NABAWIYA MUSA'S AUTOBIOGRAPHY: A MUSLIM IN THE EGYPTIAN MEMOIRS

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Abstract: In this article we discuss matters related to writing autobiography, and different ways of reading autobiography. Nabawiya Musa's memoirs describes concrete ways in which Egyptian women were oppressed in the early 20th century and how one woman overcame structural and behavioral modes of oppression. Nabawiya Musa's autobiography enables us to demonstrate that Egyptian women's feminist consciousness and activism exceeded what most people have been able to see or willing to concede. Recording one's life story is a centuries-old practice in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab and Islamic worlds. Thus, the practice of autobiography can be seen as a feminist act of assertion and a great challenge to convention, as well as a great study of the Islamic world axiology.

Keywords: Islam, oppression, autobiography, Egyptian feminism, self-recollections

Introduction

If a text about one's life experience does not imply or impose a realistic report about the occurence of the events, and that the border between autobiography and novel is very delicate, we must say that we are always reading about how the self internalizes experience and about the birth of consciousness that expresses some figures of identity.

There are different reasons for writing autobiography, and different ways of reading autobiography beyond the realm of formal feminist movements or explicitly articulated feminist ideology.[1] Thus, he autobiography of Nabawiya Musa was published from 1938 to 1942 in her periodical, *Majallat al-Fatah* (the magazine of the young woman), under the title of "Dhikriyyati" (*My memoirs*).[2] It was the highly detailed life of a woman who was a pioneering educator and who had made a lifelong commitment to nationalist and feminist issues. Musa, of modest middle-class origins, was a self-made woman whose everyday language was Arabic, as it was for the majority of Egyptians. In Musa's time there was no unequivocal word for feminism or feminist in Arabic; the term *nisa'i/nisa'iyya* was used, but could mean either "feminist" or "women's", depending on the context. Knowing the past of feminists and how they viewed their experience helps us in the task of understanding constructions of feminism. Moreover, revelations in an autobiographical text such as Musa's are critical for a fuller understanding of the history of Egyptian feminism.

Musa's autobiography enables us to demonstrate that Egyptian women's feminist consciousness exceeded what most people have been able to see or willing to concede. A major document in the history of Egyptian feminism, it also contributes to the expanding and refining feminist theory. Musa achieved her highest form of self-expression in her autobiographical writing, which she began at the age of fifty-two, long after she had established herself as a formidable educator. Much earlier in her career, at the age of thirty-four, she had published a short treatise called *al-Mar'a wa al-'amal* (*Woman and work*)[3] in which she supported education and work for women. Her feminist exposition in these two kinds of writing is strikingly different. She exhibits far freer expression in her autobiography. "Dhikriyyati" is thus critical to an understanding of the possibilities of the autobiographical mode for feminist expression in Egypt. Musa's life and the reconstruction of her life operated as counter-discourses cutting through indigenous and colonialist patriarchal overlays. Through her autobiography, Musa produced a feminist and nationalist manifesto that was far more radical than the feminism and nationalism she articulated in *Woman and work*.[4]

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[1] Huda Shaarawi, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist (1879–1924)*, trans., ed. and intro Margot Badran, New York, Feminist Press of the City University of New York, 1987.

[2] Nabawiya Musa, *Dhikriyyati*, Aman, 1956, p. 89.

Nabawiya Musa's Life and Career

Nabawiya Musa (born in Zagazig on December 17, 1886; died in 1951), often referred to as one of Egypt's first Muslim feminists, was a pioneer of girls' schooling, women's rights, women's journalism, gendered resistance, feminist veiling, and nationalist education. Musa graduated from, and then taught at, al-Saniyya teacher training institute for girls. She gained her fame in 1907 as the first woman to sit for and pass the secondary-school certificate exam despite there being no secondary girls' school at the time. Consequently, she became the first female teacher to earn pay equal with that of her male counterparts, setting a precedent for postindependence Egypt. An outspoken critic of foreign education because of what she considered its dubious political and cultural influence, Musa stressed the importance of indigenous teachers and a nationalist curriculum. She advanced girls' schooling as teacher, administrator, inspector, author of a popular grammar text, and founder and director of two private girls' schools. The honorary founder of the Egyptian Feminist Union (established in 1923) and a loyal nationalist, Musa believed that spreading women's education was an essential nationalist act with the greatest potential impact.

