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THE FEMINIST VISION IN THE WRITINGS OF THREE TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY EGYPTIAN WOMEN

Margot Badran

IN THE last two decades of the nineteenth century, some upper- and middle-class women in urban Egypt began to develop a feminist consciousness.¹ This awareness evolved out of women's changing everyday lives in a country that had experienced overwhelming socio-economic transformation since the beginning of the century, when Egypt under the new rule of a former Ottoman officer became independent of direct Ottoman control. By the second decade of the century, cotton had become a cash crop, and Egypt entered the European-dominated world market system. In the sixties and seventies, newly created economic and political elites from the provinces began to establish households in Cairo, where a new middle class was growing. New professional opportunities for men were provided in modern medicine, law, and education in a new secular world they played key roles in shaping. At the moment the new agrarian élites, along with the new rural poor and dispossessed, were moving to Cairo, the capital was being expanded and a new city built up alongside the older one. By the end of the century, the population of Cairo had increased by two-thirds, while Alexandria, center of the cotton exchange and commercial life, had grown twenty-fold. However, the country, whose population had increased three-fold during the century, still remained predominantly rural. Egypt had entered the century turning its back on Ottoman domination and ended the century struggling against British colonial occupation.²

The new possibilities for improved lives opened up by a century of socio-economic transformation were not equally distributed across class and gender lines. Middle- and upper-class women enjoyed many gains, while lower-class women suffered significant losses. In certain ways middle- and upper-class women profited from benefits associated with class. Upper-class women came to be instructed at home by European tutors (part of the growing influx of Westerners). They enjoyed considerable mobility in town and country with the introduction of new carriageways and railroads. They attended the recently opened opera, and summered at the seaside near Alexandria or in Europe in the manner Hudā Sha'rāwī describes in her memoirs.³ Middle-class women were meanwhile the first to attend the new state schools for girls. They also pioneered in the new professions of journalism and secular education. Nabawiyya Mūsā and Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif were among the first generation of women to attend the Saniyya School and become school teachers and published writers.

Middle- and upper-class women, however, did not enjoy the full range of benefits open to the men of their class. In urban Egypt at the opening of the nineteenth century, a rigid system of sex segregation was practised and upper- and middle-class women were secluded in their houses. Economic necessity made seclusion impossible for lower-class women. Sex segregation and female

seclusion were directly linked to economic circumstances. (Economic necessity made seclusion impossible for lower-class women and mitigated strict segregation.) The strictest forms of segregation and seclusion were practised by the upper class, and they conferred prestige. Honor was also linked to the separation of the sexes. Male and family honor were dependent on the sexual purity of women, which owing to the patriarchal ideology of women's powerful and uncontrollable sexuality was deemed best preserved by a strict separation of the sexes and the confinement of women. The introduction of new economic and social institutions and modern technology during the nineteenth century eroded the segregation of the sexes and cloistering of upper- and middle-class women. Despite, or because of, this erosion, the ideology of sex segregation and seclusion retained its force, placing enormous pressures on women and creating new strains between the sexes.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh expounded the doctrine of Islamic modernism in an effort to guide his compatriots in coping with the wide socio-economic change and giving new direction to their lives. 'Abduh criticized the patriarchal domination of women within the family and society perpetrated in the name of Islam. The nationalist movement, meanwhile, emerged challenging the British occupation of Egypt and examining economic and social practices in the light of national interest. Both sexes played key roles in the evolution of Islamic modernism and nationalism, although the roles and views of women remain largely neglected by scholars.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, women of privilege with recent origins in the Egyptian provinces found themselves managing and growing up in elaborate households in Cairo or Alexandria, alongside women with longer urban roots from both old élite families or more newly rising ones. It is from this world, dominated by women in a firmly sex-segregated society, and at this moment that feminism and the first feminists emerged.⁴

Women in Egypt created their own feminism. It grew out of their own changing lives, their own needs, and their own developing consciousness and analysis. Feminism was not created for women by men. We know this was underway in the last third of the nineteenth century, if not before, from women themselves, from their memoirs, the journals they founded and to which they contributed, their books and oral histories.⁵ Women had already been engaged in their feminist exploration for at least a decade when Qāsim Amīn's book, *Tahrīr al-mar'a* (The Liberation of the Woman) commonly credited with the start of feminism in Egypt was published in 1899. The feminism of Egyptian women was indigenous, not Western as commonly claimed, and the feminists were not confined to a single class, the upper class, as often asserted. Dismissing feminism as 'Western' implicates it as a form of cultural imperialism robbing it of its indigenous authenticity, while restricting feminism to a small élite reduces its social relevance. This negative portrayal of feminism, which some analysts see as a reflexive patriarchal distortion or which may arise out of simple ignorance, goes unchallenged in the absence of serious attention to the history of feminism in Egypt based upon the examination of women's historical sources.⁶

