useless, non-predictive scholarship as well. This particular methodological issue concerns the purpose of academic research. Who must it serve?

A related conundrum is the proper means of utilizing the knowledge of women and gender in "development" -- governmental and non-governmental efforts and whether or not we are properly applying what we learn from the "development industry" to research and vice versa. Is it important to emphasize a transformational component based on what we know about women and society that will eventually, it is hoped, affect women's agency? These affect Islamist, non-Islamist, Islamizing and secularizing populations.

There are other problems that beset this field of research. To see their work in print, scholars must convince publishers and peer reviewers that their samples are representative of all women in the region, or all women in Egypt or Jordan, and agree to broad or sensationalist titles for articles, chapters, or books.¹² Therefore many publications are described and entitled as if they address a great deal more than is actually the case. Publishers also feed the public longing for stereotypes and the odd "collectivization" of women -- women in the Arab world, Arab women, women in Islam, women in Egypt, etc.

Women and gender remain an "extra" or "soft" topic to decision-makers, part of the "social dimension." They forget that the general public and its opinions are essential to Islamist groups seeking support, shelter, adherents and power. Such popular support cannot always be bombed, napalmed, or bulldozed away. They have also missed the ways in which Islamist gender ideology conflicts with the murky goals of the large development industry in the Middle East, thus the presence of external actors and funding becomes a part of these disagreements.

So what in all the work that has been produced is of importance to the future study of women, Islamism and Islamization? First, I think the emphasis on agency (female and feminist) in general and Middle Eastern women's studies, encouraged by certain scholars and publishers has led to a better understanding of women's voices and lives in context. Perhaps the degree of women's agency has been overemphasized, and the term over-used, but when one peruses the enormous stack of non-gendered publication on Islamism and realizes that women are not even worthy objects of scrutiny, then the data and analysis on women's lives assumes an even greater value. Analyses of organizational or peer mobilization, and works that derive from intellectual history and thus, the trajectories of Islamist thought and writing have also been important

products of recent research on Islamization. To this I would add research, primarily, but not exclusively anthropological that introduces the importance of dialogue (between the researcher and the subject) and therefore, positionality

Giving voice to women's experience as a way of emphasizing women's agency through the use of literature, memoirs, autobiographies, and interviews began with early anthologies on Muslim and Middle Eastern women like the volumes edited by Elizabeth Fernea and Bassima Bezirgan (1977), or Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie (1978)¹³ These portrayals affected projects on women ever since, for example, Badran and Cooke's anthology (1990) or Suad Joseph's more recent *Intimate Selving in Arab Families* (1999).¹⁴ Considerations of agency, or its absence are important in various studies of gender and Islam, gender and Islamism and in the study of women's organizations.¹⁵ This approach is by no means exclusive to work with some emphasis on Islam or Islamism; other authors emphasized "voicing" as well as agency in some parts of their research, but define their rubric as "Arab women, or Middle Eastern women."¹⁶

Historical research is also part of the "voicing" of women's experience, often referred to as the "project of recovery" in women's studies and women's history. What is most interesting is that historical research provided many interesting perspectives on gender issues without the essentializing focus sometimes adopted in Islamic studies, and also in mainstream women's studies. There is a great deal of research to mention, for instance, Basim Musallam's study of birth control in pre-modern Muslim societies, Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid's work on women and men of the eighteenth century, Margaret Meriweather and Leslie Pierce's work, and additionally, research that examined the legal system, issues and courts.¹⁷ For a variety of reasons – overspecialization of the academic system, the tendency of scholars to read on their own region and era, and the Euro/Amero-centric theoretical basis of women's studies, it did not seem as if much of this research impacted mainstream feminist/women's studies vision of Muslim women.

Previous edited collections on women of the Islamic world or the Middle East included some historians, but it was not until 1991 that Beth Baron and Nikki Keddie's edited volume provided a volume on Middle Eastern women's history (with a strong focus on Islam) and in the same year, Leila Ahmed contributed an overview of women in Islamic history.¹⁸ A large selection of articles and books appeared since then, for instance Mary Ann Fay's work on Arab Muslim historical writing which includes quite a few chapters on women,¹⁹ and a volume edited by Lila Abu Lughod that provides a revision of the previous historical work on this era, or a post-structuralist critique of modernity.²⁰ Certainly, in all of this work, as in research in anthropology and sociology as well, authors use of gender issues as a lens for research, but one finds an implied or overt critique of Western feminism, or rather, a response to the West's imprecise understanding of Islam and Islamic society.

Some research has focused on individual voices, thus providing a means of placing women's views into intellectual history, or the reception of Islamist views. There are figures advocating a return to Islamic values, like Labiba Ahmad in Egypt,²¹ Nabawiya Musa, arguing for women's rights but as part of a Muslim discourse,²² or Malak Hifni Nassif known as Bahithat al-Badiya, both of Egypt and Nazira Zein al-Din in the Arab East. Contemporary Islamist voices have also been studied like Zaynab al-Ghazali and Safinaz Kassim of Egypt²³ and also those from the more anonymous masses, for instance teens in Iran, or female combatants²⁴ and a variety of women who write about *jihad*, in miriam cooke's (the author's chosen spelling) chapter in this volume.

At the same time, we have more and more interesting information about women in biographical or descriptive modes as well as analytical comment about women in expression and the arts.²⁵ This broadens the terms for debate about women and gender in Islamic societies on

historical grounds, showing for instance that women have had a greater range of expressive outlets than Islamist sources admit, or than we earlier thought. That I lack the space to cite all of the examples of such work is encouraging. Through these we can often read directly about women's perception of their own societies, as well as the degree of transformation and change seen, expected, or hoped for.

