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“Development of Feminist Experiences in Colonized and Non-Colonized World During 1900-2000”

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Abstract- The history of the struggles of women for obtaining their legal, social, ethical, economic and political rights to change their lives in a dramatic sense equal to men is a long one in its perspective. The term “feminism” has been evolved in English since the last decade of nineteenth century when women campaigned against the oppression in relation to men and highlighted major issues of this nature. Then the term second wave of feminism adopted in response to student’s protest movements, anti-war movements, and in United States movements emerged for the rights of black along with rights of women. Feminism is considered to be brought up by Europe and United States mainly a west agenda to bring women on the page of equality like men. Researcher divided this research into two parts. First part deals with “Development of Feminist Experiences in Colonized world” which further categorized into Pre-Partition and Post –Partition. The second part deal with “Development of Feminist Experiences in Non-Colonized World” which further divided into two parts as ‘Muslim World’ and ‘Non-Muslim World’. Three countries will be enlisted regarding development of feminism in Muslim World which are Turkey, Iran and Egypt while Non-Muslim deal with Europe and USA. Feminism emerged differently in these different world but with the same.

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Basit Habib^α & Ushna Tariq^ο

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Keywords: feminism, colonized world, non-colonized world, islamization, westernization, waves, movements, reforms.

I. INTRODUCTION

The history of the struggles of women for obtaining their legal, social, ethical, economic and political rights to change their lives in a dramatic sense equal to men is a long one in its perspective. The term “feminism” has been evolved in English since the last decade of nineteenth century when women campaigned against the oppression in relation to men and highlighted major issues of this nature. Then the term second wave of feminism adopted in response to student's protest movements, anti-war movements, and in United States movements emerged for the rights of black along with rights of women. A British sociologist Sheila Row Botham's in ‘*Women in Movement*’ (1992), wrote some major influential developments across the world about women during the revolutionary phase of enlightenment and discussed the struggle of women against their identification of self, and organization of

women's rights movement to abolish slavery. The status of women's rights had been started to change with a landmark in history named Mary Wollstonecraft by writing a book “*A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*” (1992). She stated that individuals had their natural rights to determine the nature of their self and the reasoning by which liberal Enlightenment opposed the divine rights of kings (husbands) should be used against them in “*The Divine Rights of Husbands*” (1967:78). She insisted that the so-called inferiority of women should be challenged and removal of male dominant society could be possible only through educating women. Mary was known to be the mother of feminism. She focused on educating girls because she was of the view that girls should be educated to know their equal rights like men. She argued that women deserve the same fundamental rights like men, and should be educated like men to participate in the social matters of society, to educate her children in a well-mannered way, to participate in the progress of society in an independent way.

Then seventy-three years later, this concept of inferiority was discussed by a male feminist scholar John Stuart Mill in his book “*The Subjection of women*” (1869) by arguing against the inherent inferiority of women over men. He discussed that women should be educated enough to demonstrate for their equal rights, should hold public offices and should participate in politics too like their male peers. Neither Mill nor Mary had any wish to take women away from their families, rather they wanted to educate women in the same sense as men was educating, because they were of the view that educated women can be better mothers and housewives.

Due to invasion of feminism, it is thought that women were granted many rights including educational, legal, social, political, paid work and women's autonomy have extended. Wide range of dramatic socio-cultural and economic changes have damaged the authority of individual husband and father by giving women their due rights in all fields of life. Many feminist scholars consider feminism as not a unified movement rather it is the movement started in different communities with diverse impacts to equalize the status of women by developing strategies which liberate women of all cultures. (Peta Bowden and Jane Mummery, 2009)

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All these works proved to be influential towards the emancipation of women in public world but the major achievement can be seen after the book of Mary Wollstonecraft "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: With Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects (1792)" proved to be a landmark in women rights. She demanded equality in terms of gender by saying that: 'I don't wish them (women) power over men; but over themselves'

a) *Feminism: Agenda of Western Countries*

Feminism is considered to be brought up by Europe and United States mainly a west agenda to bring women on the page of equality like men. These countries started movements to bring gender equality in all forms of notions. These movements started with the aim to remove discriminatory practices against women on all levels. Feminism started mainly in the United States, Canada and a number of countries in Western Europe which has been divided into three waves by feminist scholars as first, second and third wave. The women's movements for their due rights started once again with more enthusiasm at a time in May 1968 when women started to read *The Second Sex* written by Simone de Beauvoir in 1949. This book was translated in English in 1953. After reading that book, many women started to campaign for their equal rights like men in society. Simone explained briefly the drawbacks of women responsibilities as by sharing that why women do is not successful in the same educational field while having same educational experiences like men. She discussed this point with arguments that women's inability to make as much money as men do in the same profession is due to women's domestic responsibilities, lack of social support towards talented women, and women's fear that success will lead to an annoyed husband or prevent them from even finding a husband at all. She stated that women are taught to be fragile, docile and dependent over men by social narrations. Thus girls are told to follow the traditions of mothers. Along with other influences of her work, Simone de Beauvoir's work helped the feminist movement to erupt, causing the formation of 'The Women's Liberation Movement' between 1970's and 1980's developed an agenda for the citizenship rights of women. This determined group of women wanted to turn these ideas into actions by bringing women on the top page of social life to achieve equality in terms of legal measures. Through the promulgation of this movements, many women were able to get few rights in social strata like right to get education, right to work independently and right to cast vote. The Women's Liberation Movement faced many issues and most important issue was the banning of abortion and contraception. This ban was seen as the violation of women rights and women determined to fight against such practices. (Cathia Jenainati and Judy Groves, 2007)

