

(Re) Positioning Lebanese Feminist Discourse
A Rhetorical Study of *Al-Raida* (Pioneer) Journal, 1976-1985

by

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ABSTRACT

This study is a feminist historiography of *Al-Raida*, a Lebanese feminist journal introduced in 1976 by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World at the Lebanese American University. This study recovers foundations of modern Lebanese feminist discourses as they are articulated in the journal by employing Foucauldian CDA as a means to trace discourse strands, or conversations, which include Family Planning, development, politics and narratives of the Lebanese civil war. This study explores, by situating each discourse strand within dominant and local historical contexts, the shifting rhetorical function of the journal through various historical moments. Tracing the dominant discourse strands within the first decade of the journal, this study rhetorically analyzes the ways in which arguments are positioned, research studies are presented, and methodologies are employed to forge viable solutions to Middle Eastern women's issues.

First, the study traces the conversation on Family Planning in Lebanon and its relevance to the economic and social situation during the late 70s. Second, the study presents the shift in the early 80s towards a discourse on development and explores how *Al-Raida* presents the issue of development, attempts to define it, and in doing so outlines some of the concerns at this time, including illiteracy, access to health care, access to paid employment, and women's access to developmental opportunities. Third, the study presents the discourse in the mid-80s on the civil war in Lebanon and highlights *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function by documenting trauma and war narratives through personal interviews, testimonies, and ethnographies.

The shift in the methodologies of the research articles published in the first decade, from quantitative studies towards qualitative studies, indicates the journal is rhetorically situated within both the dominant international discourse and within the local context, exhibiting an ability to respond to the nuances in the local Lebanese women's movement while simultaneously maintaining international visibility.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family and friends who have supported me throughout the entire process, but especially:

To my beloved father, who has always encouraged me to pursue my dreams, even as he wishes I would stay by his side.

To my adoring mother, who taught me how to love unconditionally, never letting me go.

To my beautiful sisters, Salwa and Darlene, who continue to be the inspiration for everything I do.

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Respect for human dignity, recognition of the other person's rights, regardless of his appearance, color, age, sex, race or rank, is the primary requirement of civic education and the first mark of development

Rose Ghurayyib, "1981," 1981

We need to develop an exchange of love, tenderness, equal sharing, and recognition among people.

Evelyne Accad, "Sexuality, and Sexual Politics," 1991

In May of 2008, *College English* published a special topics issue on transnational feminist rhetorics. In the introduction to this issue, Wendy S. Hesford and Eileen E. Schell, in "Configurations of Transnationality: Locating Feminist Rhetorics," defined transnationality as "movements of people, goods and ideas across national borders and... it is often used to highlight forms of cultural hybridity and intertextuality" (463). The introduction piece calls for a focus on transnationality in the field of rhetoric and composition, but also highlights some of the limitations in doing so, particularly with our own definitions and disciplinary focus on "American" aspects of our work (463). "At this historical juncture," claim Hesford and Schell, "transnational feminism might best be characterized as an interdisciplinary analytic, attentive to the constraints of neoliberalism and to the power differentials and inequalities that shape geopolitical alignments" (467). Furthermore, they note, "we are interested in how

transnational publics, which emerge as processes, are bound to and intersect with national publics and their discourses (Hesford)" (467). This approach highlights the dialectic and recursive relationship of transnational public discourse and our understanding and definitions of nation and state.

Articles published in this issue pay close attention to the ways in which we frame representations of women in transnational contexts for our own purposes and agendas. In "Transnational Feminist Rhetorics in a Digital World," Mary Queen analyzes how the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) organization's website has been misappropriated by Western feminists in an attempt to confirm their beliefs and arguments for the need to "liberate" Afghan women from Taliban rule, feeding into "the post-9/11 U.S. administration's rhetoric" (474). She discusses the conflict between RAWA and the Feminist Majority and insists on the need for a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which the circulation of representation should be a vital part of feminist rhetorical analysis.

In the same issue, Rebecca Dingo, in "Linking Transnational Logics: A Feminist Rhetorical Analysis of Public Policy Networks," presents a "network model" for understanding the power relationships and connections between nations and the way they are linked to one another. The network model, she argues, shows where power resides and the ways in which it is connected across the globe. "The network, as a metaphor," she claims, "calls into question traditional rhetorical concepts of time, place, speaker/writer, and audience, and, in so doing, destabilizes the object of study that feminist rhetoricians have engaged" (Dingo 494). Rather than being objects of study, women are then perceived as part of a network of relationships. She uses the example of the

World Bank gender-mainstreaming policies, as well as the U.S. welfare policies, to highlight the ways in which public policy is attached to historical relationships of power. She notes that these policies, “both concentrate on making women materially responsible for their families’ own economic situation” (Dingo 495). However, they approach women in the U.S. and women in the Global South differently: “Women from the Global South are stereotyped as needing the first world to emancipate them from oppressive gender norms of their culture. In contrast, U.S. women tend to be represented as free, autonomous, and liberated subjects unattached to patriarchal structures” (Dingo 495). Furthermore, she posits, “the grand narrative of mainstreaming attempts to change women’s behavior and shift their dependency from state to market (and ultimately to the global capitalist economy) while heightening gender stratification by making women primarily responsible for their poor families” (495). Dingo asserts that understanding the networked relationship between the World Bank, U.S. welfare policies and the women they attempt to “help” enables rhetoricians to view the ways in which arguments of public policy are “reinterpreted and rewritten during economic shifts” (495).

Failure to realize such networks of power relationships exist and are shaped by economic shifts may lead to a restrictive and short-sighted focus on women as individual actors, which falls into the neoliberal definitions of women as individual earners without taking into account the ways in which women are shaped by and shape public policy in such institutions as the World Bank. Hesford, Schell, Queen and Dingo attempt to illustrate: we need to thoroughly examine our own assumption, beliefs, perceptions and the network of power relationships and gendered colonial discourses in which we operate. As such,

Hesford and Schell ask, "How might a feminist rhetoric grounded in a transnational lens enable us to see anew and reconfigure historical and archival work in the field?" (468). Remapping the locations of feminist rhetorics and transnational approaches requires a close attention to not only the way in which the discourse is perceived and shaped across national boundaries, but also the ways in which we define, understand and come to know the discourse communities and assumptions under which we operate.

Western/Islamic/Feminist Relationships

Arab feminism has faced difficulty from Western feminists. Some critics accuse Western feminists of succumbing to stereotypes regarding issues concerning Global South feminism. Western feminists often assume that the Arab culture oppresses women through cultural and religious practices, such as the veil, clitoridectomy, polygamy, and arranged marriages:

Having been traditionally excluded from the public world of politics and power and left to act in an exclusively female space, women have become progressively entrusted with the task of representing culture and preserving tradition, which means basically transmitting from one female generation to another the very values which oppress them. (Chérif 216)

Accordingly, Western feminists have sought to "liberate" Arab women, and other Global South women, by imposing on them their Western values and ideals. The assumption here is that Arab women suffer from a "false-consciousness" because they seem to have accepted and enforced their own oppression. However, this creates an oppressive relationship between Western feminism and

Global South Feminism; Western feminists seem to believe that in order for women of the Global South to free themselves of oppression, they must become more “Western” and reject the patriarchal cultures in which they exist.

Islamist, Islamic, and Arab feminists often resist identifying with Western feminists because of their ideological differences, thus creating a rhetorical discourse purposefully situated outside of and in opposition to Western feminist discourse. Their distrust of Western ideologies, including feminism, stem from their experiences with the political implications of foreign power. Implications of neocolonial foreign power have had a detrimental effect on Arab women by fostering distrust and aligning them with their male counterparts. Furthermore, their resistance to feminist identification can further understood within the social context. Similar to the early Arab feminists, current Islamic women’s arguments are articulated within a post-colonial environment that questions Western dominant ideologies and their implication on indigenous culture.

Similarly, in an attempt to remain within the Islamic hegemonic structure, many Muslim women reinterpreting the Qur’an who work in a Western context,¹ such as Nimat Hafez Barazangi and Asma Barlas, refuse to identify as feminists due to the historical and social implications of the feminist movement in the West. The problem stems from the Western definition of feminism and its rigidity:

[Feminism] is usually a very Eurocentric narrative, which imagines women’s fighting to empower themselves in the ‘west,’ and, then, spreading to the ‘backward’ world. What is elided in this modernizing narrative are the ‘other’ women around the world

¹ Muslim women reinterpreting the Qur’an, such as those listed above, write within a Western academic context. For further critical reflection on this issue, see Valentine Moghadam.

struggling in other battles but who are disqualified as feminists because they did not label themselves as such...we need to redefine what we mean by feminism, to broaden its significations to include a variety of battles. (Alsultany 54)

Current understanding of Western feminism as reductive impedes the relationship between Western feminists and Islamic feminists, as well as the relationship between Western feminists and Muslim women's theological projects.

In "Semiotics of Premature Burial: Feminism in a Postfeminist Age," Mary Hawkesworth claims that with the unprecedented growth of feminist activism around the world in recent years, is the declaration of the death of feminism and the reference to a postfeminist era. Arguments for the death of feminism point to the end of second-wave feminism and a resurgence of women to the home. Hawkesworth argues, "To construe feminism as an ideology—rather than as an idea or a set of moral convictions about the importance of liberty, equality, and justice for women and men—is to invoke a host of politicized associations with a long history in political thought" ("Semiotics of Premature Burial," 970). Similarly, Barbara Christian, in "The Race for Theory," argues against a monolithic feminist theory that has imposed on the rest of the world a singular definition of feminism: "In the race for theory, feminists, eager to enter the halls of power, have attempted their own prescriptions. So often I have read books on feminist literary theory that restrict the definition of what feminist means and overgeneralize about so much of the world that most women as well as men are excluded" (75). According to Christian, feminist theory, in an attempt to gain power in the academy, has simplified and imposed its ideological perspective onto other

women's movements: "And seldom do feminist theorists take into account the complexity of life—that women are of many races and ethnic backgrounds with different histories and cultures and that as a rule women belong to different classes that have different concerns. Seldom do they note these distinctions, because if they did they could not articulate a theory" (75). Christian argues that as an African American feminist, she has had to learn and understand the dominant language and ideology, but that she was not included in this representation. Specifically, in critiquing French feminists, she notes that what she is concerned about "is the authority this school now has in feminist scholarship—the way it has become authoritative discourse, monologic, which occurs precisely because it does have access to the means of promulgating ideas" (Christian 76). Western feminist theory, in its attempt to enter into the halls of the academy, has become the "authority" on feminist theory and women's movements. Thus, feminist theory, instead of changing the whole model, has become the center of the model and marginalized other various forms of feminist scholarship.

Leila Ahmed argues against the notion that Western feminism should be considered the authority when discussing the feminisms in other cultures: "The success of Western feminism, or at any rate its success in gaining legitimacy in the academy... has meant that scholarship on women that is produced within a Western framework is itself now to some extent a discourse of authority in relation to other societies" (Ahmed 246). With relation to Arab society and Muslim communities, this becomes problematic when Western feminism positions itself as the authority on feminist theory, using this particular lens to analyze and judge other cultures: "It would be a pity if this very success should lead, as Western-

based feminists direct their gaze toward other women, to the elaboration of a literature rearticulating the old formulas in a new guise and reinscribing the old story of the inferiority of Arabs and Muslims, supported now with the apparatus of scholarship” (Ahmed 246). Western feminists have argued for liberating Muslim women from the oppressive Islamic religion, focusing on the veil as the marker of oppression, which reflects the Orientalist frame: “the history of Arab women is told within the framework of the paradigm that Cromer² put forward—that the measure of whether Muslim women were liberated or not lay in whether they veiled and whether the particular society had become ‘progressive’ and westernized or insisted on clinging to Arab and Islamic ways” (Ahmed 246-247). Thus, such a narrow definition of Western feminism positions religion, and Islam in specific, as its ideological opposition, which is problematic for Muslim and Arab women.

Similarly, in her article, “Is Feminism Relevant to Arab Women?” Nawar Al-Hassan Golley explains:

In the Arab world, feminist consciousness has developed hand in hand with national consciousness since the early 19th century. Some have gone even further to argue that, because feminist and national consciousness emerged at the same time and as a reaction to Western imperialism, feminism is an illegal immigrant and an alien import to the Arab world and, as such, is not relevant to the people and their culture. (521)

In an attempt to remain within the Islamic hegemonic structure, some Muslim women refuse to label themselves as feminists due to the historical and

² Lord Cromer, British Consul-General in Egypt from 1883-1907

social implications of the feminist movement in the West. For example, when Lara Deeb interviewed women volunteers from the “Islamic women’s social welfare organization” in Lebanon, who were mainly devout Shiite women, she noted:

Whenever I asked about feminism, they would laugh and say that it was terribly misguided of women in the West to think that it was desirable to be equal to men. They proposed equity (‘adala) instead as an alternative ideal, rejecting equality (masawa) because to them equality meant the erasure of differences between men and women—differences which were, in their view, essential to their identities as strong women. (Deeb 203)

This articulation of gender roles is similar to difference feminism(s) in which the difference between the sexes does not presume woman is weaker. They believe that “by balancing roles and responsibilities women’s interests are protected” (Haddad and Smith 139). The commonplace used against women is based on the sociological argument: women’s voices are heard through their children, by raising good Muslim men. They stress the importance of children as bearers of the new Islamic culture and focus on their role within the religion to teach their children the right way. Their role is to raise good Muslim children and instill in them the teachings of the Qur’an. Deeb continues:

When I pursued my question, defining feminism in terms of social justice and women’s rights, many Shi’i women readily accepted that the definition applied to them; their struggles, goals, and methods could be defined as feminist, but they continued to resist the term for reasons having to do with its problematic history and

its linkage to colonial and neoimperialist powers. They felt that the term 'feminism' was not broad enough to embrace their entire vision, which included working for greater educational employment and employment opportunities for women, concerns about economic survival, and opposition to Israeli military bombings of villages in south Lebanon. (Deeb 203)

Other Beirut women claimed that Hezbollah's women suffered from a false consciousness, but Deeb dismissed their observations claiming their position stemmed from mistrust between sects due to the civil war in Lebanon (Deeb 203). Deeb continues:

Today, Hizbullah's women's committee is one of 170 groups that make up the Lebanese Women's Council... [and] they were able to work with other groups through the Council, including secular groups, provided that everyone focused on discussing only shared issues, usually focusing on Palestine and combating neoimperialism. (Deeb 204)

In "Understanding the Other Sister: The Case of Arab Feminism," Susan Muaddi Darraj claims, "often, Arab women's voices are excluded from discussions concerning their own lives, and they are to be 'informed' about feminism, as if it is an ideology exclusive to American women alone" (17). Defining feminism as a Western phenomenon creates an opposition between Western feminist ideology and feminism located outside of Western discourse. Furthermore, Chandra Talpade Mohanty, in "Under Western Eyes," argues that judging women of the Global South by Western standards robs these women of agency, and they become objects of study, rather than subjects of study. How

are we to escape judging by ethnocentric standards if Islamic feminism and Arab feminism is defined in opposition to Western feminism? How do we redefine feminism as an inclusive ideology when seemingly Arab and/or Muslim feminist arguments are purposefully situated outside Western feminist discourse?

Although feminist theory has recently articulated a transnational feminist movement and recognized feminist movements in various parts of the world, “[s]ome still speak of a ‘Western feminism’ in essentialist, monolithic, and static terms, belaying a certain Occidentalist turn of mind or, perhaps, a political project aimed at adversely ‘framing’ feminism (pun intended)” (Badran 243). My understanding is that feminism is not one movement or purpose, but rather that various feminisms exist. Feminism includes a broad range of articulations of an understanding that “women have suffered forms of subordination or oppression because of their sex, and an advocacy of ways to overcome them to achieve better lives for women, and for men, within the family and society” (Badran 18). This broad definition of feminism includes, but is not limited to, various articulations, such as feminist awareness, consciousness, and activism. Therefore, the use of the term feminisms is important, as is the focus on the plurality of feminism “because feminism is a contested term, even among women committed to improving the conditions of women’s lives” (Hawkesworth, *Globalization*, 25). Thus, a broad definition of feminisms encompasses the variety of feminisms and feminist articulations, across a “variety of intellectual, historical, political, geographic and temporal frames” (Hawkesworth, *Globalization*, 25).

Notes on Methodology

Much of the discussion of Arab feminism is grounded in Muslim women's arguments and the debate about the nature and definition of Islamic feminism.³ However, much of the misconception of Arab feminism is that it is grounded in Islam. While I do concede that Islam and Muslim women's movements are an integral part of Arab feminism, I am also keenly aware that various women's groups, including secular feminists, have greatly contributed to the Arab feminist movement, and yet are not given the recognition or attention necessary in order to allow for a more complete and nuanced approach to feminism(s) in the Middle East. Much of the recent attention in academia is focused on Iran, Afghanistan, Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Turkey as sites of Middle Eastern and Islamic feminist arguments.

Lebanon's unique political landscape allows for an understanding of how various opposing religious and political groups can articulate commonalities and can allow for research into how the various religious and political women's movements shape and are shaped by one another, an endeavor that is rarely articulated in close approximation one another and in a complex public sphere. In other words, the context of Lebanon and its mosaic of culture, religion and politics is one in which a rhetorical study of the various Arab women's movements that have come together in direct connection may help us uncover rhetorical articulations that have succeeded in organizing women across boundaries. Much of the historical text that frames Lebanese history and conflict

³ The nature and debate about Islamic feminism is beyond the scope of this research and as such is simply referenced here. Critics of Islamic feminism argue that it is an artificial Western construction that is apologetic in its support for Islamic religious framework and fails to give women agency. For a thorough discussion of the various arguments and definitions of Islamic feminism, see Valentine Moghadam's "Islamic Feminism and Its Discontents."

fails to account for women's voices and contributions to historical events and movements. Furthermore, lack of attention to Lebanese women's movements and text is largely attributed to the fact that much of what has been said about and by Lebanese women remain in a language that is foreign, namely Arabic and French, and contributions written in English about Lebanese history fail to acknowledge feminist movements that have taken place throughout Lebanese history.

Al-Raida (Pioneer) is a quarterly journal published in English and in Arabic by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World, an institute housed in the Lebanese American University in Beirut, Lebanon. The Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) was established in 1973 at the Lebanese American University (formerly Beirut University College). The Ford Foundation provided initial funding for the institute. *Al-Raida* began its publications in 1976, one year after the Lebanese civil war, and continues publishing today on various women's issues in the Middle East. The publication is highly selective, currently making the shift towards a peer reviewed publication, and is distributed and read worldwide in various academic institutions, as they are the main subscribers.

This research project uses Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis, which traces discourse strands throughout a period of time in order to establish answers to questions such as: What is valid knowledge at a certain place and a certain time? How does this knowledge arise and how is it passed on? What function does it have for constituting subjects? What consequences does it have for the overall shaping and development of society? "CDA aims to disentangle the giant milling mass of discourse, to chart what is said and can be said in a

given society at a given time with regard to its qualitative spectrum (What is said? How is it said?), and to uncover the techniques through which discursive limits are extended or narrowed down” (Jager and Maier 36). Discourse is defined as “an institutionalized way of talking that regulates and reinforces action and thereby exerts power” (Link qtd. in Jager and Maier 35). As such, discourses do not merely reflect reality, but are also determinants of reality through “intervening active subjects in their social contexts as co-producers and co-agents of discourses” (Jager and Maier 37). Furthermore, “CDA also aims to question and criticize discourses in two ways: first, by revealing contradictions, limits, and the means by which discourse makes particular statements seem rational and beyond all doubt, and second, a critical discourse analyst needs to be clear about the fact that her position is also the result of a discursive process” (Jager and Maier 36). Thus, a rhetorical analysis into the discourse strands of *Al-Raida* may allow us to uncover how the women’s movement in Lebanon perceived their situation and determined the direction of the movement through the active participation of the journal itself.

I initially began this project with the intent of tracing dominant discourse strands and discourse positions throughout the history of the journal, which spans over forty years. However, as I began my research, I uncovered much more material from the archives than I had initially expected. The discursive knots, places where discourse strands overlapped and interconnected, were quite problematic for a longitudinal study of the journal. For example, in attempting to trace women’s status in the law, discourse strands such as religion, law, family, and kinship relations were inevitably tied in to the discussion. Instead of ignoring the complexities of the related issues, I decided to shorten the scope

of the project and engage in discourse analysis with attention to the ways in which the strands overlapped, complexified and informed each other. As such, my research project begins with the creation of the journal and ends within the first ten years. The decision to limit the scope of the project to ten years is not an arbitrary one. Rather, I attempted to follow what I observed were shifts in the journal's publication and within the discourse itself. While there are a couple shifts in the discourse throughout the first ten years or so, some of the major shifts occurred at the end of this time period due to several factors, including a change in the editorial board and the ending of the Lebanese civil war.

First, I compiled a list of all articles of relevance for each discourse strand, including bibliographic information, notes about topics covered in the article, the literary genre, any special characteristics and the section in which the article appears. Then, a structural analysis roughly captured the characteristics of articles on particular aspects of interest, such as the argumentation, the vocabulary, the type of article, and I then identified which forms were typical for the journal during this time period. Furthermore, I traced the discourse strand's various sub-topics, which illustrated the ways in which the sub-topics were presented within the dominant discourse and uncovered underlying assumptions about the validity of the sub-topics in comparison with the major issues.

The next step included an examination of the frequency of the appearance of particular groups of sub-topics. Furthermore, the frequency of particular sub-topics was situated within the historical context as they related to discursive events. The discourse strands of the sub-topics were then presented within the historical context in order to show how the journal's development of particular issues coincided with the historical development of Lebanon.

My project includes a remapping of Lebanese women's movements as presented by the *Al-Raida* journal in the context of Lebanese history and Arab women's movements, and as such mapping the historical context chronologically is the plan of actions for two reasons. First, a chronological approach to remapping allows us to reread history as a series of events that influence and shape each differing movements over national and religious boundaries. For example, understanding the first years of the Lebanese civil war and its relation to the issues published during this time and their influence on and by the larger Arab women's movement in different parts of the Middle East allows for the structuring of history into different periods in Arab feminist history and would include Lebanese women's contribution to this larger movement. I am aware that this methodology may be limited in that a chronological perspective may simplify a non-linear approach to history; however, as Cheryl Glenn notes in *Rhetoric Retold*, "Historiographic practices are now so firmly situated in the postmodern critique of rhetoric that we already take for granted that histories *do* (or *should do*) something, that they fulfill our needs at a particular time and place, including our need for those familiar constructs referred to as historical *periods*" (Glenn 7, emphasis in original). Second, a chronological approach allows for the understanding of the influence and discursive relationship between various religious and political movements and the overlapping of various women's movements, organizations, and issues in the remapping Lebanese historical terrain. I will structure the project according to major time periods in Lebanese history and Arab feminist history. For example, discussing the context of the Lebanese civil war (1975-1980) and the issues of *Al-Raida* published at this time, as well as the major developments in political shifts and ideologies such as the

Pan-Arab ideology, for example, will allow for a comprehensive understanding of how Lebanese women voiced concerns over issues that plagued them during a certain historical context and their contributions to such issues.

Potential Limitations and Contributions

My personal identification as a Lebanese feminist may be considered a limitation of my research. I am an active participant in my research in that I have a vested interest in remapping the feminist historiographic terrain of Lebanese movements. In an attempt at rereading Lebanese women's contribution to Arab women's feminism, I am at a risk for reading into the text and formulating conclusions based on what I anticipate is the outcome of my research. In "Colonial Memory, colonial Research: A Preamble to a Case Study," Victor Villanueva recounts his research experience and search for information on a particular case. He states, "But here I am, a postcolonial subject, an English professor, no revolutionary, needing to understand something of my own memory, my cultural memory, my ancestral memory, needing to understand how words that don't incite people to revolution can be seen as dangerously revolutionary" (90). The simple answer to why I am interested in Lebanese feminist history is because I am a Lebanese feminist seeking out the silenced voices of the women who came before me. I want to know and tell the history, or her-stories, of my people. And while this position may serve to complicate my research and perhaps cloud my judgment, I am aware that this position also has its strengths. Simply put, the strength of my position is that I am able to reread Lebanese women's voices because I am considered a part of Lebanese identity and my position is one of ethos: I am able to make the connections and reread

the history as someone who is an active participant, and I may have valuable knowledge on the cultural and social constructs that may be foreign to an outsider looking in.

Furthermore, another limitation in my proposed study is the language barrier. *Al-Raida* is an English language journal, but it is also published in Arabic. As such, it produces text that is accessible in both languages. However, although *Al-Raida* currently publishes in both languages and initially began publishing in both languages, due to lack of funding, *Al-Raida* published only in English for a certain period of time (the time period is unclear to me, since after receiving a grant from the Open Society Institute (OSI) - a foundation aimed at promoting worldwide democratic governance, Human Rights and social reform - *Al-Raida* began online dissemination in both English and Arabic, but was only able to do so for three years). Therefore, discussion on the limitations of consistent publishing in both English and Arabic will need to be addressed.

Similarly, much of what has been written in history about Lebanese women is written in Arabic and French. While I do speak and write in Arabic, much of the material in French will be inaccessible to me without a translator. While the journal published is both English and Arabic, it also is limited in that it is but one journal and one text among many texts that highlight women's issues, such as various newspapers, memoirs written in Arabic and French, polemical pieces, and more recently, television programs. Therefore, *Al-Raida* cannot and should not represent the totality of Lebanese feminist history. It is but one narrative, albeit an important one, of the many that remain to be recovered in order to fully understand Lebanese women's movements and their contribution to Lebanese history and Arab women's history.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two provides a review of the literature on Lebanese women's movements. The chapter outlines Lebanese historiography in modern history. It further explores the development of the debate on gender roles in Mount Lebanon in early 19th century during a period of emigration to the United States. Furthermore, the chapter reviews the current discussion of gendered citizenship, the relationship between religion and family law, and kinship relations, which dictates much of the ways in which women have access to Lebanese society, politics, and civil communities. The chapter also highlights the discussion on women in Islamic movements in Lebanon, particularly within the Shi'i Hezbollah movement and Palestinian movements. Furthermore, it presents an overview of the current scholarship on women in post-war society in Lebanon. Finally, the chapter introduces the rise of formal education for girls in Lebanon and concludes with the introduction of the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World.

Chapter Three traces the establishment of girl's education at Beirut University College and the development of IWSAW at BUC in 1973, as well as the conditions in which *Al-Raida* was established in 1976 and the first few years of publication during the civil war. Then, I discuss the concept of Family Planning in the Middle East as a means of development implemented by the state in response to the growing population in Arab countries. Furthermore, the chapter traces the conversation on Family Planning in Lebanon and its relevance to the economic and social situation during the late 70s and early 80s. The discourse on Family Planning dominates the journal for the first five years of its publication in an attempt to portray Family Planning as a means of controlling the population

growth. However, the rhetorical analysis will show that although the trend is similar to Western feminist movements, the arguments remain within a cultural framework and are employed only as they apply to the situation of Lebanese women and families.

Chapter Four traces the discourse as it shifted from a Family Planning in the Middle East implemented by the state for population control and modernization towards a discourse on development and a more nuanced understanding of the various issues of women's access to developmental opportunities. The high volume of emigration during the civil war period resulted in an influx of women into the working force, an increase in women's duties in the home and in society, and a shift in traditional Arab family structures as women became breadwinners and decision-makers. Thus, the situation of women's access to employment, the value and pay of women's work, and the structure of the family were all called into question during this time, bringing with it new issues of development in the Arab world, and specifically in Lebanon. This chapter explores how *Al-Raida* presented the issue of development, attempted to define it, and in doing so began to outline some of the basic problems women dealt with at this time, including, but not limited to, illiteracy, access to health care, and access to paid employment.

Chapter Five presents the discourse on the war in Lebanon and highlights *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function as it began to document war narratives through personal interviews and testimonies. The shift in the type of articles chosen for publication, from a research-based quantitative study to a more qualitative documentation of narratives, indicates a shift in *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function, as well as its perception of the kinds of studies needed for the development of a

feminist movement in Lebanon. Furthermore, the increasing women's narratives during this time period also exhibits an articulation of occupying a political space in which women responded to their political context through writing their traumatic narratives. The shift in the journal towards a valorization of women's narratives indicates *Al-Raida's* increasing ability to respond to the nuances in the women's movement.

Chapter Six concludes the research study on *Al-Raida* of the first decade of the journal's publication. It summarizes the general trends developed throughout the first decade and situates them within the larger historical context occurring in Lebanon at the time. Furthermore, the last chapter will present the questions raised during the research process and the direction of the movement. In addition, the chapter proposes the need for further research studies into the journal and the ways in which further studies may develop our understanding of the women's movement in Lebanon during the post-war period.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

[A]ll they did was to put up a signpost at the threshold of unknown territories. However, this signpost has value and use, especially when we remember when it was put up. It was left to us to uncover and register in existence that nature of the [E]astern woman, and to struggle thereafter to make sure that we help it to grow and that we polish it so that it appears the way it is in essence as a work of art, as a resource and a treasure.

May Ziyada, *Warda al-Yaziji*, 1924

The political landscape of Lebanon is rife with conflict and separation, and is also a site of constant shifting of alliances and re-identification of national and political affiliations. In order to approach the conflicting narratives of Lebanese history, we must understand the rhetorical significance of identification of Lebanon in Arab history. As Kenneth Burke argues, “Identification is compensatory to division. If men were not apart from one another, there would be no need for the rhetorician to proclaim their unity” (22). Burke’s theory of identification may help answer questions, such as: How do we define groups or differing women’s movements? How and why do we consider Arab Christians as part of a larger Islamic culture? “The *Rhetoric* deals with the possibilities of classification in its *partisan* aspects; it considers the ways in which individuals are at odds with one another, or become identified with groups more or less at odds with one another” (Burke 22). What are the multiple Lebanese feminist articulations and positions and how are they different from Egyptian feminist

articulations, for example? Central to this question are the questions of a Lebanese identity: what does it mean to be Lebanese? How are citizenships determined? How do women experience citizenship differently than men?

Lebanese historian Kamal Salibi, in *A House of Many Mansions: The History of Lebanon Reconsidered*, posits, “For any people to develop and maintain a sense of political community, it is necessary that they share a common vision of their past” (Salibi 216). To answer these and other similar questions of identity and identification, we must reread historical texts to understand how we come to know and define the Lebanese identity, politics, and nation: “Lebanon today is a political society condemned to know and understand the real facts of its history if it seeks to survive... no political settlement in the country can be lasting unless it takes questions of history into account” (Salibi 217). As such, an investigation into Lebanese identity and identification is an important part of this project:

Before the people of Lebanon can hope to develop the degree of social solidarity that enable them to stand together as a coherent and viable political community, they have to know precisely what they are, and how they relate to the world around them. This means they have to learn exactly why and how they came to be Lebanese, given the original historical and other differences between them. (Salibi 217)

While this is not the goal of my research project, it is an important part of the analysis of differing religious identifications and religious groups. The only census that has ever been conducted on Lebanese population was in 1932 by the French. This census highlighted the various political and religious fissions in

the Lebanese population. Christians were found to be 60% of the population, and Lebanese Christian Maronites relied heavily on this statistic to argue for political control over the nation. Since the country's government system is based on a confessional system in which each community is politically represented in proportion, the balance of populations is pivotal to the balance of power. Today, Lebanon includes populations from 18 different state-recognized sects. Although a second census has not been conducted, Lebanon's Christian population is thought to have decreased while the Muslim population has gradually increased in modern history. While Lebanese historians have attempted to frame the historical events in Lebanon with respect to the religious divide, the Lebanese civil war has proved that neither side of the war can enforce political control over the other or detract from Lebanon's sovereignty, of which many Arab nations feared: "The Arab world, whatever its initial position on the question of Lebanon, has come to accept the Lebanese Republic as it actually exists, and to understand and appreciate the delicate structure of the Lebanese society, certainly for the time being, as at no time before" (Salibi 221). Lebanon's unique political landscape allows for an understanding of how various opposing religious and political groups can articulate commonalities and can allow for research into how the various religious and political women's movements shape and are shaped by one another, an endeavor that is rarely articulated in close approximation to one another and in a complex public sphere. In other words, the context of Lebanon and its mosaic of culture, religion, and politics is one in which a rhetorical study of the various Arab women's movements that rely on the collaboration between women's groups may help us uncover rhetorical articulations that have succeeded in organizing women across boundaries.

Lebanese history teaches us that various religious denominations and political affiliations are constantly in flux and are shaped and reshaped through the history of Arab nationalism. “The question of religion is central to the rethinking of Lebanese history. It has already been remarked that one of the main weaknesses of Arab nationalism as an idea was the fact that it originally confused and continues to confuse the history of the Arabs with the history of Islam” (Salibi 223). While Lebanese Christians have been politically powerful throughout Lebanese history, their allegiance and alliance has shifted throughout the years. Lebanese Christians resist identifying with Western Christians, for example, even though they share a religious identification. Instead, they identify with Lebanese Muslims and the project of Islam as a whole: “Christians of Lebanon, no matter how staunchly Christian they may feel, still consider themselves to be intrinsically part of the world of Islam, no less than the Muslims of the country” (Salibi 225). Understanding Christianity in the Middle East and in Lebanon specifically is central to this project. Christianity and Islam in Lebanese history are not easily separated, but they are not easily married as one monolithic identification either: “To make the proper distinction between these two related yet different strands of history is not easy—if for no other reason, because the Arabs, historically, only had a common history when they happened to fall together under the rule of Islam, and to the extent that they did actually fall under the same Islamic sovereignty at different periods” (Salibi 223). Therefore, the various women’s movements, such as Muslim women, secular feminism, and so on, are not separate identifications, but rather differing positionalities that oftentimes overlap.