Quite a few scholars were interested in the influence of women's newly asserted religiosity as expressed in newly established women's prayer groups, Quranic study or study/discussion groups. Such an image opens and closes the film, *Veiled Revolution* produced by Elizabeth Fernea and directed by Marilyn Gaunt. A strong, deep-pitched woman's voice intones the words of the Qur'an, impressing on the viewer: a) her female gender, b) women's active role in the transmission of religious knowledge, and c) the sense that this activity is new and empowering for women. This short film, produced for classroom use in the West, actually concerned the issue of revealing, or Islamic dress rather than women's Islamic knowledge. Another interesting aspect of the film was that it was suggestive of the ways that women, Islamist associations, or state actors see the "personal as political."

Women's education was supposed to alter women's careers, and degree of power in the family as well as the state. Scholars like Willy Jansen, in this volume are considering the various effects of Islamic, missionary (or foreign language) and national systems of education on women. Gregory Starrett gives a vivid description of how Islamic ideas and Islamist interact with education, weaving gender into his general study.²⁶ Some are looking at the ways in which education is affecting particular cohorts of women, like the first generation of women graduates in Lebanon, or among the Bedouin in the Negev. Others, like Linda Herrera are examining the new private Islamic schools,²⁷ or the focus on women's religious teaching circles, as in the study of Zahra Kamelkhani and other research.²⁸

Islamist actors have an excellent understanding of the ways in which patriarchal structures are reproduced. These echo within the Taliban's insistence on highly visible strict gender policies that affect personal status as well as comportment and appearance in public space. The Taliban restrictions on women were not an aberrant, or accidental policy, but were, rather, regarded by rank and file members as an essential component of their Islamic vision.²⁹ And women's status under the new government in Afghanistan have continued to be a disputed matter as was seen in the failed appointment of Sima Sharar, the so-called Salman Rushdie of Afghanistan, a woman whose remarks were taken out of context, like those of Nawal al-Saadawi by conservatives seeking to block potentially powerful women in politics. The post-Taliban environment is not one where liberation is achieved by a lifting of the burqas as we saw on television. Instead, conservatives demonstrate the way that Taliban gender ideology has affected them, and female leadership remains controversial.

Fatima Mernissi explored the religious, historical and social roots of the common belief that women cannot aspire to *hukm* in *L'harem politique*.³⁰ The book represented a new trend of Muslim intellectuals "went awry." That particular argument is dear to the heart of many Islamist women. The Iranian government initially permitted a translation of the book to be issued (by Malihe Maghezei) but censored the book post-publication, charging the translator, publisher and Ministry of Guidance official who had approved the volume with various offenses. If it were not already clear, gender and interpretations of gender bias in Islam are living debates that divide pro-reform Iranians from others, as well as other inter-Muslim fora.

In this volume, Yesim Arat has noted how women of the Welfare Party devote thousands of hours to personal contacts as part of recruitment and mobilization practices, including ordinary as well as special social visits. Though women do not aspire to party leadership, they have

become expert mobilizers, and evidence great personal fulfillment in their skills, and service to their party. (See chapter by Yesim Arat).

Haleh Jaber has documented instances in which Hizbollah, despite its narrower conception of sex-roles has championed wives of its martyrs, countering local tradition that allows fathers-in-law to reclaim widows' homes, or threaten maternal custody of children. The organization actually built homes for women trapped in such scenarios to occupy until remarriage.³¹ Islamist movements may engage in a range of activities that benefit women, based upon the recognition that local practices to the contrary are not in conformity with the "spirit" of Islam.

Sondra Hale has analyzed the voices of Islamist women in the Sudan³² in the context of state politics. In this volume, she considers the ambiguity that women display, sometimes claiming Islamist ideals, but at other points defining an indigenous feminism in which they criticize Arab patriarchy, and Arab men. Her work illustrates the delicate nature of dialogue in research on women and gender – that respondents have the ability to position the researcher as well as vice versa.

This notion of ambiguity or flexibility has to some degree replaced the notion that women resist or accommodate to Islamism. miriam cooke proposes that women's deliberate, but seemingly contradictory discourse permits them to retain multiple loyalties.³³ I have suggested that such ambiguities may be related to the uneven transformation of gender practices in disparate geographic areas.³⁴ (See Zuhur in this volume).

I learned in earlier research on Islamist and Islamized women in Egypt that women could be flexible (but I would not term them ambiguous) about certain aspects of Islamist gender ideology, such as employment outside the home, but firm on others, like wearing of the *hijab*. Rank-and-file women as well as leaders express certain variations of Islamist gender ideology.³⁵ Arlene MacCleod, however, saw the hijab primarily as a strategy of accommodation, in which working women acceded to traditional concerns over their honor in public space,³⁶ but she does not explore the ways in which her subjects view political Islam, or express religiosity. Indeed, many scholars tended to downplay the religious or political significance of the hijab as it became increasingly popular; denial, or the ascription of "peer-pressure" to the sheep-like masses served as a defense mechanism.