Feminism started in United States soon after 'Seneca Fall Convention' held at Wesleyan Chapel on 19 and 20 July 1848, attended by Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott. These both feminist scholars attended World's Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840 where they were not allowed to get seated due to their gender. After this convention, both ladies called for a convention in which they draw a sentiment of women rights demand. Almost 300 people attended this meeting and at the end; this Declaration of Sentiment was signed by 68 women and 32 men. Then after that convention, women suffrage movement started in which women demanded the right to vote. The major victories were the enactment of:

- Equal Pay Act 1963,
- Civil Rights Act 1964 which banned sex discrimination in jobs,
- Women's educational equity was also enacted in 1974,
- In 1978, the Pregnancy Discrimination act was also enacted.

b) *FEMINISM: A Paradigm Shifting from West to East*

Colonial relations were produced among International women's suffrage movements when women of United States encourage other white feminists to discuss their racial biases, women of Asia too did the same. This issue of encouraging basic sexual rights of women was also discussed in Asia, Middle East and Africa, that term later named "Feminist Orientalism". The NGO's from many forums encouraged feminists all over the globe to raise the issue of world poverty and national liberation at global level. They thought that these issues are the major concerning issues affecting the lives of women. A feminist dilemma of unified sisterhood was elaborated in a sense where women of west communicated women of east to bring themselves on social page for the achievement of their equal rights like men. They bonded themselves in bonds of sisterhood and communicated each other to raise the issues of women. By this communication, feminist discourse shifts from west to east to up-bring the status of women in backward countries too. This transitional approach of sisterhood bonded too much that it initiated a process to embrace feminism as a political process all over the world.

The Women's League of African National Congress returned from exile in 1990's, at that time they claimed that feminism has been misinterpreted in some third world countries, there is nothing writing like feminism. Democratic governments have been established and mostly feminists dropped their call of liberation before feminism by arguing that their rights are reserved among ANC to negotiate equal representation of women at levels of life.

In the West, liberal feminists negotiated the individualistic rights of women over men in all spheres of

life. They demanded equality of women on all grounds like men. Socialist feminists organized activities of women as wage laborers, demanded basic social right for women on all grounds. Socialists argue that men are lagging women behind in all spheres of life due to lack of education and social discrimination. They demanded to provide women free and competent medical care, adequate nutrition and food, abortion and contraception on demand, day care centers for women's child, people's control over their own bodies, democratic councils, availability of nutritious and abundant food to women at all ages, free quality education, and redefinition of jobs. Power relations of women between

men and women, between members of family were characterized by radical feminists. They argue that women's emancipation is not enough, rather they stated that women are still oppressed and exploited by men in all fields of life. Radical feminists argue that there is only one way to take women away from this system is to oppress patriarchy and marriage rules. They demanded to re-think the language which is male defined and literary works should also be modified because they reflect male dominated structure. There is need to define patriarchal language to address issues of women particularly in all spheres of life.