Islam in the Middle East in general, and in Lebanon in specific, is historically significant in that it is an hegemonic presence in the lives and culture of the Lebanese people. Historically, Christians in Lebanon more readily align themselves with Muslims in Lebanon despite years of strife and turmoil and identify as members and participants of an Islamic culture: “To understand the Christian Arab position on this point, one must bear in mind that Islam is not only a religion, but also a world society whose history bears on all the community and peoples that participated in it down the centuries—Muslim and non-Muslim alike” (Salibi 223). Therefore, careful historical analysis of Lebanese women’s movements needs to take into account how texts shape, define, identify and align with religious and political organizations as separate from the historical record of the Middle East in general.

Development of the Debate on Gender Roles

“Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity c. 1860-1950” by Ellen Fleischmann traces the impact of female missionaries on Muslim and Christian women of Greater Syria. Fleischmann focuses on three main areas of impact of the American Presbyterian Mission in Lebanon. First, she discusses religion and the impact of Christian missionaries on Muslim women. Although the missionaries were not practicing outright conversion, according to Fleischmann, “they did not abandon efforts to convey the message of the gospel in their educational endeavors” (417). Thus, there was an emphasis on religion within the pedagogy and content of the education provided by the missionaries. Fleischmann notes the various responses to such education:

On the one hand, students sometimes internalized negative, simplistic attitudes about Islam and gender, undoubtedly conveyed at the schools... On the other hand, the students who actively organized collective action—even to the extent of uniting with Jewish students—against the school in the non-participation strike seemed to be aggressively asserting their religious identity against missionary rigidity. (419)

Fleishmann argues that despite being enrolled in a Christian missionary school, Muslim women clearly did not abandon their religious identities. Instead, such experiences lead them to reaffirm their religious identification. However, they did incorporate negative prejudices about Islam, which distorted their assessment of their lives, as indicated by references of the girls' attitude towards the religion as an obstacle to the development of education (419).

Second, Fleishmann notes the effect missionaries had on character building, ideal womanhood, and professionalism was incongruent with the message of Christianity: “At the same time as they were attempting to ‘present Christ’ through home economics and training, they were also working towards ‘widening’ women’s activities by training them to enter the business world and such professions as nursing” (419). While much of the education focused on home economics, many of the girls who matriculated became independent and worked as nurses, teachers, or similar fields (Fleishmann 420). “The missionaries could take credit in character building, but the irony is that missionary women provided role models for different kinds of characters from the modern homemakers they were trying to create” (Fleishmann 420). While many of the

missionaries were educating girls to become mothers and wives and tend to the home, they themselves were independent women engaging in professional work.

Third, Fleishmann analyzes the discussion on nationalism and deculturalization within the curriculum. She notes that the missionaries were opposed to the “process of deculturation they witnessed that accompanied Western educations and the adoption of Western ways” (420-421). However, they failed to see the contradictions inherent in their own positions as missionaries, Fleishman argues. Furthermore, “Part of mission training was to consciously link nationalism, national conscience and service,” which they also did not see as contradictory, as it deliberately makes the connection between religion and nationalism.

Mission education, argues Fleishmann, was but one of the many factors directing women’s lives, in addition to “access to education, class, family attitudes, economic status and individual experiences [which] all played a role in dictating the nature of their impact” (422). Furthermore, Fleishmann’s work illustrates the debate on religion and nationalism and women’s role in the process of nation building through civil service positions were issues that arose in early Greater Syria through missionary education and training. In addition, the missionaries who, by the very nature of the process of their work, were imposing a Western education were also vocally opposed the imposition of Western education and the process of deculturalization.

The debate on gender roles and “Westernization” is further explored in *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1860-1920*. Akram Fouad Khater presents a thorough and engaging analysis of gender norms in Mount Lebanon shaped by economic needs and developments in the

region. In second chapter, "Factory Girls," Khater traces the increase of sericulture in Mount Lebanon in the 1860s and its implication on the class and gender structure. "Factory girls" were known as young women who worked in the silk factories, worked long hours, and were paid less than men. Khater argues the factory girls were challenging and changing gender norms. They made money and added to the family income, which allowed the men in their families to continue doing "honorable" work in fields. Also, peasants became rich quickly through the sericulture industry, which complicated the once rigid class structure. "Silk—or more accurately the interaction between the local peasant economy and European capitalism—was instrumental in unleashing a momentum for change that altered the meaning and form of gender, class, and the good life in Mount Lebanon" (Khater 21). In the third chapter, "Emigration," Khater describes the limitations the post-1860 generation faced as silk was no longer a profitable business. Rising land prices and shrinking inheritances due to larger family structures, were threatening the economic stability of many peasants. Thus, "many peasants arrived at the year 1887 with a sense of malaise" (Khater 60). The emigration that occurred as a result, claims Khater, was not due to poverty or persecution, but for the need to maintain a standard of living many peasants had grown accustomed to. The emigration to America and Western countries of one third of the population created a social upheaval: it required women to stay behind and forced them to make family decisions that maintained the family "honor" (Khater 70). Thus, many women either followed their husbands or went to look for husbands in "Amirka" (Khater 70).

Khater further describes the gender issues faced by the immigrant community in America. The Lebanese were faced with a struggle between

assimilating and maintaining traditional norms, a struggle Khater describes as “alternative ways of becoming ‘American’” (105). Those who chose to maintain traditional norms were criticized, which compelled some to seek the “modernization” of their community. Discussion of women’s role in the home and in her work as a peddler began to emerge and remained in question as Lebanese began to return to Mount Lebanon. The “new woman” ideal, the idea of making women better mothers and wives, began in the 1870s and remained a subject of debate well into World War I (Khater 132). The issue was taken up by some of the women’s magazines and journals, such as *Al-Hasna*, a magazine that covered various women’s issues, such as childrearing, make-up and work, as well as *Fatat Lubnan*, which positioned women’s roles as the requirement for the happiness of the nation (Khater 129-130). “These circular constructions, where gender roles define class, and class implies particular gender roles, was given urgency through links to the wider political spectrum of ‘nation’ and its confrontation with a dominating ‘West’” (Khater 134).

Texts that appeared in the women’s press were mainly biographies of famous women: “their representations were in reality all about a modernity where women are not peripheral but central, where they do not reside in a domesticated sphere but in a public arena... set against the predominantly masculine narrative of ‘modernity’ and were therefore critical in the making of the ‘modern’” (Khater 149). Khater highlights some of the texts in the press written by and about women that participated in the debate on gender roles. He identifies Salma Khalila, who wrote a public response in 1895 in *Lubnan* newspaper to Rashid Sa’id Nakhleh’s article titled “Keeping the Woman Within her Limits” (146). He also notes Anisa al-Shartouni’s article titled, “The Grandeur of the Work for

Which Woman Was Created,” which argues for women’s work in the home, was refuted by Zaynab Fawwaz in her argument that al-Shartouni herself was not practicing a “noble” role, since she is out and writing in public (148-149). Khater further notes the articles of Julia Ta’mi Dimashqiya in 1924, Hanna Kasbani Kourani’s speech in 1908, and Afifa Karam’s writings and publications in the early 1900s as public feminist arguments for the education and equality of the Lebanese woman. “The ethos of work which permeated peasant society—both male and female—provided feminists with the ‘tradition’ from which to criticize the proposed gilded enclosure of women in a ‘private’ and idle space,” argues Khater (159). The peasant experience in 1860s sericulture, the “factory girls,” provided feminists with arguments for the “new woman” ideal.

Gendered Citizenship

In “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East,” Suad Joseph provides a detailed analysis of the ways in which women in the Middle East have experienced citizenship. She dissects the relationship of women and their position to the nation, state, religion, family, family law, the self, and public/private boundaries. Within the discussion of the nation, women in the Middle East have become pivotal in shaping and unifying the imagined community. In the 19th and 20th centuries, Middle East reformers and leaders often used women and the role of women to encourage a modern conception of the nation. The argument for women’s education focused on the interest of the nation as a whole (Joseph, “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East,” 5).

To illustrate, feminist arguments within an Islamic framework began surfacing in early 19th century Egypt. Arguments for women’s education and for

eradicating polygamy were voiced in the 1870s and 1880s by Muslim intellectuals such as Rifa'ah Rafi al-Tahtawi and Muhammad 'Abdu (Ahmed 144). Muhammad 'Abduh, an intellectual and influential figure, taught that Islam is compatible with modernity. He championed the education of women "in the obligations and rights established for them by their religion" (Stowasser 8). 'Abduh was specifically concerned, however, with women's rights insofar as they strengthened the Islamic order. He was not concerned with the liberation of women for their benefit, but "as an essential precondition for the building of a virtuous society" (Stowasser 10).

Qasim Amin's *The Liberation of Women* is noted to have been one of the first controversial texts arguing for women's equality and published in 1899. However, contrary to popular belief, its controversial reception was not due to the argument for women's liberation, but for its glorification of Western culture and a readiness to imitate European standards in an attempt to become modernized. Although Amin's book was not the first expression of arguments concerning women, the publication of Amin's book sparked the veiling controversy; his argument "to make Muslim society abandon its backward ways" and imitate Western civilization was the cause for argument, since it "required changing the women" (Ahmed 156). His arguments were grounded in the assumption that veiling and seclusion were backward and represented an internalized notion of the Western civilization as modern and worthy of imitation (Ahmed 160). Leila Ahmed, in *Women and Gender in Islam*, discusses the imposition of feminist arguments for the liberation of women in the Arab and Egyptian culture as colonial "feminism":

Imperialist men who were the enemies of feminism in their own societies, abroad espoused a rhetoric of feminism attacking the practices of Other men and their 'degradation' of women, and they used the argument that the cultures of the colonized peoples degraded women in order to legitimize Western domination and justify colonial policies of actively trying to subvert the cultures and regions of the colonized peoples. (Ahmed 245)

Lord Cromer, the British consul general in Egypt, opposed feminism in England, and yet advocated "the need to end Islamic degradation of women and [was] declared a champion of the importance of unveiling" (Ahmed 245). The "liberation" of women from the Islamic veil was the focus of the debate. The practice of veiling was targeted as the indication of the Islamic degradation of women, and "stood in the way, according to the imperialist thesis, of the 'progress' and 'civilization' of Muslim societies and of their populaces being 'persuaded or forced' into imbibing 'the true spirit of Western civilization'" (Ahmed 245). Thus, the discourse of colonial "feminism" is "the notion that an intrinsic connection existed between the issues of culture and the status of women, and in particular that progress for women could be achieved only through abandoning the native culture" (Ahmed 246). The men's arguments for liberation were framed within the context of modernizing Egypt, thus were employed insofar as they were able to support argument for the modernization of Egypt during the early 20th century.

Women experienced citizenship differently than men of the same community. "Women, although sharing some interests and circumstances, have not been a homogenous category or 'class.' Their differing identity and

commitments more often have aligned then with men of their class, religion, ethnicity, tribe or family than with other women across these social boundaries despite multiplicity and fluidity across boundaries” (Joseph, “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East” 7). As such, argues Joseph, women have not been perceived as part of “the people” or have lacked “political personhood” in their countries. A striking example of this invisibility is the inability of Lebanese women to legally pass their citizenship to their husband or children. “How can a woman be a full citizen if she does not possess the same citizenship rights as men?” asks Lina Khatib in “Gender, Citizenship and Political Agency in Lebanon” (441). Khatib’s analysis points to the conclusion that “In the case of Lebanon, it is clear that the Lebanese nation is one determined by men, where women are either relegated to the margin...or not paid attention to (as seen in the gender-neutral language used in the Lebanese constitution)” (441).

Religion and Family Law

Women in Lebanon have long been underrepresented in the law. Lebanese government is grounded in liberal tradition in all sectors of society, which intends to protect private freedom in the home from state intervention. Women’s rights and Personal Status laws have been under the jurisdiction of the religious courts under the confessional system, in which the laws stem from religious interpretation unbound by state interference. Middle Eastern states “have imagined their citizens to be differentiated by religious attachments and primordial identities and loyalties preceding the state” (Joseph, “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East,” 11). As such, the nation is seen as a series of smaller communities. Muslim and Christian communities and religious institutions

have elevated the religious status to that of civil status, as in the example of Lebanon. By doing so, they have supported a patriarchal structure and engendered citizenship (Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East" 11).

By placing Family law in religious domains, "states have given control over issues that dramatically affect women to institutions that are gender biased" (Joseph, "Introduction" 5). Lamia Rustom Shehadeh, in "Coverture in Lebanon," argues that the position of women in Christian Personal Status codes in Lebanon render the women in a subordinate position during legal marriage, a position she calls "coverture": "it is defined literally as cover or shelter, and legally as the status of a married woman considered as under the protection and authority of her husband" (84). A married Lebanese woman "undergoes 'civil death', in that her identity is covered by her husband, upon marriage, forfeiting thereby most of her rights and effectively losing control of her life" ("Coverture in Lebanon" 85). "Rape is legally defined, in Lebanon, as sexual intercourse by a male with a female other than his wife, without the consent of the woman and effected by force (Penal Code, Arts. 503, 504). Thus, a husband cannot be guilty of raping his wife," explains Shehadeh. All Christian Personal Status codes, with the exception of some, are based on Muslim Personal Status codes and Shari'a law (Shehadeh, "Couverture in Lebanon" 94). Furthermore, Lebanese law follows the French textual codification system, not the English common law, another Western influence "which is based mainly on the principle of precedence," meaning the laws are not open to interpretation and very little can be done unless the law is changed (Shehadeh, "Coverture in Lebanon" 94). In "Gender- Relevant Legal Change in Lebanon," Shehadeh presents a historical overview of the changes in laws in Lebanon and calls for further action:

It is therefore incumbent upon all religious sects to modify, if not repeal, all instances of gender inequality that may perpetuate *coverture* and to formulate new ones to ensure gender justice. This is further made imperative by the fact that all religious court justices are males, thereby rendering all their judgments in family matters suspect, since they are subconsciously influenced by their own patriarchal ideology and the fear of losing what they consider to be their natural rights. (emphasis in original, 220-221)

As such, married Lebanese women are at the privy of their husband's benevolence, in which the law gives husbands the right to act on their wife's behalf. In April 2010, the Lebanese Council of Ministers approved the KAFA (enough) draft law on the Protection of Women from Family Violence, which criminalizes domestic violence and places it under the jurisdiction of the penal law. The development of this bill has sparked a controversial public debate, in which gender roles and definitions are challenged, disrupting the patriarchal familial structure entrenched in Arab society. According to Michael Warner, in *Publics and Counter Publics*, "Social movements take shape in civil society, often with an agenda of demands vis-à-vis the state. They seek to change policy by appealing to public opinion" (51). Currently, the increased public arguments have highlighted various religious arguments against the bill and various feminist arguments supporting the bill. "The question for debate, then, is to what extent the environment for critical social movements is becoming more undemocratic, 'refeudalized,' or colonized by changing relations among the state, mass media, and the market" (Warner 51).

For example, in an online public debate on Al Jazeera's website, AJ Stream, in August 2011, Al Jazeera invited Nadine Moawad, a member of Nasawiya a feminist collective in Lebanon, and Sounay Nouh, a social activist presenting arguments by Dar al-Fatwa (the highest Sunni Muslim authority) and the Islamic Council (the Higher Shi'i Muslim authority). The public debate illustrates how the articulation of religious and feminist positions in a public forum reframes the long-silenced issue. The debate has redefined the public sphere in which gender is not only debated, but the public circulation of a once-private gendered issue embodies the reciprocity between public and private. "The overprivilaging of the public sphere as a source of democracy and the exclusive focus on the public/private binary have been made possible by glossing over gendered antidemocratic forces and the multiple sites in which they are constructed" (Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East" 25). Social life in the Middle East is not seamless, according to Joseph, and the public/private binary can be reconceptualized into multiple spheres, including the government (public), the nongovernmental society (civil society), and domestic (kinship) (Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East" 25).

Kinship Relations

Early Arab feminists argued from a secular perspective for women's rights in the 19th and 20th centuries. However, much attention has been devoted to Islamic feminist discourse, the use of Islamic texts to argue for the equality of women within the Middle East. Arab Christian women have continued to use secular feminist arguments. While this difference in rhetorical discourse may have been perceived as a difference in the lived experience between Muslim and

Christian women in the Middle East, in “Arab Kinship, the Foundation of Subordination and Empowerment Among Arab Women,” Jehan Marie Mullin argues against this notion. That Christian and Muslim women have vastly differing experiences is not accurate, she argues, and instead she posits that kinship practices are incorporated into cultural values, which privilege men over women, and are actively codified in the legal system for both religious communities. Mullin argues against the binary of secular/Islamic arguments for women’s liberation and claims this binary is indeed false (14). “Since the question of authenticity has become inextricably linked to the often misleading secular/Islamic feminist divide, it is no surprise,” Mullin argues, “that even in the general public debates on women’s rights the focus appears to consistently center on Islam alone” (15). Muslim and Christian Arab feminists, claims Mullin, both share a foundation of oppression. “This is not to say that religion does not matter but merely that the structure of gendered oppression, the kinship system, does not differentiate among Arab women of different faiths” (Mullin 17).

The discussion of kinship relations and family as a community is important to understanding Middle Eastern politics, specifically in Lebanon. According to Peter Gran, “The family ought to be studied as a part of politics, if for no other reason than the fact that the state invests a great deal of its resources in upholding its conceptions of an ideal family” (qtd. in Joseph, “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East” 15). The concept of family is envisaged as the foundation of the nation, and as such, the role of the woman in the family becomes a concept of upholding national values, of managing the house, which transforms the house into a “social space of citizenship” (qtd. in Joseph “Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East” 15). As Joseph explains,

“These political uses of family create kinship continuities between the state (the public sphere), civil society (the sphere of private organizations), and the family (the domestic sphere)” (Joseph, “Introduction” 5). Thus, the relationship between the family, civil society and the state are perceived as an integral part of the process of the development of a nation.

“In many Third World countries,” argues Joseph, “kinship and community are crucial organizers of social life. State institutions and civil society do not operate independently of kin-based communal relations” (Joseph, “Introduction” 12). Furthermore, kinship relations are embedded in the culture and are rarely challenged, even during a husband’s long periods of absence. In 1975-2001, Lebanese men emigrated to various parts of the world, including the United States and Gulf countries, due to the political strife and interreligious conflict which affected the economic situation. Almost half of the households in Lebanon during the year 2001 were missing a family member due to emigration as cited in Mona Khalaf’s, “Male Migration and the Lebanese Family: The Impact on the Wife Left Behind.” In a study carried out by Saint Joseph University in 2001, a sample of 107 households taken from a national survey of 18,283 households in Lebanon were analyzed. Khalaf studied the effect of the wife’s role in the household after the migration of the husband. In the results, Khalaf noted that although the husband was not present, much of the traditional familial structures remained. While the wife left behind made decisions regarding family expenditures, larger more substantial decisions, such as family property, were left to the husband abroad. “All we can venture to say is that the husband’s migration has made the wife left behind assume new roles outside the domestic domain that is traditionally hers” (Khalaf 17). While the woman may have

assumed new roles, they were minor roles and the larger decision-making was left to the husband abroad.

Because of the focus of the family and its importance in structuring gender relationships, Joseph cautions that it is crucial to understanding that it both supports and suppresses women due to its patriarchal structure. Rita Stephan, on the other hand, highlights the importance of understanding the family structure's ability to support women and argues for a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which family structure can allow for the development of feminist causes. Stephan's research on the family and political recognition illustrates the importance and support of the kinship structure to Lebanese women's rights activists. In "Couple's Activism in Lebanon: The Legacy of Laure Moghaizel," Stephan offers a framework with which to view women's activism within the boundaries and structures of kinship relationship. Her work focuses on Laure Moghaizel, a Lebanese feminist activist who helped establish the Lebanese Council of Women and fought for women's equal rights within the law. Laure Moghaizel and her husband, Joseph, worked together to fight for women's rights and established the Lebanese Association for Human Rights (LAHR). She illustrates how the family structure supported Laure's activism instead of hindered it.

Stephan argues, "if a husband is encouraging, traditional rather than egalitarian attitudes in marriage are found to be more conducive to women's community involvement" ("Couple's Activism in Lebanon" 536). Laure and Joseph Moghaizel shared similar perspectives on women's rights and activism; thus, their relationship supported Laure's activism, as she took the lead. Furthermore, Stephan notes, "Laure created a model that was inclusive of men

as partners in pressing for changes” (“Couple’s Activism in Lebanon” 538). In this respect, kinship structure was an important aspect in the support and encouragement of the activism of Laure Moghaizel. However, such an argument disregards what is potentially a disadvantage to many women who attempt to work within such a kinship structure. Instead of considering the fact that Moghaizel’s activism alongside her husband is not typical of activism in Lebanon within kinship structures, Stephan’s argument problematically attributes the success of her activism to the very structure that oppresses the majority of Arab women activists.

While the traditional family structure creates boundaries and limits women’s activities, within such a paradigm, it is essential that the support of the male of the family be offered in order to achieve the mobility needed for activism. Stephan further argues for a call to “view the lives of women within their immediate social context, which must include their marital and family relations” (“Couple’s Activism in Lebanon” 540). Couple’s activism is possible, Stephan notes, and it is an important aspect of Middle Eastern women’s activism, as well. However, it should be noted that the example of Laure Moghaizel’s “couple’s activism” is not typical of Lebanese women’s activism.

Women in Islamic Movements

The argument that kinship structures help support activists instead of problematically hinder their actions is similarly reflected in the arguments for women in Islamic movements. In “From Subjects to Citizens: Women and the Nation in Kuwait,” Mary Ann Tetreault and Haya al-Mughni argue that the domestic conflicts between Kuwaiti Islamists and Kuwaiti secularists often

resulted in an argument over gender roles, as it not only was a metaphor for other social and political conflicts, but it became the battleground on which Islamists challenged secular political groups' legitimacy (144). For example, in the 1992 and 1996 parliaments, Islamists challenged the regime directly on gender issues and won, which resulted in the passing of a law mandating gender segregation in Kuwait's post-secondary schools (Tetreault and al-Mughni 144).

Similarly, resistance movements and political Islamic movements have also used women's bodies to imagine their political community in opposition to a dominant national vision (Joseph, "Gendering Citizenship in the Middle East" 5). In the example of Palestine, there is a shared ideology for nationalism, which is further complicated by religious beliefs. The Palestinian movement has long favored a secular ideology, yet in recent years and under pressure from Islamists groups supporting a political Islam, female engagement in formal political life of the state has taken a turn away from secular ideology. Deborah J. Gerner, in "Mobilizing Women for Nationalist Agendas: Palestinian Women, Civil Society and the State-Building Process," highlights the politicization of the traditional female roles of wife and mother. The roles of women in the political arena became focused on birthing a new generation of Palestinian fighters and taking care of others' children, as well as visiting individuals in jails (Lerner 26). The hijab campaign during 1988-1989 attempted to define the wearing of the hijab as a national struggle, even though it is historically not part of the Palestinian culture, instead it came from traditional Muslim culture. The campaign argued for the hijab as a way to promote cultural pride, a sign of respect to the martyrs, and evidence of nationalist sympathies. Implicitly, argues Lerner, the claim was that the domination of the Israeli military and political strife was believed to be a

“punishment” as a result of the years that Palestinians offered a more secular perspective and turned their backs on Islam (27).

In addition, Frances S. Hasso argues that nationalization is more empowering for women when it is focused on a grassroots approach to mobilization rather than a military approach in her article “The ‘Women’s Front’: Nationalism, Feminism and Modernity in Palestine” (459). Hasso explores the ideologies and the strategies of the leftist-nationalist Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and its affiliated nationalist-feminist women’s organization, the Palestinian Federation of Women’s Action Committees (PFWAC). Hasso argues the DFLP women’s influence actively mobilized women and incorporated them into leadership levels and produced an ideology that “viewed the transformation of values that hindered women as part of an overall national-modernist project” (459). However, notes Hasso in her postscript, the 1987 uprising altered most aspects of life in Palestine and in the late 1990 the DFLP and PFWAC split, which isolated women from the nationalist project and relegated control of the public space to Hamas’s men.

Although not widely perceived by many to be feminists, the Islamist women of Hamas have been active in strengthening the political Islamic movement. Islah Jad, in “Between Religion and Secularism: Islamist Women of Hamas,” argues that a secular feminist ideology influences the direction of the debate on gender and women’s rights in the Islamic movement. Many of the positions of Islamic women’s movement are formed in a reaction against the secular feminist movements (Jad, “Between,” 172). Thus, both secular and Islamist women’s movements are pivotal in understanding and shaping gender issues in the region. Hamas’s strategy, argues Jad, was to shift the Islamic

movement to a nationalist position. In other words, Islam was “nationalized” and associated with the Palestinian territory and the Palestinian struggle. Similarly, Palestinian nationalism, as Jad points out, was “Islamicized” and was established as a popular national movement, which then was altered to act as a legal political party (“Between,” 173). Islamists focused on women and integrated them into the party structure at all levels, due to their competition with secularists:

This shift (of open-ended interpretations of texts, allowing women to occupy a wider space in the public arena) was not haphazard. It was the result of work of Islamist women within the movement, against the background of women’s achievements and the outcome of pressure exercised by secular feminists who critiqued the Islamists’ fixing of the gender order. (Jad, “Between,” 174).

Therefore, while the reinterpretation of Qur’anic text may allow for an egalitarian reading of the religion, and thus defined as a form of feminist reading by some, Islamist women in Hamas used the reinterpretation of the text as a means of gaining access to the political movement of Hamas in order to better articulate a strategy in opposition to secular movements in the region.

Lara Deeb’s ethnographic research on the women of Hezbollah movement in Beirut, Lebanon highlights the daily practices of the women in the community, focusing on the discourses of piety and modernity that shape modern day life. In *An Enchanted Modern: Gender and Public Piety in Shi’i Lebanon*, Deeb highlights volunteerism as a method of community activism, which allows women of Hezbollah to develop strong ties within the community. Due to Lebanon’s lack of government services, the Hezbollah organization has made great efforts to tackle poverty in their community, in which the women played a

large role. “The key to all these welfare provision programs is the personal contact between volunteers and poor families,” explains Deeb (*An Enchanted Modern* 174). Through direct work with families, volunteers were able to build personal relationships and extend the familial structure to those who are not directly related through a direct lineage. “Idiomatic kinship,” a term referring to a relationship between two people in which they act as kin but are not socially recognized as such plays an important role of the structure of the community in the Middle East (Joseph, “Introduction” 7). Thus, Deeb points out the relationship between the volunteer and the family she assisted was illustrated in their use of language and emotion when referring to such relationships. “[The] link between women’s volunteerism and the pious modern not only constructed volunteering as a powerful normative marker of morality, but also emphasized women’s public activity as a necessary component of their piety within the framework of authenticated Islam” (Deeb *An Enchanted Modern* 207).

Similarly, Zeina Zaatari’s ethnographic research in *Women Activists of South Lebanon* illustrates how women’s subjectivities are created and shaped through activist activities. She argues that while women activists may reinforce patriarchal structure by choosing volunteer work in their communities instead of becoming involved in political activities, they also provoke change. “[T]he culture of motherhood,” argues Zaatari, “which often implies living under the shackles of patriarchy, actually presented women of South Lebanon with legitimate avenues for participation in civil society and political life” (333).

However, as Theresa Anne Giambalvo points out in her research on militant women’s activism in Lebanon, Palestine and Algeria, “The nature of many militant movements as being part of a larger nationalist movement has

meant that women's issues are often superseded⁴ by the national struggle" (96). In *Negotiating Citizenship: Arab Women in Militant Movements*, Giambalvo presents an ethnographic study of Middle Eastern women who have chosen to become active in militant movements. "There is then a fundamental tension between nationalism and feminism," she posits. "The symbolic representation of women as keepers of tradition generally makes it very difficult for women to pursue their interests as women beyond the interests of national politics" (96). Giambalvo argues, "If the realities of Arab women remain as they are—in a sense victims of a political and religious collusion that considers them inferior—it does not seem that women will be the autonomous and empowered citizens that they have the potential to be" (101). Although there will be a few independent women who will be willing to break from tradition, they simply are able to enact change in their own lives, which does not translate to change on a larger scale for all women (Giambalvo 101).

In *The Idea of Women Under Fundamentalist Islam*, Shehadeh focuses on critically evaluating primary sources from within the fundamentalist framework in order to arrive at an understanding of gender issues within contemporary fundamentalism, and to identify a universal gender theory.

While the argument herein may seem to have feminist or Islamic feminist overtones, it is neither. It relies totally on a deconstruction of fundamentalist gender discourse to arrive at a universal theory capable of explaining all idiosyncrasies and contradictions inherent in the individual discourses, and setting a solid foundation

⁴ And by extension subordinated.

for a new perspective and insight into the twentieth-century concept of political Islam. (Shehadeh, *The Idea*, 8)

Shehadeh critically analyzes the works of the following ideologues: Hasan al-Banna, considered to be responsible for the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928; Abu al' A'la al-Mawdudi, a renowned Pakistani fundamentalist and founder of Jama'at-I Islami, the Pakistani Sunni fundamentalist association; Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian ideologue who best represents the radical trend and developed the ideological basis of Islamic activism; Zaynab al-Ghazali, an Egyptian female activist associated with the Muslim Brotherhood; Ayatollah Khomeini, an Islamic revolutionary who aided in establishing and leading the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979; Mortaza Matahhari, an Iranian religious scholar, activist and writer; Hasan al-Turabi, created the Sunni National Islamic Front in Sudan and known for his conciliatory tone in his writings which has come to represent a more flexible leadership in Islamist movements; Rashid al-Ghannoushi, founder of the Sunni Tunisian Islamic Tendency Movement and leader of the al-Nahda Party, presenting a democratic outlook; Sheikh Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah of Lebanon, served as president of the Lebanese Council of Hezbollah, regarded as a moderate. In her conclusion, Shehadeh notes that: "fundamentalist ideologues, in their struggle to seize power, attract women through promises of liberation and acquisition of long-lost rights to garner their assistance in propagating their message, brushing their image, recruiting new followers, and participating in revolutionary activities" (*The Idea*, 248). However, she continues, once the ruling party is in power, they almost always reverse their stance in an attempt to appease the critical male sector. They often resort to using the "traditional

weapon of patriarchy” by subordinating women and providing men with full control (*The Idea*, 248). “In doing so, fundamentalists were essentially offering the male population a bargain: in return for ceding of political power and social resources to the movement or state, men gain power through increased control of their families” (*The Idea*, 248). This delineates the public and private spheres, giving males control of the private sphere, while the state rules over both sectors of society, argues Shehadeh, both male and female.

Women and War

National liberation struggles have often used women in various ways but then have neglected them when they have gained liberation, as in the case with Algeria and Palestine. Women were incorporated into the national struggle and given certain freedoms only to be relegated back to the domestic sphere once the nation has been established. As such, it is often perceived that nationalism and feminism do not mix well. Evelyn Accad, however, argues that since “sexuality has never been conceptualized as being the center of the problems of the Middle East,” that this utopian blend has never actually been realized (Accad “Sexuality,” 238). “[I]f an analysis of sexuality and sexual relations,” claims Accad, “were truly incorporated into the revolutionary struggle in Lebanon, nationalism could be transformed into a viable revolutionary struggle” (“Sexuality,” 238). In her ethnographic research on Lebanon throughout the war, presented in her article “Sexuality and Sexual Politics: Conflicts and Contradictions for Contemporary Women in the Middle East,” Accad posits that sexuality and sexual relations are indeed of great importance and are central to the struggles of the conflicts in the Middle East. “The importance of incorporating

a discourse on sexuality when formulating a revolutionary feminist theory became even more evident as I started analyzing and writing about the Lebanese war,” argues Accad (238). The way in which people act out war, she claims, is indicative of the way in which they incorporate love, power and relationships with each other and society at large. Furthermore, the *internal* war in Lebanon, which Accad points out, is the internal sectarian conflicts between various religious factions, each try to dominate through the control of women (emphasis in original, “Sexuality,” 244). If we attempt to address sexuality from the beginning, we might be able to avoid the war. Accad also argues for the importance and the relevance of sexuality in Middle East conflicts:

I also hope that sexuality—the right to sexual pleasure, the emotional relationship between two persons, as well as the problems connected with it: virginity, genital mutilation, etc., in the East, rape, pornography, etc., in the West—will grow to be recognized as an important element, as serious and as essential as food, shelter, jobs, and development in the struggles for revolutionary change. (Accad “Sexuality,” 247)

Accad calls for the common struggle of women and sexuality and warns against breaking from the feminist movement and instead participating in the conflict.

Similarly, Palestinian Resistance Fighters’ narratives “portrayed women fighters as exceptional figures who derived status from heroism in battle and steadfastness in daily life” claims Samar Kanafani in “Leaving Mother-Land: The Anti-Feminine in *Fida’i* Narratives” (312). Female PRFs in the Palestinian Intifada were celebrated in the media, but they later remained subject patriarchal and traditional gender roles in their individual lives: “Female fighters were situated in

a gray area that granted them national heroism but only at the high cost of chaste and reproductive femininity, which the nationalist discourse so celebrated” (312). This separation of spheres of domesticity and combativeness remained based on an exaggerated division of gender roles. Kanafani finds that the “complicity of nationalism and masculinity capitalizes on social intolerance for gender crossovers through the muting of feminine histories and the underprivileging of women’s activism in the military and national sphere” (313). Thus, women who participated in the resistance did so at the expense of forgoing their gendered position of femininity within the culture and tradition.

On the other hand, women’s participation in the war and conflicts may have instigated social change. By participating in the war, women have challenged gender roles and norms and have sparked social change in Lebanon. *Women and War in Lebanon*, an anthology edited by Lamia Rustum Shehadeh, presents various articles on the effect of the civil war on Lebanese women. Shehade claims in the introduction, “It would seem that wars are indubitably periods of social change for women, but does this change initiate progress in women’s lives or the roles they play, and if so, in what realms? Is it possible to assess such change?” (Shehade, *Women*, 4). The anthology includes articles on a variety of issues on Lebanese women, such as the influence of art, narratives of national consciousness, women in militias, and the psychological effects of the war.

In the conclusion, Shehade argues that the war has raised Lebanese women’s awareness of the social and political roles they play:

Mothers of martyrs, who may have never been politically active found their maternal sacrifice hailed as a political act. The war,

thus, raised the social awareness of women and made them conscious of the importance of their role in developing a dynamic civic society for the purpose of advancement and development.