This paper investigates the rise of a feminist vision in three feminist pioneers in Egypt. Hudā Sha'rāwī (1879–1947), an upper-class woman and leader of a feminist movement, left memoirs of her early life and regularly wrote in *L'Égyptienne*, the feminist journal she founded in 1925. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, widely known as Bāḥithat al-Bādiya, a writer, poet, and teacher (1886–1918) came from a well-known, upper middle-class Cairene literary family. A collection of her essays appearing mainly in *al-Jarīda* and of her speeches were published under the title *al-Nisā'iyyāt* (Feminist Discourse) in 1910.⁷ Nabawiyya Mūsā, a middle-class woman and lifelong educator from Alexandria, published *al-Āyāt al-bayyina fī tarbiyat al-banāt* (a treatise on girls' education) in 1902, *al-Mar'a wa-l-'amal* (Woman and Work) in 1920 and edited a woman's page for *al-Balāgh al-usbū'i* (The Weekly News).⁸

Women's feminist analysis began with the process of disentangling patriarchy and Islam. Women discovered that the veil was not required by Islam, nor were sex segregation and female seclusion. They also realized that Islam guaranteed women rights that patriarchy withheld from them. At the same time, they claimed that women's advance would benefit the nation displaying a feminism with a distinct nationalist dimension. Anchoring feminism in Islam and nationalism has remained integral to Egyptian feminism to this day.⁹

Women's 'public' lectures sponsored by upper-class women and given by middle-class women early in the twentieth century helped cement cross-class solidarity among women and brought together Hudā Sha'rāwī, Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, and Nabawiyya Mūsā, who through this means carried out further the process of feminist exploration. Hudā Sha'rāwī was a sponsor and organizer of the lectures for women while Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif and Nabawiyya Mūsā were among the speakers. When Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif died in 1918, Hudā Sha'rāwī ascended the platform for the first time to deliver a eulogy which also became her first feminist speech.¹⁰ Hudā Sha'rāwī and Nabawiyya Mūsā went on to become founding members of the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1923. Hudā Sha'rāwī dedicated herself to leading a feminist movement while Nabawiyya Mūsā carried out her feminist mission primarily as an educator.

The feminist vision of the three women is expressed in their writings and activism. The urban world, especially of the middle- and upper classes, was bifurcated by sex institutionally and ideologically to the extent that it was held that females and males were of a different natural order. The feminists asserted that women and men were of the same natural order, countering the staunchly held prevailing view that women were inherently different from men and inferior to them. The feminist argument declared the differences between the sexes to be socially constructed and behavioral rather than inherent. Nabawiyya Mūsā pointed out that urban women of the middle- and upper classes might appear to be of a different order than men because the confinement and restrictions imposed on them impeded their physical and mental development. She drew attention to the alternative model of peasant society where women and men resembled each other mentally and physically because they were allowed to develop equally. Both sexes moved about freely and both engaged in productive labor.¹¹ Writing some four decades later,

ʿĀ'isha ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, citing the Qur'ān, also affirmed the equal nature of the sexes. It was not until half a century after the early feminist enunciation of the doctrine of the equality of the sexes, that most male religious writers began to acknowledge the equal value of the sexes but they upheld and stressed the doctrine of the difference of the sexes.¹² Adherents of the doctrine of the fundamental difference of the sexes, the biological determinists, emphasized women's natural roles in procreation to assign them to the home and deny their wider social, economic and political roles. Nabawiyya Mūsā countered that men, too, had natural roles in procreation. 'Can women alone reproduce the species?' she asked. Again turning to the peasant model—which patriarchal ideologies typically ignored—she pointed out that the vast majority of women in Egypt, as elsewhere, historically and to that day, combined reproduction and mothering with work and life outside the house.¹³

At the turn of the century, the feminists occupied an uneasy position between conservatives and liberals. Conservatives were intent to keep enshrined the doctrine of inherent difference between the sexes and the inferiority of women along with idealizing motherhood at the moment when female cloistering and restrictions on women were lessening. While the new women's liberation ideology of a small vanguard of male liberals calling sex segregation and female seclusion un-Islamic reflected the feminists' position, they regarded their call for unveiling as premature at the turn of the century.¹⁴ Notwithstanding the important support of men like Qāsim Amīn and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, editor of the liberal paper *al-Jarīda*, who opened its pages to the feminists and made its offices available for their talks, it was finally the women themselves who had to do the unveiling in a hostile patriarchal environment.