Middle Eastern studies, and Islamic studies have a strong tradition of intellectual history, or the history of ideas. Recent studies have been important in providing a balance between interview or questionnaire-based research and that derives primarily from analysis of Islamist ideas about women and gender as in previously mentioned work by Azza Karam and miriam cooke. Women's vocabulary varies from that of male Islamists, who have been the primary focus for the academy. We lack a comprehensive analysis of Muslim or Islamist leaders' views on gender and can glean insights on certain leaders from a variety of sources, and these include Rashid Ghannoushi, Sayyid Qutb, Shaykh Mitwalli al-Sha'rawi, Shaykh Muhammad al-Ghazali, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, Adil Hussayn, Sayyid Muhammad Hussayn Fadlallah, or Mahmoud Taha.³⁷ Abu Khalil reminds us that clerics (the *`ulamā*) retain a great deal of influence in the Middle East over the public and in the sphere of personal status.³⁸ They remain overwhelmingly male, and although American Muslims point to particular Muslims like Riffat Hassan as representing a progressive voice," she is by no means of their ilk.

Nor have we yet produced a complete volume on the ideas about women and gender, or gendered views of Muslim women leaders (whether Islamist, or merely "Islamic."). Janet Afary describes two prominent women leaders, Marziyeh Dabbagh and Zahra Rahnavaard who obtained real power from the regime, particularly over other women. They disapprove of universalist

feminists, and are revealed to be authoritarian personalities who fled the freedom of modernity (see Afary in this volume). It is interesting that Nikki Keddie and Nahid Yeganeh earlier described Rahnavard's thought as being "Shi'i (but obviously Islamist) feminism"³⁹ Afary's analysis is based Erich Fromm's notions of the "escape from freedom" ideas and fits in with my own depiction of Zaynab al-Ghazali⁴⁰ and could be contrasted with portrayals of Heba Ra'uf in Egypt.⁴¹

The recent research on ordinary women attracted to Islamism has also explored the benefits that women find in systems or movements that would seem to disadvantage them. One point is that Islamism promotes public functions for women even while it may disavow that particular goal. Afary, for instance found that many women, widowed, or divorced devote themselves with great fervor to the Islamic Republic's ideological agenda rather than to the traditional "first category" of immediate family members. This may bring them, just like Arat's respondents in Turkey (or mine in Egypt) a modicum of power and personal fulfillment.

Scholarly work on Muslim women outside of the regions in which Muslims form a majority is extremely important to the growing research on women and gender. Such considerations have acquired some strategic importance since 9/11 within immigration studies of national, ethnic and religious groups most often address the disjuncture between tradition and modernity, or American lifestyles or conditions and the values or resources of immigrants. A few chapters on Muslim women (and one on African-American Muslim women) have been included in larger works, and they attempt to construct core values or a mainstream position for such communities, most often focusing on "mosqued" Muslims.⁴² While religiosity might thus be overemphasized, it is true that the mosque has assumed the status of community center for many, an idea that has traveled back again overseas to the Middle East. Gisela Webb has edited a volume on scholars who identify as Muslim women, and but it would be a mistake to perceive this volume as a description of the "typical" Muslim woman – or "typical Muslim 'leaders.'"⁴³ Younger scholars like Amaney Ahmad Jamal, Nadine Naber, and Sawsan Abdelrahim have been working on Arab-American communities in Michigan and California. Their work illustrates the importance of identity, race and political education amongst Muslims (who happen to be Arabs) in the United States,⁴⁴ particularly in the light of violations of civic rights since September 11th.

The literature on Muslim women in Europe has been neglected in the American academy. Some of it follows along traditional sociological concerns such as the nature of assimilation into the new land, or strength of traditional gender practices such as arranged marriages, whereas other scholars are examining discrimination in the workplace in Great Britain, or Muslim women's networks in Sweden.⁴⁵ (in Jawad and Benn, forthcoming). Sabine Strasser has written on issues affecting Turkish women in Vienna with interesting comparisons between Islamist and non-Islamist (laicist), anti-racist women. Her work reflects current concerns in Europe with the forces opposing immigration (racism, neo-fascism) as well as with the phenomenon of Islamism amongst migrants who often maintain connections with the home country.⁴⁶ Anthropologists and sociologists, the larger number of scholars who study immigration have not always been very comfortable with role of religious ideology in the groups they study. In the "new" anthropology, religiosity underlines the "traditionalism" of their subjects who they may wish to portray with a less recognizable set of features. Nor, do they often separate observations about women from the entire group. Thus, one must study the literature on immigrant groups as a whole (men and women, as well as particular works like Ruba Salih's that focuses on Moroccan women immigrants to Italy⁴⁷ On the other hand, Margot Badran was interested in precisely such constellations in her visits to South Africa where she was invited to lecture to Muslims on issues of women and Islam.⁴⁸

Another problem in research on women under Islamization concerns the presence or impossibility of "Islamic feminists" (Elizabeth Fernea, Miriam Cooke, Sondra Hale) or Islamist feminists (El Guindi, myself, Azza Karam) As Sondra Hale has asked: "How were feminists working in the field of Middle Eastern studies and in Islamist contexts "going to classify hyperactive, sometimes zealous, and seemingly totally committed Muslim/Islamist women who are working on behalf of other women?" (see Sondra Hale in this volume)

Elizabeth Fernea's *In Search of Islamic Feminism* and Miriam Cooke's *Women Claim Islam: Creating Islamic Feminism through Literature*, and several of Margot Badran's papers and chapters have explored this trope, but quite differently. Fernea's travelogue includes deep and sensitive portraits of women in very distinct regional cases. cooke has written (also elsewhere) on the many ways in which Islamist women can invoke a discourse of jihad, ranging from historical figures to contemporary wars to a newer meaning -- (Islamization) society's transformation via Islam -- as jihad.