(Shehade, *Women*, 325)

This increase in awareness has led to an increase in women's participation in governmental organizations. "Many of the tasks traditionally undertaken by women served to link the private with the public domain, as society came to realize the necessity of their skills" (Shehade, *Women*, 325).

Furthermore, in a post-war society, the effect of globalization on Lebanon's economy has also created change in the society. In interviews with eight Lebanese and Palestinian women living in Lebanon, Laila Farah gleans the narratives of their lives in a post-war society, during 1995-1998 in her article titled "The Markings of Women's Cultural Membership in a Globalized World." Farah finds four distinctive roles in the narratives: the role of female elders, preservers of culture, women negotiating the dilemma of Westernization, and transforming roles of women in the face of globalization. Farah finds that the women "welcome the changes that signify the increased ease they are living with as they shift out of war mode, yet they resist the changes occurring in their everyday lives as threatening the status quo" (32). Changes include resisting the traditional role of women as preservers of culture and relegated to the private sphere, and instead embracing a more liberated and independent stance as breadwinner. As such, they are conflicted with preserving their culture within an increased influence of a globalized economy. While Farah limits her analysis to women's role after the

civil war, many women before the civil war and as far back as the early 19th century have had similar struggles.⁵

Similarly, in a recent ethnographic research study conducted in 2000 by Catherine Kikoski, several young Lebanese women presented a clear vision of their futures in Lebanese society. In several interviews, young women were vocal about their careers and their perception of gender equality. They exhibited a more independent and egalitarian attitude about gender roles than those found in the traditional Lebanese society. However, argues Kikoski, although they placed a high value on their careers and independence, they did not do so at the price of motherhood: "These women are willing to temporarily sacrifice their careers out of concern for their children's welfare" (145). So while the young women were willing to pursue an education and a career, a more modern gender role, they were also conflicted with forgoing the traditional gender role of motherhood.

Gender Education and Gender Studies

Lebanon has continued to grow and develop formal education for girls throughout the years. Mirna Lattouf, in *Women, Education and Socialization: 19th and 20th Centuries Social History*, claims there are two types of education in Lebanon: formal and informal. While the formal education provides women with access to economic development, independence, and equality, the informal education of the patriarchal society relegates women back into their traditional gender roles. Lattouf's research on formal education in Lebanon provides us with an historical understanding of the development of formal education. General education in the Ottoman Empire was an Islamic one in which girls from wealthy

⁵ See Akram Fouad Kahter's *Inventing Home*

families received private tutoring. Formal education for girls in Lebanon began in early 19th century with Christian missionaries. By the dawn of the 20th century, colleges for girls were established and later became coeducational. However, the discussion on the social ills of Lebanese society, as portrayed in the “informal education” of women, forms a critical and essentialist perspective of Lebanon as a “backwards” society.

Lina Abu-Habib presents an overview of gender training in the Middle East, focusing on Lebanon. She notes that lack of an Arabic term for ‘gender’ and the lack of reconciliation to the term ‘gender’ have obstructed development of gender training programs in the region (55). Furthermore, she claims, feminists and women activists in the region dislike the term ‘gender’, since they feel it “has replaced and watered down the concept of feminism,” a term which threatens conservative groups in the region (55-56). Abu-Habib provides an overview of some of the training programs that can be considered as implementing a ‘gendered’ focus. She mentions the Centre for Arab Women Training and Research (CAWTAR) in Tunis, Tunisia, as well as the Institute for Women Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) in Beirut, Lebanon. Abu-Habib notes that the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), a main U.N. agency for gender training in the region, assists the Ministry of Social Affairs in Lebanon in providing training for auxiliary social workers, which illustrates its implementation in the public sector (58-59). Abu-Habib also notes that “most gender training which has taken place during [1995-1998] has been primarily driven and encouraged by preparations for the Beijing Conference” (60).

Institute for Women Studies in the Arab World

The Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) was established in 1973 at the Lebanese American University (formerly Beirut University College). The Ford Foundation provided initial funding for the institute. *Al-Raida* began its publications in 1976, one year after the Lebanese civil war, and continues publishing today on various women's issues in the Middle East. The publication is highly selective, although not peer reviewed, and is currently distributed and read worldwide. According to the website:

Its mission is to enhance networking between Arab women and women all over the world; to promote research on the condition of women in the Arab world, especially with respect to social change and development; and to report on the activities of IWSAW and the Lebanese American University... Each issue of *Al-Raida* features a file which focuses on a particular theme, in addition to articles, conference reports, interviews, book reviews, and art news. (alraida.com)

The Institute of Women's Studies in the Arab World also designs and implements development programs for Arab women, which include a basic living skills program, an empowering Arab women through literacy initiative, and a rehabilitation and vocational program for women in Lebanese prisons. The basic living skills program is described as: "a non-formal integrated educational kit in Arabic, geared towards illiterate and semi-literate women in the Arab world... Its users are social workers and educators affiliated to non-governmental organizations, governmental institutions and international organizations involved in community development programs" (alraida.com). It includes a 11-booklet

package which includes discussions on health, the environment, nutrition, reproductive health, childhood to adolescence, civic education, legal rights (in Lebanon), women's empowerment, women's empowerment through work, chronic diseases, and special needs: physical and mental disabilities. The empowering women through literacy program includes a 12-booklet program covering topics such as, civic education and conflict control, women's empowerment, violence against women, health, and the environment. IWSAW has also created a documentary titled "Women in Time: Profiles of activists in the Lebanese women's movement up to 1975":

[It] traces the evolution of the women's movement in Lebanon from the 19th century till the outbreak of the civil war in 1975. It highlights the achievements of prominent Lebanese women activists who have marked the history of this movement. It is based on archival research, footage, and interviews with relatives and close friends. (alraida.com)

Al-Raida (Pioneer) is a quarterly journal published in English, and for some years in Arabic, by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World. The journal publishes on various topics related to Arab women and Arab feminism. Some of the more recent themes include: Gender Quotes and Parliamentary Representation, Women and Scriptures in the Arab World; Women, Activism, and the Arts; Women in the Performing Arts; Arab Refugee Women; Arab Women Writing in English; Arab Diaspora Women; The Empowerment of Arab Women; Female Criminality in the Arab World; The Status of Women in Lebanese Legislation.

Al-Raida provides an important platform to discuss, analyze, provide personal narratives and pose questions about issues pertaining to women in the Middle East, and specifically Lebanon. It published articles, studies, opinion pieces, speeches, and book reviews, on women's issues from various administrators, academics, novelists, researchers, activists, consulates, and government workers in the Arab region. *Al-Raida* is an important part of Arab feminist history and its importance lies in the dialogue between various women's organizations and groups in the Middle East, as well as the narratives that are told throughout years. IWSAW's outreach programs, including the basic living, literacy and rehabilitation programs, reflect the emphasis this organization places on not only women's higher education, but also on the education and literacy of women in rural and urban undereducated areas.

The next chapter will introduce Beirut University College and the development of IWSAW at BUC in 1973, as well as the conditions in which *Al-Raida* was established in 1976 and the first few years of publication during the civil war. Then, I discuss the concept of Family Planning in the Middle East as a means of development implemented by the state in response to the growing population in Arab countries. Furthermore, the next chapter traces the conversation on Family Planning in Lebanon and its relevance to the economic and social situation during the late 70s and early 80s. The discourse on Family Planning dominates the journal for the first five years of its publication in an attempt to portray Family Planning as a means of controlling the population growth. However, the rhetorical analysis will show that although the trend is similar to Western feminist movements, the arguments remain within a cultural

framework and are employed only as they apply to the situation of Lebanese women and families.

CHAPTER 3

THE PRIMARY REQUIREMENT:

PIONEERING A FEMINIST JOURNAL IN LEBANON

[*Al-Fatah* Journal] will express their ideas, probe the hidden contents of their breasts, defend their rights, review their literature and knowledge, and take pride in publishing the best of their work.

Hind Nawfal, Dawn of the Arabic Woman's Press, 1892

People absorbed in work, intent on thoroughness and creativity, find no time to ruminate on hatred and to contrive intrigues. Intensive work can wash the hearts and rebuild Lebanon.

Rose Ghurayyib, "Post-War thoughts," 1978

The Lebanese American University, originally named the American School for Girls, began as a Presbyterian missionary school in 1835. It later became known as the American Junior College for Women—AJCW—in 1927 and further changed its name to Beirut College for Women in 1948. BCW was officially recognized by the Lebanese government in 1970 at which time they began admitting male students into some of the programs. In 1973, due to the increase in male students and its now coeducational policies, it became known as Beirut University College and began fully admitting male students in all programs by October 1975.⁶

⁶ This information can be found on the Lebanese American University website.

As an organization of the Beirut University College, known as Lebanese American University since 1994, the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World was formed in 1973 and started as a consortium with other nine other Asian universities, also established by Christian missionaries, in Iran, Korea, Japan, Persia, India, and Pakistan. The nine universities comprised the Asian Women's Institute, and the nine participating colleges were divided into three main areas: Area A consisted of Beirut University College in Beirut, Lebanon; Damavand in Tehran, Iran; Kinnaird College, in Lahore, Pakistan. Area B consisted of Isabella Thorburn in Lucknow, India; St. Christopher's in Madras, India; Women's Christian College in Madras, India. Area C consisted of Ewha Women's University, Seoul Women's College, and Tokyo Women's Christian college all in Japan. At a colloquium held in Memphis, Tennessee, U.S.A. on October 1974, representatives from each college presented a plan for the Asian Women's Institute, which would "be engaged in research on women in the Asian society, would provide consciousness raising materials and programs, would build channels, of communication and would provide an education laboratory" (sic, Ghurayyib, "How the Asian Woman's Institute Came Into Being," 9). The colleges raised questions of the development of their graduates, such as, How are their female graduates changing their societies? Are they promoting education? Are their graduates working? Are they becoming leaders? To what degree are they changing their society?

Consequently, the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World was formed in collaboration with the Asian Women's Institute. Julinda Abu Nasr was the first director of IWSAW. As a Lebanese woman with a doctorate in the university, she was asked to take the position of director of the institute in

Lebanon and became responsible for the institute's activities. The Asian Women's Institute is defined as a "non-governmental organization accredited to the Department of Public Information of the United Nations," according to the coordinator's report in 1979 (Ghurayyib, "A Survey of the Asian Women Institute's Activities in 1979" 10). The priorities of the activities of the institute includes, "documentation, research, communication and educational projects" (Ghurayyib, "A Survey of the Asian Women Institute's Activities in 1979" 10).

The scholarly journal *Al-Raida* was introduced at Beirut University College as a publication of the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World in 1976 as a forum available for the publication of studies about women in the Middle East within the academy. In the introduction to the first issue, the forum is introduced as congruent with programs of modernization in the Middle East. Within the first issue, the mission statement clearly portrays *Al-Raida's* position as it calls to attention the limitation of women's involvement in the Middle East and the lack of studies on women in the area: "This limitation necessarily relates to the remnants of ignorance, social bonds, and the rigidity of outdated existing institutions and laws which have not been adapted to meet the pressing demands of a society to achieve the requirements needed to pass into modernization in the full sense of the term," writes Albert Badre, the president of BUC (1). The development of the journal is described in the previous quote by Badre as part of a modernization process with which much of the Middle East was occupied during the late 70s and early 80s. While research on the discourse of modernization has illustrated it is presented as a binary with modernization on one side and traditional family

structure on the other side,⁷ and while many of the early issues dealt with the topic of modernization, the narrative became quite complex throughout the first decade and *Al-Raida* would later become attuned to the nuances in women's studies and women's lives in the Middle East by the end of this period.

The first issue of *Al-Raida* established the grounds for which research and documentation on Arab women in the Middle East were to be discussed in the journal. The publication included a list of professionals on the advisory committee for the Institute for Women in the Arab World, which included faculty members from AUB and BUC, as well as directors of various research centers in Lebanon. The list of researchers included Richard Alouche, Ilhab Kallab, Edith Hanania, Helen Khal, Ghassan Rubeiz, Mary Makhoul, and Julinda Abu Nasr. The call for research included the following areas, published in the first issue:

1. Role of women in national integrated development.
2. Women and rural development.
3. Women and industrial development.
4. Working women—employment.
5. Social and Legal status.
6. Conditions under which women live.
7. Contributions of women in different fields.
8. Self-concept.
9. Organizations.
10. Education-vocational training.

⁷ See Haleh Afshar's "Development Studies and Women in the Middle East: The Dilemmas of Research and Development," in *Women in the Middle East: Perceptions, Realities and Struggles for Liberation*. Ed. Haleh Afshar. Also see Mervat Hatem's "Modernization, the State and the Family in Middle East Women's Studies," in *Social History of Women and Gender in the Modern Middle East*, Eds. Margaret L. Meriwether and Judith E Tucker.

11. Abolishing illiteracy.
12. Social taboos that hinder women's development.
13. Population growth and family planning.
14. Health and nutrition. ("Areas of Research" 9)

The institute awarded grants for research concerning women in the Arab world of up to 100,000 L.L. Guidelines for research and guidelines for submission included original research focused on the role and contributions of women in the Middle East with specific attention to Lebanon as a field of research.

Furthermore, the guidelines mentioned that "[p]reference will be given to individuals or groups with long standing commitments to the Arab world and with adequate qualifications to undertake research" ("IWSAW's Grants" 9). Therefore, much of the research grants were meant for Lebanese researchers and faculty members with means to conduct research on Arab or Lebanese women.

Al-Raida was originally meant to be a newsletter to inform readers of the progress and achievements of the institute. Serendipitously, Rose Ghurayyib happened to be displaced from her home in Dammour, just south of Beirut city, because of the Lebanese civil war and came to live on BUC campus in 1976. Ghurayyib was a well-known writer of women's issues at the time. She wrote non-traditional children's literature and published a series of songs in 1948 for children titled "The Children's' Songs." She published her M.A. thesis, *Aesthetic Criticism in Arabic Literature*, in 1952, a study of Gibran's works in 1969, and an *Introduction to Modern Literary Criticism* in 1971. She was also a contributor to the Lebanese women's magazine *Sawt al-Mar'ah*,⁸ founded in 1945. In a published interview with Ghurayyib in 1997, she claims that her displacement to

⁸ The Woman's Voice

BUC had an effect on her literary achievements: “Since the year 1983, I have published only five books” (Ismail 42). Although she may not have published as many books as she would have liked, Ghurayyib’s contributions to *Al-Raida* were invaluable to the journal, to the Lebanese feminist movement and to the discourse on Arab feminism in the Middle East.

In an interview with Julinda Abu Nasr during the summer in 2011, over freshly squeezed orange juice in a small café across from LAU’s upper gate, she shared with me the memories of the initial years of the journal and the institute. Abu Nasr saw Ghurayyib’s presence on BUC campus as an opportunity for the journal and asked her to be the editor of *Al-Raida*. Ghurayyib accepted the part-time position in addition to her teaching position and began writing the journal in both English and Arabic versions. “[Rose] never complained and she worked night and day. She never went anywhere or to visit anyone. She would just read and write,” explained Abu Nasr (interview). The first issue, published on stencil, was photocopied and distributed to BUC students due to the lack of funding for publication of the newsletter and the conditions of the war. In the latter part of 1976, the university closed due to the conditions of the war. Abu Nasr went to the U.S. for a conference and found herself stranded, as the airport in Beirut closed, and she was not able to return to Lebanon. She received a letter from the president of BUC, who asked her to stay in the U.S. because of the dire situation in Lebanon at the time. When she asked what would become of the newsletter, since they had just started it and people were just learning about it, she suggested to Badre she could work for the institute from New York. Although in the beginning they were hesitant to allow her to do so, they eventually agreed. She was stranded in New York for about a year (Abu Nasr interview).

Between the first issue and the second issue is a span of about a year and a half, during which time the university was closed. *Al-Raida* resumed publication after the situation had improved, the airport was opened, and Abu Nasr had returned. However, there was no access to libraries, references, or word processors. They only had access to typewriters. "She was an encyclopedia herself and a very good observer. I don't think there was one person in the library she hasn't read," said Abu Nasr (interview). She generally wrote the editorial, but she did not write her name. Sometimes she would ask someone to write an article, but she did most of the work. She wrote about historical events, historical figures, and feminist issues. "Sometimes I had to edit her. She was very brave. During the war we couldn't say what we necessarily wanted. But she wrote about the issues that were important. We needed to put our finger on the real issues and not hide behind them," Abu Nasr explained (interview). The journal initially covered many topics of interest to attract the attention of women in the Arab world, including honor crimes and female genital mutilation. The readership of the journal was comprised mainly of universities and libraries in the Arab countries, in addition to students in Lebanese universities and Lebanese women.

One of the major obstacles of the journal was funding. When it did not have enough money to print it in Arabic and English, they chose to continue the publication in English, since the readership was larger. Abu Nasr claims:

We had enough people to write, but we couldn't pay them. Some volunteered. Emily Nasrallah wrote for free. You can't ask them to write and research for free and we didn't have a budget to do so. Rose received half a salary because she was employed half time.

We loved what we were doing, we were dedicated and we knew the university couldn't afford it. It was an act of love. (interview).

The journal's office started out in the basement of BUC, but then moved into an office. When the shells would fall, they would run to the shelter in the arts building. At one point, a shell dropped near the university causing windows to break and the office of *Al-Raida* collapsed. Abu Nasr recalls, "We tried to salvage what we could from the papers we had. Some of the issues we were not able to retrieve after the explosion and the rubble. Generally, the university was not targeted, but we got a couple shells every now and then" (interview). During the day they would get a few hours of rest and around four in the afternoon the shelling started. The shelling usually occurred everyday. Sometimes they would have a couple days of peace, but then there were periods of shelling. "We never knew who was shelling, but they were falling on our heads," claims Abu Nasr. Students were still coming to university (interview). If the shelling was very bad, they wouldn't come and they would understand that they couldn't come. If the shelling was a little less that day, students would show up. "We always had alternative plans. We would say 'If you can make it, '" claims Abu Nasr (interview). "Rose did all the work, but I was with her to discuss and edit. I used to be more afraid than she was. She would never care. She was fearless. She came every day to the office and work as long and as hard as [she] can," recalls Abu Nasr (interview).

Al-Raida was established within the dire conditions of the Lebanese civil war. Abu Nasr recalls that she and Ghurayyib kept their sanity by not watching the news, not reading the newspapers and focusing on work. They traveled often for conferences, as well. The funding for the publication came from the donations

of subscribers. The institute later decided to charge an extra fee as part of the tuition of the university and distributed it to the students in order to cover the costs of production. They wanted the readers to be university students and educated women, as well as housewives and average women, and thus, the journal began as a more accessible newsletter. Abu Nasr claims, "I wanted students to read and enjoy it. The readership was meant to be graduates, students, mothers, housewives, women of Lebanon and the Arab world" (interview).

The women's movement was just gaining ground around the world and the U.N. had declared 1975 the International Women's year. Their purpose of the journal was to awaken the women and inform them of their rights and responsibilities they could assume. They encouraged women to be more active in society. The goal was to illustrate that women have just as much responsibility as other citizens: "Don't believe you are weak," is one of the points Abu Nasr claimed the journal is trying to make (interview). "We didn't want to harp on feminist issues in the West. People began to be suspicious that we represented 'free sex.' We were saying to women that you are individuals and have full rights to be educated, [to be] employed if you want to, it is your choice to be a mother, you have the potential and the ability," explains Abu Nasr (interview). They tried to give women self-awareness and raise consciousness of their ability to participate in their own societies.

The arguments they faced were from more conservative organizations that claimed it was not suitable for women to work and from men who were ashamed of their women who worked. Some voices, not too loud and not too many, were objecting to Western feminist thought in the Arab world. Some of the

more conservative organizations, generally anonymous, would write articles in newspapers or would send a letter to the journal itself. Furthermore, the social attitude of the women who did not need to financially work was a focus on getting married (Abu Nasr interview). “We tried to change attitudes. They have rights that their religion gives them, Islam and Christianity. Things they should know about their body, how to raise children, laws from their government to protect them. And we wanted them to know about the women who came before them and how they reached this development,” explains Abu Nasr (interview).

The first issue presented research studies conducted in a various disciplines, as well as an introductory biographical paragraph on the researcher. Some of the various disciplines included: sociology, Arabic languages, English, education, Fine Arts, and psychology, among others. The journal was established by professionals in various disciplines with a common focus of women in the Arab world. The research presented in the journal established women in Lebanon as a legitimate field of study. In the beginning, the disciplinary community rested on research being conducted in different disciplines. As such, the journal was established with a fractured sense of discourse community. Other than the focus on Lebanese women, the research published varied in terms of the type of study conducted and the research methods used. The journal began publishing studies based on research methods that were quantitative in nature. Much of this is due to the fact that little to no information or statistical data was available about women in Lebanon. While there was a need for statistical data, *Al-Raida* later began to develop methods that were more qualitative and began to valorize exploring women’s narrative and lived experiences in addition to statistical data by the end of the first decade.

Initial research topics included: image and status of women in the Lebanese press, the concept of women in children's textbooks, a survey of the development of higher education for women in the Arab world, a study of the works of Lebanese women artists, adjustment of women students at BUC, and the development patterns of preschool children in Lebanon. These topics were explored throughout the first five years of the journal, from 1976-1980. Issues one through fourteen presented the research studies of various disciplinary foci. The focus on Family Planning, children's textbooks, education and women artists dominated the first five years of the journal.

Family Planning and development were the focus of most of the essays of the first years of the journal. Increased attention to Family Planning occurs during the initial years between 1977 and 1983 (see fig. 1). An increased attention to development also occurs during this time period. The frequency of both Family Planning and development indicates an attention to population studies, which I further explain in the next section of the chapter. The journal started out by piecing together various disciplines that were already engaged in research women in the Arab world. It did not establish itself as a discourse community well into the first decade. As such, the research in the journal in the first couple years was not in conversation with one another. It took a while to establish a field with common problems that were collectively discussed and attended to. The most important problem in academic research attended to by the journal in the early issues was the lack of research, lack of statistical data, and lack of documentation of women's issues.

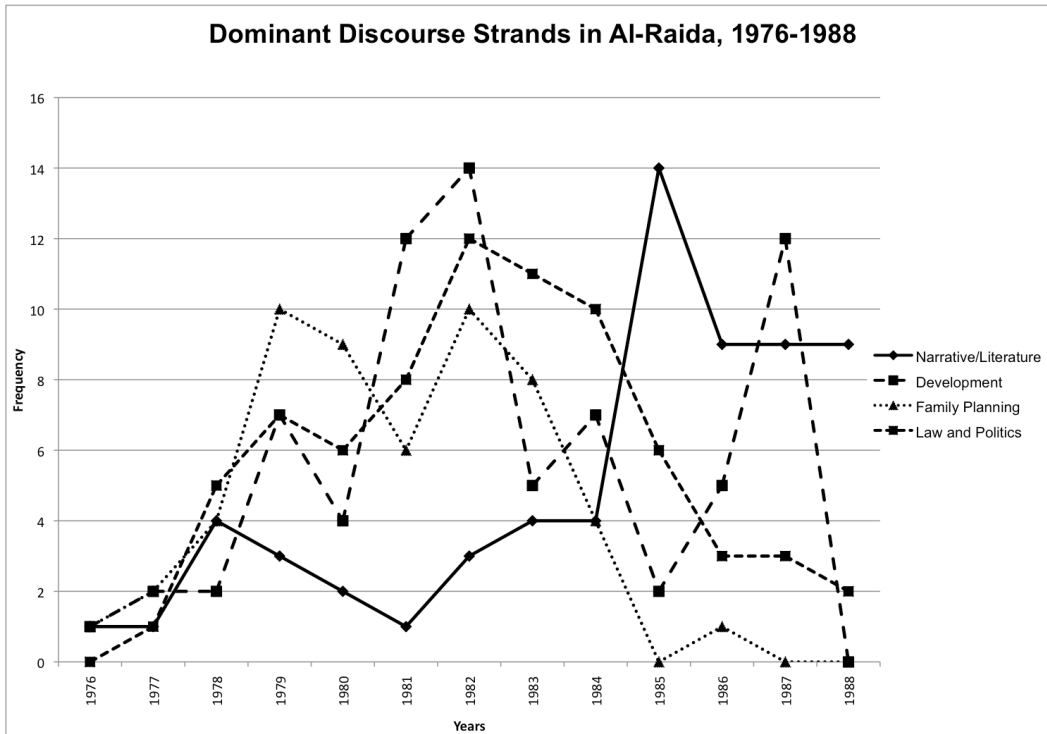


Fig. 1. Dominant discourse strands in *Al-Raida* from 1976 to 1988 based on the frequency of appearance of each topic, including Family Planning, Development, Politics and the Law, and Narratives and Literature.

The Importance of Documentation in the Arab World

The documentation center at the Institute began synchronously with the journal publication. In the third issue, Ghurayyib’s editorial, “Importance of Documentation in the Arab World” highlights the process of documenting women’s progress in the Arab world as an integral part of the development of the women’s movement in the Middle East (1). “Its aim is to provide adequate knowledge and research material for everyone interested in the study of women, more particularly, women of the Arab East” (Ghurayyib, “Importance of Documentation” 1). The documentation center, housed in the library of BUC and headed by Samira Rafidi Meghdessian, contains material pertaining to women of the Middle East in French, English and Arabic (1). In 1978, reports Ghurayyib,

the center contained over 300 books, in addition to periodicals, research papers, and reports on women's conferences around the world (1). Much of the research and publications received by the documentation center are reviewed by the journal each issue. The documentation center also publishes bibliographies, such as Meghdissian's *The Status of the Arab Woman: A Select Bibliography*,⁹ marking important contributions to the development of the conversation on women in the Middle East. The documentation center continues to be an important part of Arab feminist history, funding various documentation projects today, such as *Who Is She Lebanon?*¹⁰

In addition to research studies, the types of articles published in the first five years also includes various biographies of women pioneers in the Arab world, conference proceedings, and the establishment of women's movements and women's studies in various countries around the world. An important element of the discourse on women in the Middle East is the biographies of women pioneers in the Arab world, which *Al-Raida* consistently published in each issue. The biography section is also established in the first issue, and appears in each subsequent issue, each time providing biographical information on a different Arab woman pioneer. The first biography presents the work of Aziza Hussein, the first Egyptian female delegate of the U.N. general assembly (17). Subsequent issues present Arab women writers, pioneers, artists, and social workers, among others.

An important aspect of the journal is the attention to current affairs and conferences in the Middle East deal with women's issues. Conferences, such as

⁹ 1980

¹⁰ An online database of prominent women in various fields in Lebanon, funded by the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World and KVINFO, the Danish Center for Information on Women and Gender.

Family Planning conferences, Women's Studies conferences, and conferences about integrating women into development are summarized and reported in every issue. In addition to presenting the recommendations of each conference and to publishing studies presented in each conference, IWSAW began to organize its own conferences and fund studies, which *Al-Raida* also published. An important part of the first decade includes the attention to the lack of research on Lebanese women and the need for fostering conversations and encouraging studies, which IWSAW attended to.

In addition to publishing information, the first issue presents statistics of girl's education in Egypt and Qatar.¹¹ The first issue of *Al-Raida* also presents a summary of various conferences and workshops held throughout the previous years, such as the Declaration of Mexico during the World Conference, the Wellesley Workshop held in June 1976, the Women and Progress conference held in Beirut 1975, and Women's Status in the Muslim Family organized by the International Islamic Center for Population Studies and Research at Al-Azhar University in Cairo. Thus, the first issue focuses on presenting summaries of conferences and integrating statistical facts of girls in education systems in various parts of the Middle East.

Lebanese and Arab Women's Writing

Al-Raida began publishing poetry and fiction mainly written by Arab women. In the third issue, the biography of Rima Alamuddin, a Lebanese writer, includes a poem titled "There Was a Yellow Rose" (5). The first fiction piece published, "The Cat, the Maid, and the Wife," is a short story by Daisy al-Ameer,

¹¹ "Statistics on Women's Education in Egypt" in *Al-Raida* 1(1976): 10 and "Statistics on Education of Girls in Qatar" in *Al-Raida* 1(1976): 12.

director of the Iraqi Cultural Center during 1975 and later known for her works on the war in Lebanon, also known as a Beirut Decentrist¹² (8-9). It is important to note here that as the editor of the journal, Ghurayyib established the criteria by which to publish Arab women writer's previous works and use the journal as a method of documenting the works while raising awareness about them. She translated works from their original language, usually Arabic or French, and published the works of Lebanese and Arab women writers throughout history in *Al-Raida* in English. Such English translations of these works by Lebanese women writers can only be found in the journal, as many of them are not published elsewhere. For example, Daisy Al-Ameer's biography was published in both in 1981¹³ and again in 1985¹⁴ and her writing is published throughout various issues in subsequent years. For example, her short stories "The Aunt of Rifaq" and "The False Hair-Piece" are both published in English in 1987 and 1990, respectively.¹⁵ Furthermore, studies on the women writers were also published, such as Randa Abul-Husn's article, an analysis of women in the novels of Daisy Al-Ameer and Emily Nasrallah, published in 1993.¹⁶ Thus, in addition to publishing the works of women in English and serving as an anthology of literary works of previous publications, the journal also published analyses of the works by later researchers. It is interesting to note here that Emily Nasrallah, a well-known Lebanese literary figure, began contributing articles to the journal

¹² See miriam cooke's discussion of Beirut Decentrists, a term used to describe a "school of writers who had collectively contributed as women citizen-combatants to the literature on the war," (*Women Claim Islam* 5).

¹³ See Nakhoudian, "Re-Living the Past with Daisy al-Ameer."

¹⁴ See Stephan, "Daisy Al-Ameer."

¹⁵ See Al-Ameer, "The Story of Aunt Rifaq" and Al-Ameer, "The False Hair-Piece."

¹⁶ See Abul-Husn, "International Women's Day, Women in the Novels of Daisy El-Amir and Emily Nasrallah."

and was also a subject of study of many of the articles published on Lebanese women's literature within the journal in later years.

While *Al-Raida* serves as a means of documenting women's voices as an anthology, it also serves as a means of raising awareness of the women's narratives that came before it. In an attempt to include these women's voices in the conversation, Ghurayyib's translations illustrate her ability to view the conversation within which the journal is created and to which it adds. In other words, its ability to view the conversation within which it operates is illustrated in the tribute to the women's texts that came before it and that arose during its time. *Al-Raida* serves to continuously present the works of Lebanese and Arab women writers and present them as an established part of the discourse community they helped create.

Reporting the Status of Arab Women

The early years of the journal also saw a focus on reporting the status of women in the law and with specific topics concerning women in society. The pieces of information, presented in text boxes, informed the readers of current issues. Much of the information was gleaned from articles in publications around the world. Relevant pieces of information were presented to the readers of *Al-Raida* collected from news and journal publications in Lebanon and abroad. Many of the articles were translated from Arabic or French reports and news publications by Ghurayyib. *Al-Raida* also published topics that would seem relevant to Middle Eastern women from an outsider's perspective, such as honor crimes and female genital mutilation, but would later abandon these issues and focus on those that they believed were more important, such as illiteracy and

women's participation in economic development. As such, the fifth issue reports on female circumcision, as presented in the Women's International Network News publication. It was not an issue that was relevant to Lebanese women, and so was not extensively discussed.

While the journal began by exploring topics that were of interest to some readers from a Western perspective, much of the journal moved to discussing issues that were pertinent to the lives of women in Lebanon. For example, the information about the Lebanese Ministry's position on equal rights is published in the third issue¹⁷ (9), along with an argument in the fourth issue for the revision of Article 562 in the Lebanese Penal Code regarding honor crime¹⁸ (10). A full article arguing against the honor crime law is not published until the seventh issue, written by Nabeela Saab Barakat, a Lebanese lawyer, and translated from an Arabic news publication to English by Ghurayyib ("The Law Applied to 'Honor Crimes' is a Disgrace to the Law" 6). One year later, in 1980, the eleventh issue includes an article translated to English, originally written in Arabic by Wafa el-Oud in *Al-Hasna Magazine*, titled "A Study on 'Honor Crimes' in Lebanon" (13). The article is based on an interview with Laila Shikhani Nakouz, the author of the study. Ten years later honor crimes are mentioned again by Laure Moughazel's article¹⁹ (10) and then again six years after that in 1996 in a testimony in "The Story of Hala: Anatomy of an Honor Crime" (42-43). Thus, while honor crime is an interesting and provocative topic, it is not typical of the lives of women in Lebanon and is therefore abandoned in favor of topics that are more common in Lebanon.

¹⁷ "The Lebanese Ministry of Labor Confirms Principle of Equal Rights for the Sexes."

¹⁸ "Article 562 of the Lebanese Penal Code Must Be Amended."

¹⁹ "The Arab and Mediterranean World: Legislation Towards Crimes of Honor."

Most of the early articles and news reports are not written for *Al-Raida*, but are instead published in newspapers, magazines, and journals in circulation at the time. Ghurayyib researched, translated, and presented relevant material in an attempt to use *Al-Raida* as a platform to inform readers and raise awareness of the current conversations about Lebanese and Arab women in various forums, such as *An-Nahar*, *Le Réveil*, and *Le Orient-Le Jour*, Lebanese newspapers in Arabic and French. *Al-Raida* also includes conferences that discussed women in the Middle East in other countries in an attempt to keep the reader informed about the issues that were pertinent to the lives of Middle Eastern women, as they shared a culture. To illustrate, the “Liberation of the Arab Woman within the Limits of Islamic Law” (6-7) is published in the fourth issue as an article summarizing professor of Arabic literature and director of Arab studies at the American University of Cairo Muhammad Nuwaihi’s presentation at the “Woman and Evolution” Conference in Cairo in 1975, and “Middle East Regional Seminar for the Training and Education of the Rural Woman” summarizes conference proceedings from the Cairo conference in May 1978. The article includes a list of the countries that participated in the conference, a list of the topics covered, and a list of guidelines issued by the results of the conference. Furthermore, such conversations include mentions of Lebanese women, but most importantly, these conferences would have direct effects on the situation of women, since they provided recommendations that are later addressed to organizations and governments with the potential to implement them.