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, notwithstanding their feminist critique of segregation and female seclusion, it was a function of feminist strategy not to call for immediate unveiling and an abrupt end to the old system. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif called for a gradual reduction of veiling, preferring the modified, lighter veil worn by Turkish women to the heavy cloth covering of the older generation of Egyptian women. Some upper-class women in Egypt were proceeding too fast in unveiling, in her view, for which she criticized them, praising the more discreet middle-class practice.¹⁵ Hudā Sha'rāwī likewise accepted the gradualist approach, understanding the time was not yet ripe for unveiling. She even encouraged the young Sīzā (colloq.: Sēza) Nabarāwī to put on the veil when she returned to Egypt as a young girl around 1910 after a Paris upbringing. Sīzā Nabarāwī recounting the incident many years later said Hudā Sha'rāwī had coaxed her to put on the veil promising that later they would take it off. Indeed, in 1923, the two women removed their veils in a bold public gesture after returning from an international feminist conference.¹⁶

However, in the first two decades of this century the feminists were concerned with the longer process of liberation for women and did not wish to threaten its progress. They put a high value, where women were concerned, on the code of sexual morality, ordaining that the practice of sexuality be strictly confined to marriage. Although this code applied to the two sexes (with the exception of concubinage rights with female slaves accorded men), the

feminists did not confront the issue of male sexual morality and the double standard.¹⁷ The most immediate feminist project was to assist upper- and middle-class women to continue to lessen their confinement while helping to guard them from sexual exploitation and allegations of loss of honor. Since women's honor reflected directly on family reputation the ramifications were wide, as the feminist pioneers well knew.

Concerns over the sexual purity of women were shared by feminists and patriarchal conservatives, but they drew different conclusions. The patriarchal conservatives whipped up fears about the loss of female purity, proclaiming that loss of women's morality would ensue from letting down the barriers between the sexes.¹⁸ The feminists, in no way naive about predatory males conditioned to see 'free' women as prey, advocated a gradualist approach for women in breaking through confinement, as we have just noted. They favored a course of action that would accelerate women's move into the public sphere while temporarily maintaining segregation. This would condition others to their roles outside the house and give women useful experience. Apart from the feminists' awareness of the immediate practical threats associated with unveiling, they knew the symbolic importance of the veil for conservatives, threatened by a process they would ultimately be unable to control. To mitigate against their backlash, it made good political as well as practical sense for women to retain the veil for the time being.

Along with the feminists' ultimate goal to do away with segregation and seclusion, perpetuated in the name of Islam, they set out more immediately to reclaim public duties and functions prescribed or allowed by Islam. In 1911, Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif used the forum of the National Congress to issue a set of feminist demands including the demand that women have free access to mosques for prayer as in the early Islamic society. Exclusion of women from congregational worship, clearly un-Islamic, symbolized patriarchal pre-emption of Islam. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif also demanded the reclamation of other rights women enjoyed in the early Islamic community such as rights to education and work.

The feminists equally also cast the liberation of women in the context of nationalism. For them, as for liberal men, women's liberation and national liberation were interdependent. But for the feminists this involved self-liberation of the other sex. Following independence, women's liberation slipped in order of priority for male liberals, who became engaged in their own political power struggles. It was then (1923) that feminists proclaimed the start of the public, political movement for their own liberation and national liberation within the framework of their feminist movement and began the move to desegregate society by the removal of the veil.

However, at the turn of the century, the feminists were advocating education and work for women as part of their immediate liberation and as preparation for fuller liberation later. Strides in both education and work could be made within the present segregated system. Hudā Sha'rāwī relates in her memoirs how she was struck as a young girl by the bold confidence of a poetess visiting the household whose knowledge and conversation commanded the attention of her male listeners in contrast with the timidity of the women of

the household. She locates the origins of her commitment to education for women to such childhood observations in the harem.¹⁹ The feminists argued for education and work for women, in principle, and for opportunities for particular kinds of education and work for women of different classes, personal circumstances, and inclinations. This happened at a time in Egypt when state education for girls at the primary level was expanding, the need was growing for better health facilities for women and children (alarming statistics on infant morbidity and mortality had been published in 1908), and not long before the expansion of textile factories and a new demand for labor.