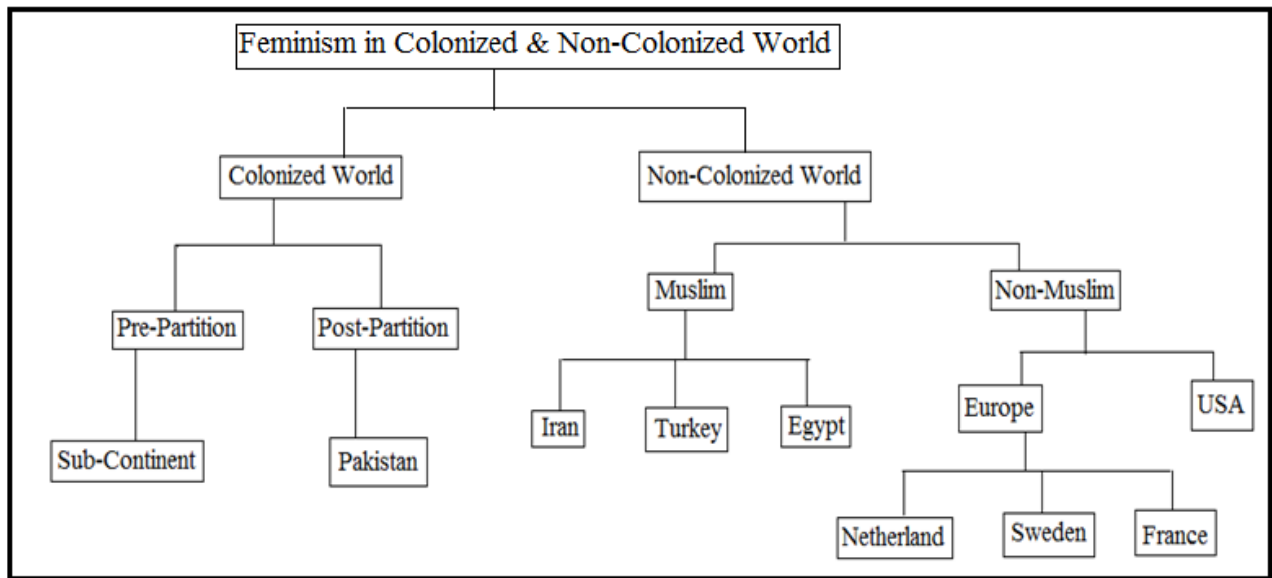


Figure 1: Road Map of Development of Feminist Experienc in Colonized & Non-Colonized World (1900-2000)

II. DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINIST EXPERIENCES IN COLONIZED WORLD

Colonialism is the practice of acquiring full or partial political control of one country over another, with the aim to occupy it all colonies and destroy it economically." Colonialism had diverse impact on the development of feminism. Here the researcher is discussing about the impact of colonialism in Asia specifically in Hindustan and Pakistan. Colonialism had impacted the development of feminism in Asian countries in three ways:

- a) Resistance to colonialism led to the initiation of feminist movements as in Hindustan leaders were against the ruling of colonial British rule over sub-continent. There was a fight between colonial British and native males of Hindustan. History evidenced that fight between two elites affects the weakest zone of any one state. Thus in this fight women of Hindustan oppressed by colonial powers and native males and faced a lot of discriminatory practices. As

English Common Law of 1832 oppressed Hindustani women in a sense that it made obligatory that after marriage, husband and wife becomes one and rights of women become merged with the rights of husband. Thus women have had to follow the rights made obligatory by husband. The oppressive side of this law was that women have to follow the duties assigned by husband, but husband was not bound to follow the rights and duties of wife. Thus laws legislate during British Raj also oppressed women of that time. As a result, in order to remove colonial powers from Hindustan, influential males of Hindustan started movements for the rights of women and later some influential women also joined the movements which named as 'Feminist Movement' for the rights and status of women.

- b) Colonialism played a role of bridge between the two states of East and West. A new concept of 'sisterhood' was established during colonialism and at that time women of East remained in contact with

the women of West in order to gain the momentum of power and addressed then issues of other women too.

- c) Colonialism points out that overlapping and differences between the feminism of west and feminism of Asia. Some cultural norms were considered as honor to women of Asia while women of west consider each restriction as discrimination. Feminism in colonial world is divided into two parts. One is before the partition of sub-continent named Sub-Continent (pre-partition) while other named Pakistan (post-partition).

It was taught by many Muslim countries that west brought the agenda of feminism to de-track the common women from their due domestic responsibilities. They were of the view that western women are responsible for exploiting the honor of their common ladies because these ladies were influenced by many western scholars and by their writings. For example, Mary Wollstonecraft, Harriet Taylor Mill, John Stuart Mill and many other revolutionary feminist scholars.

The period under discussion is divided into two parts according to time frame of topic 1900-2000.

1. Colonial Period: Hindustan (Pre-Partition)
2. Post-Colonial Period: Pakistan (Post-Partition)

a) In Sub-Continent (Pre-Partition)

Pre-colonial India was characterized differently than colonial and postcolonial India. Before colonization, India was known to be pluralistic and fragmented combination of cultural, religious and political structure in which there was not any monolithic Christian, Hindu or Muslim authority. Colonial rule was initiated with a mission with a mission to civilize the ideology of sub-continent. At that time, there was a fight between colonial powers and native male elites. This fight dragged women behind all powers and then a third group emerged of "British Feminists" who claimed for the rights and emancipation of Indian women. Pre-colonial India revealed to be an agrarian society in which very strict but often diverse rules and customs that were developed in multiple tribes and castes. The major thing done by British Feminists in India was "Age of Consent" law, though which legally an age was defined to have sexual intercourse between husband and wife. Feminist movement in India started as a reform movement for the status of women in society. Indian women were oppressed a lot by English Common Law of 1832 which discriminate women after marriage. As according to this law, after marriage, husband and wife became ones and all rights of women merge with rights of husband. Thus women left with no personal space and rights after marriage by this law. Feminists of 19th century in Hindustan mainly concerned with issues that affect urban, upper and middle caste women such as purdah, sati, education, and age of marriage, remarriage and

many more. Social reforms of these feminists demanded political and economic equality to that of men and attained equality in all spheres of life. In case of India, feminist movements were initiated mainly by males and considered as reform movements for women. Some great scholars who found initiation of feminism in India were males like Raja Ram Mohan Roy, Mahatma Gandhi, Justice Ranade and many more great influential fighters for women added in this list. (Khan, 2014)