Al-Raida was very careful not to cause too many waves when it first began publishing. It attempted to raise awareness and concerns for women’s lives by reporting about the current situation of women in the Middle East. “I

understood the culture and worked behind the scenes. We tried not to be too aggressive. We didn't want *Al-Raida* to fail. Sometimes we were invited to be on television and in the newspapers, but we were very careful to put across the issues that we did not want our women to become like western women," argues Abu Nasr (interview). They argue that women have responsibilities to society and to themselves and they are capable people. While some of the articles are quite provocative, they are presented in a way that is less aggressive. For example, IWSAW worked with the Lebanese Family Planning Association, which had a good strategy for arguing about women's health issues within Arab society. The LFPA's approach was not to ask people to stop having children, but instead asked people to plan their children, which worked with rural women, explains Abu Nasr: "They kept having children to keep their husbands poor so they won't marry another woman. If they stopped having children, their husbands would marry another woman. In order to convince them, we approached it with the concept of spacing the children out in order to give their bodies time to heal and grow" (Abu Nasr interview). The discourse on Family Planning illustrates *Al-Raida's* attempt to present the issues that affected women's lives while creating an awareness of the need for health care and information. The following section traces the discourse on Family Planning in Lebanon to portray the ways in which the journal began writing about women's issues. By the end of the conversation about Family Planning, *Al-Raida* had developed an awareness of some of the more fundamental needs of rural women, including an attention to the rise of the urban population, at which point the conversation then shifts towards a more detailed and nuanced understanding of women's issues in Lebanon.

Family Planning in the Middle East

During the 1970s, Lebanon witnessed rapid industrial growth due to the effects of the economic situation in the post-Intra era, the period of time after 1966 characterized by an economic crisis that signaled social and demographic upheaval.²⁰ While the effects of the social and economic situation after the June 1967 Arab-Israeli war appeared in the rapid urbanization Lebanon endured during that time, since it is beyond the scope of this research project, it is only referenced here.²¹ However, it is important to note that the influx of Lebanese from Mount Lebanon to Beirut during this period caused an increase in population. Based on research conducted in other Arab nations, since little to no research studies were conducted in Lebanon at the time, the population increase is deemed to be a major factor in the economic downturn in Beirut, and as such is the reason Family Planning is one of the first issues presented in the journal.

A large part of the first decade of the journal focuses on research, articles and reports on the Lebanese Family Planning Association, which was established in Lebanon in 1969. The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) established nine associations in countries in the Middle East between 1965 and 1971, including Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia, Sudan, Morocco, Afghanistan, Iraq and Cyprus. The “Family Planning Associations of Bahrain, the Arab Republic of Yemen and the Yemen Democratic Republic joined in 1976” (“Family Planning in Lebanon” 5). Reports from these Middle Eastern countries are often published in the first decade of the journal, including

²⁰ See Fawwaz Traboulsi's *A History of Modern Lebanon*.

²¹ For further research and a more thorough analysis of the economic trends during the late 60s and 70s in Lebanon, see Fawwaz Traboulsi's *A History of Modern Lebanon*, and Kamal Dib's *Warlords and Merchants: The Lebanese Business and Political Establishment*.

articles on Family Planning, population and development, female genital mutilation, the elderly and children's health. Much of the attention in the journal in the first decade, however, focuses on the LFPA and the Family Planning organizations in the Lebanon and in the Middle East.

The discourse on Family Planning repeatedly refers to the United Nations position on the right of couples to plan their children, proclaimed in 1966, the position of the IPPF, as well as the International Conference on Human Rights, held in Tehran in 1968, which also confirmed this right. Since the Family Planning organization was initially implemented with the help of world organizations, the language used often emulates Human Rights discourse and the use of Family Planning for the population control of developing countries. For example, the first issue introduced the sixth year worldwide program of awards implemented by the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations for projects "focused on the reciprocal relationships between population policy and social and economic development" ("A Research Program on Population and Development Policy," 22). The eligibility criteria for the proposals remain flexible, although the focus is on: "1. Empirical relationships between development processes and population trends; 2. Reciprocal effects of development and population policies; 3. Means of modifying development processes and population trends to achieve improvements in human welfare" ("A Research Program on Population and Development Policy" 22). However, this does not mean that the language is "Western," since the LFPA went to great lengths to insure that the arguments for implementing Family Planning services did not impose values that were not an intrinsic part of the Arab culture and Arab society, as stated earlier in the chapter. As Samir Khalaf notes, "when the LFPA started to establish its family planning

centers in the early 1970s, its activities and services were all introduced within the framework of public health and child and maternity welfare” (201). This allowed them to avoid the controversy commonly attributed to Family Planning clinics, and to provide unobtrusive health care seminars, lectures, panels, and workshops in various areas in Lebanon.

The second issue reports on the Family Planning Association Conference organized by the Prime Minister Salim Al-Hoss, held in 1977. It establishes a set of guidelines for the education and distribution of health services in Lebanon with special attention paid to research on the population and the laws concerning Family Planning. “The aim of the conference was to catch the attention of the authorities [of the government], and to affect public opinion for old demographic problems and new ones created by the war” (“Family Planning Association Conference: May 12-14, 1977,” 10). The article highlights the main recommendations throughout the conference, which includes: 1. A general census of the population, 2. That regulations and laws be made realistic, 3. That scientific research be conducted in coordination with already existing research centers, 4. That developmental projects be distributed to rural areas to prevent increased population in urban areas, 5. Women be provided with education and training and allowed more opportunities for participation, 6. An adequate health care program to be implemented for Lebanese populations to minimize future need for medical care (“Family Planning Association Conference: May 12-14, 1977,” 10). “Finally it was requested that instruction about family planning be made available to every citizen and that the laws restricting the right to apply necessary measures be amended” (“Family Planning Association Conference: May 12-14, 1977,” 10). Furthermore, the same issue reports on a training

program by LFPA in the South of Lebanon, held on August 30, 1977, which calls for a discussion on the religious impact, economic and demographic impact, and the medical impact on Family Planning.²²

Al-Raida also reports on Family Planning programs in Middle Eastern countries, such as the Tunisian conference in August 1977. A report titled “Family Planning and Women’s Development at Monastir, Tunisia, 9-12 August, 1977,” highlighted the main issues of the conference organized by National Women’s Union of Tunisia (7). Dr. Julinda Abu Nasr, who attended the conference, reports on the various positions of the Family Planning delegates from Tunisia, Iraq, Egypt and Syria, as well as the recommendations of the conference, which includes equality of the sexes in education and work, an amendment of Family Laws dealing with women, and an inclusion of information on Family Planning and health in every education program.²³

In addition to the conference proceedings, “Family Planning in the Arab World Gains Ground and Importance” presents the importance of Family Planning programs in the Middle East and the attention to the implementation of such programs on the demographic populations (7). In an attempt to raise awareness about the importance of Family Planning programs, *Al-Raida* presents reports of Family Planning programs from countries around the Middle East. It presents the programs in light of the U.N. decade for women and development programs. For example, in the fifth issue “Decade for Women (1975-1985): A World Plan of Action,” reveals the importance of population and

²² “A Training Program Sponsored by Lebanese Family Planning Association” 11.

²³ The recommendations as of yet have not been comprehensively put into place. Family Law in Lebanon is under the jurisdiction of each independent religious court system, which are independently determined by each religious community, and so the recommendations for governmental regulations remain just that.

family size: "Women's status, their educational level, the nature of their employment and their position within the family, decisively influence family size" (11). The first few issues stress the need for accessible health care and Family Planning as they pertain to women's status in the Middle East.

Family Planning and Development

In addition to reporting on conferences, reports on population studies in the Middle East received by IWSAW are published as well. For example, in the sixth issue, a summary of the latest population studies conducted in Cairo, Egypt is presented with the main conclusions, which include population explosion leading to "grave economic and social problems" ("Population Studies," 12). The first few years of the journal introduce the Family Planning information in connection with women's role in development and health conditions. In 1979, a summary of the study conducted in Baghdad, Iraq, titled "Factors Affecting the Arab Woman's Role in Rural Development" claims that high infant mortality rates in comparison with the infant mortality rates in developed countries "results from conditions of malnutrition and inadequate health services offered to the mother during pregnancy, nursing and other stages of health care" (10). The same issue summarizes in one paragraph Mary Chamy's study in English on "Sexuality and Birth Control Decision Among Lebanese Couples" published in *Signs* in 1977 (11). It did not, however, present the findings of this report, perhaps because there was limited access to the journal.

In 1979, an article titled "Just a Housewife" directly connects the increased labor of women in rural areas and the population increase (Ghurayyib 2). The essay proposes Family Planning as a resolution to the "problem of

excessive Third World population growth” (Ghurayyib 2). The same issue introduces Tunisian law on Family Planning and its position on abortion and contraceptive products within the framework of development of women’s health: “A threefold aim lies behind family planning: liberation of women, protection of the mother’s health and birth control” (“The Tunisian Woman and Her Place in Positive Law,” 9). Reports of the International Planned Parenthood Federation on sex education are also boldly introduced in the same issue in an article titled “Sex Education: An Urgent Need Everywhere” (14-15). In a summary of the study, sex education is defined in three dimensions: the individual, the process of human development, and the development of responsible parenthood. The report also summarizes the suggestions for the processes leading to the development of sex education in any country: perception, association, awareness, implementation, official acceptance, consolidation, and research (“Sex Education,” 14-15).

The tenth issue, also published in 1979, includes the first part of a report on the study conducted by Cigdem Kagitcibasi for UNESCO, October 1977 in Istanbul, Turkey, “Cultural Values and Population Action Programs in Turkey” (3-4). A reasoning for including the study in the journal notes “a striking similarity between Turkey and the Arab World regarding cultural values and problems of social change generally faced in Eastern countries nowadays” (“Cultural Values and Population Action,” 3). The report summarizes findings of the study and highlights the kinship relations and community, sex roles, and family honor. “To understand the process of social change,” the report states, “we need to examine the socio-cultural aspects of traditional society, which, by protecting and carrying over old belief and value systems, is the main source of cultural values in

society” (“Cultural Values and Population Action,” 3). The same issue directs attention to the result of the lack of necessary services and access to adequate health care, which includes a high infant mortality rate and exposure to diseases (“Environmental and Economic Conditions of Arab Children,” 7). The second part of this study is summarized in the eleventh issue, titled “Values About Children and Fertility,” which presents the results of a Value of Children study conducted in 1975 in Turkey. It emphasizes the need for population control activities and argues, “Improving women’s life conditions and raising their status are bound to decrease son preference and fertility” (“Values About Children and Fertility,” 9). The conclusion also notes the importance of utilizing effective population action programs to increase socio-economic change.

The first ten issues, published in the first three years of the journal, raise awareness and inform readers about the relationship between population, development and Family Planning programs. The introduction to the issue sets the stage for the conversation presented in the eleventh issue, published in 1980, which incorporates thematic articles on “Women and Health.” The eleventh issue is dedicated to the development of the discussion on Family Planning in the Arab world, and specifically in Lebanon. This issue is the first in *Al-Raida* dedicated to discussing women’s health and Family Planning organization in Lebanon. Subsequent issues would further address the problem of population increase, infant mortality, the demographics, and development in Lebanon. Specifically, issues number eleven and fourteen, published in 1980, and fifteen and sixteen, published in 1981, provided readers with information and arguments for the development of Family Planning programs in Lebanon and the importance of the training and education sessions provided by the Lebanese Family Planning

Association. Although issues twelve and thirteen did not specifically focus on Family Planning, they did publish articles on development in the Middle East, which is further explored in the next chapter.

LFPA: “People’s Health Lies in People’s Hands.”

Rose Ghurayyib’s editorial in the eleventh issue introduces the topic of Family Planning by highlighting the concern with women’s health and children’s health as it related to threatening population growth in Third World countries: “Protecting children from malnutrition and starvation requires the protection of the family and, first of all, the mother, from poverty, ignorance and fear,” writes Ghurayyib (“Women and Health,” 1). “It means providing women with education, employment and social security. It also means training them in family planning and securing cooperation in preventing the population explosion which mainly threatens the third world” (“Women and Health,” 1). Her call for an implementation of Family Planning education for the health and wellness of mothers and children is an attempt to raise awareness of the problem and connect it to a wider problem of population and development in rural and urban areas. “If the United Nations have lately been emphasizing the need for an evolution in women’s role and for their wider participation in national development,” she argues, “it is in the all-important field of family planning that the need is most felt” (Ghurayyib, “Women and Health,” 1). She ends her editorial by stating: “Only a proper knowledge and practice of family planning can allow women enough time and energy for work and achievement outside their homes ad for an adequate participation in national development” (Ghurayyib, “Women and Health,” 1).

The main position in the four issues that deals with Family Planning and population growth in Lebanon and the Arab countries is to argue that population growth is indeed a serious problem facing developing countries, as indicated in an article titled "Alarming Facts on Population Growth in Arab Countries," which provides a summary of a report condensed from "Running to Stand Still," published in *The Middle East*, July 1979 (3). The summary presents the dire situation concerning increased population caused by an increase in the number of births and a decrease in the number of deaths due to various circumstances. The report mentions the success of Egypt and Tunisia in curbing population growth rates, and active support of contraceptive services provided by governments in Jordan, Algeria and Syria. However, the report also states a less active support for contraception in Sudan, North Yemen, South Yemen, Lebanon and Bahrain. "The United Nations recognizes access to knowledge about family planning as a basic human right. National family planning associations, members of International Planned Parenthood Federation, were generally the first to provide organized family planning services," claims the report ("Alarming Facts," 3). The increase in support from Arab governments since 1970 to provide Family Planning services highlights, as the summary states, the importance of Family Planning all over the Arab world ("Alarming Facts," 3).

Furthermore, these four issues argue that Family Planning programs are an important part of the solution to observed population increases. "What Family Planning Means" defines Family Planning services in the Arab region as "the possibility for couples to plan the number of their children and to space out their births" (4). The short article argues that the definition of Family Planning "also means the ability to obtain the necessary information and proper knowledge

about this subject,” further stating its importance in protecting the mother and the child from health issues, providing childless couples with information about sterility, and “creating a healthy, educated and adequately cultured generation” (“What Family Planning Means,” 4).

Family Planning services provided by the Lebanese Family Planning Association and studies conducted by the organization are published in an attempt to highlight the need for government implementation of such services and to argue for a change in the laws necessary to allow such services to be provided at a wider level. In an article titled “Family Planning in Lebanon,” the activities and studies of the LFPA throughout the years are summarized for readers with attention to the results of the study and a summary of the recommendations made by several conferences throughout 1970-1979 (5-7). Results of a field study conducted between 1970-1971 are presented at a conference held by LFPA in Beirut in 1977. The article outlines the results of the study, activities performed by the organization, and summarizes the results of training sessions held by the association in South Lebanon from 1974-1979. The slogan “people’s health lies in people’s hands” is implemented during the training programs held by the LFPA in the villages of South Lebanon to emphasize the need for education and control of Family Planning activities (6).

In order to inform the readers of the organizations activities and importance, several of the recommendations throughout the years are included in the article. The following is the first point in a list of recommendations submitted by participants in a conference held for youth leaders in 1979: “The topic of population studies and family planning is the problem of our time especially in developing countries and should be the principal concern of today’s youth

because of its direct impact on their status, their future and their ambitions” (“Family Planning in Lebanon,” 6). Consequently, the need for state regulation and laws, as well as sex education is also listed as recommendations made by the youth group.²⁴

Legalizing Abortion

The move from a discussion of Family Planning as a means of controlling the population for the sake of the development of a nation, took a turn towards abortion in the following years. The arguments became more vocal and bold and attended to the issue of abortion in the Middle East. The fourteenth issue includes a salient argument for legalizing abortion by publishing two articles comparing its legal status in Tunisia and its illegal status in Egypt. The first article, titled “Abortion in Tunisia,” summarizes an article in *Population Studies*, by Yolande Jemai, issued by the “Population and Family Planning Board” research office in Cairo (7). The right to an abortion was granted in 1973 in Tunisia, with the “only condition being that it be performed by a certified medical doctor” claims the summary (“Abortion in Tunisia,” 7). The article also cites the drop in fertility rates in Tunisian women from 1966 to 1977. The article notes that there is a weak resistance by religious authorities to abortion, and many people do not perceive it as being against Muslim values (“Abortion in Tunisia,” 7). The conclusions of the study emphasize the need for government laws in order to affect social evolution, while also noting that the laws do not themselves

²⁴ Lebanon has no clear laws when it comes to family planning and there are no clear-cut statistics to provide accurate information about the number of women and men who use family planning programs. However, recent developments in state regulations indicate that sex-education is currently being reworked into education programs in the country.

“produce a radical change in the mentality of the people” (“Abortion in Tunisia,” 7). Furthermore, a call for the liberalization of abortion associate it as “an intrinsic part of the development policy which aims to limit the rate of population increase” (“Abortion in Tunisia,” 7).

In comparison with Tunisian regulations on abortion, the illegal status of abortion in Egypt is also presented in a summary of an article published within the same journal by Nadia Halim Suliman, a senior expert at the National Social and Criminological Center for Research (“Abortion in Egypt,” 8). The article summarizes Egypt’s position on abortion as a criminal offense and punishable by imprisonment. It is nonetheless widely practiced in Egypt “as a method of birth control,” which is not an adequate substitute for contraception, states the article (“Abortion in Egypt,” 8). Due to the high rate of illiteracy, little information can be provided about serviced and education on contraception to the general population. “[I]t is the duty of the Egyptian government to handle the problem of abortion in a realistic way and reconsider the law which forbids its practice” argues Suliman (“Abortion in Egypt,” 8).

By presenting the two countries’ legal and illegal positions on abortion, and the statistical reality of abortion in both countries, the argument is made clear that abortion is necessary as part of the Family Planning movement and needs to be reconsidered as a legal option for women, in addition to providing access to contraceptives and sexual health education. Furthermore, the same issue presents an article by Adnan Mroweh, president of the LFPA, arguing for a reconsideration of the Lebanese penal code Article 537, which states, “anyone who prescribes or publicizes the use of contraceptives will be liable to a penalty of one month to one year imprisonment” (“Family Planning and the Working

Woman in Lebanon,” 9). Mroweh argues this contradicts the Human Rights Charter, which “confirmed the basic right of married people to decide freely and responsibly the number of spacing of their offspring” in 1968. The LFPA, claims Mroweh, “was created for the purpose of contributing, as far as possible, to the handling of a problem which is beyond the capacity of governments in developing countries, where people suffer from a shortage of physicians and adequate health centers,” which directly affects the most needy of the country, he adds, South Lebanon²⁵ (“Family Planning and the Working Woman in Lebanon,” 9). Mroweh positions his argument for the need for the legality of abortion using Human Rights discourse.

“Family Planning Week, Organized by the Lebanese Family Planning Association,” summarizes the conference proceedings held December 1-7, 1980 and the recommendations and plans made by LFPA for the next decade (11). The summary states the last field study conducted by the LFPA in 1980 of the village of Ankoun in South Lebanon found favorable results in the attitudes of the participants in the study towards contraception. “The study showed, among other things, a growing positive attitude toward family planning induced by the LFPA’s activities and those of social workers and information media” (“Family Planning Week,” 11). Furthermore, the same issue publishes a book report on *Law and Planned Parenthood*, published by International Planned Parenthood and Federation Panel on Law and Planned Parenthood by John M. Paxman. The report clearly states: “We hope that the following pages will be, for both Arab and non-Arab countries, a source of information and awareness regarding the

²⁵ For an enlightening discussion on the ways in which the LFPA were able to work around legal restrictions in order to import contraceptives, see Samir Khalaf’s “Cultural Values and Family Planning.”

importance of law in supporting planned parenthood practices and promoting women's claims to justice and equality" ("Family Planning Week," 11).

One of the final articles on Family Planning published in 1981 is an abstract of a lecture given by Francois Farah at the LFPA conference in December 1980 titled, "Demographic Aspect of Family Planning" (8). In this study, Farah explains that the lack of information and statistical data on Lebanon hinders any analysis on the demographic of the population. As the last census was taken in 1932, "it is very difficult to carry out a family planning program and evaluate its results in Lebanon under the present conditions" ("Demographic Aspect of Family Planning," 8). However, we may be able to use data from other countries that are similar to Lebanon in order to infer that "fertility rates are lower in areas where the program was carried out and response to it was positive" ("Demographic Aspect of Family Planning," 8). He recommends further research into the general practices of Lebanese fertility practices and a need for readiness on the part of the Lebanese family to assimilate basic principles, as well as a census. As this article would be the last on the topic of Family Planning activities in Lebanon for a while, at least until 1984, the conclusion asks for long-term planning and a call for a campaign regarding Family Planning to be carried out mobilizing media outlets "and take into consideration the social and cultural backgrounds of the Lebanese family" ("Demographic Aspect of Family Planning," 8).

The Second Family Planning Conference was held by LFPA in Beirut on November 3-5, 1983 and is summarized in a report in the 27-28 issue of *Al-Raida* in 1984 (16-17). The summary includes a list of the seven recommendations made by the conference participants, which included concerns for the situation of

women in Lebanon due to the effects of the war. The recommendations ask that the consideration of women's situation in Lebanon be looked at within the social context: "any improvement of the women's status in Lebanon will have to be considered as an improvement in the status of her family as well as her society" ("Second Family Planning Conference," 16). The conference also mentions that the situation of Lebanese women is tragic, but it is not necessarily only because of the result of the war. The situation has been the result of a "long history of discrimination and neglect and therefore cannot be solved instantly with a stroke of a magic wand" ("Second Family Planning Conference," 16). The conference also suggests that the Lebanese Council of Women reorganize their executive committees and their memberships to allow for more collaboration between them and the LFPA, in an attempt to be more effective in improving the situation of women. Furthermore, the conference proceedings also make the connection between women's problems in Lebanon and the social situation in the home, which "differentiates between girls' and boys' roles. It continues at school with sexist schoolbooks, then at the workplace where there are 'feminine' and 'masculine' jobs and prevails in all society" ("Second Family Planning Conference," 17). The conference ends with a call to serious studies to assess the economic situation of women after the war and its effect on society as a whole. While Lebanon is still currently without a recent census, more studies have been conducted in recent years in order to be able to determine the effects of the war on society and to gather information. However, the overall picture is still incomplete, as much more still has to be done to gather information on the status of the Lebanese woman.

Articles that appear after this would focus on presenting information, rather than constructing arguments, about Family Planning organizations in various countries. In “Using the Experience of Other Countries in Development Projects Related to Family Planning,” excerpts are presented from an article by Asfia Duza, which explains the need for reviewing information from various countries in an attempt to situate Family Planning programs within the social and cultural environments of the countries within which they are developed (4). Egypt is the main focus of the articles on Family Planning published in *Al-Raida*, since it “has been leading the way in family planning programs” in the Arab world, according to the *Population Studies Quarterly Review*.²⁶ Consequently, articles such as “The Over-Population Problem in Egypt” (11-12), “Small Industries and the Population and Development Project (PDP) in Egypt” (3), and “Population Problems in Egypt: The High Dependency Ratio, A Challenge for Economic Development” (4), appeared between 1981 and 1983.

Articles concerning Bahrain’s Family Planning programs are also published to provide readers with current information on Family Planning projects in the Arab countries. For example, “Family Planning in Bahrain” (9), “Social Welfare Activities in Bahrain: Problems of Family Planning” (5-6), and “Social Affairs Activities in Bahrain” (13) all appeared between 1982 and 1983. Furthermore, articles concerning other countries’ health care programs also appeared, such as “Rural Women in Sudan” (25), and “Kuwait Says Yes to Test Tube Babies” (31). While *Al-Raida* did publish a few more articles on the LFPA, the focus of the next few articles published in 1981-1983 turned towards development, woman’s work, and population demographics. While the rest of the

²⁶ July/September, 1981.

Arab countries were experiencing a population increase that strained their economy, Lebanon was experiencing a severe population decrease due to the war. Therefore, the arguments for Family Planning as a means to control the population increase were no longer relevant to the situation in Lebanon. Instead, the decrease of the population ushered in a new set of topics that are dealt with in the journal issues published in the early 1980s. Although articles on Family Planning continued to be published in *Al-Raida* in the early years of the 80s, the focus no longer remained on population control and instead took a turn towards questions of economic development as more women found themselves in the work force.

The next chapter will present the discourse as it shifted from Family Planning in the Middle East implemented by the state for population control and modernization towards a discourse on development and a more nuanced understanding of the various issues of women's access to developmental opportunities. Historically, Lebanon was entrenched in a period of modernization and as a result of the destructive civil war in Lebanon, and the increasing amount of young educated professionals with lack of job opportunities, many young men chose to emigrate. The high volume of emigration during this period resulted in an influx of women into the working force, an increase in women's duties in the home and in society, and a shift in traditional Arab family structures as women became breadwinners and decision-makers. Thus, the situation of women's access to employment, the value and pay of women's work, and the structure of the family were all called into question during this time, bringing with it new issues of development in the Arab world, and specifically in Lebanon. The next chapter explores how *Al-Raida* presents the issue of development, attempts to

define it, and in doing so begins to outline some of the basic problems women dealt with at this time, including, but not limited to, illiteracy, access to health care, and access to paid employment.

CHAPTER 4

(RE) DEFINING THE FIRST MARK OF DEVELOPMENT

If men say to us that we have been created weak we say to them, 'No, it is you who made us weak through the path you made us follow.' After long centuries of enslavement by men, our minds rusted and our bodies weakened. Is it right that they accuse us of being created weaker than them in mind and body?

Bahithat al-Badiya, "A Lecture in the Club of the Umma Party", 1909

Freedom cannot be one-sided, just as welfare and prosperity cannot and should not be limited to a few. Freedom from oppression implies freedom from want and misery....The struggle for freedom and the struggle for social justice must go hand in hand.

Rose Ghurayyib, "Freedom Cannot Be One-Sided," 1982

The U.N. formally declared 1976-1985 the Decade for Women after the Mexico City Conference held in 1975. As a result, "[a]lmost all development agencies—international, regional, national, and UN specialized agencies—had to engage with the woman question. This system-wide mandate created enormous demands for information, which produced an explosion of knowledge" (Jain 64). Research data gathered from various organizations in developing countries increasingly suggested further inequalities between men and women. Furthermore, this research also pointed to increased differences between women's issues in developed and developing countries. "Since the modernization project's concern was to 'uplift' the newly liberated nations out of their poverty and 'backwardness,' development cooperation attempted to

integrate women into development as part of [the U.N.'s] 'humanitarian' approach" (Jain 57). However, as Jain notes, "[a] gap developed between development projects from the North and the research on the ground about the realities of women's lives in the South. The distances widened as the decades proceeded and the women of the South consolidated their perspective" (56-57). As the research indicated differences in women's issues, it further indicated a need for revisiting the development paradigm. This time period is marked by an increasing trend to question the understanding and measurement of women's work, to redefine the U.N.'s project of development, and further articulate women's issues in the Middle East.

The U.N.'s discourse on development, during the early 1980s, and the redefinition of development in Rose Ghurayyib's editorials in *Al-Raida*, exemplifies the journal's more nuanced approach to refiguring and redefining the dominant discourse on development to suit the local context. This chapter will highlight the discourse on development in *Al-Raida* and the use of the definition of development as a program implemented by U.N. strategies, later redefined to adhere to particular developmental issues that were particular to Lebanese and Arab women. The increasing recruitment of women into the labor force during the first years of the Lebanese civil war, and the increasing attention to labor laws and working conditions, including equal work for equal pay, recognizing women's participation in the developmental process, and the distinction between formal and informal labor, illustrates *Al-Raida's* attempt to attend to the informal and flexible conditions of women's labor in Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries.

Al-Raida initially began implementing a top-down strategy for discussing women's issues in the Middle East by locating issues outside of the Middle Eastern context, specifically within the international framework of development, including the United Nations Organization and the Women's Liberation movement in the West. Rose Ghurayyib's editorials reveal her position on some of the major issues concerning women and illustrate the influence of Western liberal feminist theory on her position concerning the Middle Eastern women's movement. While initially her influence seemed to reflect a disconnect between her feminist theory and local women's issues, this chapter will uncover some of the ways in which Ghurayyib's editorials attempt to "localize" issues of international concern, and in doing so disrupt the hegemonic international Human Rights discourse by illustrating its inability to affect real change in a local context. As such, the discourse in *Al-Raida*, while seemingly working within an international U.N. framework, essentially disrupts this discourse.

Similarly, by appropriating Western liberal feminist concerns, Ghurayyib's editorials indicate an attention to such concerns and issues within a Middle Eastern context, consequently disrupting the liberal feminist ideology. She locates Middle Eastern women's concerns by localizing issues of Western liberal feminism, consequently rhetorically situating *Al-Raida* simultaneously as an indigenous effort and as a part of the international women's movement. However, the development of the issues concerning women in the Middle East explored by the journal uncover some of the limitations of the U.N.'s Human Rights discourse and Western liberal feminist movement. As such, Ghurayyib's editorials began to reflect a more comprehensive and robust view of the Arab women's movement, including further attention to family traditions, local customs and culture, and the

development of the view of the ways in which women and men in the Middle East are inevitably a part of and influenced by the larger globalized structure of power.

This chapter will explore how *Al-Raida* incorporates the U.N.'s development project of implementing programs for children, for example, initially working within a larger hegemonic international discourse on development and modernization programs in the Middle East. Then, I illustrate the change in *Al-Raida*'s definition of development to include a nuanced view of women's issues in the Middle East, integrating a more thorough understanding of the local needs of Lebanese women. During this time, the Lebanese civil war was well underway and *Al-Raida* could no longer ignore the immediate needs of women. As such, its attention to the U.N. international thematic years includes redefining the Human Rights discourse on women's basic needs, children, the elderly, and dis/ability within the context of the Lebanese civil war. For example, the U.N.'s Year of the Disabled Persons in 1981 included increased attention to dis/ability in developing countries. *Al-Raida*'s editorials and articles on people with dis/abilities in Lebanon attended to those who were directly affected by the war, including men, women, and children. *Al-Raida*'s turn to a more localized construction of the context of dis/ability in Lebanon's civil war marked an ability to reconceptualize international programs, and in so doing allowed *Al-Raida* to mediate the discourse of such international programs within the local context in Lebanon.

Early Editorials: Research and Documentation

Rose Ghurayyib served as the editor for *Al-Raida* between 1976 and 1985 consecutively. Appointed by Julinda Abu Nasr, the first director of the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW), Ghurayyib was given

the freedom to make most of the editorial decisions, including what to publish in the journal (Abu Nasr interview). She initially began by writing most of the articles for *Al-Raida*, including translating articles from Arabic and French newspapers, magazines, and past publications of Arab women's fiction and literary work. Her initiative to include past literary work by Arab women authors and biographies of female pioneers in the Middle East, such as May Ziadah²⁷ and Salwa Nassar²⁸ in the second issue published in 1977, exhibits an effort to situate *Al-Raida* within the current international conversation and contextualize the discourse on women's issues in Lebanon and the Middle East. Ghurayyib's inclusionary tactics rhetorically situate the publication in a valuable space within the dominant discourse on women's liberation²⁹ movement in the Middle East. It seeks to highlight the current conversation within the discursive framework on Arab feminism, thus rhetorically performing the task of documenting the past conversation while simultaneously contributing to it. Furthermore, *Al-Raida* recognizes an effort to forge viable solutions to local women's issues for future implementation.

Ghurayyib's first editorial for the second issue of *Al-Raida* introduces the "increasing consciousness of the important role that women can play in world-development today" ("Forward," 1). One of these roles is to participate in the Women's Liberation Movement and another is participating in the increasing influence of the United Nations Organization. Her editorial also introduces the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) and its "effort to

²⁷ See Ghurayyib, "A Study on a Woman Pioneer Writer: May Ziadeh," 3.

²⁸ See Ghurayyib, "Salwa Nassar: Lebanon," 5.

²⁹ While the term "Women's Liberation" generally identifies as a movement for women's liberation in a Western context, it is initially used in *Al-Raida* to refer to the local women's movement, as well. It is in this context which I use it here.

promote the increasing awareness of the role that women should play in the Arab World” (“Forward,” 1). Ghurayyib describes the projects underway at IWSAW, including the Basic Living Skills program and the Children’s Literature Project for the Arab World, thus informing her reader of the future implementation of these projects. Furthermore, her editorial for the third issue, titled “Importance of Documentation in the Arab World,” introduces the documentation center at IWSAW and the need for increasing research and documentation on women in the Middle East. While this topic on the need for research and documentation first appears in her third editorial, it is reiterated throughout subsequent issues of the journal, also mentioned extensively in the conference proceedings, articles, and summaries published (Ghurayyib 1).

To illustrate, in the editorial for the sixth issue, titled “Research Projects on Women’s Status: A Pressing Need in the Arab World,” Ghurayyib begins by arguing for the increasing need for documentation and statistics on Arab women for the purpose of social change:

General information and sweeping statements are no longer compatible with the mentality and demands of our present age. It would be easy to say in a casual manner that illiteracy in the Arab World reaches high proportions, especially among women, but we cannot impress people by general, superficial statements. Only when statistics and figures tell them that the proportion of women illiterates in Arab countries reaches an average of 75-80% and that it is, in most cases, twice its proportion among men, then will they be convinced of the existence of the problem and the necessity of treating it. (1)

As her editorial states, the purpose for research and surveys on Arab women is to provide evidence for the need for change. It will prove “the existence of bitter conflicts” and “prove our traditional family relationships based on selfish interest or parasitism need a complete revision” (Ghurayyib, “Research Projects on Women’s Status,” 1). The call for research includes a feminist perspective, which means “exploring issues of feminist relevance with an awareness of difference, social power, and scientific oppression that is in service of political and social activism (Hesse-Biber, Leavy & Yaiser, 2004)” (Miner-Rubino et al. 199). Therefore, using feminist methodology, which is conducting research **for** rather than **on** women, constitutes a difference between feminist researchers and mainstream survey researchers (Hesse-Biber 206). The importance of survey and research methods in *Al-Raida* and the call for further data includes the concept of utilizing the data to implement change, as Ghurayyib’s editorial illustrates. The discourse on development and women’s integration into processes of development dominates the journal in the period between 1980 and 1983. As such, the call for documentation and research was inextricably tied to women’s integration into development. Of particular importance is the role women plays in development, particularly women’s integration into the labor force.