The feminists favored education for women as a part of their own development, because it would help them in their roles in the family and household, and prepare them for decent jobs if they wanted or needed them. They also argued that education would provide a solid foundation for social relations between women and men, paving the way for the final elimination of sex segregation. The feminists argued for both general and specialized education for women at all levels. In 1909, Hudā Sha'rāwī argued that practical instruction in health and family care for working-class women should be provided by the first Egyptian women's social service society (the Mabarrat Muḥammad 'Alī) she was helping to create.²⁰ Later, she would support workshops for training girls in income-generating skills such as weaving and carpet making.²¹ Malak Hifnī Nāṣif insisted upon compulsory primary education for girls and demanded freedom for women to pursue higher education in all fields in preparation for work of their choosing.²² Nabawiyya Mūsā stressed the value of education in preparing women for good jobs. A self-supporting woman, herself, she advocated good jobs for women who headed households, a far more numerous category than most people either knew about or cared to admit, whose plight in turn-of-the-century Cairo was described by Eugénie Le Brun Rushdi in her book, *Les Repudiées*.²³ Nabawiyya Mūsā's argument for education to prepare needy women heads of household to be self-supporting was radical. Patriarchy preferred to maintain the concept of the dependent woman to be taken care of in time of need by her extended family rather than to be economically self-sufficient. Anthropological research has indicated the stigma attached to poor women who work, while investigation of court records in nineteenth-century Egypt had shown that women who worked, trying to make family ends meet, typically lost cases involving support due them by present or former husbands as opposed to positive outcomes for dependent, non-income earning women.²⁴

The feminists employed moral and nationalist arguments to back their case for women's education. Opponents claimed that education, especially the ability to read and write, would pave the way for women's moral decline. The feminists argued precisely the opposite saying that education would enable women to protect themselves from male exploitation.²⁵ Looking through a nationalist lens, the feminists argued that educated women would be better equipped to raise succeeding generations of Egyptians and would eliminate the need for the foreign nurses and nannies employed in upper-class Egyptian homes and the alien cultural influences they introduced into the early socialization of children.²⁶

The question of work for women was a critical issue around the turn of the century. With the decline of household-based crafts-manufacture after Egypt had become a market for cheap imported European goods, men had to turn elsewhere for low paying-way labor, while women were often left in the home bereft of income generating work.²⁷ Also, with the decline of subsistence agriculture and economic hardship in the rural areas there was considerable migration into the cities, where the recent arrivals had found difficulties finding work. The feminists were sensitive to the plight of women in needy families, as seen in the kinds of training and education they sought to provide for them. Moreover, through natural attrition, divorce or desertion, women were often left heading households on their own, frequently with little or no help from extended families, which in many cases were not even nearby. Meanwhile, an expanding middle class faced rising demands and expectations, and women either needed or wanted to work in the new professions offering services that society at large was increasingly demanding.

The feminists promoted the cause of work for women on different levels. First, they reminded patriarchal adversaries that the majority of Egyptian women already worked out of necessity. In the countryside they worked alongside men. In the cities they were forced into menial jobs which frequently exposed women to sexual exploitation. Nabawiyya Mūsā pointed to the vulnerability of women working as household servants and street sellers. The sexual exploitation of such women was a common cliché. Middle-class women, meanwhile, occupied lower positions than men in the hierarchy of the workplace rendering them in a different way vulnerable to sexual exploitation as they tried to keep their jobs or get promoted. Nabawiyya Mūsā argued that a woman, working as a doctor alongside a male doctor, would not be open to possibilities of exploitation the way a female nurse working with a male doctor would be as his subordinate. Improved opportunities for work would enhance women's positions and skills helping to protect women from sexual exploitation, the feminists argued.²⁸ They also argued that women were particularly needed in expanding professions such as modern education and pointed out that their presence in the educational and medical professions would promote segregation.²⁹