In 1980, Prime Minister Indra Gandhi addressed to All India Women's Conference:

"I have often said that, I am not a feminist... yet in many concerns, how can I ignore women who since the beginning of history, been discriminated against social evils and social customs... We need women to be more interested, more active and more alive because they do compromise half of the human race..."

1st Phase of Feminism in Hindustan (1850-1915) debates that colonial venture is a risky journey, into Hindustan bring modernity and introduced the concept of democracy, equality and individual rights into Hindustan. Social reform movements were initiated in this phase to discuss caste and gender relations. The first phase of feminism in Hindustan (before partition) was initiated by men to abolish all social evils of 'Sati' (immolation of widow), restriction of re-marriage of widow, to reduce illiteracy among women, to forbid child marriage, and ensure property rights to women under legal provisions.

During 19th century, some nationalist movements were merged in Hindustan which resisted colonial interventions in gender relations. During British ruling, several colonial states were ruled by women like Jhansi, Kittur, Bhopal and Punjab.

2nd Phase of Feminism in Hindustan (1915-1947) discussed that struggles gained momentum against colonial rule and nationalism. These both issues became the pre-eminent causes of feminist invasion into British colonial Raj. Cultural Revivalism made Indian women superior and Indian womanhood became similar to Victorian womanhood. Gandhi initiated the Civil Disobedience Movement against British Raj and expanded activities of women into public sphere. Common and peasant women played an important role in this disobedience movement. During this phase, new organizations for women were emerged as:

- All India Women's Conference (AIWC)
- National Federation of Indian Women (NFIW)

A new feminism emerged in 1920's which provide more space to women to establish their own association for their rights. These associations proved to be helpful towards the basic issues of women like Education, Opening of new livelihood strategies for working women, Reformation of old discriminatory laws

which were previously against women and Legislation regarding women.

Mahatma Gandhi gathered other women to fight for anti-colonialist efforts under AIWC. Hindustan was also a patriarchal society and based on patriarchal beliefs of male dominancy in all respects of women lives.

b) In Pakistan (Post-Partition)

Sub-continent was ruled by British settlers for a long time politically, economically and socially exploited by British rulers. After Pakistan gained independence from Sub-continent, from its very independence it remained under the control of its colonial masters and inherited economic and political setup of west at a larger scale. The fact is that Pakistan failed to adopt its own personal constitutional setup even after nine years of its independence, while India soon after independence, adopted its own constitution of country. Pakistan adopted the Indian Act 1935 with slight amendments as an interim constitution which shows the influence of western powers over Pakistan. India came out of western influence very soon after its independence by adopting its own constitution. British Empire invaded its wings into sub-continent by the help of East India Company which means that East India Company played a role of agents of British ruling. British played a dirty tactic of "Divide and Rule" which ended after independence in 1947. After the British rule, two countries emerged- India and Pakistan. Pakistan since its independence remained under the influence of British ruling in political and economic scenario. Pakistan adopted its first constitution after nine years of its creation while India did so soon after its creation.

The history and development of feminism in Pakistan is clearly seen from a historical context starting from colonial legacy of social transformation adopted by the British rulers and passed through the early years of women's movements in which women of Pakistan struggled a lot to get independence through their feminist movements. At its beginning, this movement was rigid and conservative and especially due to invasion of Army to derail the democratic governments had a very bitter impact on the movement of women initially, but with the passage of time, these movements took more liberal atmosphere as in Pakistan today.

c) Colonialism and Initial Reforms of Women in Pakistan

The history of gender reforms and women movements in Pakistan has its roots in the colonial period of 19th century. Due to colonial powers liberal nationalists made reforms to change the old and conservative structure of society and create a sense of fight among Islamic conservative forces. Because Islamic rigid thinkers were of the view that colonial ideology and Islamic conservative forces are incompatible to each other. It is a fact that position of

women was not even imposed by colonization but little was done in this regard.

d) Laws Passed Before Independence

Muslim Personal Law (1937) was passed due to a protest by Muslim women which led to the enforcement of Muslim Family Law and by the enforcement of this law, Muslim women gained the right to inherit property but after inheritance right, she was excluded from the right to inherit agricultural land. Some other laws were also passed for the personal rights of Muslim women like:

- Shariat Application Act of 1937
- Dissolution of Muslim Marriage Act of 1939

The movements led by Pakistani Muslim women for their rights helped Indian Muslim women and they started to work collectively for the social, economic and political empowerment of women.

e) Organizations for Women After Independence

Since the independence and early years of Pakistan, two independent women organizations were established for the sake of women and these are:

- i. Women's Voluntary Services (WVS) in 1948
- ii. Pakistan Women's National Guard (PWNG) founded in 1949 by Begum RaanaLiaqat Ali Khan.