These treatments of the debated term "Islamic feminism" are different from that of Islam or Islamic *shari`ah*'s compatibility with feminist or pro-woman intent as explored by Mai Yamani, in her anthology, *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives*.⁴⁹ One response is that it depends on the historical situation of the specific Islamist movement in question. Ziba Mir-Hosseini argued that a "feminist re-reading of the *shari'a* is possible -- even becomes inevitable-- when Islam is no longer part of the oppositional discourse in national politics.⁵⁰ Perhaps. But if we take into account the Iranian regime's banning of Maghezei's translation of Fatima Mernissi's book, then that feminist re-reading appears less than "inevitable" at this particular moment

On both questions, how women should be classified, and how seriously can they impact legal reforms or new understandings of Islamic tradition -- the resulting debates have been fierce. We have learned that philosophical differences regarding secularism die hard; and that some scholars, especially in the Muslim world, see the term "Islamic" to be totalizing and resent the Western domination or consumption of scholarship and publications.

Some recent and excellent anthropological and sociological work like Adelkhah's study of Iran integrates certain detailed and broader issues of gender, by addressing a particular definition of masculinity in her work "the new Islamic man."⁵¹ (Adelkhah's earlier book directly addressed the issue of veiling.)⁵² Lahoucine Ouzgane has edited a journal issue and also a forthcoming book on issues of masculinity in the Islamic world. These presented various perspectives on male identity, from a variety of disciplines.⁵³ Although the "world of men" dominates history, anthropology, sociology, and most particularly political science, it still is difficult to find entire volumes devoted in a serious manner to the range of topics that could be termed "men's studies" for the Islamic world, and this is assuredly the case in studies of Islamism, where one may certainly note many hostile references to homosexuality, but it is more difficult to find systematic discussions of the construction of the "male."

We still face problems with essentialization, internal critiques and a lack of sufficient data. In an attempt to outline differences between traditionally religious Muslim women, non-Islamist career women and Islamist informants, in the 1980s, when the power of Islamism in Egypt was hailed as a fad or an import, I built a portrait of the "new Islamic woman" as my respondents called her.⁵⁴ Others have used this formula as in Jenny White's work on Islamist women in Turkey.⁵⁵

This model did not fit my respondents in a different country case, Lebanon. But as I searched for English or Arabic sources on women of this particular sect, I found the first serious chapter in English apparently devoted to "the" Shi'a woman and read: "When a Shi'i girl is nine

years old, she may begin to participate in the daily prayer ritual of the community. She should also assume the *hijab* (veil).⁵⁶ No figures, or even impressions of how nine-year olds actually veil in the community are given; and the views of Ayatollah Mutahari and Shaykh Fadlallah are cited in place of those of "ordinary women." We do not discover exactly what is the degree of religiosity or the relationship between dogma and practice in this community. This source also states: "The more secularized members of the community have abandoned the veil altogether." Many of my own Shi'i respondents subjects in the villages do not wear the *hijab*. Yet, it would be completely inaccurate to describe them as being "secularized." In the South of Lebanon, the *hijab* became common in part as a sign of resistance to the Israeli occupation. In Beirut, it became a marker of the community in a segregated urban space -- however, not all women adopted it. The author describes the *hijab* as a vestige of religious resurgence which is both a "symbol of defeat" and of "empowerment" in shaking off unwanted Westernization (Ibid, 177).⁵⁷ I was disturbed by the silencing of women's separate and individual voices in this portrait, but with the various research traditions enlisted above, I suppose it was inevitable.

Internal critiques may be skewing our research agenda. Haideh Moghissi in her *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Limits of Postmodern Analysis* unlike Susan Okin appears to be aware of indigenous feminist movements, local forms of protest, and alternative cultural constructions that, as Babha points out, have always existed. (Babha, *ibid*). But Moghissi accuses scholars who RESEARCH Islamist women (probably a good many of those mentioned in this chapter or the bibliography to this volume) of a "post-modern" defection from true liberalism and feminism. Research that highlights "agency," or questions the totality of negative conditions under Islamism is heresy. Also criticized are Middle Eastern intellectuals who reject "modernity," and identify themselves as Muslims, and therefore open the door to fundamentalism.⁵⁸

Nikki Keddie divides those studying women and religiopolitical movements into "universalists" and "cultural relativists," or those who present a more "anthropological" view that can come across as being apologetic.⁵⁹ More than the research itself, what is at issue here is the presentation of research and its utility, let us say for the purposes of encouraging dialogue between Islamists and non-Islamists on questions of gender (in which case, Keddie observes that the "anthropological" view can be informative.)

That feminism and Islamism are seen as antagonistic philosophies is clear, and has been true even before this field self-consciously produced studies dealing with its own methodology. For example, see the diametrically opposed views of Bennoune, Ramazani, el-Saadawi and myself on certain issues deriving from political Islam, including some segments on women and gender in a small volume simply entitled *Islam*.⁶⁰ Another genre of writing has now dealt with Islamist or Muslim violations of women's rights in the context of human rights. It can conflate issues of Islam/Islamism/ Islamic law, but one such volume also covers important cases of Islamist aggression as in Jordan, Algeria, or in an Islamized state, Pakistan, among Afghani refugee women, or in political rapes.⁶¹

Let us not forget a final group of scholars who may write about women and gender but who reject any methodology incorporating aspects of feminist analysis because they selectively disdain the West's stranglehold on methodology (Kant, Descartes, Mills, OK; but not this "feminist nonsense.") This group is distinct from yet sensitive to Islamist critiques of women's activism and feminism (which may involve the relationship of Zionism and feminism) and includes former or erstwhile leftists and state functionaries. This trend has been quite evident in the Middle East ever since the 1994 UN Population Conference in Cairo, especially in the media.