During this period, large numbers of European women worked both in the domestic and public arenas making their influence felt in both spheres. The feminists argued for nationalizing the workforce, insisting that these jobs belonged to Egyptian women. Nabawiyya Mūsā summed up the overall situation, saying, 'First we neglect the education of women, they remain ill-equipped to work. Then we look down on them, slam the door of work in their face, and welcome foreign women into our homes entrusting them with our basic needs... Egyptian capital is lost to these foreign women, found perfect, rather than to our own women, found wanting. Had we spent money on educating Egyptian women, they would have been skilled in performing these jobs, and we Egyptians would be keeping Egyptian money in Egyptian hands. At a time when we make a great effort to win our political independence why do we lag behind in fighting for our economic independence when the means is in our hands?'³⁰

Feminists Hudā Sha'rāwī, Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, and Nabawiyya Mūsā, were urban women of the upper- and middle classes who discovered a common bond of gender and identified shared problems and goals. They also claimed identity of gender with lower-class women and peasant women. They incorporated lower-class women within the circumference of their practical agenda for the liberation of women. The peasant women offered the feminists an alternative model for the structure of society—an integrated, productive, and freer mode of life. The feminists were clearly aware of class differences. Sometimes, they specifically addressed these differences and at other times made claims for women in general.

From a rising feminist awareness, the women moved towards shaping their own ideology. They had immediate practical goals and a strategy to achieve them and move them towards their ultimate feminist vision of full liberation. The practical agenda and ideology were concerned to eradicate the social construction of gender difference and all that followed from it. When the feminists declared the sexes equal in kind and worth and rejected the theory of biological determinism, they were offering an ideological restructuring that anticipated institutional restructuring. Immediate practical goals were to achieve more opportunities in education and work for women in the public sphere. Feminist strategy called for an accelerated move into the public sphere before striving for desegregation. This had practical and political implications. In the first instance it would protect women from the threat of sexual exploitation and loss of honor, while new experience would strengthen the position of women. Equally important, a segregated move into public space would reduce hostile opposition lessening the chances for obstacles to be put in the way of women's advance.

It is also important to observe the ages of the first feminists. When Hudā Sha'rāwī, the oldest of the three women, helped to organize the first women's lecture she was still under thirty. Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif was twenty-five when she made the first feminist demands at the Egyptian Congress. Nabawiyya Mūsā was still in her twenties when she was working on her first book. In Egypt seniority was critical. In order to be effective in a visible, public movement the women would need stature conferred by age. When they were older, women also suffered fewer constraints at the hands of men within their own families.

Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif died one year before the Egyptian revolution began, in which women played central roles. The year Egypt became independent, Hudā Sha'rāwī was forty-three and Nabawiyya Mūsā in her thirties. By that time, the women were mature, with impressive feminist and nationalist experience. It was the start of a new era of independence in Egypt, and the moment was right for the feminists to move to desegregate society through visible, public activism to further their ultimate feminist goal of full liberation for women.

Notes

1. I would like to dedicate this paper to the memory of Elizabeth Monroe who since my graduate student days at Oxford was a source of inspiration to me and a valued friend.