U.N. International Development Plan

In 1963, the social security law was passed in Lebanon, which required employers to provide benefits and health care to expectant mothers. It was an “important development for the history of legal protection for working-women” (Abisaab 119). However, in a survey of ten of the factories for a research study in

1979,³⁰ Linda Lorig and Julinda Abu Nasr found that only two factories implemented the social security law, “and the other eight forced their workers and employers to follow a special health plan devised to suit the employers’ needs” (Abisaab 119). Despite regulations in the social security law, many employers failed to abide by measures of equality. Furthermore, in 1976 Lebanon signed the Arab Agreement concerning workingwomen, which obligated the implementation of improved labor laws in Arab countries. “The agreement stated that every workingwoman was entitled to health insurance that must extend benefits to ‘her family’” (cited in Abisaab 120). However, it was up to each country’s government to decide how to interpret the term “family” and decide whom this may constitute (Abisaab 120).

Initially, the topic of development is introduced through articles in the early issues of *Al-Raida* that summarizes international and regional conference proceedings. The articles presents readers with a summary of the recommendations offered at each conference. As early as the second issue, the recommendations concerning women’s social development from the Afro-Asian Conference held in March 1975 are published (“Recommendations of the Afro-Asian Seminar,” 8). Although the conference focused on countries and issues that are not located within the Middle East, the summary article includes suggestions that are applicable to Middle Eastern countries, including women’s right to work, amending women’s political rights, access to education, and fighting illiteracy (“Recommendations of the Afro-Asian Seminar,” 8). The same issue summarizes a presentation given by Hoda Badran, an officer for the Regional Family Welfare organization, published in the UNICEF report on July

³⁰ Lorig, Irene and Julinda Abu Nasr, “A Survey of Workingwomen in the Factories of Beirut’s Suburbs,” 1979.

17, 1977 (“UNICEF Activities” 11). Her presentation proposes a plan for integrating women into development processes in the Eastern Mediterranean Region. She highlights the increasing positive attitude towards women’s education and integration into development process in Arab countries. Badran’s presentation also notes UNICEF’s continued support of Al-Azhar and the league of Arab states for developing programs for women, including, “[d]ocumented and classified true Islamic teaching regarding women in a series of publications” (“UNICEF Activities” 11). Furthermore, the programs include attention to “institutionalized special methodologies for working with individuals, groups and communities and for promoting women on the basis of Islamic teaching” (“UNICEF Activities” 11). While this particular article introduces the concept of Islamic teaching, *Al-Raida* initially does not directly contribute to the discussion about the relationship between women and Islam. *Al-Raida* does, however, publish articles that argue against the veil as it limits women’s economic participation.

The “Middle East Regional Seminar for the Training and Education of the Rural Woman,” summarizes the conference held in 1978 in Cairo, Egypt, which makes similar recommendations: “Since rural communities form the larger basis of social structures in a state,” the article claims, “no adequate national development is possible unless these communities recuperate their intrinsic developmental power, equally shared by both sexes” (6). Furthermore, the conference notes:

[T]he services performed by the rural and [B]edouin women are of such vital importance to the nation and to society in general that no real development can be accomplished unless these women

receive the necessary help to reduce their heavy burden and increase their productivity through training and implementation of self-help projects. ("Middle East Regional Seminar," 6)

Consequently, the international conference recommendations focus on constructing, developing, and implementing programs that would assist rural women, such as creating cooperatives, developing workshops for training in dressmaking and housekeeping, and implementing "[i]ntensive information campaigns," that would encourage rural men to accept women's involvement in decision-making ("Middle East Regional Seminar," 6).

Similarly, a study titled "Factors Affecting the Arab Woman's Role in Rural Development," conducted by the Third Technical Periodic Conference of the Arab Rural Engineers, held in Baghdad, Iraq in March 1977, is summarized and presented in the seventh issue (10). "Professional organizations, social groups, and administrative bodies are invited to prepare studies concerning the rural woman and emphasizing the role she should play in the developmental process" ("Factors Affecting the Arab Woman's Role," 10). The study suggests the establishment of an Arab central statistical organization, which would serve to establish a collaborative research environment between researchers in various disciplines on women in the Middle East. Furthermore, the recommendations includes a call for the improvement of the administrative system responsible for rural frameworks. The unsuitable programs arise from a lack of training: "One major deficiency comes from inadequate training and experience among the experts and technicians of the sector, leading them to adopt educational programs borrowed from [W]estern countries whose status and problems are

different from ours³¹” (“Factors Affecting the Arab Woman’s Role,” 10). Finally, a call for further studies and attention to the role of rural women in the developmental process concludes the summary of the conference. A call for the elimination of illiteracy in accordance with the U.N. plan “which fixed the year 1985 as a deadline for the complete eradication of female illiteracy in the world” is further provided as a reminder of the obligation of Arab countries to the plan (“Factors Affecting the Arab Woman’s Role,” 10).

The U.N. Regional conference for the integration of women in the West Asian development held in 1978 in Amman, Jordan, is also summarized in the same issue (“Integration of the Arab Woman in Development,” 11). In a review of the conference, two documents are highlighted as integral to the process of development: “The World Plan of Action” and The Program of Woman’s Employment for Equality, Development and Peace, both adopted by the general assembly in 1975 and 1976, respectively (“Integration of the Arab Woman in Development,” 11).

Redefining Women’s Work

Ghurayyib’s editorial in the ninth issue in 1979, titled “Women and Work,” refutes an argument posed by Abdel-Rahman el Kawkabi, an Arab reformer who published an argument in 1905 that blamed women as having created an unjust division of labor based on the pretext of her weakness (1). While his words may have meant to inspire women to work, claims Ghurayyib, his argument is “a sweeping statement which may apply to a minimum number of rich women, who live in luxury and lead a lazy parasitic life” (Ghurayyib, “Women and Work,” 1). It

³¹ It is not clarified what the difference is in this summary.

does not, she continues, apply to rural women who “carry a full time work-load in endless housekeeping tasks, requiring skill in many fields and forming a basic element in the life of the family” (Ghurayyib, “Women and Work,” 1). Ghurayyib’s editorial is an indication that the topic of women and work in the Arab countries needed direct and immediate attention. It also points to the class division between women in Lebanon and the effect it had on women’s perception of work and national development:

Women who work at the same time in and outside the home, perform a double task. If women have until now carried out these functions without any return except maintenance, this does not reduce the value of their achievement because it has a basic importance in the building of the family and of society (Ghurayyib, “Women and Work,” 1).

Her editorial is a salient call for attention to women’s work in rural areas and their integration into development and training programs. It is a call that the Institute for Women’s Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW) did not hesitate to answer. Studies conducted on the integration of women in development programs were published in the same issue.

For example, Julinda Abu Nasr’s article, which was condensed from a report given at the Far Eastern Conference on Career Counseling for women held in New Delhi in May 1978, titled “Women Employment in Lebanon,” would be the first article published in *Al-Raida* that focused on women and work in Lebanon. The percentage of illiterate women in Lebanon, cited Abu Nasr, was 53 percent in 1970. “The agricultural sector employs women at the rate of 91.7 percent,” while 75.6 of these women receive no salary (Abu Nasr, “Women

Employment,” 10). Abu Nasr reports that women accepted jobs for which they are overqualified. “Existing discrimination regarding education opportunities and employment is mainly due to traditional attitudes of both men and women and not to law,” argues Abu Nasr (“Women Employment,” 10). She continues by listing the governmental programs for women, such as the Ministry of Planning’s six-year plan, 1972-1978, aimed at providing boys and girls with educational opportunities “with the hope of integrating them in the economic and social development of the country” (Abu Nasr, “Women Employment,” 10). She also lists the non-governmental programs in the field of social service, such as: the Lebanese Red Cross which administers programs in schools; the Middle East Council of Churches which encourages literacy programs implemented for rural women; UNICEF; The Village Welfare Society whose activities covered 22 villages; and Mouvement Social, which established 26 medical clinics in areas such as Hermel, Baalbeck, Sidon and Beirut’s prison for women (Abu Nasr, “Women Employment,” 10). The article reports on the various organizations that attempt to address the issue of women’s employment in Lebanon by implementing social programs in various areas.

In the next few years, *Al-Raida* published articles focused on Lebanese women presented at the Women’s Studies Lecture Series, held at BUC in 1979. “Development and Planning,” a lecture given by Thoraya O. Sharif, defines “development planning” as a “creative process to liberate men and women and equip them with the necessary skills to be both participants and beneficiaries of development,” and she clearly states this does not mean “Westernization” (“Development Planning for Women,” 6). Part of the problem of implementing development programs includes the division of labor between men and women:

“Society with its burden of traditions, stands as a handicap to women’s integration in development. It should stop regarding women’s work as mere decoration or assistance to the husband, and considering the success of men in terms of success of their wives,” Sharif argues (“Development Planning for Women,” 6). In the same lecture series, Henry Azzam’s paper on “Women, Employment and Development in the Arab World,” presents some of the obstacles to women’s employment in the Arab world in general (7). He argues that the “Purdah system, which usually requires women to be veiled, is still practiced in many Arab and Moslem countries” (Azzam, “Women,” 7). This condition, he continues, “restricts women’s appearance in public and their participation in development. Moreover, it limits any opportunity for education” (Azzam, “Women,” 7). Furthermore, the high value placed on children, the idea of safeguarding a women’s virtue, and the increase in poverty are all limits to women’s economic activity. “Parents who may be willing to educate their daughters are compelled by poor economic conditions to limit their expenditure to the education of their male children, leaving females illiterate,” he argues (Azzam, “Women,” 7). Again, illiteracy and lack of access to educational opportunities is highlighted as one of the main problems for women’s participation in economic activity, but it is coupled with an increased attention to the roles of women in the family and society, and the ways in which these prescribed roles restrict their ability to participate in economic activities.

The end of 1980 marks a shift towards publishing proceedings of local conferences and local research, as illustrated in the fourteenth issue. IWSAW’s conferences on women’s issues and the increasing enrollment and attention to the women’s studies courses at BUC created an increased attention to research

conducted on the status of women in Lebanon. For example, a study conducted by four students in the Women's Studies Course at BUC on "The Effects of Wives' Employment on the Dynamics of the Lebanese Family" is published in the same issue. This study, by Hanan Haidar, Suzan Nehmé, Doris Tchatalbochian, and Abibi Tubobanini, reports findings from data collected from surveys of women's participation in household tasks, their decision-making contributions to the family, and their attitudes towards sex-roles in three cities differing in economic activity: Beirut, Jbeil and Baalback. The results of the study indicate that "Lebanese working women share more in decision making than the non-working, and the operative authority structure in their family tends to be equalitarian"³² (Haidar et al. 11). Furthermore, the study reveals, "the data on division of household tasks supported the hypothesis that women's employment outside the home gave them more opportunities to be helped by their husbands in housework" (Haidar et al. 11). The publication of this study, in addition to studies focused on Lebanon in the same issue, such as "Woman's Image in the Lebanese Press 1935-1975" (12-13) and "What is Wrong With Our Family Traditions?" (3) consequently illustrates a turn towards developing innovative and new research to contribute to the conversation on Lebanese women by local conferences organized by IWSAW and women's studies courses held at Beirut University College, instead of applying recommendations that have been presented at international conferences.

Moreover, the same issue publishes two studies on the status of women in the Arab world. The first focused on "Traditional Family Relations in the Arab World," giving examples of the political structure in Lebanon and its relation to

³² It is also possible, however, that the men initially held a more open-minded approach towards gender roles within the homes.

kinship structures (4-5). The second, titled "Personal Status Laws in Arab Countries" (6) presents the resolutions of a seminar held in Beirut in May 1974, six years after the conference was held. Illiteracy and education, while they still remained major issues affecting women, were no longer presented as isolated phenomena that existed independent of cultural and social issues. Instead, they are presented as intertwined issues. The discourse on development began to shift, allowing for further exploration of the various problems women were dealing with, such as definitions of kinship relations in Arab society, the Personal Status codes, and religion.

To illustrate, the UNESCO conference held in Beirut on November 1980 presents the research of Lebanese speakers, such as Habib Zamut, the regional advisor for the development of cooperative in the International Labor Organization, Anissa Najjar, president of the Village Welfare Association in Lebanon, and Munir Bashshur, professor of Education at the American University of Beirut. The conference presenters argue for "the high authorities in the Arab world to elaborate a new code of personal status laws giving women complete equality with men" ("UNESCO Conference in Beirut," 10). Furthermore, "Seminar on Social Problems of the Lebanese Working Woman: A Serious Effort for Her Promotion" summarizes a seminar held a year later in Beirut in February 1981 (3). The seminar focuses on presenting recommendations for changing the legislation in Lebanon, with attention to maternity leave, paid study leave, social security, and changing the labor laws to include rural women ("Seminar on Social Problems," 3). While *Al-Raida* also published development plans and conferences held in Egypt, Kuwait, Jordan, Tunisia and U.A.E., the focus would remain on Lebanese women. A further conference paper by Henry Azzam

published in 1982 reiterates the need for the government to implement changes concerning women's labor ("The Arab Woman's Participation," 8).

In addition, Hassan Hammoud's study, funded by IWSAW and titled "Factors Affecting the Education and Employment of Women in the Arab World," identifies factors that affect the employment and education of women in Bahrain, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Syria and Tunis (10-11). While the major obstacle, according to Hammoud, is illiteracy, "which ranges from 50% to 76.6% in the countries studied," the study also identifies four major factors preventing women from continuing their education, including: lack of encouragement from parents, the unavailability of secondary schools within the area, the "modesty code," which prevents women from mingling with men in public places, and a lack of motivation (10). Hammoud's study illustrates an increasing attention to the cultural and social status of women.

In 1982 and 1983, *Al-Raida* presents abstracts of a presentation given by Huda Zurayk at the Second National Conference for Demographic Policies organized by LFPA in April 1982 (13). In these two abstracts, Zurayk calls to attention the need for a more nuanced understanding of women's work in the home and in rural economic activities. "An evaluation of women's participation in economic development," claims Zurayk, "requires the provision of accurate information about it, which is generally defective in the Arab world" (13). The lack of statistical data illustrates women's domestic activity and her participation in work within the home is overlooked and undervalued (Zurayk13).

Furthermore, “[i]n collecting data about working women, those who do irregular³³ work are often omitted; when the husband answers for his wife he often refuses to recognize her extra work in and outside the home” (Zurayk 13). She argues that it is necessary for revising the questionnaires to include women who do irregular work. An analysis of women’s work does not obtain adequate results because of the “scarcity of studies about the nature of domestic tasks,” and the “difficulty of defining and covering them” (Zurayk 13). She concludes by stating that the effectiveness “of national strategic policies regarding woman’s work depends on the preparation of accurate informational data and the creation of a positive attitude towards it in society as a whole” (Zurayk 13). A shorter version of this article is reprinted in the following issue, reiterating the need for a more comprehensive understanding of women’s work both inside and outside of the home and a call for accurate statistical data.

U.N.’s International Observances

Al-Raida published thematic issues that rarely appeared, but were potentially quite telling of the way in which the journal framed subtopics of development and women’s role in society. The journal sub-topics initially follow the United Nations Observances for International Years, such as the Year of the Child in 1979 or the International Year for Disabled Persons in 1981 (see fig.2). Even though not every issue can be clearly categorized as a thematic issue, some of the issues are structured around a particular theme at certain points in time. The spike in journal articles published on dis/ability during the 1980-1981

³³ Although the definition for “irregular” work is not provided in the article itself, it may be considered unwaged labor, seasonal labor, work inside the home (such as preserves that are later sold), and labor that does not provide a steady income.

years corresponds with the U.N.'s Observances (see fig. 2). Most of the subtopics are published synchronously with the U.N. thematic years and incorporated Western liberal feminist definitions of women's issues. Since they are published in a post-war society, themes that are relevant to the local context were chosen, such as the children, disabled, and elderly. U.N. Observances that are not specifically relevant to Lebanon or Arab women are not used as themes for the journal, such as the International Anti-Apartheid Year (1978/1979) or the International Year of Mobilization for Sanctions Against South Africa (1983). Ghurayyib's editorials for these subtopics demonstrate her ability to contextualize issues that were suggested by the U.N. within the situation of Lebanon.

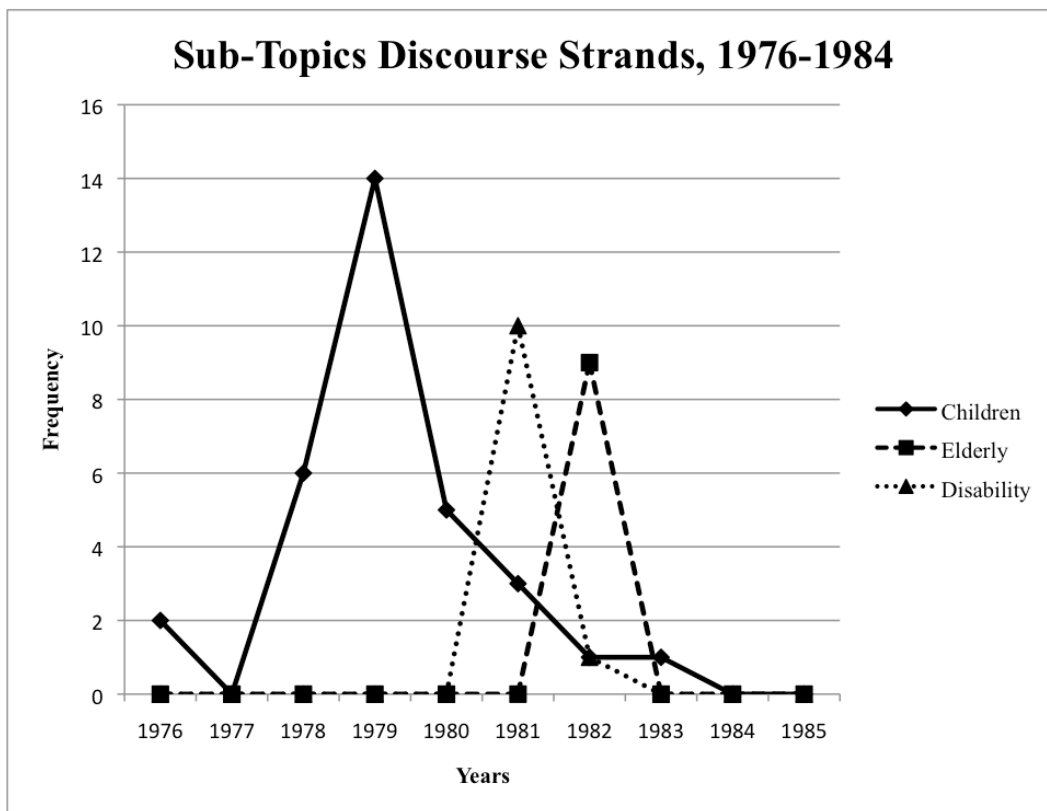


Fig. 2. Discourse fragment strands, or sub-topics, in *Al-Raida* from 1976 to 1985 based on the frequency of appearance of each sub-topic, including Children, Elderly and Dis/ability.

Ghurayyib continues to use Human Rights language and the United Nation's International Observances as the thematic structure for some of the issues in *Al-Raida*. More specifically, she follows the U.N.'s International Observances that could be shaped into the local context, such as the focus on children, elderly and people with dis/abilities. In this section, I will elaborate on the Year of the Child, a U.N. International Observance for the year 1979, to illustrate the rhetorical strategies used by Ghurayyib in the journal in order to remain within the dominant discourse but offer a more local and contextualized understanding. By doing so, this illustrates that *Al-Raida's* readership was not only Lebanese and Arab women, but also English language readers that were a part of the dominant international forum on women's issues in the Middle East, namely the U.N., and those who were able to fund studies, such as the Ford Foundation. By choosing to continue publication in English and remain within the dominant discourse, the journal continued to function as a means of localizing the dominant discourse, as well as informing the international forum on the Lebanese women and placing Lebanese and Arab women within the larger international structure. Additionally, the next chapter will further discuss how Ghurayyib's editorials begin to develop a more local understanding of the needs of women as a result of the war in Lebanon.

U.N.'s Year of the Child, 1979

1979 marked the International Year of the Child, and as such the eighth issue of the journal focuses on international issues pertaining to children, such as the U.N. Declaration of the Rights of the Child and a summary of the purpose of the International Year of the Child. In her editorial, Ghurayyib clearly states that it

is not simply the woman's role in society to be the caretaker and to raise a child. It is the responsibility of the whole of society, and as such, the situation in Lebanon during the civil war creates a moral dilemma for socializing children. Ghurayyib begins her editorial for the eighth issue by stating that millions of dollars are being spent on war all over the world. In such a context, she claims, "[i]t is vain to speak of the Children's Year in the shadow of canons and bullets. Violence like fire is spreading everywhere and threatening the world with extinction and all of us are responsible for this degradation" (Ghurayyib, "The Year of the Child," 1). She pleads with her audience to heed her call for peace. Ghurayyib's editorial for this issue illustrates her disillusionment with the U.N.'s ability to implement peace and development in Arab countries. The urgency in her editorial highlights the strenuous and turbulent period of time during which Lebanon was faced with the results of a bloody civil war that claimed the lives of many people, including children. Her exasperated tone and her call for peace in her editorial illustrates the tone of the conversation in the women's movement with increased attention to the psychological effects of the war on women and children and the attempts at rebuilding a society affected by the war. She calls on women and children to be the bearers of peace and a peaceful reconciliation:

All of us should endeavor to prepare for our children a better world in which to live. Children are the responsibility of the whole society, as well as that of their parents. Without a chance for normal growth it will be impossible for them to become useful citizens. They should be taught to avoid the blunders that brought misery and death for their fathers and mothers. They should be

inculcated with the belief that nothing can deprave human souls and turn civilized people into wild beasts like war...

There is one thing the U.N.O. has not been able to provide; one without which all help will be in vain: Peace. The right of the child to grow in a peaceful atmosphere has been forfeited. Peace requires world cooperation, which the U.N.O. has failed to bring about.

Renewed efforts for peace should be the main objective of all those who participate in the International Year of the Child. Let us spend on peace one tenth or at least one hundredth part of our expenditure on war.

If men have created war, women and children who make more than two-thirds of the world population, should become the force of peace. (Ghurayyib, "The Year of the Child," 1)

Although she incorporates the U.N.'s international year of the child declaration, she does so within the context of the war in Lebanon, thus purposefully disrupting the dominant narrative and redefining the issue within a local context. Furthermore, she incorporates the U.N.'s position on encouraging women to be active peacemakers, a position articulated during the Mexico City conference in 1975. The perception of women at the assembly was no longer just as victims, but "also as potential contributors to the peacemaking process" (Jain 61). Incorporating the language of U.N.'s declaration, she positions women at the center of the solution and calls on them to enact non-violence instead of passively disengaging from the conflict.

The effect of the war on children remained an important concern, and research studies to gather data on this subject are published first in the eighth issue and then in the fourteenth issue. The eighth issue focuses on child welfare activities and an historical overview of the Child Welfare Association (CWA) in Lebanon and conference summaries of the CWA's conference on the impact of the war on Lebanese children and adolescents, held in December 1977 ("Child Welfare in Lebanon," 5). It presents results of a study conducted by Jamal K. Harfouche, from the American University of Beirut, on children's health after the war ("Impact of War," 6-7). While a lack of statistics on children's health after the war hinders the ability to accurately provide detailed percentages, the study shows that children's lives were lost, children were handicapped, children contracted diseases, and there was an increase of drug addictions among the youth in Lebanon ("Impact of War on Lebanese Children," 6). In addition, Ghassan Yacoub's research study at the Educational Center for Development highlights the increase of psychological disorders in Lebanese children, including an increase in fear and anxiety which lead to "anorexia, aggressivity, enuresis, insomnia, hysterical symptoms, frightful dreams" and sadistic and violent tendencies (sic "Impact of War on Lebanese Children," 6). In the same issue, Julinda Abu Nasr's study on the impact of war on moral values in Lebanese children is published (Abu Nasr, "Impact of War on Moral Values," 7). The study consists of 72 children, both male and female, between 12 and 14 years of age. The study measures children's understanding of morality by comparing two stories. The results of the study show that the child's judgments of moral behavior change in the two different situations, which means the children's ability to determine an action as moral or immoral changes depending on the situation.

Thus, the effect of the war on children was a growing concern, one Ghurayyib further elaborated on.

In a further example, *Al-Raida* also incorporates the articles on the elderly in 1982, in response to the World Assembly on the elderly initially introduced in an article in the 19th issue (“Preview,” 15). The introductory article presents excerpts of a summary published by the United Nations Office of Publication Information, Non-governmental Organizations Section, on May 1, 1979. “In 1970, there were 291 million people in the world over the age of 60,” the articles states (“Preview,” 15). “This figure will increase by 100%, by the year 2000, to 582 million older adults. The increase will be most pronounced in the developing world” (“Preview,” 15). In response to these statistics, Ghurayyib’s editorial in the 20th issue focuses on “Women and Old Age,” in which she reflects on the U.N. international activities, arguing that women are at the center of each of the U.N.’s international activities, including the “application of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the General Assembly of U.N. in 1948, it is especially woman’s rights as a citizen, a daughter, a wife, a mother and a worker that should be rehabilitated because, all through the eight thousand years of patriarchal domination, most of those rights were denied to her” (Ghurayyib, “Women and Old Age,” 1). Her editorial continues to explain that while Arab family traditions require care of the elderly in the family, little to no information has been gathered about the status of the elderly in the Arab region. While *Al-Raida* continued to incorporate the U.N. Observances of International Years, it did so by localizing issues and uncovering discrepancies between the international definitions and goals and the local needs.

As described in this section, and as can be seen in Figure B,³⁴ the journal relies on the dominant discourse in order to shape the local conversation. However, what this observation also illustrates is the rhetorical space in which the journal operates, is neither entirely in the international forum nor tied to the local audience, but within both the dominant discourse and the local context simultaneously. That the journal is shaped by the dominant discourse is clearly illustrated through the use of the thematic issues and the language used throughout the publication. It is also clear that the journal shapes the current conversation, through the use of the dominant discourse and definitions that are used within the U.N. forum and developed for the local readers and the local context. What the next section will further elaborate, however, is how the journal itself not only shaped the local but was also shaped by the local context, including the redefinitions of the dominant language and the choice of articles that were published as a result of responding to the local needs. Furthermore, the journal does not completely disarticulate from the dominant discourse; it continues to find value in incorporating the U.N. documents, Human Rights language, and to articulate political representation and rights for women in the Middle East. As a result, the journal occupies a discursive rhetorical space in which it is shaped by and shapes the dominant and local conversations on Lebanese women, simultaneously.

(Re) Defining Development

By May 1983, the discourse on development had encompassed an attention to several factors affecting women's employment, including a more

³⁴ On page 121

nuanced understanding of women's work both outside and inside the home, women's participation in agricultural work, the perception of women's role in Arab society, women's access to education, the percentage of illiterate women, and the development of organizations attending to integrating women into economic activities. The increasing attention on women's role in development culminated in the editorials of two issues, mainly issue number 24 and number 25, both published in 1983. In the editorials, Ghurayyib defines the term Development. In the editorial to issue number 24, titled "What is Development?" Ghurayyib states that the term has been increasingly found in feminist literature and there has been a special emphasis on development in UNO publications, in the World Plan of Action and in the Program for Women's Employment for Equality, Development and Peace. She refers to Canadian President Marcel Massé's attempt to answer the question "What do we mean by development?" Ghurayyib explains: "He notes that in the early days of cooperation, development meant something tangible, like founding a new school, or erecting a dam or bridge" (Ghurayyib, "What is Development?" 1). In the past thirty years, writes Ghurayyib, the definition has changed: "development is no longer thought of in material terms but rather as a qualitative change in the way people think, act and relate to their environment" ("What is Development?" 1). Whereas an influx of capital was once thought to be the answer to problems, she states, we now know this is no longer the case. In clarifying the distinction between development and Westernization, Ghurayyib is careful to note, "Another prerequisite for the success of development is an understanding of people's background, of their cultural heritage, which would make possible the adaptation and harmonization of the new with the old" ("What is Development?" 1). She further cites Massé

position on development and his emphasis that “The essence of development is people.” Ghurayyib explains that in “understanding other cultures, Westerners will become aware of the relativity of their own values and culture” and it is up to the citizens of the developing country to provide the Westerners with “ample and accurate information about themselves and their cultural heritage” (“What is Development?” 1).

This shift in focus is illustrated by the selection of articles published in the 24th issue in 1983. Articles no longer simply focuses on development as a theme, but incorporates a more complex understanding of the research of women’s participation in various areas. The issue includes a research study of Egyptian women and children, an article titled “Women and Science at BUC,”³⁵ traditional Iranian women’s coping strategies,³⁶ Saudi Arabian women working within an Islamic framework,³⁷ and the revival of the veil is introduced in this issue.³⁸ Furthermore, “Women and Peace” by Nada Khoury, summarizes the “women’s peace activities” in Sweden, Poland, Cuba, the Philippines, and South Africa, ending with a call for preventing the development of violence both within and outside of the home in Lebanon (9-10). The shift in methodology from presenting research studies and documenting recommendations for development organizations to articulating an ethnographic methodology would continue to develop throughout the next couple years of the journal, which I will further discuss in the next chapter.

³⁵ By Nada Khoury

³⁶ See Mary Elaine Hegland, “Traditional Iranian Women: How They Cope,” 11.

³⁷ See Lou’ay Nahry, “The New Saudi Woman: Modernizing in an Islamic Framework,” 6-7.

³⁸ See “Revival of the Veil and Its Causes,” 5.

Ghurayyib's second editorial addressing "Women's Participation in Development," published in the 25th issue in 1983, states, "Woman's participation in development is key to her total liberation; in order to participate in development she must be engaged in meaningful work; in order to engage in meaningful work she must be liberated and well trained" (1). The editorial points to the connections seen in the previous issues of *Al-Raida*, which emphasizes the need for literacy education in women's participation of their economic conditions. She clearly makes this connection throughout the editorial, stating, "Education and work are intrinsically related; one imposes the other. Work without education has little value; education without work is sterile" (Ghurayyib, "Women's Participation," 1). Ghurayyib continues in the editorial to delineate the connection between education, development, and women's social status: "it helps eliminate sexual discrimination, modify the concept of woman's social role and abolish the traditional division of labor[;] it also leads to the gradual elimination of the veil which forms a handicap to her outside work and her social contacts" (Ghurayyib, "Women's Participation," 1). Although she redefines the term development, some of her initial influences do remain and she is unable to fully disarticulate from the liberal terminology. She does, however, observe the increasing need to localize issues and establish local organizations. For example, her editorial for the 27/28th issue titled "1984, The Beginning of a New World Communication Order?," presents the trend towards "decolonizing" the news, influenced by then Indian Prime Minister Indira Ghandi's address to the First Conference of Non-Aligned Information Ministers (COMINAC) held in January 1984 (1). Because of the media's encouragement of a consumer mentality, she states, it is no surprise that more women "in the Arab and Western World [are] trying to counterbalance this

image by producing their own magazines, journals, radio, TV programmes and establishing their own publishing houses” (Ghurayyib, “1984,” 1). Therefore, she is aware that while these particular trends are occurring in the Arab world, Western women are also adopting them.

One of the last articles written about women and development in the Middle East is published in 1984 after IWSAW’s Workshop on Arab Women in Industry, which was held in Ayia Napa Cyprus from May 21 to 23, 1984. The purpose of the workshop, which is financed by the Ford Foundation, is to identify relevant research topics and methodology in the Arab countries. The workshop presents a set of guidelines and recommendations that includes a call for more research focused on women in societal, household and factory (industrialization) areas. The call for research methodology includes longitudinal studies, interdisciplinary approaches, greater sensitivity to historical context, clearly defined research designs and methods, a clear target of the beneficiaries of the research, and an effort to involve women wherever possible (Abu Nasr, “Women in Industry,” 21). Much of the discussion during the workshop illustrates a need for research to make visible changes in the lives of Arab women. The call for research methodology that is based on an interdisciplinary approach exemplifies an increasing attention to research that can include a larger perspective of the role of women in the Middle East, instead of a focus on research that is limited in scope and design. It also invites researchers from various fields to participate. Furthermore, the increasing frequency of workshops and studies funded by grants by the Ford Foundation through IWSAW and its ability to attend to women’s issues in the Middle East portray the involvement of *Al-Raida* and

IWSAW in establishing a collaborative research environment within a larger international framework.

For example, a couple years after stepping down as editor of *Al-Raida* in 1983, Rose Ghurayyib published an article in 1985 titled “Women’s Integration in Development, an Imperative of Our Time,” in which she presents a perspective of women’s issues by linking all the major themes throughout the past ten years: tradition, education, Family Planning, development, financial status, age, illiteracy, etc. (14). She begins the article by stating that the rise in life expectancy for people in general imposes on people the “renewed concern with old age” (Ghurayyib, “Women’s Integration,” 14). She claims this is especially problematic for women because, “as whole, they are financially and socially less privileged than men” (Ghurayyib, “Women’s Integration,” 14). She is able to make the connections between the various issues that plagued women at the time and presents a perspective in which they are all a part of a much larger social issue. She refers to Betty Friedan’s research on American women and similarly makes the case for an increasing lack of participation among women at all levels. Her article serves as a call for action by presenting her readers with an understanding of the networks that shape our lives and the importance of agency within such a context in order to implement change.