Perhaps in other countries, as in Egypt such views reflect the state's position in a pincer's grip between Islamists and sponsors of development.

The Future of Research

More data is needed. We lack large or even medium-scale systematic studies of women in or of the Ikhwan, Jihad, Islamic Jihad, the Gama'at al-Islamiyya, the FIS, Hamas, Hizbollah, the Taliban, and the tablighi movement. (The "instant" books on Afghanistan do not include detailed or systematic interview information from large groups of women. There are no large and well-documented studies on the interaction of Islamist ideas and actual (not idealized) women in Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Yemen, Tunisia, Jordan, and Algeria although there are a growing number of articles and book chapters. There is no full-scale study of women and Islamism in the Palestine or Israel that includes an intelligent approach to women and gender. The existing literature deals with Muslim women in Israel primarily as Arabs (the Israeli scholarship does not use the term "Palestinian,") or as Bedouin, or as members of an underclass -- uneducated, underemployed, and oppressed by their own society.

Important limitations to research in the region exist. Governmental opposition to such research in Egypt means that no large-scale systematic studies, or any with questionnaires can be undertaken at this point, and we must rely on compilations of descriptive materials, existing smaller studies, discussions of the discourse of Islamists, journalistic reports, the drawing of parallels between movements and as above, discussions of the disjunctures or confluence of Islamist and feminist ideas.

Some of the works referred to in this paper considered gender and Islamism within a comparative dimension of global fundamentalism, (Martin and Marty's, Gender and Society volume of their Fundamentalism project, Brink and Mencher's comparative study of women and fundamentalism (1996), the Journal of Women's History's Winter 1999 issue, "Women and 20th Century Religious Politics: Beyond Fundamentalism" including Keddie's article). The broader circumstances of the different fundamentalisms (or religiopolitical movements) preclude easy comparisons. Right-wing Judaism for example, does not occupy the same relationship to the Israeli government, as the oppositionist stance of Islamist movements in various Arab states, nor has it been identified as a global threat. The range of movements, tactics employed and their goals contributes to the difficulties of learning a great deal from comparative analysis. Of course comparative analysis shows us that attitudes to women and gender issues may worsen in groups with a strong scripturalist orientation, and that some problems derive from practices involving ritual purity, or the historic condition of women. Comparative work on religiopolitical movements in earlier periods of history could show us that women had more agency, or ability to maneuver through norms than was once thought, but all of these points have been apparent in women's studies, history, and religious scholarship in the last quarter of a century. It is about time that we develop some new research questions for comparative analysis of women and religiopolitical trends. And we must continue to develop new question in our work focused on cases in the region or among Muslim societies elsewhere in the world. We are now asking **how** women respond to Islamism and Islamization in a variety of cases, rather than simply asking **if** there are any responses. We now understand that these responses are complex, are surely tied in with factors like underemployment, the effects of globalization, and political strategies of various actors, and that our research may be improperly understood as a validation of Islamism, when that is simply not the case.

In short, our research has progressed, but not sufficiently far, and it is rarely valued in equal measure or as available as the broader and more superficial works on Islamism and Islamist movements, or those that exclude the discussion of women and gender to a few pages at most.

¹ Martin Marty and Scott Appleby, eds, *Fundamentalisms Observed* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) introduction.

²For instance Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power: The Politics of Islam* (New York: Vintage Books, 1982); Kepel, Gilles. *Le Prophète et Pharaon. Aux sources des mouvements islamistes* (Paris: La Découverte, 1984, Published in translation by University of California Press in 1985); Emmanuel Sivan, *Radical Islam, Medieval Theology, and Modern Politics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Juan Cole and Nikki Keddie, eds. *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University, 1986); Fouad Ajami, *The Vanished Imam: Musa al-Sadr and the Shia of Lebanon* (Ithaca: Cornell: 1986); Augustus Richard Norton, *Amal and the Shi'a* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987); Shireen T. Hunter, ed. *The Politics of Islamic Revivalism: Diversity and Unity* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1988); W. Montgomery Watt, *Islamic Fundamentalism and Modernity* (New York: Routledge, 1988); Nemat Guenena *Tandhim al-jihad: Hal huwwa al-badil al-Islami fi Misr?* (Cairo: Dar al-Hurriya, 1988); Ibrahim, Saad Eddin. "Anatomy of Egypt's Militant Islamic Groups" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 12, No. 4, 1980. Ibrahim, Saad Eddin. "Egypt's Islamic Activism in the 1980s," *Third World Quarterly* Vol. 10, No. 2, April 1988 (see this issue of the journal in its entirety); Richard Tapper, *Islam in Modern Turkey: Religion, Politics and Literature in a Secular State* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1991).

³ Taha's work is uncharacteristic of other thinkers in devoting more attention to women. Mahmoud Mohammed Taha, Translation and introduction, Abdullahi al-Naim. The Second Message of Islam. (Syracuse Univ. Press, 1987); Leonard Binder, *Islamic Liberalism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Ahmad Moussalli, *Sayyid Qutb: Radical Islamic Fundamentalism* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1992); and *idem*, *Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Quest for Modernity, Legitimacy and the Islamic State* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1999).