2. Some of the material presented in this paper forms part of my book in progress, *Challenging Patriarchy: the Egyptian Feminist Movement, 1923–1947*.
3. See *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, Huda Shaarawi, translated and introduced by Margot Badran (London: 1985). Towards the end of her life, Hudā Sha'rāwī began to dictate her memoirs to her secretary 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Mursī with the proviso that should she die before they were completed and published, her niece, Hawā Idrīs, should oversee their revision for publication. Hawā Idrīs lent me the notebook containing the memoirs of Hudā Sha'rāwī and gave me permission to translate and edit them for publication. The memoirs deal with Hudā Sha'rāwī's early life in the harem up to the nationalist revolution and early aftermath (1879–1924).
4. Concerning upper-class Egyptian households see Hudā Sha'rāwī's memoirs and Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, 'The Revolutionary Gentlewomen in Egypt', in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: 1978), 261–76. Extensive interviews I conducted in Egypt in the 60s and 70s with women who experienced harem life themselves or were relatives of women who did attest to the active, managerial roles women played in the upper-class harems as well as constraints upon their lives.
5. The history of the rise of feminist consciousness in Egypt still requires further research and analysis. Definitions of feminism and feminist consciousness will surely come to be debated anew. The poems and novels of 'Ā'isha al-Taymūriyya published in the 1870s and 1880s, for example, belie a nascent feminism yet more study is still needed. On women's feminist articles in the Cairene journal, *al-Laṭā'if*, see Byron D. Cannon, '19th Century Arabic Women's Writings on Women and Society', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 17, 4 (Nov. 1985), 463–84. Beth Ann Baron's research on women's Arabic-language journals in Egypt from 1892 to 1919 for a dissertation in progress at UCLA should be illuminating on the early expression of middle-class women's feminism.
6. Scholars, by not using women's sources, have missed the early, less visible, rise of feminism among women and cross-class links of feminists. See for example, Juan Ricardo Cole, 'Feminism, Class, and Islam in Turn-of-the-Century Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 13, 1981, 397–407 and Thomas Philipp, 'Feminism in Nationalist Politics in Egypt', in Lois Beck and Nikki Keddie, *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge, 1978), 295–308.
7. Other writings of Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif are found in a volume published by her brother, Majd al-Dīn Ḥifnī Nāṣif, *Āḥār Bāḥithat al-Bādiya Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, 1886–1918* (Cairo: 1962). On Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif see also Mayy Ziyāda, *Bāḥithat al-Bādiya*, reprinted in Beirut in 1975; Céza Nabaraoui, 'L'Evolution de Feminisme en Egypte,' *L'Egyptienne*, 1, 2 (Mar. 1925), 40–46; and Evelyn A. Early, 'Bāḥithat al-Bādiya: Cairo Viewed from the Fayyum Oasis,' *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 40, 4 (1981), 339–41.
8. For extracts and commentary from *al-Mar'a wa-l-'amal* see Mona Mikhail, *Images of Arab Women* (Washington, DC, 1979), 29–36. Nabawiyya Mūsā also wrote a textbook for girls' schools published by the Ministry of Education in 1923 entitled *al-Muṭāla'a al-'Arabiyya li-madāris al-banāt*.
9. For elaboration on this see Margot Badran, 'Independent Women: A Century of Feminism in Egypt,' paper presented at the Symposium on Women and Arab Society: Old Boundaries, New Frontiers, at Georgetown University in March, 1986.
10. See Shaarawi, *Harem Years*, 92–97.
11. Nabawiyya Mūsā, *al-Mar'a wa-l-'amal*, 21–48.
12. See Yvonne Y. Haddad, 'Islam, Women and Revolution in Twentieth-Century Arab Thought,' *The Muslim World*, LXXIV, nos. 3–4, July/October 1984, 137–160 and 'Traditional Affirmations Concerning the Role of Women as Found in Contemporary Arab Islamic Literature,' in Jane Smith, ed., *Women in Contemporary Muslim Societies* (Lewisburg, Pa: 1980), 61–68.
13. Mūsā, 21–48.
14. For Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif's answer to a speech by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Afandī calling for unveiling published in *al-Jarīda* see Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif, *Nisā'iyyāt*, 7–13. Concerning male liberals, including Qāsim Amīn, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (Cambridge: 1983).
15. Nāṣif, 95–118.
16. Personal communication from Saiza Nabarāwī to the author.
17. It was only in the 1970s that feminist Nawāl al-Sa'dāwī would confront the issue of the

- double standard. See *al-Mar'a wa-l-jins* (Beirut: 1975) and *The Hidden Face of Eve*, trans. and edited by Sherif Hetata (London: 1980).
18. For an analysis of conservative Muslim fears concerning female sexuality see Fatna A. Sabbah, *Woman in the Muslim Unconscious* (New York: 1984), trans. by Mary Jo Lakeland.
 19. Shaarawi, 42.
 20. *Ibid.*, 94–97.
 21. Sha'rāwī equipped and supported the workshops of the New Woman Society (est. 1919) and workshops were set up under the aegis of the Egyptian Feminist Union in 1924; see Margot Badran, 'Huda Sha'rawi and the Emancipation of the Egyptian Woman,' unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, Oxford, 1977.
 22. Nāṣif, 95–118.
 23. Eugénie Le Brun, *Les Repudiées* (Paris: 1908). She was a French woman married to Ḥusayn Rushdī (later Prime Minister) who lived an upper-class harem life. She went to the courts in Cairo to observe how women fared.
 24. See Susan Schaefer Davis, 'Working Women in a Moroccan Village,' in L. Beck and N. Keddie, *Women in the Muslim World* (Cambridge: 1978), 416–433 and Judith Tucker, *Women in Nineteenth-Century Egypt* (Cambridge: 1985).
 25. See Mūsā, 89–96.
 26. *Ibid.*, 21–48.
 27. For a detailed discussion see Tucker, *passim*.
 28. Mūsā, 65–77.
 29. Mūsā, 65–77; Malak Ḥifnī Nāṣif 95–118.
 30. Mūsā, 65–77.