She was the first Egyptian woman to obtain a secondary education certificate and who had neither a father nor a husband when she first removed her *niqab* (a clothe/veil which covers the face as a part of sartorial hijab) around 1909 when the was the principal of the girls' school in Fayyum, the first of the many administrative assignments, where face-veiling was uncommon. She was from a modest middle-class background, and her consistent position against making an issue of veiling suggests that she might not have been comfortable with her intentionally provocative action. She also petitioned for the right to take the state baccalaureate examination, then limited only to boys.

In 1910 she became principal of the Women Teachers Training School in Mansura and in 1915 of the Wardian Women Teachers Training School in Alexandria. Nine years later (in 1924), she became chief inspector of state schools for girls, but she was fired two years later by the Education Ministry for insubordination. She continued to focus on expanding opportunities for women writing pseudonymous articles for Cairo newspapers. Founded in 1937, her weekly magazine for girls called *al-Fatat* ceased publication in 1943.

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[3] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 129.

[4] Ibidem, p. 138

Musa's career came to an abrupt end when the Egyptian government imprisoned her for speaking out against the government's compromising position after British tanks positioned themselves in front of Abdin Palace in 1942, to put pressure on the king. She died in retirement eight years later at the age of sixty-four in Alexandria. Upon her death, she left her legacy, the schools she had founded to the state.

In the early twentieth century, Musa sought new opportunities for herself, and campaigned for the inclusion of other confined middle- and upper-class women in the life of society. Although she objected to the enforced seclusion of women in the home she supported the separation of the sexes in public. Musa's strict application of the practice of gender segregation in her schools enabled women as students and teachers to find space in the public arena where direct male interventions in their lives could be held at bay. She operated within the framework of the prevailing sexual and moral ideologies, which became for her weapons to keep men in their place. Although Nabawiya Musa was active in Egypt for nearly half a century and was a prominent figure in education, she has been neglected in general accounts of modern Egypt, a fate shared with other women.

Autobiography as an Indigenous Form: The Making of Modern Egypt

The earliest self-narratives date back to the medieval period. As far as we know, however, only from the twentieth century have Arab women written accounts of their lives. In Egypt the rise of the modern autobiographical tradition followed independence in 1922. It was developed by middle- and upper-class women and men who had played important roles in the political, intellectual, and cultural life of the country. The modern genre of autobiography is called in Arabic *tarjama hayat* (literally, interpretation of life) or *sira dhatiyya* (literally, self-created life story). Egyptians often inscribed their life stories under the rubric of memoirs (in Arabic, *mudhakkarat* or *dhikriyyat),* suggesting the process of recall. By the 1930s both women and men were publishing autobiographies, a practice that became more common starting from the 1940s.

Nabawiya Musa is one of the first two Muslim women to have published her life story. Women in Egypt have sometimes used biography to speak autobiographically. Although women and men both participated in the creation of the modern genre of autobiography, presentation of one's life had different connotations for each. Writing about the self was a radical act for women, but not for men. Women's voices were considered *'awra,* something shameful, to be covered. Moreover, not only women's voices but their entire beings were construed in sexual terms and therefore as *'awra*. The prevailing ideology held that women, as essentially sexual beings, posed dangers to men, family, and society.[5] Men secluded women in order to control them – that is, women of the middle and upper classes, Muslims, Christians, and Jews alike, whose labor outside the home was not needed. Their lives were to be private and unseen. In the early decades of the twentieth century, as a result of continuing socio-economic and technological change in the urban world, middle- and upper-class women gradually emerged from domestic confinement to become an increasing presence in society. Women began to remove the face veils that had rendered them invisible, and deprived them of individual identity in society. Non-Muslims were the first to do so. Around 1909, when Musa took up the position as headmistress of a school for girls in the Fayyum oasis, where veiling was generally not practiced, she quietly uncovered her face. During her employ in the colonial state school system as a teacher and then an assistant principal, she was required to veil by the colonial education authorities. At the school in Fayyum that was opened by Egyptian nationalists she was free to remove the veil from her face (she retained the head cover, however, and did so for the rest of her life). Huda Sha'rawi removed her face veil as an overt and confrontational political act in the train station in Cairo after returning from the feminist conference in Rome in 1923. Their two different ways of enacting unveiling (the face) symbolized Musa's and Sha'rawi's divergent approaches to the process of women's liberation.