VWU played an important role in the rehabilitation of millions of refugee girls and young married women who were facing numerous problems. At that time women started to use guns, marksmanship, first aid, typing, social welfare and formed Trained National guard corps of three battalions with 2400 women and this guard corps formed for the whole of country. This organization later became 'All Pakistan Women Association' (APWA) 1949. This organization raised many personal issues regarding the status of women like health, education and family laws within the framework of welfare and social reforms.

Begum RaanaLiaqat had done tremendous jobs to work for the social welfare, health and education of women. She organized girls and young married women who were refugees and provide them shelters. Begum RaanaLiaqat's work and the unforgettable efforts of her official members helped her a lot in the formation of 'B' category Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) with UN. The first and major achievement of APWA towards women was that he reserved seats for national and provincial assembly through the ordinance which was imposed by president Ayub Khan in 1961, who was president at that time.

Though APWA did a lot for women but this organization was criticized a lot by the 'Maulvis' of that time who used to call these women as prostitutes and portrayed through their criticism as these women are lobbying against the teachings of Islam for the sake of their freedom. There were established many organizations for the sake of rights of women as:

Federation of University Women (1956), "Karachi Business and Professional Women's Club" (BPV), Family Planning Association of Pakistan, Pakistan Child Welfare Council, Pakistan Red Cross, Pakistan Nurse's federation, Domestic Women Association (DWA), International Women's Club, (YWCA) Young Women's Christian Association established in 1899, 'United Front for Women's Rights', 1955 and Muslim Family Law ordinance (MFLO) 1961.

The constitution of Pakistan 1973 promulgated some provisions for women and made them equal to men. Article 25, 27, 32, 34 and 35 provide special provisions for women and mentioned that there would be no discrimination on the basis of sex.

"...No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you in every field; we are victims of evil and bad customs. It is crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses like prisoners. There is no sanction anywhere for the deplorable and inferior condition in which our women have to live. You should take your women along with you as comrades in each and every sphere of life..."

(Muhammad Ali Jinnah, 1944)

III. DEVELOPMENT OF FEMINIST EXPERIENCES IN NON-COLONIZED WORLD

a) *Development of Feminist Experiences in Muslim World*

i. *In Turkey*

Women's movement in Turkey dated back to Ottoman period because during the decline of Ottoman period women strike for their basic rights and in early 20th century many fundamental rights regarding women were achieved through women's activists, such as the eradication of polygamy and repudiation, the rights given to men by Islamic Sharia.

It is easier to say that most strong form of feminist movement in Turkey was closely associated with west and western movements which like other feminist movements, adopted the phrase, "Personal is Political". In this feminist activity, the main issue which was discussed by scholars was domestic abuse. The remaining two feminist movements in Turkey named, 'Islamist Feminism' and 'Kurdish Nationalist Feminism'.

'Sultanate of Women': During 16th and 17th centuries, there was a strong influence of Turkish women on the politics of Ottoman Empire. For example during the 'Sultanate of Women', women of Imperial Harem like Kosem Sultan or sometimes mothers or daughters of Sultans like Mihrimah Sultan effectively ruled the Empire and had strong impact on the politics of Empire. This period of ruling started in 1520 and ended during 1656. After the status of women in the ruling Empire, during 19th century which assured the

Decline of Ottoman Empire, based the foundation of feminism. After the decline of Ottoman Empire, educated women from elites of Istanbul united themselves to organize feminist activities. Women of Ottoman Empire started to demand their equal rights and fought to increase women's access to education, paid work, eradication of polygamy, Islamic veil and many other fundamental rights. Throughout the history of feminism in Turkey, earlier feminists published women magazines in different languages with the formation of different organizations dedicated towards the advancement of women.

In 1908, first women's association named, 'The Ottoman Welfare Organization of Women' was formed in which young Turks were involved themselves to change the situation of women. Feminist movement gained momentum during Kemalist modernization efforts and during this movement, polygamy was banned. Along with this restriction, inheritance and divorce rights made equal to men. After that, during 1930's, women of Turkey were granted full political rights including the right to elect and to be elected locally on national level. However after gaining political independency, formal and social rights were not fully granted to women at that time. The Family Law was passed in 1926 and polygamy was abolished by this law. A minimum age for marriage was set out for girls, women was given the right to choose their life partners according to their own will.