While the sub-topics of the discourse strand on development indicates that *Al-Raida* closely follows the U.N.’s international activities, Ghurayyib’s editorials illustrate her ability to situate the issues within the context of Lebanon and draw attention to the problems civil society faced after the civil war. Her disillusionment with the U.N.’s ability to keep peace in her country during the civil war did not refrain her from incorporating the importance of the charters and

declarations on women, children, people with dis/abilities, and the elderly and emphasizing the importance of these issues in post-war Lebanon. She called attention to the war's devastating effects on women, on children, on people with dis/abilities, and on the elderly of Lebanon. Her editorials indicate the need to understand what these issues all have in common with the women's liberation movement: "Respect for human dignity, recognition of the other person's rights, regardless of his appearance, color, age, sex, race or rank, is the primary requirement of civic education and the first mark of development" (Ghurayyib, "1981," 1).

Local Turns in Feminist Articulations

Ghurayyib's editorials illustrate the various shifts in the journal's conversation, from one of attending to international programs to implement change to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the "network model" of feminist ideology, to reference Rebecca Dingo's metaphor. Ghurayyib's editorials disrupt the narrative of the liberated Western feminist attempting to emancipate women of the Global South throughout the first ten years of the journal. Her editorials focus attention to the ways in which implementing the U.N.'s international programs challenge the local tradition and fail to take into consideration the values and beliefs of Middle Eastern women. In an article on the Lebanese feminist movement, titled "The Harem Window," Ghurayyib³⁹ presents three fields that Lebanese women have contributed to: field of journalism, literary field, and artistic field. She argues the patriarchal system that has been exploiting women, like her sisters around the world, has been one of

³⁹ In *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology*, 414-423.

the main problems for women's development. Similarly, El Saadawi's arguments for radical upheaval of the patriarchal capitalist system that dominates and oppresses the Arab world heavily influenced Ghurayyib's positions on the development of a women's movement. Furthermore, her editorial commentaries continued to develop, reflecting a consistent ability to redefine her own understanding of feminism, as well as redefining development, modernization and the peace movement. Ghurayyib's editorials illustrate the shifts in the conversation on women's issues situated in Lebanon and in the Middle East from one of a top-down process of implementing international programs to one of a bottom-up process of sharing lived experiences, elaborating on the grassroots movements of Lebanese women during the war, and working within the cultural and traditional framework to arrive at viable solutions to issues facing women.

The process was not necessarily clear and definitely not linear, as the journal moved from an information-based style of reporting to a more collaborative space for conversation on issues concerning women's lives in the Middle East. The journal continued publishing abstracts from papers and conferences published elsewhere in various journals. The journal illustrates that issues of culture, society, religion, and tradition began to come into focus, as the connection between women, national development, and the law is explored. IWSAW not only raises awareness of the need for further research and studies on women in the Middle East, it also answers by implementing Gender and Women's Studies courses at BUC, developing a literacy program for rural women in Lebanon, and encouraging articles to explore the situation of women in the Middle East by increasingly publishing interviews, opinion articles and women's narratives.

In realizing the limitations of the modernizing framework, with respect to including women in public spheres, such as the workplace, and the lack of ability for laws to directly affect social change, *Al-Raida* began to develop a comprehensive understanding of women in the Global South. The realization of historical context of modernization, situated in a history of colonialism, exploitation, and global development, and its restrictive ability to change lived-realities of local women marks a shift in *Al-Raida's* discourse on women's political participation. As the next chapter will illustrate, *Al-Raida's* shift is marked by an increased valorization of women's narratives and literature during the war. In addition to increasingly publishing interviews, biographies of women during the war, and war narratives, *Al-Raida's* attention to the particular situation of women in various locales, including women in the Peace Movement in the Lebanese war, redefines the dominant discourse on women in politics. The next chapter presents the discourse on the war in Lebanon and highlights *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function as it began to document war narratives through personal interviews and testimonies. The shift in the type of articles chosen for publication, from a research-based quantitative study to a more qualitative documentation of narratives, indicates a shift in *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function, as well as its perception of the kinds of studies needed for the development of a feminist movement in Lebanon. Its shift towards a valorization of women's narratives indicates *Al-Raida's* increasing ability to respond to the nuances of the local women's movement.

CHAPTER 5
RESPECT FOR HUMAN DIGNITY:
RECOGNITION OF WOMEN IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Developing private thoughts was my first rebellion, my first emancipation. Private life came much much later. So I am accustomed to equate freedom with thinking, and I was made ready to understand political rebellion as an affirmation of the self.

Etel Adnan, "Growing Up to be a Woman Writer in Lebanon", 1986

Severe crises have turned ordinary people into heroes and successful leaders.

Rose Ghurayyib, "Will to Power," 1979

During the third phase of *Al-Raida*, two distinct discourse strands rise in popularity around 1980: the Political Strand, focusing on the women's situation in Personal Status laws, and the Narrative Strand, the move towards narrative structures. This chapter will first document the initial rise of the political conversations, or articles that focus on systems of governance and the ways in which they influence the participation of women in the public sphere. The chapter then further explores *Al-Raida's* approach to illustrating an increased understanding of the social and cultural limitations of Arab women within Islamic culture. The chapter then outlines the development of the publication of such articles, and presents the discourse on the war in Lebanon, highlighting *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function as it began to document war narratives through personal interviews and testimonies. The shift in the type of articles chosen for

publication, from a research-based quantitative study to a more qualitative documentation of narratives, indicates a shift in *Al-Raida's* rhetorical function, as well as its perception of the kinds of studies needed for the development of a feminist movement in Lebanon. It is a shift that is part of the larger historical moment, as the social became increasingly important in the 1980s. This shift towards a valorization of women's narratives indicates women's narratives as an articulation of the position of women in the political discourse and *Al-Raida's* increasing ability to respond to the nuances in the women's movement.

During the mid-1980s, *Al-Raida* turns away from focusing on conference proceedings on Family Planning and development and begins to increasingly publish articles written by researchers on the status of the Arab woman within the political framework. Editorials, articles, and opinion pieces about the status of the Arab woman in the law and in the political structures began to appear more frequently on the journal's pages. For the purpose of this discussion, my definition of "political" is restricted to systems of governance within the national framework. Although an argument can be made for the political nature of all topics published by the journal, including the Family Planning and development discourse strands, I am specifically interested in the explicit positioning of the journal's articles within the Middle Eastern political discourse: Peace movements, the Arab Unity Movement, and the Lebanese civil war. Furthermore, this discourse strand encompasses Arab women's status within the limits of the law: Personal Status laws, women's rights, and equality between the sexes within the law. As such, the number of articles published on the political representation of women in Personal Status laws increases during the initial years of the journal, from 1978-1980. However, the rise in focus on narratives as an articulation of a

political argument occurs during 1982 and 1984, which I will further discuss in the next section.

The two discourse strands, the political and the narrative (or literary), the Gordian knots⁴⁰ are quite dense in this case (see fig. 3). The political and legal discourse in the journal initially appear in short informative articles, conference proceedings, and articles analyzing the legal rights of women. A shift in the nature of the articles towards narrative structures is apparent in the mid-80s. As such, although the two discourse strands—the political and the narrative—may be distinct because of the methodological approaches towards researching and documenting political discourse, they both illustrate an increasing attention towards the position of women within the political discourse. As indicated in the narrative discourse strand, the journal publication exhibits an increased attention to fiction pieces, literature, poetry, interviews, testimonies, and personal narratives from 1984-1987. These narratives developed as a direct response to and a direct result of the war. Therefore, although it may seem as though *Al-Raida* abandoned articles on political discourse in the journal in favor of narratives, it only shifted the type of articles published insofar as it began increasingly to value narratives that shared and documented the war experience.

⁴⁰ Or discursive knots, are defined as places where the discourse strands intersect and overlap.

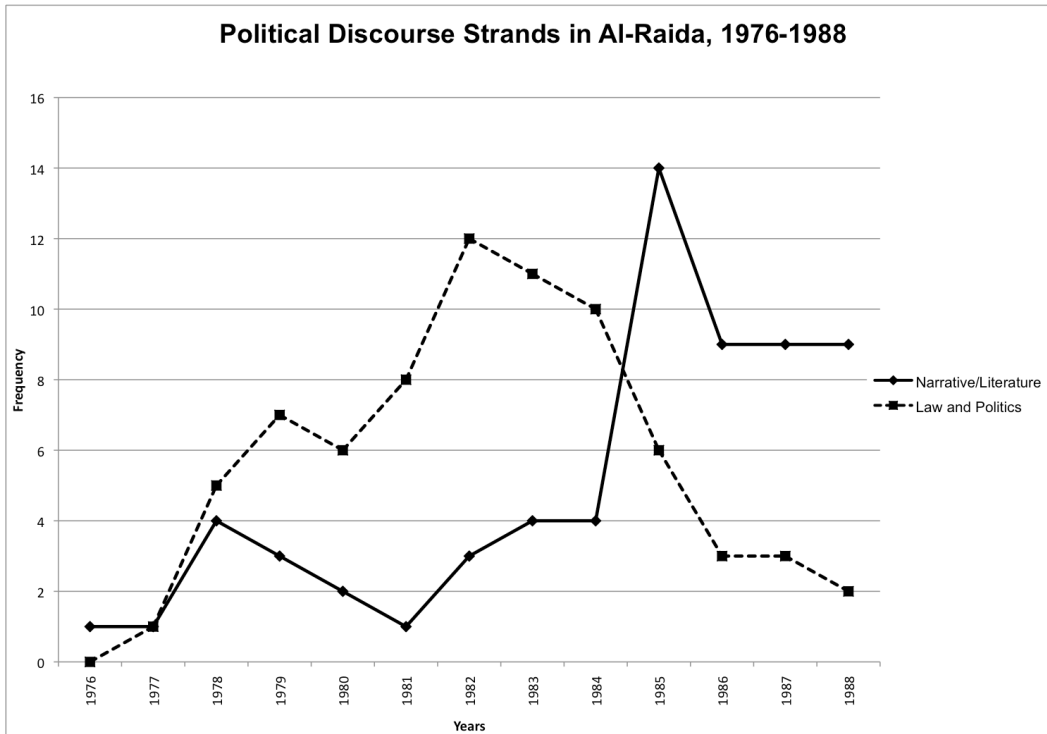


Fig. 3. Political Discourse strands in *Al-Raida* from 1976 to 1988 based on the frequency of appearance of two dominant discourse strands: Political discourse as articulated through arguments for political representation and women in the law, and narratives that reflect an increase in political positioning.

Women’s Status in the Law

A short article published in 1977 about the “New Law for the Equality of the Sexes in Lebanon” claims the Parliamentary Committee for Administration and Justice in Lebanon has theoretically approved the equality of the sexes in the following laws: “the law which refuses the testimony of women in real estate courts...the law which prevents women from starting business enterprises without their husband’s agreement...the law which requires married women to obtain a permit from their husbands before taking a trip abroad” (11). In a follow-up article in the third issue, *Al-Raida* reports on the confirmation of the application of a law on labor equality between men and women, including equal wages and “forbids racial discrimination concerning the right of the individual to

work and job protection” (“The Lebanese Ministry,” 9). Although the articles are short reports on the status of women in Lebanese law, the information presented indicates significant breakthroughs in reforming laws on the status of women. In the fourth issue, another short article arguing against the law of “honor crime”, titled “Article 562 of the Lebanese Penal Code Must Be Amended,” posits that such a double standard should not be allowed in the penal code (10). These short articles on the law in Lebanon reveal an awareness of the need for changing the laws to reflect an equal status in the Penal Code between men and women. However, the same issue makes a further elaborate argument against the Personal Status laws in the Islamic law system.

In “Liberation of the Arab Woman Within the Limits of Islamic Law,” a summary of Muhammad Nuwaihi’s paper presented at the Conference on “Woman and Evolution” at the American University of Cairo, Egypt in 1975, is published in the fourth issue in 1978 (6-7). This article is the first of many arguing for the rights of women in Islamic law and presents a thorough introduction to the conversation. Nuwaihi claims, “Islam is not a static religion, as some people think. Moslem jurisprudence (Fiqh), derived from the Qur’an and Sunna and divided into 4 schools, is also characterized by tolerance and consideration” (“Limits,” 6). Furthermore, the article argues that a revival of “the investigation method (*ijtihad*)...has led to the promulgation of certain laws which serve the women’s movement, without causing any prejudice to Islamic law” (“Limits,” 6). The article makes two concessions. The first concession states “that the liberation we claim for women is not absolute liberty, including the sexual freedom which has become permissible in some Western countries. This kind of freedom we condemn because of its social evils and also because it is directly

opposed to formal Islamic law” (“Limits,” 6). To argue for women’s rights within the Islamic law, the argument must also refute the “Western model” of sexual freedom,⁴¹ creating a distance between “Western feminists” and Islamic women (“Limits,” 6). This rhetorical move is also seen in various arguments for women’s equality throughout the literature. The second concession states that each Arab country should reform their laws according to their social and cultural nuances. “Reform has to take into consideration the needs and level of each country, and the plan worked out should follow a list of priorities” (“Limits,” 6). Although the article does make these two concessions, Nuwaihhi also lists the six main demands of Arab women that should be granted in all countries. Nuwaihhi also mentions that the first four are implemented somewhat extensively in the Middle East and direct attention should be paid to the last two issues:

- 1) The right to education at all levels.
- 2) The right to go out of their houses without restriction.
- 3) The right to be paid for work.
- 4) The right to participate in political elections.
- 5) Economic equality of men and women.
- 6) Reform of family laws which are unjust to women. (“Limits,” 6).

The article notes that although almost all of the Arab countries have provided equality on the first four accounts listed above, the women’s movement should not be concerned only with the last two points: the economic freedom and

⁴¹ The use of quotes here is to indicate that the definition of Western feminism conflated with sexual freedom is part of the historical context in which the Women’s Liberation Movement is often misappropriated as being the radical extreme. Thus, arguments to remain distanced from Western feminism often equate, as a result of misinformation, the radical strand of Western feminist discourse with such a position, whereas Western feminism is much more nuanced than such a definition may allow.

Personal Status laws. Nuwaihi concludes his presentation by saying, “the law of personal status is the basic struggle worthy of the efforts of both men and women reformers” (“Limits,” 7). The article concludes by stating that the importance of Personal Status laws should be the main concern of the women’s movement in the Arab countries: “The amendment of this law is the corner stone in the liberation of society as a whole and in the edification of a strong and progressive nation” (“Limits,” 7). As such, this initial article on the topic of Personal Status laws initiates the journal into the conversation concerning women and Islamic law. It thoroughly introduces the topic of Islamic law and Personal Status laws as an important aspect of women’s equality, presents arguments for *ijtihad* and the women’s movement, as well as situates the argument in opposition to the “Western model” of equality which focuses on sexual freedom. Although the topic of women in the law is introduced thoroughly in the fourth issue, the next article on the topic would not show up until the seventh issue in 1979.

The first and perhaps the most important and elaborate article on honor crimes in Lebanon, “The Law Applied to ‘Honor Crimes’ is a Disgrace to the Law,” is originally written⁴² in Arabic by Nabeela Saab Barakat, a Lebanese lawyer, and translated to English by Rose Ghurayyib. Barakat argues against Article 562 in the Lebanese (and other Arab countries’) penal code: “The penal law...states that a husband who surprises his wife in the flagrant act of adultery and kills her under the influence of anger[,]has the right to benefit from alleviating circumstances and receive a light penalty” (Barakat 6). However, the wife, on the other hand, has no right to alleviating circumstances if she “surprises her husband in the same act” (Barakat 6). The article continues to argue that

⁴² It is unclear where the article was originally published.

such an injustice may lead to the “difficulty of distinguishing between premeditated and unpremeditated crime” in which the husband may claim he did not plan the attack, while he indeed did. “The judge, on the other hand, often yields to the influence of public opinion which incriminates the wife and acquits the husband” (Barakat 6). Therefore, the article concludes, it is imperative that Article 562 is abolished and the word “honor” should “be wiped out as a term which unjustly serves to justify atrocious crimes committed by wicked individuals who seek thereby to cover their own shame by simulating a dignity which they lack” (Barakat 6). Although this article was not written for *Al-Raida* specifically, Ghurayyib’s decision to translate it from its original Arabic and include it in this issue illustrates the current conversation in Lebanon in Arabic publications and the journal’s attempt to include current arguments published in various media outlets, in order to keep the readers informed of the current updates on women in the law.

During the initial years from 1977-1980, the majority of *Al-Raida*’s articles on women in the law were conference proceedings, book reviews, book summaries, and translated articles published elsewhere. Ghurayyib’s editorial decision to, literally, “piece together” the conversation on women in the law illustrates the lack of original articles published in English in *Al-Raida* on the issue and an attempt to foster a dialogue. During this period, however, although the discourse strand is established, it is not developed further than summary articles on the (then) current status of women. For example, the second article on women in the law in this issue is a summary of the recommendations from the Cairo Family Planning Association seminar held in February of 1978. The recommendations includes an argument for the reformation of family codes

regarding the marriage age, polygamy, divorce, and custody (“The Legal,” 12). *Tunisian Woman and Her Place in Positive Law* by Naziha Lakehal-Ayat, published in Dar el Amal, Tunisia in 1977 is reviewed two years later in the ninth issue (9). Short information articles about women in European political field, information about a new Egyptian law restricting divorce and polygamy⁴³ (“European Women,” 6), a summary of a review of *Women Under Communism*⁴⁴ by Barbara Wolfe Jancar (“Women Under,” 10), and an extended excerpt about the status of women in Islam from Amina al-Said’s 1966 lecture⁴⁵ (“Excerpts From,” 11) all appear in the tenth issue. The extended excerpt from Amina al-Said’s lecture mirrors Nuwaihi’s initial argument about the equality of women under Islamic laws, in his article on women in Islam,⁴⁶ by claiming “Islam, as far as codifying laws are concerned, was the first religion to give woman a status as an independent person” (“Excerpts From,” 11). Therefore, *Al-Raida* continued to publish articles arguing for the position on Islamic law to reflect a modernist⁴⁷ approach that advocated *ijtihad* and for reforming Personal Status laws concerning women.

⁴³ initially published in *An-Nahar* newspaper

⁴⁴ Published by John Hopkins University Press in 1978 and reviewed by Diane L. Simpson in AWP Newsletter on February/March 1979.

⁴⁵ published in *Middle Eastern Muslim Women Speak*, edited by Elizabeth Fernea and Basima Bezirgan

⁴⁶ “Liberation of the Arab Women within the Limits of Islamic Law,” 6.

⁴⁷ The term “modernist” here refers to a term defined in Stowasser’s “Women’s Issues in Modern Islamic Thought” of a community of Muslim scholars who perceive Islam as a “dynamic” religion: open and permissive, which allows the consideration of factors of time and societal change in the interpretation of the Qur’an. Such a position argues that contemporary social concerns are compatible with the “flexible blueprint of original Islam” and emphasizes and relies on individual interpretation of the scriptures (*ijtihad*) while deemphasizing the canonical Islamic law (*Shari’a*).

Laila Shikhani Nakouz's "A Study on 'Honor Crimes' in Lebanon"⁴⁸

reiterates an argument for the amendment of the penal codes concerning "honor crimes": "The mentality of our society must be changed through education and socialization, especially in backward areas which still consider retaliation and avenging blood as a sacred law" (13). The language illustrates that increased attention is focused on the social structure of Arab society, in addition to the laws, indicating an awareness of the inability for laws to initiate social change. A summary of the report on "Studies about Woman's Status in Kuwait and the Arab Gulf" in the twelfth issue, initially published in Arabic,⁴⁹ presents the Personal Status laws in Kuwait within the Islamic framework, positioning women within the religious framework (15). Increasing attention in the journal during this time is given to the status of women in Islamic laws in various countries in the Middle East.

The first original article on women in the political field, Ghurayyib's "Women as Peace Makers," presents a historical overview of women's participation in politics, beginning with ancient religious representations of women as "domineering, militant, goddesses, sorceresses and amazons" (9). The article summarizes the "patriarchal period" after which women were women "developed peaceful traits, due to their lack of participation in war" (Ghurayyib, "Women as," 9). The article continues tracing women's historical participation in political arenas, arguing that the current "big challenge" for peace-makers, "both men and women, is now much more pressing than it ever has been. War has

⁴⁸ initially published in *Al-Hasna Magazine*

⁴⁹ Originally appeared in *An-Nahar*, 18 February 1980.

given way to *terrorism*⁵⁰ which is much more dangerous and devastating because, unlike war, it obeys no international laws and follows no established principles” (emphasis in original, Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 9).

The introduction of the term “terrorism” in this article highlights the reflection of the political turmoil and responds to the situation of the Lebanese civil war during which much of the fighting caused widespread destruction. The urgency in the article also illustrates a need for active peace-building processes instead of a passive resistance to war: “The deflection of all our skills, energy, know-how and social idealism into systematic militarization of the planet is the ultimate pathology of the age” (Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 9). The article concludes by providing suggestions for “what women can do,” as writers, journalists, researchers, leaders, members of NGOs to contribute to “the recent anti-war movement” (Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 9). A call for active participation in peace projects is indicated: “While [women] continue along these lines, they are expected to look for other fields of effective participation in international peace projects,” mentioning Andre Michel’s call for “fighting war and armament, excessive accumulation of wealth, political repression, social and international inequity” (Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 9). The article concludes with Elise Boulding’s recommendations for cooperation, collaboration, and networking between scholars and activists from around the world, encouraging “woman futurists” whose “strength lies in their commitment to a different future,” and creating equality between the sexes in all aspects of social, familial, community, academic, and political life (Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 10). Furthermore, it calls for an increase in women leaders in the U.N. (Ghurayyib, “Women as,” 10). This

⁵⁰ Ghurayyib’s commentary on terrorism is a response to the increasing violence and terrorist actions during the Lebanese Civil War.

article marks an important argument in *Al-Raida* in which peace is not a passive resistance to war, but an active fight against war, and indicates the important role women must play in the active implementation of peace and peace building.

“Personal Status Laws in Arab Countries,” published at the end of 1980, presents the resolutions of a seminar held in Beirut in 1974 (6). It is noted in the article that:

In Lebanon, where each of the various religious communities has formulated its own personal status laws, no change has taken place since 1917 except in the inheritance laws, which in 1958 became separate for Muslims and Christians while, before that date, all communities had adopted the Koranic inheritance laws allowing females half of the males’ share in inheritance.

(“Personal,” 6)

Furthermore, in 1981, issues 15, 16 and 17 continue to present articles that focus on women in the law, including a short informative piece on “A Charter for Women’s Rights,” which is a list of demands established by The League for the Lebanese Woman’s Rights in reaction to the U.N.’s “Charter of Man’s Rights” (12). The list of demands includes elimination of illiteracy; laws that implement equal pay for equal work; protection for women’s work during marriage, pregnancy or maternity; paid maternity leave; social security rights for women; abolition of discriminatory laws and practices; establishing the minimum age of marriage at 18; equality for women in divorce and child responsibility; equality in inheritance laws; eliminating prostitution (“A Charter,” 12).

Ghurayyib’s choice of publications also reveals writing that greatly influence her theoretical positions on women’s issues, politics, and social justice,

including Betty Freidan and Simone De Beauvoir. Her position on liberating women from class structures mirrors Freidan and De Beauvoir's articulations of moving beyond a restrictive notion of the feminist movement. Ghurayyib's early editorials, such as her editorial for the sixteenth issue in 1981, focus close attention to women's work and the need to liberate women in order to allow them to join the labor division and the process of development, which illustrate her theoretical position on the importance of women's individual liberation. The editorial for the 16th issue titled "Why a Women's Liberation Movement?" presents the arguments for amending Article 562 of the Lebanese penal code (1). Further in the editorial, Ghurayyib elaborates on the inability of legal measures to influence social change: "Discrimination against women is not limited to the legal field. Traditions imposed by society on her upbringing and socialization encourage her treatment as an object. They require her to be good-looking and try to lure others by her looks, her dress and her smooth manners" ("Why," 1). She ends the editorial by stating that anyone who criticizes the women's liberation movement is misinformed and should be "more enlightened and less superficial in their judgment" (Ghurayyib, "Why," 1). Her editorial reveals the attention to the lack of influence of the law on the Arab traditional society. As such, an increased focus on research of women in the Arab family and traditions are displayed in conjunction with publications about the law and politics. Her ability to tie the social and political discourse strands in one editorial, and throughout the journal, illustrates Ghurayyib's keen attention on the various forces that shape the environment in which the women's liberation movement operates.

The publication of an article titled “Project of ‘Charter for the Defense of Women’”⁵¹ developed by the Commission of the European Parliament for Women’s Rights, which “condemns vocational discrimination, proposes a complex system of maternity—and paternity—leaves, and a cure for sick children” argues for the need for the inclusion, awareness, and attentiveness of Lebanese women in the international conversation (“Project,” 14). A short informative article on the “Ninth Conference of the Committee for the Lebanese Woman’s Rights” held in 1981 is presented in the 17th issue, in which recommendations includes elimination of all forms of discrimination and a call for the cooperation among various organizations (6). The same issue includes a research study titled, “The Dowry in Algeria,” by Chafika Marouf initially published elsewhere,⁵² which summarizes the laws on dowry in Algeria. Similarly, the same issue presents “A Glance into the Status of the Moroccan Woman,” a summary of Rabi’a Harakat’s article,⁵³ initially published in Arabic. While the journal would continue to publish articles on the status of women within the law in various countries, as I will continue to discuss in this chapter, the focus of the articles published in 1982 and 1983 turns towards the political involvement of women in the Arab Unity Movement, Peace Movement, and the Lebanese civil war. This next section will discuss the way in which *Al-Raida* framed women’s political participation in the issues published in 1982.

⁵¹ Originally published in *Le Reveil*, 4 December 1980.

⁵² It was initially published in *Actes des Journées d’Etude et de Réflexion sur les Femmes Algériennes*, Centre de Documentation des Sciences Humaines, Université d’Oran, 3, 4, 5, et 6 Mai 1980.

⁵³ Published by *Al-Khidma al-lamiya lil-Mar’a l’Arabiya* (Information, Demography, Development and Reconstruction Studies, Damascus).

Women in the Arab Unity Movement

Although this section specifically focuses on the articles published in 1982, I would like to introduce this section by quoting Ghurayyib's editorial in the fourth issue, published at the end of 1978. The editorial is titled "Post-war Thoughts," an indication that in 1978, the war in Lebanon was thought to be over and attention shifted to the process of rebuilding a nation; unbeknownst to her, the war would last for another several years. Her editorial reveals the optimistic view of rebuilding the country and the important role women must play in such an endeavor:

The responsibility of women in national development is no less important than that of men. Not only because ruined Lebanon needs a larger number of working hands to rebuild it, but also because all the countries of the world, developing or developed, which are represented by the United National Organization, are demanding the participation of women in developmental activities. They are even imposing it on them in all fields and at all levels, hoping that they will become messengers of international peace agents of general security and welfare. (Ghurayyib, "Post-war," 1)

Since this editorial is written for the fourth issue, during the early phase of *Al-Raida's* publications, and during the early years of the civil war, Ghurayyib's optimism for the effect of the U.N.'s programs and for integrating women into peace activities are clearly articulated. She ends the editorial by stating:

"Intensive work can win the hearts and rebuild Lebanon" (Ghurayyib, "Post-war," 1). In comparison, three years later, in the midst of the civil war destruction, in her editorial for the 18th issue at the end of 1981, Ghurayyib revisits the topic of

the civil war. She references a visit by Dr. Azizah al-Hibri, then a professor of philosophy,⁵⁴ and introduces the editorial with a quote from al-Hibri: “Leading psychologists and thinkers of today suggest as a remedy for common social evils a radical change in people’s conduct so that their dealings with each other will be based on cooperation and fair play instead of jealousy and competition” (“A Message,” 1). Ghurayyib elaborates on this quote by incorporating the idea of jealousy into her conceptual understanding of the Lebanese civil war: “War, the main source of injustice and suffering, has no other cause but jealousy and greed...The Lebanese war of today has no other cause but jealousy and lust for power and positions, whether the fight is induced by rival great powers or by the local parties and communities” (“A Message,” 1). While this is merely the second editorial on the Lebanese civil war, and many more articles are to appear from 1982 to 1984, the difference in the tone and outlook between the two editorials accurately portrays the shift in outlook of the women’s movement in Lebanon from one of active participation in peace building to a desperate attempt to keep the social fabric of Lebanese lives intact. *Al-Raida* did not explicitly publish articles about the war until after the height of the fighting during the war was over. The issues in 1984 dedicated to the narratives of the women during the war are an effort to document and preserve the experiences of women, to cope with trauma, and an effort to share stories and share experiences. Articles published in 1982 presents arguments for the integration of women into the Arab Unity Movement.

The first issue published in 1982, issue number nineteen, included two articles on the Arab Unity Movement. The first, “Seminar on the ‘Arab Woman

⁵⁴ As of 1992, a professor of law at T.C. Williams School of Law, University of Richmond.

and Her Role in the Arab Unity Movement” presents the summary from the seminar organized by the Center for Arab Unity Studies in Beirut, Lebanon during September 1981 (5-7). The second is a summary of the paper presented by Nawal El Saadawi at the same conference, “A Strategy for the Integration of Arab Women in the Arab Unity Movement” (9-10). The first article mentions that the participants included Arab scholars, academics, researchers and consultants to social projects from various Arab countries. It summarizes the various topics from the fifteen papers that were presented during the seminar. The three main foci of the seminar included: the historical background of the Arab woman, an analysis of problems and needs of the Arab woman, and recommendations for integration of women into the process of national development (“Seminar on,” 5-7). The summary presents the following outline of issues: historical background; influence of the social structure; woman’s image in mass media; woman’s image in contemporary fiction; political activity; woman and the impact of oil; women’s legal status in Maghreb: Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco; women’s education. The summary introduces the seminar by stating that “the lectures and discussions were not limited to the political aspects of women’s role as the general topic might suggest” (“Seminar on,” 5). Furthermore, the summary states: “The general treatment of the various topics reflected a revolutionary attitude emphasizing a desire for radical change, as well as a certain effort toward an objective and factual handling of the subjects. The participants claimed complete equality of rights between the sexes, including those regarding personal status laws” (“Seminar on,” 5). The article continues to summarize each topic and present the main points from the seminar, which I will further elaborate on as they best

represent the various ideological positions concerning the approach to the history of Arab women and reforming the status of women within Islamic laws.

The historical background includes a summary of women's status in the Jahiliyya (pre-Islamic period) and the Omayyad period. "According to Dr. Ali Shalaq, who treated this topic, Islam laid the foundations of family and social laws which were elucidated by Muslim lawyers and remain until now the rule of conduct for Muslim society" ("Seminar on," 5). The article points out that the veil was not instituted by the Qur'an, but by Muslim jurists. Furthermore, while women in Islam were encouraged to "seek knowledge like a man," historical overview illustrates the presence of girls' schools did not appear until the middle of the 19th century⁵⁵ ("Seminar on," 5). "While some of the speakers rejected the theory that considers religious laws partly responsible for woman's inferior status, other attacked the rigid attitude of interpreters and jurists, and condemned the misuse of religion for political ends" ("Seminar on," 5). While the disagreement over the culpability of religion is apparent, the presenters did all agree that, "Arab history should be carefully investigated for the purpose of pointing out the achievements of prominent Arab women throughout the various periods of Arab supremacy" ("Seminar on," 5). Thus, the article highlights religion as a point of conflict and presents the recommendations of the seminar, which includes the call for historical research.

Halim Barakat, a professor of sociology at the Lebanese University, presents the social structure of the traditional Arab family in restricting women's participation in the public sphere: "The system of domestic production, which for a long time prevailed in Arab lands, established not only the division of labor but

⁵⁵ Also true in the West for the most part.

also the restriction of women to household duties” (“Seminar on,” 5). The emphasis on women’s reproductive abilities served to enslave women in the home. The woman’s image in the Egyptian media presented by Dr. Awatef Abdul-Rahman, portrays women in traditional roles as mother, housekeeper, or wife. Similar tendencies appear in the Gulf countries’ magazines⁵⁶ that emphasize the traditional role of women (“Seminar on,” 6). Dr. Lateefa al-Zayyat’s presentation on the image of women in contemporary Arab fiction “showed the impact of class antagonism on woman’s status” (“Seminar on,” 6). The fiction portrays women as, “members of the working class and of the [petit] bourgeoisie, [who] crave intermarriage with the class of landlords and rulers...that such an alliance would raise them to the rank of their superiors” (“Seminar on,” 6). The presentation also includes a literary analysis of *Season of Migration to the North*, in which the narrator tells the story of Mustafa Said embodying the mentality of his oppressors and torturing his English wives in an effort to destroy his imperialistic rulers.⁵⁷ It is interesting to note here that no efforts were made to include women’s literary texts into the analysis.⁵⁸

The article further summarizes presentations on women’s political activity in Arab history. Linda Matar, the president of the Lebanese League for Women’s Rights, posits that women’s organizations mirror the political and ideological contradictions, and eventually neglect their own demands: “[women’s organizations] become tools of publicity for party politics and neglect their own

⁵⁶ with the exception of one magazine, *Al-Azmina-al-Hadeetha* (Modern Times) (“Seminar on,” 6).

⁵⁷ The narrator, who remains unnamed in the narrative, escapes the same fate because of his more tolerant and humane attitude. Written by Tayib Saleh in Arabic in 1966, it is postcolonial novel of the effects of oppression, imperialism, and domination.

⁵⁸ While during this time much of the narrative writing about the war in Lebanon publically appeared.

demands regarding woman” (“Seminar on,” 6) She further remarks on the difference between the woman’s liberation movement in the Arab world and the “Western” woman’s liberation movement: “western-inspired ideas such as the approval of sexual freedom, struggle against the male sex, and dissociation of women’s problems from those of men[,]did not succeed because they did not spring from local needs” (“Seminar on,” 6). Matar’s position marks the development of “Third World” feminist theory in which the local needs of women in vastly different cultural and social structures have not been incorporated into the larger women’s movement which often carries with it Western-centered values of gender equality.