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[5] Fatna A. Sabah, *Women in the Muslim Unconscious,* trans. Mary Jo Lakeland, New York, Pergamon, 1984.

Much of women's early practice of autobiography can be seen as a feminist act of assertion, helping to shatter the complicity with patriarchal domination that had been effected through women's enforced invisibility and silence. Women's autobiography was an entry into public discourse in a very personal and individual way, and was a way of shaping it. A woman speaking about her own life constituted a form of shedding of the patriarchal surrogate voice.

The Text as a Victorious Self

When she began to resurrect her earlier defiant and victorious selves[6] Musa opened the narrative of her life with the episode, "How I Started my Work Life and When my Troubles Began," establishing what would be a trope of trials and triumphs and a focus on her educational mission. She produced ninety-one instalments, with little heed for historical sequence. Musa presented her life as a struggle, a pattern of skirmishes and successes with her patriarchal enemies, whom she scathingly exposed in their perpetual attacks upon her. She narrated how a young woman invented her own life, came of age as a teacher and headmistress, and played a role in shaping modern education in Egypt. If Musa's auto-biography is the life of a pioneering educator in modern Egypt, it is equally a testament to the evolution of her feminist and nationalist consciousness and activism. "Dhikriyyati" affords the reader an unprecedented opportunity to see modes of feminism and of nationalism that were not expressed in the context of a formal political organization or movement. It shows how an acute gender consciousness heightened by nationalist awareness and a strong drive propelled her into manipulating her environment in order to transcend the limitations that might otherwise have stifled her. Musa's feminism did not announce itself as did the movement feminism of Huda Sha'rawi, with its highly-visible discourse of protest and demands, and use of explicit feminist terminology and dramatic symbolic gestures. Musa came from the modest middle class. Her position in life as an educator and public personality was self-achieved, and one she had to struggle to maintain. She was in a position of dependency on the Ministry of Education for much of her early career. If Musa had employed

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[6] By the time she began to publish her memoirs, Musa had long since been the but I of ridicule in the press and tie subject of numerous cartoonsportraying her covered from tip to toe in the traditional '*abaya* (the long black wrap that by then was worn mainly by more conservative women and those of the lower class), bespectacled and "ugly," usually in a haranguing posture. She actually appropriated this kind of caricature in her own magazine, turning it to her own advantage. The woman who broke convention in writing about her own life had already gained a notoriety that gave her a certain freedom.

an explicit feminist vocabulary, which she would have had to coin in Arabic (we have already noted the absence of a precise word for feminism or feminist in Arabic), she might have alienated large segments of the population. However, she spoke and wrote in French, the language of the upper-class, but most of the time she communicated in Arabic, the language of the majority and enjoyed wider access to her compatriots.

Musa's autobiographical account (in terms of deploying feminist rhetoric and demands) was more pragmatic, and idiosyncratic brand of feminism. She was not part of a movement, and her memoirs do not indicate that she consciously considered herself a feminist. Yet she clearly belongs to the history of feminism in Egypt.

Self-Creation between 'Traditional' and 'Modern'

The brief outline of Nabawiya Musa's life confirms that she overcame barriers to self-expression in the kind of society and circumstances in which she found herself. In his memoirs, the Egyptian writer and journalist Salama Musa, a contemporary of Nabawiya Musa, gives a sense of the world into which she as a female was born: "Once I was struck by my sister because I had called her name in the street. It was considered just as improper for a girl's name to be heard in public as for her face to be seen."[7]