In 1970's the Progressive Women's Organization (PWO) questioned the official inequality of women in public sphere regarding the full equality claims in their public and private life. These women were looked like anti-feminists as their actions were concerned only the difficult conditions of the working women not with every common women of Turkey. A revised analyzed feminist movement emerged after the military coup of 1980's, with a new generation of middle-class, left-wing, intellectual women, who were remained in touch with the ideas and women of western feminism, proposed that the "paternalist Turkish state" was, in fact, a "Patriarchal state" in which male dominant practices are observed and no place is given to women. This movement defined the interests of men for which men lag women behind in all spheres of life. This movement started in Istanbul with small awareness raising groups who discovered the famous slogan of western feminism "Personal is Political" of the second wave of feminism thus many issues and conflicts raised between men and women not in the field of public arena but also in personal and private sphere because women demanded full control over her domestic sphere.

The second wave of feminism in Turkey was late when compared to its counterpart in the west because in west started in 1960's. In 1980's, feminist issues were brought up in Turkey common to second wave of feminism in West, such as: the elimination of violence against women, a light to an oppression that women

experienced in the family by family members, the use of sexuality as a medium for male dominance, the misrepresentation of women in the media and Television, and the challenges against virginity tests which was a common practice for those women who were ready to get married or for these who were assaulted sexually or subject to sexual assault. (Tekeli, 2010)

The motto of '*personal is political*' started to be recalled only with the second wave of feminism in Turkey because women don't only want to get their private rights rather they wanted to get public rights too. In Turkey, between 1980 and 1990:

- 44 women's periodicals or magazines were published and
- 63 between 1990 and 1996.

b) *In Iran*

A brief history of feminist movement in Iran can be dated back to 1850-2001, because these last two centuries proved to show the feminist activities in Iran. It is very difficult to analyze the movement of women working in Iran, because it needs a lot of time and space. But here is the coherent picture of what has been happening in Iran regarding women over the last two centuries. The second half of 19th century proved the start of women's movements that is still going on in Iran. The first prominent figure of women who suffered for the rights of women was Fatima, daughter of a religious leader, born in Ghazvin in 1814. She was born in a religious educated family, thus unlike other girls of that time, she received a basic education along with religious training with her sister named Marzeih. Both sisters became student of masters in Arabic, Persian literature and Islamic Studies. At the age of 14, she got married to her cousin who was also a well-known religious leader of that time and known to be most famous 'Usuli' religious leader. Orthodox made Usulis dominated over other schools of thought including Akhbari and Sheykhi who reformed and challenged the Mujtahids. Fatima and her sister had close links and references and choose to go at the side of Sheykhis. In 1828 she moved to Iraq for further studies where she came to know that many SheykhiUlamas resided in exile. Here she met with Syed Kazem Rashti and Syed Mohammad Bab whom she never met before. She got aware to the influence of European politics in the policies of Iran at that time. Here Fatima joined the Rasht movement where she later went on top managerial leadership of the Babi movement. She was also given the title of Qurratulain by Rashti movement. When her family acme to know about her activities they became angry to her and she left her husband due to this alienation. She started lecturing and openly supported the Babi movement. Babis demanded many changes in the structure of Iran including emancipation of women. She was known to be a religious leader but she moved

without a veil in public and Babis too were against this unveiling of face thus forced her to leave the city.

Many societies were formed for women which were at their top flourishing level. These societies were:

- a) Society for the Freedom of Women,
- b) Secret Union of Women (1907)
- c) Association of the Ladies of the Homeland
- d) The Society for the Welfare of Iranian Women
- e) Women of Iran
- f) Union of Women
- g) Women's Efforts
- h) Council of Women of all Centers (Cathia Jenainati and Judy Groves, 2007)

c) *In Egypt*

The history of women and feminism in Egypt can be dated back to ancient period or ancient Egypt where women and men have almost equal rights. Past history shows that female Gods had the same impact in the human activities as the male Gods and played the same role. It means that women have had equal status in Pharaonic society because Egypt was ruled by queens, thus gave a more space to women. Hence women had equal rights to men, thus feminism or any feminist activity was not needed, but in 16th century, when Egypt became the part of Turkish Ottoman Empire, and after that when French invade into Egypt brought a change into social status of women in Egypt. The French invasion in Egypt resulted in French Revolution which changed the social structure of Egypt from its previous one. Marriages took place between the French officers (who converted their religion and embraced Islam) and Egyptian women. Thus as a result many Egyptian women started to dress like French women and adopted their life style. The basis of Egypt made on the principles of Islam, thus it was very difficult for the people of Egypt to accept their women impressed by the westernized views and teachings. A fight started between the religious teachings of Islam and westernized ruling of French Revolution. Egyptian culture have failed to ignore the teachings of Islam properly nor did they properly adopt the rules of westernized nations. Thus the status of women had been changed in Egypt which resulted in conservative figures towards women. Women were restricted to be confined within the four walls of home, not to get education, not to move freely. But this status changed when Gamel Abdel Nasser controlled Egypt from 1952-1970 in which he did a lot for women of Egypt. Despite of banning all independent organizations working for the rights of women, he promulgated new educational policies for girls and women along with giving them the right to participate in public life. One thing he did wrong to women was that he didn't allowed women to participate in political affairs of the country along with the ban on all free organizations working for the rights of women.