Furthermore, Najla N. Bashshur notes the lack of political participation from women in party leadership. While women have been present in national struggles, they have not been integrated into the party leadership. Dr. Hafiza Shoucair, from the Tunis School of Law, further reiterates, “the women’s organizations in the Maghreb states have been subordinated to the ruling political parties. Their function is to support the government without paying attention to the women’s needs,” and in order to produce change, organizations need to gain independence from governmental control (“Seminar on,” 6). In summarizing the section on women and the impact of oil, Dr. Rumeihi posits, “A new wave of traditionalism has invaded oil countries as a barrier against presumable revolts aiming the political régimes. In Saudi Arabia, complete separation of the sexes is required in schools and universities” (“Seminar on,” 6). Thus, including women in the process of development is “a partial solution to the problem of the preponderance of foreign workers in the oil countries” (“Seminar on,” 6). Even though the article does not further reflect on the historical context of Saudi

Arabia, it does present the fundamental issues with women's positioning in dogmatic religious framework.

Shoucair further elaborates on the legal status of women in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. Although polygamy is forbidden in Tunisia, it is allowed in Morocco and Algeria. Tunisian Muslim women are allowed to marry non-Muslim men, but this is not the case in Morocco and Algeria. The *Mahr* or bride-price is still implemented in all three countries. "On the whole, in spite of the fact that Tunisian laws grant women certain advantages over those of the other two countries, equality of the sexes is not recognized" ("Seminar on," 7). Laure Moughaizel, a Lebanese lawyer and feminist, argues, "the inequality of the sexes in the personal status laws is not only a flagrant violation of human dignity, but it is also a chief obstacle to woman's participation in the political, social, economic, and cultural development of her country" ("Seminar on," 7). The last section summarizes the presentations on women's education, noting a call by Hisham Nashabeh, the Dean of Education at the Makassed Association in Lebanon, to look towards the future instead of the past. "It is useless to lay on religion or on the cultural heritage the responsibility of the Arab woman's inferiority" ("Seminar on," 7). In conclusion, the following main points are summarized as recommendations and observations of the seminar:

- a. Illiteracy as a chief cause of woman's underdevelopment
- b. Danger of misusing religion for political ends.
- c. Failure of the Arab revolutionary movement to liberate women.
- d. Necessity of rehabilitating woman's role in Arab history.

("Seminar on," 7)

The seminar accurately presents a comprehensive perspective on the various women's issues and the competing views on the development of the woman's liberation movement in the Arab world with relation to the Arab Unity Movement, Islamic laws, and an historical overview. The seminar indicates that academics, researchers, and participants in community and national organizations are willing to attempt to uncover some of the basic issues and problems facing Arab women in various Arab countries, and serves to present some of the fundamental issues and controversies during this particular moment in history.

Nawal El Saadawi's article, which is a summary of her paper presentation in the same seminar, titled "A Strategy for the Integration of Arab Women in the Arab Unity Movement," highlights some of the concerns that face women during national struggles (9-10). She begins by claiming that women's participation in national movements have been muted and her participation in political activity has been denied. Historically, much of the early women's organizations have focused on charity works instead of political representation, and their aim was to support the men's political party. "International imperialism," claims El Saadawi, "which tries to spread its international effectiveness by enforcing free trade and economy, aims at the same time, and through calculated plans, to wipe out national and local culture in developing countries" (El Saadawi, "A Strategy," 9). It attempts to do so by opposing local unity movements, she argues, such as the Arab Unity Movement. "The Arab women's movement today should beware of submitting to these tactics of imperialism. It should not aim at fighting religion per se, but it should fight its exploitation for subversive ends. This movement must include not only bourgeois women but also those of the laboring masses" (El Saadawi, "A Strategy," 7). El Saadawi further argues that illiteracy itself is not the

problem and presents it within a larger context in which it cannot be easily separated: “There is also political ignorance and a whole past of oppression which has resulted in deforming their nature” (El Saadawi, “A Strategy,” 8). She argues for “true democracy,” which is “equality and close association between leadership and infrastructure in the process of planning and decision-making” (El Saadawi, “A Strategy,” 8). A democratic women’s movement should “struggle to free women from mental slavery. It is not enough to claim political, social and economic freedom without freeing the soul, thus breaking inner chains” (El Saadawi, “A Strategy,” 8). El Saadawi’s definition of a democratic women’s movement in this article exemplifies the shift in the women’s movement from arguing for economic equality, participation in process of national development, equality of the sexes in the laws, and an argument of social equality free from the Arab traditional family, to a more nuanced understanding of the ways in which these oppressive systems closely align to form a larger more systematic oppressive means of governance, including international imperialist forces, as well as local denial of women in all forms of social, political, economic, national and religious participation.

The editorial for the 21st issue, titled “Freedom Cannot Be One-Sided,” published in August of 1982 illustrates this shift in the women’s movement to a more nuanced understanding of the various ways in which women were systematically oppressed (1). Ghurayyib’s editorial begins with an anecdote of a woman who wants a divorce from her husband because of the way she is treated. Once she obtains a divorce, this same woman is free to join the work force and make her own money. She soon realizes, however, that her boss exploits her, overworks her, and she is expected to passively allow such

treatment to occur. "In fact," claims Ghurayyib, "she had gone from one form of slavery to another" (Ghurayyib, "Freedom," 1). Furthermore, her analogy is applied to include whole nations: "This principle applies to large communities, to states and nations, as it applies to individuals. A state that has achieved freedom and independence is apt to be attacked by another state which does not believe in or does not practice freedom" (Ghurayyib, "Freedom," 1). Her editorial refers not only to a woman's position in the house and in the workplace, but also to the understanding that imperialist forces are at play in the struggle for Lebanon's freedom. The struggle for women's liberation, she illustrates, is not only for the freedom of women from traditional society and laws, but also for social justice. She claims: "The struggle for freedom and the struggle for social justice must go hand in hand. They are two sides of the same coin" (Ghurayyib, "Freedom," 1).

As such, Ghurayyib's feminist theory indicates a shift to a larger understanding of the position of women in developing countries and the struggle for freedom, which includes a struggle for social justice, a struggle against inequality in all forms, a struggle against poverty, and "a freedom from want and misery" ("Freedom," 1). Ghurayyib's understanding of feminism is illustrated in "relation to an emerging consciousness of injustices, grounded in raced and gendered hierarchies, which generates transformative efforts" (Hawkesworth, *Globalization*, 32). This conceptualization of feminism, rather than one that conflates feminism with a social movement, as forms of protest, or identifying a problem, allows for the recognition of various forms of feminist efforts. Consequently, *Al-Raida* began to increasingly publish on various issues, efforts, and articulations, including efforts to galvanize, to resist violence, build

community, all of which are efforts on the part of women in reaction to the Lebanese war.

The Peace Movement

The “Peace Campaign” in *Al-Raida* is introduced in an article titled, “STAR (Stop the Arms Race)” that provides information on the campaign organized by the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, which officially began on March 8, 1982 (8). “WILPF has special cards for collecting signatures of women pacifists, and a \$1 star button for each signature,” the article states. The signatures will be used in an effort to deliver the message to Ronald Regan that no “Cruise and Pershing II missiles be deployed in Europe” (“STAR,” 8). The article includes a concluding section titled, “*Al-Raida*’s Response” which contains the following message:

While we strongly support the STAR international campaign for peace, we urge that the call be extended to Eastern Europe, to Soviet Russia and to other countries in the Middle and Far East, in Africa and in Latin America.

Our world is so interdependent and its problems so interrelated that it is useless to limit peace efforts to one part of the world while other parts are in an actual or potential state of war. The hot spots of the world in the Middle East and in Latin America need immediate consideration and help. (“STAR,” 8)

The call for understanding the “interdependent” and “interrelated” problems of the world echo of a transnational and global understanding of the women’s movement, particularly in response to violence and wars. This article is published

in light of Nawal El Saadawi's argument in the earlier issue. The same issue includes conference proceedings from the "Asian Women's Role in Peace and Development," which highlights some of the main points made throughout the conference of the same name (11-12). For example, the summary states, "Experience has taught us that **competition** is one of the many destructive forces in the modern world. Competition is destructive for the students, frustrating for the teachers and does not do any good for the building of peace" (emphasis in original. "Asian Women's Role," 11).⁵⁹ As such, the introduction of active measures towards a process of peace building is introduced through the informational article and the conference proceedings, and it is further developed in the next issue publication.

The 22nd issue, published at the end of 1982, is thematically structured around the topic of "peace," as the editorial suggests. The editorial, titled "World Campaign for Peace," reiterates the introduction of the WILPF movement and the STAR movement, in addition to the "Asian Women's Role in Peace and Development" conference (1). Furthermore, the editorial makes reference to the protest in New York on June 13, 1982 in which around 500,000 people

⁵⁹ Similarly, in her untitled editorial for the fourteenth issue in 1980, Ghurayyib argues against a hierarchical, competitive, masculinity that is impressed onto children at an early age. She claims traditions are projected onto people's offspring, which can be compared to the "transmission of titles and property" (14.1). She is defining masculinity as a social construct and competitiveness as a damaging trait: "The child is viewed as an individual struggling against, not with, his associates," and it creates jealousy. "It does not occur to the parents that love and cooperation might yield better [results] than rivalry and vehemence" she argues. Her editorial continues to give an example of a female child who is taught to hate her cousin. Such examples in Ghurayyib's editorials illustrate her position on the debate between gender and biological determinism. She clearly situates her arguments in relation to Simone De Beauvoir's position on gender as a social construct, and calls into question not only femininity but also, as exemplified in this editorial, masculinity. De Beauvoir's influence on Ghurayyib's social constructivist understanding towards the concept of "woman" also influenced her understanding of "man" and "child," as explained in the editorial.

demonstrated in a march from the United Nations to Central Park.⁶⁰ The editorial suggests that for a successful peace movement to take place, “[it] should be global and simultaneous; otherwise it would result in an imbalance of power and favor aggressiveness among those who support it only by word but not by deed” (Ghurayyib, “World,” 1). She concludes the editorial by stating that the women’s movement in the past 150 years has been active in promoting peace, “But the women’s movement cannot be of real help unless it becomes global... only through reaching a universal dimension, may a project or movement be said to have achieved real power” (Ghurayyib, “World,” 1). She references Robin Morgan’s anthology of feminist literature *Sisterhood is Powerful* and her follow-up anthology *Sisterhood is Global*⁶¹ to illustrate that the movement indeed needs to take into consideration systems of oppression on a global scale.

The same issue presents two articles under the heading “Peace Notes” in which the peace movement is further explored as it relates to the role of men and women in the movement. The first article, “Should we Lose Faith in Man?” (2), and the second, “What Can Women Do for Peace?” (3), determine the role women should play in peace activities and how these roles may relate to the local civil war in Lebanon. The first article introduces the topic of terrorism by arguing that although terrorists may say they are justified as a form of retaliation

⁶⁰ According to Glenn P. Hastedt in the *Encyclopedia of American Foreign Policy*, the cold war provided two “rallying points in the peace movement” in the two peace demonstrations, STAR and the anti-nuclear demonstration in New York in 1982, as a result of the “concern over President Ronald Regan’s loose rhetoric about nuclear war and the buildup in military spending” (387).

⁶¹ Ghurayyib contributed an article on the Lebanese feminist movement, titled “The Harem Window” to Morgan’s anthology in 1984. In her piece, she presents three fields that Lebanese women have contributed to: journalism, literary, and artistic. She argues the patriarchal system that has been exploiting women, like her sisters around the world, has been one of the main problems for women’s development.

against past injustices, “when terrorism takes the form of blind aggression against the innocent, nothing can justify it. It is then a reversion to wild and irresponsible behavior, resulting in wholesale destruction, despotic rule and general extermination” (“Should We,” 2). Ghurayyib⁶² makes a plea for the “civilized man” not to succumb to such forms of incivility: “We believe in civilized man because the gap between him and those who are still at the primitive stage or behind their time, is so wide that it would seem unthinkable for the former to revert to the low condition into which the latter may sink” (“Should We,” 2). Furthermore, an argument against terrorist acts is presented in the second article, “What Can Women Do for Peace?” which introduces concepts from the “Socialist International Women” Bulletin and recommendations for peace building (Ghurayyib 3). The recommendations include: developing cooperative structure, creating educational curricula in schools based on equality, omitting violence from television programs, providing facts and information on wars, and establishing an egalitarian relationship between the sexes (Ghurayyib, “What Can,” 3). The article also concludes with a section on the Lebanese war, which I will quote at length and further discuss below:

In Lebanon, the horrors endured by the population during the 8-year-war should have created by now a general attitude of abhorrence to war, particularly because it evolved into terrorism in its varied atrocious forms: assassinations, kidnappings, sniping, wholesale massacres, the use of booby-trapped cars and other explosive weapons, destruction, and the burning and plundering of property.

⁶² Although the author remains anonymous, it is indicated on the last page of the journal that Rose Ghurayyib is the “author of unsigned articles.”

Here as elsewhere we have to fight the destructive cult of tough manliness⁶³ which persists in the traditional hero-worship of the “abadaye,”⁶⁴ the tough, aggressive, pugnacious fellow.

More destructive still has been the influence of terrorist political systems and parties which persuade people, through bribery and luring promises, to take terrorism and guerilla warfare as a profession. To these parties, destruction and assassination become the shortest way to world power and domination. Their adherents may forget that the violence they practice may also result in their own destruction. The above discussion, though presented by women and meant to awaken women’s awareness on the risks of war, does not fail to show that the protest movement is not just an issue for women. Everybody must participate, not least of all men with their heritage of military traditions and thinking. (Ghurayyib, “What Can,” 3)

The two published articles and the editorial for the 22nd issue mark an important recognition for the effects of the devastating war in Lebanon particularly during the year 1982. The year marked the invasion of Lebanon by the Israel Defense Forces (IDF), the Sabra and Shatilla massacres that resulted, the occupation of the South of Lebanon by IDF, and the assassination of Lebanon’s prime minister, Bachir Gemayel, in September. As such, the articles’ call for peace is an attempt to provide the readers with a workable and active participation in the peace process, which was at that point in time quite a large undertaking. The inclusion

⁶³ Again, Ghurayyib’s definition of masculinity as a socially constructed concept is illustrated.

⁶⁴ Tough-guy or hero

of men and women in the discourse on peace reveals the necessity for collaboration and cooperation of not only gender stratification, but also class, race and national cohesion for the purpose of implementing a peace process during such turbulent times. The rather direct message to include men in the process illustrates the acknowledgment of the root causes of gender oppression, as Cheryl Johnson-Odim notes, “The point is that factors other than gender figure integrally in the oppression of Third World Women and that, even regarding patriarchy, many Third World women labor under indigenous inequitable gender relationships exacerbated by Western patriarchy, racism, and exploitation” (321). Such a realization is clearly indicated in the issues in 1982 on peace movements published during a turbulent and violent historical context. Johnson-Odim also states, “Third World women can embrace the concept of gender identity, but must reject an ideology based solely on gender. Feminism, therefore, must be a comprehensive and inclusive ideology and movement that incorporates yet transcends gender-specificity” (321). Up until this point in the publication of the journal, much of the discussion concerned “women” as a category of analysis, presenting issues of Family Planning, women in development, and women in Islamic laws. The rearticulation of a theory on feminism as a comprehensive and inclusive ideology, to use Johnson-Odim’s terms, is evident in the arguments for the inclusion of men as victims of violence and terrorism in addition to women, for defining terrorism as the result of a dissolution of civility, and a call for collaborative and cooperative measures to end the violence in Lebanon that has claimed the lives of many people.

Consequently, the editorial for the 23rd issue marks the redefinition of the feminist movement in Lebanon. Ghurayyib’s editorial, titled “You Cannot Set the

Clock Back,” boldly announces that the problems of women who live in developing countries are quite different from women who live in developed countries (1). She lists some of the advances the women’s liberation movement in France made in the past years, including right to work (1972), right to abortion (1974), and the right to raise a rape suit against the accuser (1979) (Ghurayyib, “You Cannot,” 1). She does, however, continue to contrast the differences between lives of women in developed countries and lives of women in Lebanon in particular, where “women’s problems are much more complicated when compared with those of the First World,” such as the question of secularizing laws, Personal Status laws that are relegated to religious courts, and the confessional system which obstructs women’s participation in political activities (Ghurayyib, “You Cannot,” 1). She concludes by stating: “This brief comparison will perhaps show that the struggle is more tough, more complex and of a longer span for Third World women who are still short of studies and statistics that could support their claims and convince their countries of the authenticity of their needs” (Ghurayyib, “You Cannot,” 1).

The “National Conference of the Lebanese Women’s Council 23-4-1983,” summarized by Ghurayyib and Wafa’ Stephan, presents the resolutions of the “Role of Women in the Save Lebanon Campaign” conference (9). The resolutions reiterate Ghurayyib’s editorials, which places an emphasis in the process of peace-building activities, ending the war, creating a unified Personal Status code, the expulsion of all foreign troops from Lebanon, and increase of women into the governmental and non-governmental organizations, among other recommendations (Ghurayyib and Stephan 9). The conclusion states that the reaction from women to the conference is one of disappointment: “Many women

who had hoped to come out with definite answers and a clear plan of action were disappointed to find out that the final recommendations were more of a reiteration of old demands for the improvement of women's status in Lebanon" (Ghurayyib and Stephan 9). However, the women at the conference did also declare that such conferences were integral to the opening of dialogue between women's organizations that had been silent throughout the past eight years of the Lebanese war (Ghurayyib and Stephan 9). This article serves as an example of the repetition of the demands for the equality of women's status in the Arab countries. And while the dialogue is indeed important, the next three issues during the year 1983 would serve to illustrate a change in the dialogue articulated in *Al-Raida*. The next section will elaborate on the shift from short informative articles about the status of women in various Arab cultures, societies and nations to a more quantitative nature, including an increase in conducting interviews, documenting testimonies, and sharing narratives.

Women and War Narratives

The issues published in 1984 reveal a shift towards a more narrative-style of articles, including interviews, literature, and narratives on women in the war in Lebanon. Increased articles about fiction, poetry, literature, media, theater and the arts begin to appear in *Al-Raida*. This section will highlight the development of the political discourse through literary and narrative forms, which signified a move in the journal towards a more local exploration of women's efforts and reactions to the war. The social turn in the 80s brought with it the acknowledgement that writers are part of larger discourse communities that are influenced by social, cultural and political factors. The war narratives published in

Al-Raida are an example of the increasing awareness of the influence of the civil war on women writers, particularly writers who reflected on the war. A school of women writers known as the Beirut Decentrists, a term coined by miriam cooke in *War's Other Voices*, write about the civil war between 1975 and 1982. The literary production of women's narratives is further discussed in the next section but I introduce it here to note that this literature arose from similar circumstances as the war narratives that were documented in *Al-Raida* during the 1980s, that is from a need to document trauma and in so doing position themselves within the political conversation. The narratives documenting war narratives through interviews, ethnographies, and unpublished narratives, are a part of a larger literary move in which the documenting of daily war narratives was an essential element of Lebanese women writers during this time.

This turn towards war narratives can be further discussed using Dominick LaCapra's definition of "founding traumas," which are defined as "traumas that paradoxically become the valorized or intensely cathected basis of identity for an individual or a group rather than events that pose the problematic question of identity" (23). In other words, traumatic writing or post-traumatic writing that seems to 'act out' rather than 'work through' trauma may "also involve the feeling of keeping faith with trauma in a manner that leads to compulsive preoccupation with... an endless melancholic, impossible mourning, and a resistance to working through" (LaCapra 23). Furthermore, LaCapra explains the difference between 'acting out' and 'working through' is the ability for a victim to transcend the past, enabling a critical perspective after gaining distance from the event(s), though "acquired with extreme difficulty and not achieved once and for all" (70). Thus, when leaving trauma represents betrayal of some kind to a past in which loved

ones have been lost, war narratives, for example, and the preoccupation with acting out the past as performatively regenerated as if it were the present instead of part of memory, is itself a means of working through (LaCapra 70).

The narratives described in this section, all taken from the “Women and War” themed issue, published at the end of 1984, are narratives that were purposefully sought out and documented in the journal as a means to ‘act out’ and/or ‘work through,’ to use LaCapra’s terms, the victimization that occurred as a result of the violence of the war. This 30th issue includes an editorial by Wafa’ Stephan, the co-editor of the journal during that period, titled, “Women and War in Lebanon” (2). Her editorial summarizes the activities of Lebanese women during the war and their efforts to establish peace. This issue is of particular importance in that it publishes interviews and testimonies from Lebanese women who actively sought peace and reconciliation during the war and presents testimonies from women who stayed in Lebanon as a form of resistance and continued to promote peace-building activities.

The editorial states that the interest of the issue is to explore and raise awareness for the role women have played in the Lebanese war. Women have not participated in the war, Stephan states, “neither in its decision-making process nor in its efforts to achieve reconciliation” (“Women and War,” 2). Women have, however, provided relief efforts, attempted to “hold together the collapsing structures of Lebanese society,” volunteered with social welfare organizations, protested the violation of Human Rights, attempted to “appease the fighters by paying visits to refugee camps and military headquarters and putting flowers in the nozzles of guns,” participated in national and international conferences on the problems facing Lebanon, organized demonstrations and sit-

ins, and “stormed into the local TV station to interrupt the news in order to have their demands broadcast”⁶⁵ (Stephan, “Women and War,” 2-3). This thematic issue provides readers with testimonial narratives, on which I will further elaborate in the next section. Testimonies included those by Iman Khalifeh, Ilham Kallab, Juliette Haddad, Nazik Saba Yared, Jamal Karam Harfouch, Nuha Salib Salibi, Etel Adnan, Evelyne Accad, Azizah al-Hibri, and Maha El-Khalil Chalabi.

Iman Khalife, a 29-year-old kindergarten teacher, received the Right to Livelihood Alternative Nobel Prize for Peace⁶⁶ for her call for the Peace Movement in Lebanon. As a researcher for the Institute for Women’s Studies in the Arab World, she focuses on the effects of war on children. When asked what her religion is, she answers, “I am a Lebanese” (Khalife 4). She instigated the call for the Peace March, a silent protest, to the Green Line⁶⁷ on the 6th of May by calling a few friends that lead to a wide response in which “thousands of people signed Iman’s petition to march for peace” (Khalife 5). The march was to build a human bridge uniting people at the demarcation line between both sides of the city.⁶⁸ The movement was publicized and “took the world by surprise...because after 9 years of war in Lebanon it took Iman Khalifeh to show the world that there is a people in Lebanon—the silent majority—an apolitical people, whose cry for peace she symbolized for them” (Khalife 5). The march never took place, however, due to “blind” shelling.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ While the article mentions in a footnote that this did occur between 7-10 of July 1983, no further information is provided.

⁶⁶ December 7, 1984

⁶⁷ The line dividing the warring factions in Beirut into East and West for the duration of the war, also known as the demarcation line.

⁶⁸ Evelyne Accad, *Sexuality and War*, pg. 64-65.

⁶⁹ “[T]he word “blind” in Lebanon designates any shelling that does not appear to have precise aims or targets, but that, according to many studies, knows exactly

Ilham Kallab's lecture, an unabridged and previously unpublished text, serves as a testimony to the experiences of women during the war, which includes observations about the role of Lebanese women (Kallab 6-7). She juxtaposes the creativity and production of the literary and artistic achievement of Lebanese women before the war with the lack of opportunities and creativity during the war. Before the war, she states, "a feminine voice arose, affirming itself as a human voice, one transcending the habitual masculine/feminine dichotomy. Testimonies of a new life to come appeared and women started to rid themselves of their historical hang ups" (Kallab 6). The literary and artistic productions of women during the war ceased, and a new classification of women emerged: "Women could no more be divided into professional women versus housewives, not into rich versus poor.... All women from all regions and socio-economic classes suffered, for war was all-embracing" (Kallab 7). She classifies the activities of women during the war and afterwards into five different categories, including those who: maintained the normalcy of everyday life, participated in the war, were the heads of households, became widows, and were displaced.⁷⁰ She argues that all of these situations have had a noticeable effect on society, changed the gender dynamics within the home,⁷¹ and placed women in various situations in which they had to take on more responsibility, to

what and why it is hitting." Accad, Evelyne. *Sexuality and War: Literary Masks of the Middle East* for further discussion on the experience of Iman Khalifeh.

⁷⁰ While Kallab's observations as a social scientist classify women's activities into various actions, it should be noted that they are not necessarily separate and the classification of women's actions as such is problematic in that they are considerably more fluid.

⁷¹ She notes, for example, that women had to take on the role of the mother and the father in the home and this changed the gender dynamics by redefining the role of masculinity within the family.

look outside of the home for economic support, and placed responsibilities on women they otherwise did not have (Kallab 7).

Juliette Haddad, a sociologist, argues that the damage inflicted as a result of the war “seemed to revive and reinforce traditional practice,” in which women were responsible for finding water, food, and a source of light. However, she states, “the urgency of the war and the determination to face it gave these traditional tasks a new meaning” (Haddad 8). They establish relationships with each other in order to build supportive communities, bake bread using traditional methods, maintain the operation of schools as a “refusal to ‘bury’ the children in a ‘mousehole’ at home, as slaves to TV and card-playing all day long” (Haddad 8). Women’s refusal to “bow to despair, to the atmosphere of violence and to issue of basic survival” resulted in the effort placed on maintaining their outward appearance, including their clothes, hair, and manners with each other (Haddad 9). The violence of the war directly affected women and men’s objectivity of the war in which they were not able to explain events rationally, which Haddad calls the “retreat of rationalism” (Haddad 9). The refusal to resort to violence on the part of women, according to Haddad, establishes a more resistant attitude toward irrationality. However, “[l]ife and experience were lived on emotional levels, and led to a multiplicity of reactions and a tendency to escapism. People were often left with the illusion of an answer, of protection, of compensation” (Haddad 9). Women have resisted the atmosphere of violence by establishing a position of pro-life: “the woman of Lebanon who found herself concerned with the service of life in a crucial way affirmed herself deliberately as a guardian of life and preserver of its quality” (Haddad 9).

In Nazik Saba Yared's testimonial about teaching during the war, she recounts an observation of the ways in which the material she taught in class took on new meaning and the change in children's language during the war: "The Physics teacher, for example, was asked to explain the theories and rules related to the velocity and curves of the various bullets, rockets, shells and similar projectiles," she recalls (Yared, "Nazik," 10). Arabic poetry about previous historical events took on new meaning as it was related to the war in Lebanon. The student's language also changed, she claims, "influenced by the violence and vulgarity that accompany war" (Yared, "Nazik," 10). Teachers also felt a moral dilemma when attempting to reprimand students who lied or cheated, students who "experienced the moral and social chaos around them, knew that harmless citizens were being killed by the thousands or had even sometimes seen innocent people murdered before their eyes and knew the murderers went unpunished" (Yared, "Nazik," 11). Yared's testimony articulates the difficulty in defending moral principles in the classroom during moral chaos outside: "I do not think that these youngsters were really convinced of their practical value. It is this which makes me worry most about the future of our country" ("Nazik," 11). Her experience with university students gave her reason to worry, she states, because many students were affiliated, sympathized, or belonged to political parties that "accentuated fanaticism, hatred and bigotry" (Yared, "Nazik," 11). She describes the lack of dialogue in the classroom, the student's lack of appreciation and respect for higher education, and the student's lack of sense of responsibility. Similarly, Jamal Karam Harfouche, a pediatrician initially involved with many women's organizations before the war, reiterates Yared's experience that people were not able to engage in meaningful dialogue during the war. "Now

the one who does not carry a [K]alashnikov is not heard by anyone and is a nobody,” which is why, she claims, she spent many of the years during the war engaged in scientific research that did not require interaction with people (Harfouche 11).

Nuha Salib Salibi's eyewitness account provides readers with a chilling narrative of an experience with a car bomb that exploded outside the office of the Palestinian Research Center in Beirut on February 5, 1983 (12-13). Her story provides vivid details of the deaths incurred as a result of the car bomb. For example, in her narrative she recounts seeing her neighbor walking out of his apartments minutes after the bomb went off: “The sight he presented was unbelievable: his Adam's apple was hanging out like a slain chicken's with blood bathing his face and hands” (Salibi 12). The account, according to *Al-Raida*, was first published in a booklet in 1983 titled *On the Road to Recovery* compiled and distributed by Salibi herself. The booklet includes her experiences during the war and several poems. Her attempt to document her experiences and recount the horrors of the war illustrates an effort to share lived-realities and ‘act out,’ as LaCapra explains, through narrative. Similarly, much of the literature that appeared after the war, written by Lebanese women, attempt to document the experiences, share their stories, and shed light on the destruction in an effort to ‘work through’ some of the experiences and express a shared loss of life and altered reality.

The literary production that emerged during the war exhibits a shared identity as victims working through trauma and attempting to make sense out of the nonsensical violence that permeated every aspect of life in Lebanon. According to LaCapra, a “crucial issue with respect to traumatic historical events

is whether attempts to work through problems, including rituals of mourning, can viably come to terms with (without ever fully healing or overcoming) the divided legacies, open wounds, and unspeakable losses of a dire past” (45).

Consequently, the blurring of the distinction between absence and loss creates a state of confusion in which “one remains possessed or haunted by the past, whose ghosts and shrouds resist distinctions” (46). And empathy with the victim becomes an identity of victimhood (43). While initially *Al-Raida* began documenting trauma narratives and experiences of women during the war by seeking out participants to interviews, ethnographies, and prose, the larger literary movement at the time of the war was simultaneously documenting daily events. Thus, the literature that arose during and after this time strongly identifies with the victims of the civil war and creates a shared identity of victimhood within the literary genre, which I explore in the next section.

Al-Raida's move to conduct interviews with women about the war, publish testimonies and narratives, and continue to develop an appreciation for the literature that came out of the war, illustrates a rhetorical function to affect change and peace-building through the circulation of the war narratives, as well as the ability to articulate a political voice by documenting women's positions within the context of war. The thematic issue of war narratives and interviews with women about their experiences reoccurs in 1993, in an issue thematically titled “Young Women of Lebanon in the Post-War Era,” again in 1998-1999 in “Women's Lives in Lebanon”, and again in 2003 in “Women and War in the Arab World.” However, the analyses of these particular issues are beyond the scope of my research study and require further investigation into the different contexts in which these thematic issues appear. For the scope of this research study my

attention is limited to the thematic issue published in 1984. It is interesting to note that the recurring theme, and the use of interviews, testimonies, and narratives, as qualitative data, continues throughout *Al-Raida*'s publication to be a validated form of gathering and presenting women's lived-experiences in addition to the quantitative data the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World initially funded and published in earlier years.

Literature and the Arts

In keeping with the discourse on peace in *Al-Raida*, Ghurayyib's editorial in the 26th issue at the end of 1983, is dedicated to the commemoration of Gibran Khalil Gibran's literary works and achievement. Ghurayyib states that Gibran's works exemplify the work of a person who has "devoted a large share of their efforts and works to the cause of international understanding and world peace" ("Gibran's Anniversaries," 1). Similarly, the article on Gibran's works and the women who influenced his work, "The Personality of Gibran Khalil Gibran: A Psychological Study of his Life and Work," is a thorough analysis of the literary criticism Gibran's works has received, as well as a foray into the relationships Gibran has had with various women who influenced his work (Stephan, "The Personality," 7-9). It is fitting that this issue introduces the literary figure known for peace at a point when the journal's articles begin to reflect a more nuanced approach to women's literature and narratives in order to explore political and social themes.

The increase in interviews at this juncture of the journal's publication by reflects a desire to document testimonies and narratives from various women in the Middle East, not only Lebanese women who experienced the war. Thus, the

journal's staff began to conduct interviews as a valid method of gathering information and presenting the experiences of women. The first issue published in 1984 includes an interview with H.R.H.⁷² Princess Wijdan Ali of Jordan, who is a graduate of Beirut College for Women,⁷³ the president of the Royal Society of Fine Arts, and a painter.⁷⁴ The interview with Andrée Chedid⁷⁵ articulates ideas about her latest play, "Echec a la Reine,"⁷⁶ about "power, love and violence" (24). Both women are interviewed by Wafa' Stephan, the co-editor of the journal and writer of various articles. Furthermore, articles on the experiences with other women during research trips, written by Evelyn Accad and Wafa' Stephan appeared in this issue as a means of communicating the collaboration between various women's groups across the Middle East in an ethnographic-style narrative. Accad's article describes her research trip as a Fulbright scholar to seven different African and North African countries and shares her observations and experiences as she meets with various feminists, women's organizations, and women in various socio-economic statuses ("Report," 6-8). Similarly, Stephan's article recounts her experiences with women's groups in Egypt ("Impressions," 9-10). The articles are written as ethnographies, research observations, as a method of sharing the lessons and experiences of the authors with the readers of *Al-Raida*.

Continuing to publish interviews and narrative pieces, *Al-Raida's* 29th issue presents biographies of Amina Sa'id and Amina Shafiq, both Egyptian

⁷² Her Royal Highness

⁷³ Known today as the Lebanese American University

⁷⁴ See Wijdan Ali, "H.R.H. Princess Wijdan Ali of Jordan," 2-5.

⁷⁵ See Andrée Chedid, "Andrée Chedid Talks about Love, Power and Violence," 23-25.

⁷⁶ "Checkmate to the Queen"

journalists, Madelaine Cinquin, a 76-year-old nun living in Matareya⁷⁷ in Cairo, Nawal El Saadawi, Nadia Hamza, first female director in Egypt, and Myriam Ben, an Algerian playwright. While some of the information for the biographical articles is gleaned from already published books and articles that have been translated, much of the information is the result of interviews conducted by *Al-Raida* staff and original articles contributed to *Al-Raida* for publication.