Musa relates that she was raised only by her mother on the pension of her army colonel father, who died while on a military mission in Sudan before her birth. Her subordinate status as a girl was impressed on her by her mother, who took Nabawiya and her brother, ten years her senior, from Zagazig, the small town in the eastern Delta where she and her mother had been born, to Cairo to advance his schooling. Musa, however, advanced her own education through self-creation, a leitmotif in the narrative of her life. Extracting help from her brother, she acquired the rudiments of Arabic through memorization. When she had taught herself the elements of writing, progressing from the mnemonic to the creative, she triumphantly composed her first verse. She narrates a painful scene in which her brother denigrated her first effort to write, but dispels the pain by recounting that her uncle told her, "Don't pay attention to what he said. When you become educated none of us will be able to touch your writing."[8] Mastery of the word and mastery of the self converge, as domination by language becomes another trope in Musa's story of self-creation. When the young Nabawiya proceeded from the more passive and imitative task of memorizing the Qur'an to the active and individualist enterprise of interpretation, she again incurred censure and established victory. She recounts that a male relative studying at al-Azhar, the center of Islamic learning, chastised her for trying to interpret the Qur'an on her own without a religious guide, something even he, as a (male) student of religion, would not attempt, as it was seen as a heresy. Ignoring this, she challenged him to explain a Qur'anic *aya* (verse). When he blundered through a blatant misreading of the Arabic, she pointed out his error and scorned him in a poetic composition. In a culture permeated by religion, Musa established her own ability to read the scripture for herself and rejected the not-infallible interpretation of male authority. Individual rational investigation, or *ijtihad*, was an Islamic method for understanding religion as part of Islamic modernism, encouraging Muslims to reject non-Islamic practices and to apply religion to new circumstances. It was within this context of Islamic modernism that pioneering feminists in Egypt such as Musa and Sha'rawi articulated their approach to women's liberation.[9]

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[7] Salama Musa, *The Education of Salama Musa*, Trans. from the Arabic by L.O. Schuman, Leiden, Brill, 1961, p. 7.

[8] Salama Musa, *The Education of Salama Musa*, Trans. from the Arabic by L.O. Schuman, Leiden, Brill, 1961, p. 45.

Finding her way to school opened up a whole new life for Musa. In recounting her determination to attend school, a domain outside the family-centered world, Musa's narrative displays a break with maternal authority. When she announced her intention to go to school, her mother told her that it "was a violation of decorum and modesty, and an affront to good upbringing and religion,"[10] and threatened to disown her. When Nabawiya learned she had passed the entrance examination, she gave her mother an ultimatum. If her mother stood in her way she would leave home and enter school as a boarder, paying her tuition out of her portion of her late father's pension. At this point her brother enters the narrative reconstruction, warning his sister, "If you go to the Saniyya School I shall cease to know you."[11] She snapped, "Then I shall have one less [male] relative and that's fine with me."[12] The redeployment of elements of her social and cultural heritage to rewrite her gendered destiny and serve her new self-chosen objectives is yet another motive in Musa's life narrative.

In her text, Musa challenges the commonplace belief that an educated girl is a frivolous girl, exploding the stereotype with her portrayal of the young Nabawiya. Earlier, in *Woman and work* (1920), she had argued that education for women would make them more serious and better able to protect themselves. In Musa's youth, as we have seen, schooling was not the norm for a girl, but it was possible. Notions that female education constituted a violation of religion were strobgly attacked in the final third of nineteenth century. Marriage, however, was a norm backed by religious doctrine. Musa's rejection of marriage was her most obvious act of defiance, but gaining an education was also integral to this rebellion, as she shows in her autobiography when she links her pursuit of education to her escape from marriage: "It [marriage] repelled me and perhaps my leaving home at the age of thirteen to go to school was because of my hatred for marriage. If I had stayed without work I could not have remained unmarried. I did not have the resources adequate to my needs."[13] In the context of discussing her escape from marriage she also declares: "I preferred to live as the master of men, not their servant."[14] The publication of such astonishingly blunt views on marriage as Musa's is unusual in the context of Egyptian society and culture, both in her days and now, in the 21st century. She makes her deep aversion to marriage evident: "I hated marriage and considered it dirt and had decided not to soil myself with this dirt. Since childhood, I had believed that marriage was animalistic and degrading to women and I could not bear [the thought of] it."[15] When we contrast the approaches Musa takes to marriage in her treatise and in her autobiography, we see that she is careful to uphold the ideal of marriage and motherhood as women's first and paramount roles in *Woman and work* (1920), while in "Dhikriyyati" she gives firm reasons for her rejection – even denigration – of marriage.