Feminism is the second name of belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities in all spheres of life. The role and status of women in Egypt has changed throughout the history from ancient times to modern Egypt. Archeological records confirms that women in Egypt were nearly equal to men all spheres of life regardless of their marital status because all marital rights were reserved for women and in the hands of males. Currently the status of women is extremely poor in Egypt than many Arab countries due to social evils like Female Genital Mutilation, Sexual harassment, and honor killings but the bitter fact revealed that these social evils are still practicing now a days in many countries. Only patriarchal culture and social evils are responsible for this deplorable condition of Egyptian women. In ancient Greece, status of women had little resemblance to the West but in some cases it shows relative akin to that of Muslim world like Muslim women in contemporary Arab were not allowed to own property and many other state and institutional forms of violence were common among women. A huge number of political and social groups or activities have been involved in the history of Egyptian feminism. In the previous Egypt, it was thought by some scholars that women and men were treated equal in almost all aspects of life.

'State feminism' (feminism approved by the governmental strategies) was implemented during Nasser's regime. Advanced steps were taken in order to gain gender equality in Egypt especially regarding educational policies and motherhood. A new welfare system was established which promoted gender equality in terms of job and payment. In his regime, the constitution of 1956 gave women the right to vote, and provided free health care to college and high school graduates but he banned all independent organizations of women. Women were granted jobs in bureaucracy on higher levels.

Huda Shaarawi laid the foundation of Egyptian Feminist Union in a meeting on 6th March 1923 at her home. She also served as the first president of EFU. The motto of EFU was concerned with education, family law, social welfare of women, and changes in the private law in order to provide equality an equal status between men and women. Social problems which were prevailed among Egyptian women mainly viewed by EFU like poverty, prostitution, illiteracy and poor health conditions of females.

After World War II Egyptian Feminism After the end of Second World War, women's movements faced the same transformations as they faced in earlier periods of their start. According to some scholars, women's movements were started to decline after Second World War, but on the other hand, some thought that it was the phase which enabled women to talk about their rights and status publically. Education and charity to poor women was not considered enough

to change their structure in the social strata rather feminist organizations were needed to address women on larger bench. Then Egyptian Feminist party was founded in 1942 which was headed by Fatima Neamat Rasheed. The main purpose of the party was to get complete equality of both genders in terms of education, employment, political representation and equal social rights. In 1948, the 'Daughter of Nile' was another feminist association founded with a purpose to achieve full political equality of women with men in all spheres of public life for the first time in the history of Egypt. It aimed to introduce women's participation in the decision-making process by promoting literacy programs, campaigned for the improved health system of women, and enhancement of mother's and child's care by invading women into all public fields. The liberal ideology of modern feminists was reflected by DoriaShafik in Egypt. She was the leader of feminist movement and their activism openly challenged the state and its policies. In 1951, a year before the Revolution of 1952, DoriaShafik with other 1500 women stormed the parliament in order to obtain full political rights and political equality of men and women. A reform of personal status law and equal pay for equal work was demanded by her for women of public sphere. A strong backlash (strong negative reaction by a large number of people) was caused by the book named *Women and Sex* in Egyptian society which led to the formation of religious fundamentalism. Thus during 1980's, new feminist groups were formed to capture this religious fundamentalism for women.

Radical and oriented Islamic movements became the reason for the rise and fall of ruling dynasties in the Islamic world. The good examples of these ruling dynasties are Abbasids and Fatimids' early on, the Wahhabis, the Mahdists, and the Sanussis in the 18th and 19th centuries. In Egypt, religion was used as a language of dissatisfaction, and it remained constant in many ruling classes of that time. In 1924 new constitution was approved by Egyptian government but it didn't give women the right to vote, rather it included the good principle that elementary education should be free and obligatory for both sexes either male or female. In 1925 for the first time in the history of Egypt girls were sent to abroad for higher education in England. In 1925 *L'Egyptienne* was published in the French language by EFU, it was edited by CezaNabarawi, this magazine was published till 1940, but later failed due to war invasion. (Al-Ali, 2002)

d) *Development of Feminist Experiences in Non-Muslim World (EUROPE & USA)*

Feminism belongs to the broad set of political and social movements based on the agenda to achieve gender equality for women in all spheres of life equal to men. It has its emerging roots in primarily Western countries (e.g. Britain, America) with the rise of feminist