Not surprisingly, literary publications written by women about their experiences during the war began to appear during this time. Stephan's editorial⁷⁸ claims that the literary works of Lebanese women have gained national and international recognition. Those who have gained international recognition include Andrée Chedid, Nadia Tueni, Etel Adnan, and Evelyne Accad.⁷⁹ Women who were read locally included Sonia Beyruti, May Menassa, Marie-Therese Arbid, Irene Mosalli, and Claire Gebeily. The increased attention to women's literary publications during and after the Lebanese war during this time is treated in the 32nd issue of *Al-Raida*, the thematic issue on "Arab Women and Literature," which introduces the literary achievements of Arab women. Ghurayyib's editorial for this issue introduces Arab women's literature through mythological stories of Raba women story tellers, such as Scheherazade, Maysoun the wife of the first Omayyad Caliph, and Andalusia, whose poetry moved King Al-Matuamid of Sevilla to marry her ("Arab Women and Literature," 2). She writes that through literature "women are able to emerge as a world power, as a 'global sisterhood,'" further referencing Robin Morgan's *Sisterhood is Global*. The issue includes an historical overview of Arab women's literary

⁷⁷ An underdeveloped area of extreme poverty

⁷⁸ "Women and War in Lebanon," 2.

⁷⁹ Accad also contributed various articles in *Al-Raida*.

achievements in an article titled “Arab Feminine Literature between 1850 and 1950,” tracing the two phases of the Arab Awakening, during the 1850-1900 and the 1900-1950 periods (Ghurayyib, “Arab Women and Literature,” 2). The latter phase includes a revival of Arabic literature, promotion of classical Arabic, an influence of Western culture in literature produced in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria, the evolution of the Arabic language, and the use of literature to promote “modernism in life and thought, such ideas as freedom of expression, liberal attitudes towards love, marriage, women, government and religion” (“Arab Women and Literature,” 4). The issue also includes a biography of Thorayya Malhas, a Jordanian poet, as well as her poem initially published in 1958 entitled “Wonder” (Ghurayyib, “Thorayya,” 3).

The issue includes a recently published poem by Amal Saleeby entitled “Liban,” and Andrée Chedid’s poem “En Mal D’Enfance” written for *Al-Raida* (6). Both Lebanese women poets write about the destruction of Lebanon and the suffering of the children of Lebanon, respectively (Saleeby 6; Chedid 6). A further poem is translated from Arabic, Lanni’a Abbas Amara’s “Where Is They Sting, O Death?” initially published in *Odysee Magazine* in 1983. An article about Egyptian writer Alifa Rifaat,⁸⁰ author of *Distant View of a Minaret*, also appeared reprinted in this issue, as well as an article about Myriam Baghdadi⁸¹ a Saudi Arabian professor of Arab Literature, and an article on Leila Abou Zeid,⁸² a Moroccan journalist, radio broadcaster, and writer. Wafa’ Stephan’s interview with Suad as-Sabbah, a Kuwaiti poet and economist, includes a poem entitled

⁸⁰ “Alifa Rifaat—Egypt,” 8. Initially published in *The Middle East*, February 1985, No. 124, pp. 40-4.1

⁸¹ “Dr. Mariam Baghdadi: Saudi Arabia,” 9. Initially published in *Sayidati*, Vol. 3, No. 135, 1983, in Arabic and translated for *Al-Raida*.

⁸² “Leila Abou Zeid: Morocco,” 11. Initially published in *Al-Watan Al-Arabi*, No. 358, 23-29 Dec. 1983, pp. 60, in Arabic and translated for *Al-Raida*.

“My Body is a Palm Tree,” and a candid conversation about the state of Arab women writers. as-Sabbah tells Stephan in the interview, “No poet in the world suffers as much as the Arab poet. The French poet sits on the banks of the Seine to write, the German on the bank of Rhine, whereas the Arab sits on the edge of his wounds” (10). While this statement makes sweeping generalizations about the romantic nature of French and German poets, as-Sabbagh makes an attempt to include Arab women poets as part of a larger literary tradition. The significance of the comparison of Arab women poets with poetry that is widely read is a further indication of the Arab women’s poets’ struggle to gain international recognition. The woman poet in the Arab world is “constantly exposed” to criticism. “She is not allowed to shout, for shouting is the privilege of men. She is not allowed to wander alone on paper unless accompanied by a male member of her family” (as-Sabbagh 10). Furthermore, Nazik Saba Yared’s condensed lecture on “Contemporary Lebanese Women Writers” includes a thorough discussion of Lebanese women writers and critics (13-15). She begins the article by praising Rose Ghurayyib and Khalida Said’s literary criticism. She traces the main themes in Lebanese women’s novels, including those written by Emily Nasrallah, Leyla Baalbaki, and Hanan Ash-Sheikh.⁸³ Further issues of *Al-Raida* continue to incorporate fiction, poetry and literary narratives translated from French and English, as Ghurayyib had been doing since the first issue she was appointed editor by Julinda Abu-Nasr in 1977.

The second half of 1985 marks a radical shift in the format of the journal as Rose Ghurayyib stepped down as the editor of *Al-Raida*. The last issue in 1985 indicates Aida Arasoghli took up the position of editor, and Ghurayyib’s last

⁸³ For further treatment of these texts, see miriam cooke’s *War’s Other Voices: Women Writers on the Lebanese Civil War*

issue, themed “Tunisian Women Speak,” reveals a shift in the nature of the themes from a global, international, transnational focus on social, cultural, political, and developmental issues that affected women in various countries in the Middle East to themes focused on nation-states: Tunisia,⁸⁴ Iraq,⁸⁵ Saudi Arabia,⁸⁶ Kuwait,⁸⁷ Bahrain.⁸⁸ While Ghurayyib stayed on as advisor, the issues incorporated articles containing the status of women in each country, facts and figures of each country, and did not retain the same conversation throughout the journal that Ghurayyib initially developed. Organizing each issue by publishing articles on separate nation-states establishes a divisive and disconnected representation of the various issues with no sense of interconnectedness between the countries in the Middle East and the conversation between the women’s organizations that continues to work together.

Ghurayyib may have stepped down as editor in 1985, but that did not deter her from continuing to publish articles in *Al-Raida*, return as guest editor⁸⁹ on several occasions, and eventually remain on the editorial board as a consultant until the end of 1992. She continued to assist in developing and articulating ideas in the women’s movement, continuing to publish not only in *Al-Raida* but in other Arabic language literary outlets, as well. *Al-Raida* continued to publish thematic issues again in 1987, including women and work, development, environment, liberation, domestic abuse, etc. and currently continues to publish qualitative and quantitative research. The initial ten-year period of the journal constitutes the formative years of the development of the contemporary feminist

⁸⁴ Issue 33

⁸⁵ Issue 34

⁸⁶ Issue 35

⁸⁷ Issue 36

⁸⁸ Issue 37

⁸⁹ Issues 43, 44 & 45, and 46 published in 1987 and Issue 48 published in 1990.

movement and thought in Lebanon in which *Al-Raida* was not only rhetorically constructed by international and local women's movements but also functioned as a means of sustaining and shaping the discourse on Arab feminism.

CHAPTER 6

CIVIC EDUCATION: POTENTIAL DIRECTIONS

I invite all Arab universities, especially colleges of liberal arts to give the intellectual and literary heritage of the Arab woman the attention it deserves. We are loyal to this heritage in calling upon these universities to create special chairs in liberal arts faculties to promote the study of the literary works of Arab women and the numerous Arab women poets whose work is distinguished by its tenderness and range of feelings not found in the works of men.

Zahiya Dughan, *Arab Women's Intellectual Heritage*, 1944

Al-Raida began publishing in 1976 in an effort to promote research on women in the Arab world, outlining research methodologies, implementing the United Nations Human Rights language, and incorporating a framework largely situated outside the local context, such as that on Family Planning discourse. While the framework of the journal initially developed under the auspices of the Ford Foundation grant, as a means to cooperate and collaborate in regional development programs, it quickly began to uncover some of the problematic assumptions of such international language in a localized context. For example, the first chapter explores the development of the Lebanese Family Planning Association (LFPA) and its close collaboration with *Al-Raida* to develop information on Family Planning programs within a rural traditional Arab context in Lebanon. The implementation of Family Planning programs in the Middle East as a move for population control highlights the ways in which the dominant discourse was disrupted. The Western arguments for implementing Family

Planning in the Middle East were inapplicable to the local lived-realities of traditional Lebanese women. Consequently, arguments for abortion, contraceptives, sexual health, and sexual education were restructured within the cultural framework to better serve the rural women it was trying to reach, such as the argument for contraceptives to maintain healthy bodies. In doing so, *Al-Raida* and the LFPA constructed arguments within the traditional Arab framework, simultaneously disrupting the hegemonic dominant discourse on women and Family Planning. It began to argue within the traditional definitions of gender roles, continuing to define women as wives and mothers, in an effort to develop a more appropriate response to Family Planning programs within the Middle East.

Al-Raida illustrates a characteristic of transnational feminism, which is to “disrupt and transform hegemonic discourses, sets of assumptions, and frameworks of analysis and interpretation so thoroughly inured in the dominant world-view that they have been naturalized and taken as given, inevitable, and unalterable” (Hawkesworth 80). While *Al-Raida* initially attempted to implement a top-down process, by utilizing Human Rights discourse and establishing a discourse based on the United Nations international framework, in doing so it highlighted the inability of such discourse to apply to the local socio-political contexts. As such, the discourse in *Al-Raida*, while seemingly working within an international U.N. framework, essentially disrupts this discourse to appeal to the local readers.

The second chapter highlights the discourse on development in *Al-Raida*, beginning as a general term and later redefined to adhere to particular developmental issues that were particular to Lebanese and Arab women. The increasing recruitment of women into the labor force during the first years of the

war, and the increasing attention to labor laws and working conditions, including equal work for equal pay, recognizing women's participation in the developmental process, and the distinction between formal and informal labor, illustrates *Al-Raida's* ability to attend to the informal and flexible conditions of women's labor in Lebanon and other Middle Eastern countries. The discourse on development, during the early 1980s, and the redefinition of development in Ghurayyib's editorials, exemplifies *Al-Raida's* more nuanced approach to refiguring and redefining the dominant discourse on development to suit the local context.

Al-Raida initially worked within the U.N.'s discourse on development and modernization programs in the Middle East, and later began to develop a more thorough understanding of the local needs of Lebanese women. During this time, the Lebanese civil war was well underway and *Al-Raida* responded to the immediate needs of the local women. As such, its attention to the U.N. international thematic years included redefining the Human Rights discourse on children, the elderly, and dis/ability within the context of the Lebanese civil war. For example, the U.N.'s Year of the Disabled Persons in 1981 included increased attention to dis/ability in developing countries. *Al-Raida's* editorials and articles on the dis/abled in Lebanon attended to those who were directly affected by the war, including women, men and children. *Al-Raida's* turn to a more localized construction of the context of dis/ability in Lebanon's civil war marks an ability to reconceptualize international programs instead of implementing them from a top-down process. For example, the conversation on children during the U.N.'s International Year of Observance for the Year of the Child restructures the need for local understanding of the health and welfare of children in Lebanon during the war. Doing so allowed *Al-Raida* to carve out a space for mediating the

discourse of such international programs in Lebanon, serving as a mediator between the international discourse and the local discourse.

The religious discourse on Personal Status laws in the Middle East during 1982-1984 in *Al-Raida* is an example of the shift in the journal towards a more nuanced understanding of the cultural and religious frameworks of women's issues. *Al-Raida* began publishing research studies, conference proceedings and informative articles on the Personal Status laws in various Middle Eastern countries from a modernist approach towards Islam and the law in which *ijtihad* is of vital importance to developing Islamic law within a modern framework. By focusing on the law in various countries and the discourse on Islam and women, *Al-Raida* forges itself as a key player in women's issues in the Middle East, elaborating on the importance of governmental structures, and Personal Status codes, to shape the situation of women. It also presents a clear connection between the inability of laws to implement immediate social change and the need for a more nuanced approach to elaborating on the restrictiveness of cultural traditions in the Middle East. In realizing the limitations of the modernizing framework, with respect to including women in public spheres, such as the workplace, and the lack of ability for laws to directly affect social change, *Al-Raida* exhibited a comprehensive understanding of women in the Global South, publishing arguments for the positioning of women in public religious and political arguments.

The realization of historical context of modernization, situated in a history of colonialism, exploitation, and global development, and its restrictive ability to change lived-realities of local women reveals a shift in *Al-Raida's* discourse on women's political participation. As the third chapter illustrates, *Al-Raida's* shift is

marked by an increased valorization of women's narratives and literature during the war and an increased attention to trauma narratives. In addition to increasingly publishing interviews, testimonies, and biographies of women during the war, *Al-Raida's* attention to the particular situation of women in various locales, including women in the peace movement in the Lebanese war, reflects the dominant discourse on women in politics within an intimate local context. The journal illustrates the participation of women in the peace movement, although unsuccessful in implementing a plan for peace to end the civil war, as a redefinition of political participation in which women are actively engaged in the peace building process. Documenting the narratives of women's experiences during the war serves as an argument for peace, for political representation, as it depicts the harsh reality and the devastating effects of war in Lebanon. *Al-Raida's* decision to publish such narratives is an effort to document the present, to save this knowledge for future generations of readers, and shape the future development of society.

Rose Ghurayyib's Editorials

Rose Ghurayyib served as the editor for *Al-Raida* between 1976 and 1985 consecutively. Appointed by Julinda Abu Nasr, the first director of the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World (IWSAW), Ghurayyib was given the freedom to make most of the editorial decisions, including what to publish in the journal. She initially began by writing most of the articles for *Al-Raida*, including translating articles from Arabic and French newspapers, magazines, and past publications of Arab women's fiction and literary work. Her initiative to include past literary work by Arab women authors and biographies of female

pioneers in the Middle East, such as May Ziadah and Salwa Nassar in the second issue published in 1977, exhibits an effort to situate *Al-Raida* within the current conversation and contextualize the discourse on women's issues in Lebanon and the Middle East. Ghurayyib's inclusionary tactics rhetorically situated the publication in a valuable space within the dominant discourse on women's liberation movement in the Middle East. It sought to highlight the current conversation within the discursive framework on Arab feminism, thus rhetorically performing the task of documenting the past conversation while simultaneously contributing to it. Furthermore, *Al-Raida* recognizes an effort to forge viable solutions to local women's issues for future implementation.

Ghurayyib's editorials illustrate the various shifts in the journal's conversation, from one of attending to international programs to implement change to a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the "network model" of feminist ideology, to reference Rebecca Dingo's metaphor. Ghurayyib's editorials disrupt the narrative of the liberated Western feminist attempting to emancipate women of the Global South throughout the first ten years of the journal by revisiting the validity of liberal ideological perspectives in the Global South. Her editorials focus attention on the ways in which implementing the U.N.'s international programs challenge the local tradition and fail to take into consideration the religious and cultural context of Middle Eastern women. Furthermore, her editorial commentaries continued to develop and redefine her own understanding of feminism, as well as redefining development, modernization, peace movement, etc. Ghurayyib's editorials illustrate the shifts in the conversation on women's issues situated in Lebanon and in the Middle East, elaborating on the grassroots movements of Lebanese women during the war,

and working within the cultural and traditional framework to arrive at viable solutions to real issues facing women.

Ghurayyib's choice of publications also further reveals writing that greatly influenced her theoretical positions on women, politics and peace, including Betty Freidan, Simone De Beauvoir, Gibran Khalil Gibran, and May Ziadeh.

Ghurayyib's initial feminist theory is influenced by Simone De Beauvoir's feminist existentialist philosophy in *The Second Sex*. Women's bodies restricted them to certain roles in society and in labor, and her identity as "other" is a result of her reproductive capacity. De Beauvoir considers woman's position today as a result of the continued division of labor as a result of women's reproductive capacities, which do not allow her to transcend her "other" status. De Beauvoir also sees women as having a choice to reject femininity i to fulfill liberation from her status: "Woman's independent successes are in contradiction with her femininity, since the 'true woman' is required to make herself object, to be the 'Other'" (De Beauvoir 246). De Beauvoir's philosophy defines "woman" as socially constructed. Similarly, Betty Freidan's *The Feminine Mystique*, which also influences Ghurayyib's theory, traces the media representations of women in post-war America and the construction of what she calls the "Happy Housewife Heroine" with a "problem with no name." Her theory articulates a liberal feminist position, which calls for individual liberation.

As a result of Western liberal feminist influences, Ghurayyib's articulation of the issues women face is positioned within the larger dominant discourse. She includes in *Al-Raida* works from both authors, including translated pieces of De Beauvoir's work, a biography on De Beauvoir, and various mentions of Freidan, and informative articles on the importance of Margaret Mead (an primary

reference to Freidan). However, she later further develops this position in her last editorials to articulate a more global understanding of the ways in which women in the Arab world are oppressed, along with men, through a larger patriarchal capitalist world order. Her position on liberating women from class structures mirrors Freidan and De Beauvoir's articulations of moving beyond a restrictive notion of the feminist movement. Similarly, El Saadawi's arguments for radical upheaval of the patriarchal capitalist system that dominates and oppresses the Arab world heavily influences Ghurayyib's positions on the development of a women's movement. Ghurayyib's early editorials focus close attention to women's work and the need to liberate women to allow them to join the labor division and the process of development, which illustrates her theoretical position on the importance of women's individual liberation. Her editorials also illustrate a distinct shift in her understanding of the limitations of liberal Western feminism.

Furthermore, Ghurayyib's articulation of social justice is further developed as she begins to view Arab women within the larger social and global structures that oppress them. Similarly, Iris Marion Young's definition of the politics of difference states, "a positive self-definition of group differences is in fact more liberatory" than transcendence of group difference (157). A politics of difference, she posits, "argues...that equality as the participation and inclusion of all groups sometimes requires different treatment for oppressed or disadvantaged groups" (158). Similarly, Ghurayyib's perception on the status of Arab women initially is limited and limiting. However, her perception begins to change as she begins to realize the differences between Western women and Arab women, and as these differences come to dictate the movement of women of the Global South in an international forum. By implementing Western feminist concerns within an Arab

feminist context, the limitations of these concerns begin to uncover the differences between women in various locales, urging a need for a rearticulation of Arab women's issues within their local historical, cultural context. She begins to articulate a social justice theory encompassing a thorough understanding of the ways women are dominated, oppressed, and "othered," not only by patriarchal traditions, but also by Western imperialist forces. Furthermore, she begins to see men as oppressed, as well, sharing the burdens of women of the Global South within a larger geo-political framework. Consequently, Ghurayyib's articulation of a larger more nuanced framework within which women of the Arab world are situated clearly affects the journal's publications also to reflect such an articulation.

Shortly after Ghurayyib stepped down as editor in 1985, *Al-Raida's* thematic issues began to focus on nation-states in the Middle East and the individual progress each nation made with regard to women's issues and organizations. This fracturing of the conversation, from one that remained intent on illustrating the similarities in the situation of Arab women while publishing local experiences towards a more divisive frame of women's issues as separate in each country, indicates a significant change in the larger Arab feminist movement. The 1980s brought the resurgence of the discussion on the Arab Unity Movement, published in *Al-Raida* in 1982, also repositioning women at the center of the argument. Along with issues of promoting an Arab identity, issues facing women in the early century in publications in Egypt and Lebanon resurfaced, including veiling, segregation, women and work, and Personal Status laws. The problem of the veil in Islamic society, for example, articulated in *Al-Raida* in 1983, illustrates the resurgence of the issue from the 1920s.

The creation of NGOs in Lebanon indicates a fracturing of the women's movement, as each NGO, funded and established by various enterprises and organizations, projected a limited and narrow view on the issues facing women. "What 'NGOization' means is the spread of a different form of structure for women's activism, one which limits the participation of women at the local level to 'their' organization" (Jad 44). The Arab women's movement saw an increasing rise of NGOs from the late 70s through the 80s, and as such, this increasing trend can be seen as "a sign of decentralization of power and politics after the failure of the centralized Arab states to bring about social change and development" (Jad 38). The decision-making power of each NGO usually resides with the director. The transition of the Arab women's movements from a collaborative movement in the early twentieth century, which included literary salons, charitable societies and organizations, and literary and journal publications, to a more rigid structure of that of the NGOs, indicates a shift in the power of implementing change. "The term *nongovernmental organization* is itself the progeny of the United Nations, adopted by the U.N. when it agreed to provide a mechanism for citizen-based organizations to participate in the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC)" (emphasis in original, Hawkesworth 104). However, such a move towards creating NGOs has dissipated the Arab women's movement and fostered a fractured, instead of collaborative, environment. As a different director heads each NGO, they independently work in distinct areas of focus rarely collaborating with other NGOs.

The NGO programs are based on the assumption that if "sufficient economic investments are provided to producers they will expand existing production and invest in new productive activities" consequently providing

sustained economic growth (Jad 38). Arguments about the implementation and proliferation of NGOs often result in conceptualizing the programs within the Western/traditional dichotomy, where NGOs are funded by Western organizations, using Western language and implementing a program for change incongruent with traditional and local customs. Further research on the development of *Al-Raida* is needed to uncover how the journal itself and the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World have framed the issue and approached the conversation. Research studies should also elaborate on the development of texts, such as other journals, brochures, and reports on women in the Middle East and the rhetorical function of such texts to illustrate the currents of Arab feminist discourse, including Islamic discourse and political discourse on women.

IWSAW's Initiatives

In addition to *Al-Raida*'s publication, the Institute for Women's Studies in the Arab World has attended to many of the needs of the local women in Lebanon and the Middle East by establishing and implementing programs for children, refugee women, literacy, and basic living skills within the first ten years, responding to the call for action in *Al-Raida*. As *Al-Raida* continues to reveal the major issues facing women, IWSAW responds by creating and implementing programs. The first and most important issue facing women, *Al-Raida* reports, is the lack of sources and statistics on Arab women, including relevant research, documentation, and information. IWSAW first began to respond to this issue by establishing a documentation center that holds important work and research on women in the Middle East. In addition to establishing a center for documenting

research and studies on women in the Arab world, IWSAW provides funding for original research on Arab women, provides grants, and publishes the research in *Al-Raida* and in individual publications. The most current documentation project implemented in 2008 by IWSAW and the Danish Center for Information on Women and Gender is an online database entitled *Who Is She In Lebanon?* providing online public access to information on contemporary women in Lebanon in various disciplines and fields. In addition, the documentation center, now housed in the Lebanese American University library, continues to expand, adding current and contemporary works on and by women.

IWSAW also sponsors conferences, inviting research from various disciplines on women in the Middle East, such as the Women and Progress Conference (1976). In addition, IWSAW implements Gender and Women's Studies courses at the Lebanese American University (LAU), which includes various workshops on research of women in the Middle East, beginning with workshops in the 70s and 80s, such as the Women's Studies Lecture Series (1979) and the Workshop on Arab Women in Industry (1984). *Al-Raida* and IWSAW work in tandem to establish a collaborative research environment that supports research on women in the Middle East utilizing various methodologies from various disciplines. IWSAW encourages and funds research on women in Lebanon, publishes the research in *Al-Raida*, and holds conferences to institute a collaborative community of researchers on Arab women from various backgrounds.

IWSAW also establishes various programs implemented in Lebanon and in the Middle East, including the Children's Literature Project in 1981, which responds to the results of various studies on women's image in children's

textbooks published by *Al-Raida*,⁹⁰ illustrating a need for revising children's literature in Lebanon, as well as in other Arab countries. Financed by the Kuwait Society for the Advancement of Arab Children, the project's goals includes training librarians, teachers, and illustrators of children's books to promote the quality of children's literature in Arabic. IWSAW also establishes programs for rural women, such as the literacy programs, implemented in 2005, and the Basic Living Skills Program, implemented in 2003, which consists of 11 booklets on different topics concerning basic living skills, such as health, the environment, nutrition, reproductive health, childhood to adolescence, civic education, legal rights (Lebanon), women's empowerment, women's empowerment through work, chronic diseases, and special needs: physical and mental disabilities.

IWSAW continues to work in collaboration with various researchers, publishing research in *Al-Raida*, holding conferences, and publishing texts on women in the Middle East. IWSAW also continues to implement programs for women, providing the Basic Living Skills program packet to social workers and NGOs working with rural women. Currently, IWSAW also works with marginalized women in Lebanon, including recently providing 42 women in prison with mattresses, pillows, pillow cases, blankets, and bed sheets in January of 2009, supporting the cause for Lebanese women to pass their national citizenship to their children, and working against gender based violence, among other initiatives. IWSAW remains a vital center for the women's movement in

⁹⁰ A total of six articles appeared in 1978 on children with a focus on the following: children's literature, impact of the Lebanese civil war on children, image of women in Lebanese textbooks, preschool education in Tunisia, a study on juvenile delinquents in Lebanon, and a report on the conference by the Arab Panel for planning and overseeing nurseries and kindergartens. As a result, and in addition to the 17th International Board on Books for Young People (IBBY) Congress held in Prague in 1980, Rose Ghurayyib, Julinda Abu Nasr and Lina Matta formed the creation of a Lebanese national section of IBBY in 1979.

Lebanon and the Middle East. Furthermore, by institutionalizing Gender and Women's Studies, IWSAW is able to establish a means for revisiting historical narratives that are often silenced in the political context of the Middle East. By reframing gender history and exploring gender identities within Lebanese and Middle East history, the institutionalization of Gender and Women's Studies has far-reaching consequences that go well beyond the academy, disrupting the traditional historical narrative and offering alternatives to the young men and women whose lives are affected, as well as to the scholarly conversation on gender in the Middle East. By including various voices in the conversations, such as encouraging students to conduct their own research studies, to publish in *Al-Raida* and contribute to the construction of knowledge of their own history, IWSAW has sustained an effort to make viable the academic institutionalization of Gender and Women's Studies.

Potential Limitations, Potential Contributions, and Questions for Further Research

The main purpose of this study has been to explore institutionalized ways of talking about women's issues in the Middle East, and in Lebanon in specific, as they are articulated in *Al-Raida*. By using Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis, and tracing the discourse strands of this particular scholarly journal, this analysis has concentrated on the dominant conversations taking place in a certain local context, which serves to provide an important perspective on the disciplinary discourses and the ways in which they contribute to constructions of national, political and cultural identities. My study is restricted to the analysis of *Al-Raida*, an English language journal published in an institutional setting,

documenting the dominant discourse in certain historical periods while simultaneously omitting other conversations. The journal, thus, serves as a gatekeeper and “directs future practices by accepting some and rejecting others” (Goggin xv-xvi). Thus, this study has only addressed the question of how certain conversations in this particular academic journal have shaped and been shaped by the global and local context.

There is a bias with using Foucauldian Critical Discourse Analysis, in the fact that discourses are a “range of ‘positive’ statements, which are sayable...[meaning] that they simultaneously inhibit a range of other statements, which are not sayable (cf. Link and Link-Heer, 1990)” (Jäger and Maier 37). Discourses construct reality and thus shape discursive and non-discursive practices, and as such from a “discourse-theoretical point of view, it is thus not the subject who makes the discourses, but the discourses that make the subject” (Jäger and Maier 37). Therefore, Foucauldian discourse theory is often accused of denying the subject. However, although it “contests the existence of the autonomous subject, [it] does not mean that it is against the subject. The active individual is fully involved when it comes to realizing power relations in practice” (Jäger and Maier 38). In choosing to analyze text from an academic journal published by an American institution of higher education, the results of this study are limited in that they present institutionalized representations of Lebanese women’s feminism and fail to account for street-activism, or activities of activists that may not be necessary articulated within the dominant conversations.

The results of this study cannot be taken as the representation of the larger women’s movement in the Middle East. The credibility of the journal to reflect all Lebanese women and the Lebanese women’s movement may be

called into question. This study is not an attempt to document the representations of all Lebanese women and the Lebanese women's movement in a larger sense. Notwithstanding its limitation, this study does suggest that the journal provides us with a perspective from which to view the articulation of arguments within the larger conversation on Middle East women's issues. As Marilyn Booth notes, to republish early texts is to maintain a strategy for speaking out when contemporary feminist analysis and the study of sexualities are vulnerable to official censorship and even more to 'censorship of the street'—pressure from religiously self-defined activists" (214). However exploratory, this study may offer some insight into the ways in which Lebanese women have attempted to position their arguments vis-à-vis the resurgence of religious movements, often vying with such movements for women's political and national representation.

As Booth further claims, "the fortunes of academic gender history are inextricably bound up in contemporary local and global politics, and at the present moment this entanglement seems especially inescapable in MENA gender history" (212). Most of the work on gender history has focused on elite groups, and the lack of such research means there is little understanding of the class-relations in Arab society. In addition, "the greatest silence in MENA gender research in all disciplines remains that silence around sexualities" (Booth 218). Unfortunately, based on the results of this study, we are unable to further explore the intricate class-relations of women and the development of the discourse on sexuality in the Middle East, since much of the discussion on domestic violence, homosexuality, masculinity, and domestic workers, for example, are not found in the first decade of the journal.

Although much of the literature on Arab feminist movements currently focuses on Islam and Islamic culture, the results of this study show that the resurgence of the conversation on Islam and women is a current trend that overlooks the development of the Lebanese women's movement prior to and during the war. Furthermore, while most studies focus on the war in Lebanon and the literary contributions of Lebanese women about the war, this study shows that the women's movement in Lebanon remained active during the war, from before 1975 well into 1985 and beyond. Much of the historical accounts of Lebanon during this time fail to include the women's movement, the implementation of programs for women, and the conversation in *Al-Raida*, which kept publishing throughout the dire circumstances during the civil war. *Al-Raida* remains as an integral part of Lebanese women's history, illustrating the ways women have collaboratively engaged in attending to issues faced by Lebanese women and Arab women during this time period.

Al-Raida further illustrates that the rhetorical function of the journal, to document research, literary works, and the conversation that came before it while simultaneously contributing to the conversation, is based on the assumption that language constitutes reality, clearly affecting real change through the collaboration between the journal and IWSAW. Ghurayyib's editorials, IWSAW's research grants and conferences, and BUC's women's studies courses and workshops, provide us with an understanding of the development of the Lebanese feminist movement. While future research on the Lebanese feminist movement is needed, this study provides an understanding of the movement to establish the conversation.

Further research is also needed on the development of the conversation in Arabic language journals and magazines. While this study serves to sufficiently portray *Al-Raida*'s attention to the conversation in various languages, and the publication of the journal in Arabic and English, including various articles written in French by Claire Gebayli,⁹¹ further research on the publications in Arabic in Lebanese journals is needed. Research attending to the conversation in Arabic journals in contrast with *Al-Raida* may uncover further nuances in the development of the Lebanese feminist movement during the war years, including political ideological differences and social differences. Since *Al-Raida* is published by IWSAW, which is a part of the Lebanese American University established by Christian missionaries espousing a liberal education model, the findings may be skewed towards a particular position, one that refuses to develop political ideological arguments. As such, various arguments have been silenced in the selection of articles for publication, including marginalized voices of underrepresented groups, such as the Palestinian women. A lack of attention to the Palestinian women's movement, with sparing articles on the development of the Palestinian women's movement, uncovers a bias in the journal. In fact, only one article mentions the Palestinian woman's cause. Whether this decision is made to refrain from the discussion of political issues, including the politics of the Lebanese civil war, is unclear. However, *Al-Raida* does refrain from discussing the situation of Palestinian women, Palestinian refugees, and the effect of the war on Palestinian children. This is quite problematic, since the Arab Unity Movement, which *Al-Raida* published on in 1982, takes up the Palestinian cause as one of the main arguments for the inclusion in Arab identity. The

⁹¹ A Lebanese journalist writing about women's issues

omission of the plight of the Palestinian people is a reflection of the political limitation of the journal. By excluding Palestinian issues, the journal distinctly establishes boundaries on definition of Lebanese citizenship. The constructions of citizenship in the journal may reflect a desire to refrain from participating in the politicization of the Palestinian cause, but in doing so only contributes to their marginalization, silencing Palestinian women from the discussion. However, further research is needed to determine whether the constructions of national identity and of Lebanese citizenship are implicitly articulated within the Arab Unity Movement or whether a lack of this discussion indicates the journal's desire to remain apolitical. Further research into the historical context and the participation of *Al-Raida* in the articulation of national concerns may shed some light on this issue.

Furthermore, the journal also does not often mention the marginalized Armenian women. One article on Armenian women, written by Azadouhi Kalaidjia, is published in 1981. A further article on an Armenian women's journal is published in 1996. However, during the extent of this study, the first ten years of the journal, only the first article mentions the Armenian society in Lebanon. In selectively publishing women's narratives, *Al-Raida* portrays the Lebanese feminist movement as a unified cohesive movement. Further discussion is needed on the nuances of the movement, including the various class, race, and ethnic minorities that contributed to the development of a feminist consciousness in Lebanon.

This particular research study is conducted on the first ten years of the journal, during the Lebanese civil war, in an effort to uncover some of the rhetorical moves the journal has made while establishing and contributing to the

feminist conversation in Lebanon and in the Middle East. While this study ends during the first ten years, the next shift in the journal marks a more international discourse on Human Rights after the Nairobi conference in 1985 and the Beijing conference in 1995. Much of the feminist literature illustrates that transnational feminist activists “have tried to rescue the concept of human rights from the confines of liberal and neoliberal discourses” (Hawkesworth 80). Further research on the journal will uncover some of the shifts in the discourse on Lebanon and the Middle East as various NGOs were established in 1990s. Further research may also explore how the journal maintains a sense of local identity and response to local nuances while simultaneously exhibiting a mark towards a more global conversation in the women’s movement during this time.

Given the diversity of women in Lebanon and the Middle East, one particular group cannot represent the whole nor can give more than a partial account or representation of the development of the feminist movement. “As a self-selected group, feminists differ from the majority of women in various and manifold ways” (Hawkesworth 145). Arab feminist positions offer an amalgamation of voices, purposes, and arguments, each representing a partial view of the movement. Rather than insisting on a unified voice, the move to valorize the plural voices in the movement and the call to develop a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which Arab women differ is an important strength to contest dominant discourses, including their own which may oppress and silence marginalized groups of women, such as the Palestinian women’s movement. The ‘woman as an oppressed group,’ to use Mohanty’s terms, without applying careful, historical and political analysis, may encourage a similar move between Arab feminists as it does between Western feminists and

Arab feminists: creating an oppressive relationship in which one group of women represents another group of women. In constructing historical representations of women, it is imperative that, as researchers, we continue to uncover the various representations of women, continuing to disrupt the narrative and continuing to redefine the terms used to define us.

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