⁴ As in Ziad Abu Amr, *Islamic Fundamentalism in the West Bank and Gaza: Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic Jihad* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994); Nazih Ayobi *Political Islam* (New York: Routledge, 1991); Ahmed Rashad, *Hamas: Palestinian Politics with an Islamic Hue* (Annandale, Virginia: 1993); Seyyed Vali Nasr, *The Vanguard of the Islamic Revolution: The Jama'at-i Islami of Pakistan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Burgat, François. *The Islamic Movement in North Africa* (Austin: Center for Middle East Studies, University of Texas, 1993) and *idem*, *L'Islamisme en Face* (Paris: La Découverte, 1995); [Burgat's *Face to Face With Political Islam* (I.B. Tauris, 2003 finally has a chapter on women); John Esposito, ed. *Islam in Asia: Religion, Politics and Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

⁵ One example would be John Esposito, *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality?* (New York: Oxford, 1992). whose index references women ten times as compared to nine references to World War One and thirty to Arab nationalism; or James Piscatori, ed. *Islamic Fundamentalisms*

and the Gulf Crisis (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1991) where the index shows that authors mentioned women five times.

⁶ Sherifa Zuhur, "Engendering Political Islam." *Contention* Vol. 2, No. 2 (Winter 1992).

⁷ Nikki Keddie, "The New Religious Politics and Women Worldwide: A Comparative Study." *Journal of Women's History* Volume 10, Number 4 (1999).

⁸ Gilles Kepel, *Revenge of God: The Resurgence of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism in the Modern World*. (Translation from the French. University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994); Denis Sullivan and Sana Abed Kotob *Islam in Contemporary Egypt* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1999); Peter Marsden, *The Taliban; War, Religion and the New Order in Afghanistan* (London: Zed, 1998); Larry Goodson, *Afghanistan's Endless War: State Failure, Regional Politics and the Rise of the Taliban* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001).

⁹ Susan Moller Okin, et al. Joshua Cohen, Matthew Howard and Martha C. Nussbaum, eds. *Is Multiculturalism Bad for Women?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999.)

¹⁰ Kramer says that U.S. Middle East scholars, "starry-eyed optimism about democratic revolution blinded the field to the realities of the region." D.W. Miller, "Middle East-Studies Programs Are Accused of Scholarly Orthodoxy," Chronicle of Higher Education, October 26, 2001, Online version.

¹¹ Martin Kramer, *Ivory Towers on Sand: The Failure of Middle Eastern Studies in America* (Washington: Washington Institute for Near Eastern Policy, 2001).

¹² For instance one book billed as a study of Egyptian Islamist women has one chapter on Islamist women's views based on the views of three women. Of these only two of these women were interviewed. But the book's title implies that all Egyptian women are represented.

¹³ Elizabeth Fernea and Basima Bezirgan, eds. *Middle Eastern Women Speak* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1977); and Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, eds. *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978).

¹⁴ Suad Joseph, *Intimate Selving in Arab Families: Gender, Self, and Identity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

¹⁵ I do not mean that all of these works incorporated interviews or oral histories of women, though some did – rather that they focused in part on women's agency or lack of agency. Deniz Kandiyotti, ed. *Women, Islam and the State* (London: Macmillan, 1991); Yvonne Y. Haddad and John Esposito, eds. *Islam, Gender and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Mahnaz Afkhami, ed. *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995); Suad Joseph, ed. *Gender and Citizenship in the Middle East* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Nadjé al-Ali, *Secularism, Gender and the State in the Middle East: The Egyptian Women's Movement* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2000); Azza M. Karam, *Women, Islamisms and the State: Contemporary Feminisms in Egypt* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan 1998); Selma Botman, *Engendering Citizenship in Egypt* (New York: Columbia University, 1999); Mounira Charrad, *States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Gocek, Fatma Muge and Balaghi, Shiva, eds. *Reconstructing Gender in the Middle East: Tradition, Identity and Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Martina Kamp's chapter in this volume, and many other books and articles.

¹⁶ Two such works that had a decided impact on other scholars were Soraya Altorki and Camillia Fawzi El Solh, eds. *Arab women in the Field: Studying Your Own Society* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988); and Judith Tucker, *Arab Women, Old Boundaries, New Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

¹⁷ B.F. Musallam, *Sex and Society in Islam: Birth Control before the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Judith Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth Century Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *Women and Men in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) Margaret Meriwether, *The Kin Who Count: Family and Society in Ottoman Aleppo, 1770-1840* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999).

On the law, legal system, and courts, there are a great many studies, for instance Amira Sonbol, ed. *Women, the Family and Divorce Laws in Islamic History* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996); Judith Tucker *In the House of the Law: Gender and Islamic Law in Ottoman Syria and Palestine*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998. Many of the works in Arabic do not proceed from the perspective of a "Muslim society" but rather that of a national entity and discriminatory features of the law such as Laure Mogheizal, *al-Mar'a fi al-tashri al-Lubnani* (Beirut: Ma`had al-Dirasat al-Nisa'iya fi al-`Alam al-`Arabi, 1985). Very few discuss the impact of Islamization and the law on women, for example in the Sudan, Malaysia, Pakistan or Iran (except for Mir-Hosseini's work on Iran).

¹⁸ Nikki Keddie and Beth Baron, eds. *Women in Middle Eastern History: Shifting Boundaries in Sex and Gender* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Leila Ahmed *Women, Gender and Islam: Historical Roots of a Modern Debate* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

¹⁹ Mary Ann Fay ed. *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity and Community in the Middle East*. (New York: Palgrave, 2002).

²⁰ Lila Abu –Lughod, ed. *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998).