movements. It depends on the ideas that women are less valued than men in all countries (or societies) due to stereotypical norms of society. This stigmatization divided male and female into different cultural, social, political and economic contexts. For realizing the commitment to eliminate sexist domination and transform society, feminists in western countries raised three waves in their societies to evaluate the status of women in a new equal sense. During the first wave, through public demonstration, strikes, feminine gathering or presenting declaration, western feminists expressed their demands for a new political identity of women in social strata. They demanded the representation of women in government, right to vote, legal advances and public emancipation. Feminists started to demonstrate with the slogan "the personal is political", first coined by Hanisch (1970). While second wave of feminism focused on the quest of social and cultural equality of women on globe.

e) *Influential Scholars and their Feminist Works: Waves of Feminism in Europe and USA*

Simon de Beauvoir in her book 'The Second Sex', stated that Christian de Pizan (French-Italian feminist poetess, 1365-1430) was the first woman who took up her pen in the defense of her sex. Likewise, Lucretia Mott (1793-1880), a women's rights activist and social reformer. She advocated for the rights and equality of women. When she was excluded from World Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, she fastened her

activities towards women and been invited on first women rights Convention 'Seneca Fall Convention 1848'. Another influential lady who advocated for the rights of women in past was Sojourner Truth, (1793-1887) was an African-American women's rights activist. She also advocated for the rights and slavery of women. Frances Wright (1795-1852) was a famous feminist and social reformer. During 1820-1880, many influential social reformists in England and US tried to make their voices heard by staging numerous public lectures and founded societies by writing extensively on 'woman questions' about their position in domestic and public arena. She founded Nashoba Commune and reported her views about the status of women in *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821) by becoming an active member of American literary circle about women. She did a lot in advocating universal education for both genders. Marry Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), known to be the mother of feminism, English author, and pioneer feminist scholar for the advocacy of rights of women. The status of women's rights had been started to change with a landmark in history named Marry Wollstonecraft by writing a book "A Vindication of the Rights of Woman" (1992), stated that individuals had their natural rights to determine the nature of their self and the reasoning by which liberal Enlightenment opposed the divine rights of kings (husbands) should be used against them in "The Divine Rights of Husbands" (1967:78). (Walters, 2005)

Table1: Occurrence of Attributes between Coloniz and Non- Colonized World

ATTRIBUTES	COLONIZED WORLD		NON-COLONIZED WORLD						
	PRE-PARTITION	POST-PARTITION	MUSLIM WORLD			NON-MUSLIM WORLD			USA
			EGYPT	TURKEY	IRAN	EUROPE			
						NETHERLAND	FRANCE	SWEDEN	
Origin of Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
State Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
Feminist Orientalism	*	*	*	*	*	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sisterhood Concept	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Militant Governments	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Civilian Governments	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Feminist Movement	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Legislation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Women Campaigns	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Islamization Concept	*	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
Direct Colonization	✓	✓	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Indirect Colonization	*	*	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
Social Criticism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Right to Vote?	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Western Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
CEDAW Implementation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Liberal Feminism			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Religious Feminism	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Islamic Movements	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	*	*	*	*
Secular Movements	✓		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓
Educational Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Political Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Social Reforms	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Independent Organizations for Women	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓

Simon de Beauvoir cited that Christian de Pizan was the first woman who took up her pen in the defense of her sex and wrote about the relation of sexes to denounce misogyny in 15th century. Christian took up her pen in her book '*The Book of the City of Ladies*'. Feminist movement started with feminist campaigns to bring gender equality by giving women their due rights socially, politically, economically and legally. These campaigns started globally to create a social order of to own property, to receive education equally, to have equal rights within marriages and many more equal concerns. 1888 was the year in which first International organization for women was formed named International Council of Women (ICW). History proved that feminism is a western political agenda brought up by west in 18th century to articulate women in public sphere. Modernity is also regarded to be the agenda brought up by west but in fact, modernity develops after the interaction of west with rest of the world. State feminism was adopted by almost all countries listed above either colonized or non-colonized because somehow militant and civilian both governments were in favor to grant women equality. Suffrage movement was started in all countries but after some movements and efforts and women granted the right to cast vote. Netherland granted its women right to cast vote in 1917, Turkey in 1934, British in 1918, France in 1944, Sub-Continent in 1921, Denmark in 1915, Netherland in 1919, US in 1920, Sweden in 1921, India in 1950, Iran in 1963. Social evils are still present in all worlds despite of movements and legislations for the rights of women. Political, social and educational reforms done in each state. WLM started to address the social issues of women. Religious feminism existed in Colonized and Muslim world while liberal feminism is present among some Muslim and non-colonized world. Civilian and militant governments effected the status of women and campaigns somewhere positively while in some cases negatively.

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