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[9] On Islamic modernism, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 130-163.

[10] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 89.

[11] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 44.

[12] Ibidem, p. 44.

[13] Ibidem, p. 156.

[14] Ibidem, p. 158.

[15] Ibidem, p. 159.

Another matter that Musa takes up in her autobiography is the controversy over *sufur* (unveiling) and *hijab* (veiling, then commonly understood to include covering the face). On this subject, her position is the same in both works. In her memoirs, she borrows from her introduction to *Woman and work* (1920), where she had written:

> "I have dealt with all subjects relating to Egyptian women except for what they now call *sufur* and *hijab* because I believe these are academic terms the meanings of which we are quite ignorant. I cannot call the peasant woman unveiled because she does not wear the transparent [face] veil that is known to us city women. The peasant woman goes about her way modestly... I cannot call some of the city women veiled when they go out immodestly covered with ornaments and jewelry attracting the eyes of the passer-by while on their faces they wear a veil that conceals nothing but timidity."[16]

Musa wanted to shift the debate away from *sufur* versus *hijab* to a focus on *hishma,* or modesty, transcending the categories "traditional" and "modern," which saw veiling as traditional and unveiling as modern. In "Dhikriyyati," (Musa, Musa illustrates her point when she narrates her encounter on a tram with a woman who asked her if she were a Christian because her face was uncovered (Christians had begun to unveil earlier than Muslims). Musa replied that she was behaving with greater modesty than the woman herself was. She recounts that she told the woman that her transparent veil did not hide her face, and continued, "I see what I should not see of your bosom and I see your arms [which according the widely accepted interpretation Muslim women were enjoined to cover] ... but you do not see anything of me but my face [which Islam does not enjoin women to cover]."[17] She also reconstructs an exchange she had with a male writer in the offices of the Cairo daily *al-Ahram,* who insisted that women should cover their faces. After reminding him that his female relatives in the village did not cover their faces (as was customary for peasant women) she said: "Sir, you claim that men are wiser and more rational than women. If women are not seduced by your faces, and some of you are indeed handsome, how could you men who are more rational be seduced by women's faces? You men should be veiled and women unveiled."[18]

At the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, she observes in "Dhikriyyati," that: "What I foresaw came true. Now the women of Egypt have unveiled and men have started to attack the mentality of the veiled woman. Yes, what I envisioned came true but not in the way I had hoped. Unveiling was accompanied by flashiness (*tabarroj),* which I did not expect the respectable Egyptian woman to fall prey to, especially the educated women. But who knows, maybe it is a passing thing. Perhaps later we shall return to modest unveiling."[19] Musa's speculation about the future has been realized by the renewed concern for modesty and the revelling of the head and body that surfaced in the 1970s, two decades after her death.

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[16] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 186.
[17] Nabawiya Musa, *Dhikriyyati*. Aman, 1956, p. 98.
[18] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 134.
[19] Nabawiya Musa, *Dhikriyyati*. Aman, 1956, p. 176.

Yet, Musa was still a female in a patriarchal society and subject to controls imposed, in part, by the (patriarchal) culture's code of morality.

De/Colonizing the Subject in Autobiography: Musa's Nationalism

Musa narrates her life up to the age of twenty as a "feminist project" of inventing a life for herself and not merely following convention. She represents her "feminism" as taking on a more collective and public dimension when she entered the workforce. Defying the conventional life script, and those who sought to impose it, Musa entered into a new stage of combat which was to last the rest of her life. For almost the first two decades of her professional life, as during her school days, Musa had to contend with the omnipresent British colonial rule. Colonialism oppressed Egyptians in gender- and class-specific ways, often doubly oppressing women. At the same time, colonial authorities sometimes promoted new roles for women – and, in so doing, gave rise to tensions across (indigenous) gender lines, a largely unexplored form of colonial divide and rule. In the struggle against colonialism, Egyptians played roles determined in certain ways by class and gender. Musa's nationalist activism, like her feminist activism, was expressed mainly through her work, and was articulated more subtly. Musa's "Dhikriyyati" illuminates intersections between her feminism and nationalism, and sheds light on forms of indigenous and colonial patriarchal oppression she experienced. Musa used her autobiography to unveil her mode of nationalist activism. Her nationalism with a feminist dimension has to be understood in the context of her position as a middle-class teacher in a government school. She stresses women's central role in consolidating an Egyptian identity and in expanding the national workforce in *Woman and work*, insisting that "the best service that can be done for the country that we are ready to die for is to direct the attention of women toward education and work."[20] She also tells that "this conviction has inspired me to publish this book in the hope that it will have some effect."[21] Recounting her position and actions during the revolution of 1919-1922, when she was headmistress of the Wardiyyan Women Teachers' Training School in Alexandria, Musa reveals how class and gender operated in the nationalist struggle. During that period when (male) students and teachers were frequently out on strike, Musa did not allow herself, her teachers, or her students to participate in demonstrations. That could have led to the closure of her school and the end of her career, neither of which, she believed, would have benefited Egypt. She writes:

> "I have loved, and still love, education which has totally preoccupied me. It has kept me from involvement in politics because I believed that a person serves their country through the work in which they excel and through that alone ... In my view schools going out on strike does not help the country. We can help in our own ways such as advocating the spread of girls' education which our country greatly needs. It is a non-threatening endeavor with which no one can interfere and something noble that will greatly benefit the country and have a long-term impact".[22]

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[20] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 194.
[21] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 196.
[22] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 50.

Musa also objected to women and girls going out on demonstrations with men because she believed it would endanger the women's reputations and pose a moral threat to them: "I was unhappy that nationalist activity might be a reason for women teachers to violate codes of modesty and decorum and be an occasion for frivolity."[23] Later, she states: "I explained to them [the women teachers and girls] that taking part in street demonstrations was not fitting to our dignity as oriental women."[24]

Autobiographical Conclusions

Starting from Fatima Mernissi (Mernissi, 1991) words that: "Memory and recollection are the dawn of pleasure; they speak the language of freedom and self-development"[25] we can assert that Musa speaks the language of freedom in "Dhikriyyati" in a declarative and defiant way. During the militant phase of the national revolution, eighteen years before she began her autobiography, she supported the education and work for women while upholding prevailing moral/cultural values, for the good of women and of the nation. Hers was a program for female relief from patriarchal oppression and for the rescue of the nation from colonial oppression. In her treatise Musa rejects binary oppositions: the prevailing social construction of gender that essentialized male and female as "two separate species" and the contest between veiling and unveiling, with implications of modest or immodest, (morally) right or (morally) wrong, traditional or modern.

Conclusions

In this paper, we wanted to focus on the idea that Musa's "Dhikriyyati" (in the form of self-narration) displays the range of autobiographical fine-tuning voices and illustrates how a feminist and nationalist project can be embedded in an autobiography. Autobiography enabled Musa to delineate the limits and details of patriarchal oppressions and expose layers of hypocrisy. At one level Musa was a historical scribe; yet she was also the shaper of the tale and the interpreter of the past. Not only had she entered the public arena of active struggle and achieved personhood in an asymmetrically gendered world, but she entered the public arena of written discourse. As a woman Musa was refused admittance to the new Egyptian University. She was unable to fulfill her wish to become a lawyer. She was professionally buffeted by colonial authorities. She was fired by the Ministry of Education after independence. But against all these oppositions she managed to construct a meaningful life. She showed how it was a struggle to be both the same and equal in a society where difference was minutely gendered and the male was highly privileged and empowered. The male Egyptians pioneering in writing modern autobiography narrated lives lived at the center and the top of the new "democratic" order. They lived and wrote their lives as full citizens in the newly semi-independent Egypt. In writing the history of the female Egyptian, Musa celebrated struggle, using her narrative re-creation of it as a mirror. Her autobiography recorded the experience and furnished a model of an Egyptian Muslim woman who had forged and sustained a life for herself. For Musa, autobiography was finally “the dawn of pleasure”, seen as an act of self-expressing ideological struggles.

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[23] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 100.

[24] Nabawiya Musa, *The Woman and Work*, Alexandria, National Press, 1920, p. 134.

[25] Mernissi, Fatima. *Women and Islam: An Historical and Theological Enquiry*, trans. Mary Jo Lakeland. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991, p.89.

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