²¹ Beth Baron "An Islamic Activist in Interwar Egypt." In Rudi Matthee and Beth Baron, eds. *Iran and Beyond: Essays in Middle Eastern History in Honor of Nikki Keddie* (Costa Mesa, California: Mazda, 2000).

²² Margot Badran, "Dual Liberation: Feminism and Nationalism in Egypt 1870s-1925." *Feminist Issues*, 8: No. 1 (Spring 1988) and *idem*, *Feminists, Islam and Nation: Gender and the Making of Modern Egypt* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995).

²³ Valerie Hoffman-Ladd, "Polemics on the Modesty and Segregation of Women in Contemporary Egypt" *International Journal of Middle East Studies* Vol. 19, No. 1 (February, 1987); Sherifa Zuur, *Revealing Reveiling: Islamist Gender Ideology in Contemporary Egypt* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1992); Azza Karam, *Women, Islamisms and the State* (1998); Marilyn Booth, "Infamous Women and Famous Wombs: Biography, Gender, and Islamist Concepts of Community in Contemporary Egypt," in Mary Ann Fay, *Auto/Biography and the Construction of Identity*.

²⁴ Abdelrahmane Mahjoub, "The Inner Revolution of a Khomayni Activist," in Monique Gadant, ed. *Women of the Mediterranean* (London: Zed, 1984) and Farhad Khosrokhavar, "Attitudes of Teenage Girls to the Iranian Revolution" in Elizabeth Fernea, ed., *Children in the Middle East* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); although Elizabeth Fernea does not identify "Islamist views" *per se*, we may infer them on the part of some of her respondents, Elizabeth Fernea, *In Search of Islamic Feminism: One Woman's Global Journey* (New York: Doubleday, 1998) For example pp. 156-163, 249-255.

²⁵ See for example Rudi Matthee, Matthee & Baron, eds. 2000; Kay Campbell, Marjorie Franken, William Young, Salwa Nashashaibi, and Sherifa Zuhur in S. Zuhur, ed. *Images of Enchantment: Visual and Performing Arts in the Middle East* (Cairo: AUC, 1998) and Laurie Salem, Najwa Adra, Sami Ofeish, Clarissa Burt and ? in S. Zuhur, ed. *Colors of Enchantment: Theater, Dance, Music and Visual Arts in the Middle East* (Cairo: AUC Press, 2001) and Kapchan and ? In Tulia Magrini, ed. FILL IN

²⁶ Gregory Starrett, *Putting Islam to Work: Education, Politics and Religious Transformation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

²⁷ Linda Ann Herrera, "The Sanctity of the School: New Islamic Education and Modern Egypt." PhD. Dissertation, Columbia University, (2000).

²⁸ Zahra Kamalkhani, *Women's Islam : Religious Practice among Women in today's Iran*. (London; New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998); Azadeh Kian-Thiebaut, "Women's Religious Seminaries in Iran" *International Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World Newsletter* (6 October 2000).

²⁹ Larry Goodson, "Anti-Modernist Islam: The Taliban" presented at the Al Falah symposium on Women and Islamic Societies at University of California, Berkeley, November (2001) and also in this volume.

³⁰ Originally published by Albin Michel, 1987 and in English as *The Veil and the Male Elite: A Feminist Interpretation of Women's Rights in Islam*. Translated by Mary Jo Lakeland (Reading, Mass. and New York: Addison-Wesley, 1991).

³¹ Hala Jaber, *Hizbollah: Born with a Vengeance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) pp. 161-162.

³² Sondra Hale, *Gender Politics in the Sudan: Islamism, Socialism and the State* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1996.)

³³ Miriam Cooke, *Women Claim Islam: Creating Islamic Feminism with Literature* (New York: Routledge, 2001) and see her chapter in this volume.

³⁴ "Islamization and Gender: Stagnation in the Periphery – Shi'a Women in Lebanon" Paper presented to the Middle East Studies Association, Orlando, Florida, (November 18, 2000); and see chapter by S. Zuhur in this volume.

³⁵ Sherifa Zuhur, *Revealing Reveiling: Islamist Gender Ideology in Contemporary Egypt*. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1992a.)

³⁶ Arlene MacLeod *Accommodating Protest: Working Women, the New Veiling, and Change in Cairo* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991).

³⁷ Muhammad Mahmoud, "Women and Islamism: The Case of Rashid al-Ghannushi of Tunisia." In Abdel Salam Sidahmed and Anoushiravan Ehteshami, eds. *Islamic Fundamentalism* (Boulder: Westview, 1996) Maria Holt "Lebanese Shi'i Women and Islamism: A Response to War," in Lamia Rustum Shehadeh, ed. *Women and War in Lebanon*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1999) pp. 167-94l Karam, *Women, Islamisms and the State*; or see Sayyid Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, "In the Spirit of Ashura and International Women's Day. Women in the Eyes of Islam: Between the Humanity of Religion and the Backwardness of Traditions," archived at <http://www.bayynat.org.lb/www/english/Islamicinsights/womanday.htm> (last visited 7/5/03). And discussed in Zuhur in this current volume; Myriam Sfeir, "Temporary Marriage." *Al-Raida*. XIV, 76, (Winter, 1997) pp. 18-20; Taha, Mahmoud Mohammed. Trans. and intro. Abdullahi al-Naim. *The Second Message of Islam*. (Syracuse Univ. Press, 1987); and at certain points in Ziba Mir-Hosseini, *Islam and Gender: The Religious Debate in Contemporary Iran* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999).

³⁸ As'ad Abu Khalil, "Women in the Middle East." *In Focus* Volume 5, No. 30 (September 2000).

³⁹ Nahid Yeganeh and Nikki R. Keddie, "Sexuality and Shi'i Social Protest in Iran," in Cole and Keddie, eds, *Shi'ism and Social Protest* (New Haven: Yale University, 1986), pp. 133-135.

⁴⁰ Zuhur, *Revealing*.

⁴¹ Margot Badran "Towards Islamic Feminisms: A Look at the Middle East." Asma Afsaruddin, ed. *Hermeneutics and Honor: Negotiating Female "Public" Space in Islamic/ate Societies* (Cambridge: Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University, 1999); Karam, *Women, Islamisms and the State*.

⁴² Jane Smith, see Chapter Five, "Women and the Muslim American Family," in Smith, *Islam in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Marcia K Hermansen, "Two-Way Acculturation: Muslim Women in America Between Liminality and Community Affiliation" and Beverly McCloud, "African American Muslim Women" both in Yvonne Haddad, ed., *The Muslims of America* (New York: Oxford, 1991); Yvonne Haddad and Jane A. Smith. *Muslim Communities in North America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Haddad and Esposito, John, eds. *Islam, Gender and Social Change*.

⁴³ Gisela Webb, ed., *Windows of Faith: Muslim Women Scholar-Activists in North America* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).

⁴⁴ Sawsan Abdelrahim "September 11 and Racialized Ethnic Identity among Arab Immigrants in Metro Detroit;" Nadine Naber, "We are not Accomplices to Orientalism!": Diasporic Arab Feminisms Post 9-11," and Amaney Jamal, "Navigating Arab American Identity after 9/11" papers presented at the Middle East Studies Association meetings, Anchorage Alaska, November 8, 2003; also see the chapter by Amaney Jamal in this volume.

⁴⁵ Haifaa Jawad and Tansin Benn, eds. *Muslim Women in the United Kingdom and Beyond : Experiences and Images* (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2003).

⁴⁶ Sabine Strasser, "Beyond Belonging? Anti-racist and Transnational Strategies among "Muslim immigrants" in Vienna." Paper presented to the Anthropology in the Middle East: Gendered Perspectives Workshop at the Centre for Modern Oriental Studies (ZMO), Berlin, November 30th - December 2nd 2001.

⁴⁷ Ruba Salih, *Gender in Transnationalism: Home, Longing and Belonging among Moroccan Migrant Women* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

⁴⁸ Margot Badran, "Islamic Feminism/s: The Case of South Africa." A paper presented to the Al-Falah conference on Women and Islamic Societies, University of California, Berkeley, November 16, 2001 and also to the Bellagio conference of August 2001.

⁴⁹ Mai Yamani, ed. *Feminism and Islam: Legal and Literary Perspectives* (Reading: Ithaca, 1996.)

⁵⁰ Ziba Mir Hosseini, "Stretching the Limits: A Feminist Reading of the Shari'a in Post-Khomeini Iran," in Yamani, ed. *Feminism and Islam*.

⁵¹ Fariba Adelkhah, *Being Modern in Iran*. Trans. Jonathan Derrick (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).

⁵²Fariba Adelkhah, *La revolution sous le voile* (Paris: Editions Karthala, 1991).

⁵³ Lahoucine Ouzgane, ed., *Men and Masculinities*. Special Issue. *Islamic Masculinities* Vol. 5: No. 3, (January 2003); and edited volume, *Islamic Masculinities* forthcoming with Sage Publications.

⁵⁴ Zuhur, *Revealing Reveiling*.

⁵⁵ Jenny White, "The New Islamic Woman in Turkey: Dilemmas of Space, Place and Class." Paper presented at "The Dynamism of Muslim Societies: Toward New Horizons in Islamic Area Studies." The Kazusa Ark, Kisarazu, Chiba, Japan, (October 5-8, 2001); Hisae Nakanishi "Power, Ideology, and Women's Consciousness : Women in Post-revolutionary Iran." Ph.D. Dissertation, UCLA, 1994 and Hisae Nakanishi, *Islam and Veils: Women in Modern Iran*. (Koyo-Shobo, 1996); and in many other publications such as Karen Ask and, Marit Tjomsland, *Women and Islamization: Contemporary Dimensions of Discourse on Gender Relations* (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

⁵⁶ Maria Holt in Shehadeh, ed., *Women and War in Lebanon* (Gainesville, Florida, 1999) p. 175.

⁵⁷ Ibid, p. 177.

⁵⁸ The most critical remarks are reserved for scholars of Iran (Afary, Afshar, Hoodfar, Mir-Hosseini, Ramazani, Tohidi, and Moghadam), but Moghissi does not hesitate to disagree with Margot Badran on the non-governmental character of early efforts at legal reform without providing any evidence to the contrary. Her intent here, I surmise was that we should not challenge the strength of indigenous feminist movements. Haideh Moghissi, *Feminism and Islamic Fundamentalism: The Limits of Postmodern Analysis* (London: Zed, 1999) pp. 48, 129.

⁵⁹ Keddie, "The New Religious Politics and Women Worldwide."

⁶⁰ Paul Winters, eds., *Islam* (Opposing Viewpoints) (Escondido, Calif: Greenwood Press, 1995).

⁶¹ For example, Mahnaz Afkhami, ed. *Faith and Freedom: Women's Human Rights in the Muslim World* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1995); and see the chapter by Nancy Gallagher in this volume.