

DEFINING SOCIAL, AND CULTURAL FORCES IN THE ARAB WORLD IN THE POSTWAR

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Abstract

This study identifies important political, social and cultural forces as trends that prevailed in the Arab world after World War II. Political, social and cultural forces identified because of their profound impact. The researcher, during his long study of Contemporary Metaphor Theory and its main five pillars; language, thought, forces, time and place, launched a stage of deep reading about the Arab World in the postwar and tried to name and identify what are these forces? Are they socially related? Or are they culturally defined? Or are they politically related? From this perspective, this critical study has its importance. It names main share forces and repercussions and shows the extent of their impacts on the whole societies in the Arab World.

Keywords: Authoritarianism , Pluralism, Diversity, Social Equalities, social forces, cultural forces, political forces, Arab World, postwar.

Authoritarianism

One of the political forces appeared clearly in the postwar is the Authoritarianism. Many Arab intellectuals recently focused their attention on the internal contradictions of their societies. They complained that Arab intellectuals “trivialized the defeat” either by insisting on foreign conspiracies or claiming deviation from the “proper Islamic path,” in the words of Syrian Marxist Yasin al-Hafiz. al-Jabiri (1935–2010), is a pioneer contemporary Arab intellectual, went across the ideological and political spectrum chose different paths of resistance to authoritarianism throughout the twentieth century, and into the twenty-first. Primarily, although not exclusively men, tried to study and highlight the retreat of thought in the Arab world. We find that Max Weiss and Jens Hanssen very recently demonstrates the density of the Arab intellectual field who projected the notion:

Muhammad Arkoun (1928–2010), Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri (1935–2010), Nasir Hamid Abu-Zayd (1943–2010), Jamal al-Banna (1920–2013), Radwa ‘Ashur (1946–2014), Idwar al-Kharrat (1926–2015), Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal (1923–2016), Clovis Maksoud (1926–2016), Shahenda Maklad (1938–2016), Jurj Tarabishi (1939– 2016), and Sadiq Jalal al-‘Azm (1935–2017). (2018: 24)

In the recent section, it is interesting to focus on the intellectual and famous sociologist Muhammad Abid al-Jabiri. al-Jabiri demonstrated that *al-Nahda* in the eastern Arab world *al-Mashriq* marks off two specific political phenomena that distinguished the region from the western part of the Arabic speaking world *al-Maghrib*. First, Ottoman hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean created a general association between Islamic authority and non-Arabic speaking foreign rule. Second, a primarily Christian minority in the lands of greater Syria *bilad al-sham* known in western philosophy “LEVANT” and especially in Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine that was well represented among the intellectual classes influenced the broad association of Europe with modernity and liberalism with the emergence of liberal movements¹

On the contrary, *al-Maghrib* had long remained a little bit partial and far reach of Ottoman sovereignty. Also, the substantial religious minority in the region was Jewish. It was much smaller than minority communities elsewhere in the Arab *Mashriq*, tended less toward forming its own distinct sub-national trends within the larger culture of ideas. Hosam Abdoul-Ela pointed out as a result to his review to the intellect al-Jabiri’s arguments, saying:

A relative absence of the dichotomy between traditional and modern. In this reading, the place of Europe in the modern Arab world –including the cultural history of the Mashriq – is much more complex than it appears at times in the writings of those historians who focus on the Levant and Egypt as the center of Arab culture. (2018: 146)

For al-Jabiri, “European civilization established an early foothold among minorities and liberal-leaning elites.”² “Europe, then became a counterpoint to Ottoman sovereignty much earlier than previously recognized, even perhaps a precursor to the Arab nationalism that truly comes into its own toward the beginning of World War II, which is often represented as the end of the “liberal age.”³

Pluralism and Diversity in the Arab World

Although the Arab World is known with the Unity of Religion, but many minorities lived in various countries. They preserve their language , traditions , religious values. Islam namely organized those minorities to be lived peacefully among Muslims. That is not prevent that they may be included with dominance of ideological trends through demographical change.⁴

¹ al-Jabri, Mohammed Abed. *The Structure of Arab Reason: The Epistemological Order of Arab Culture*. 9th edition. Beirut: Centre of Arab Union Studies, 2009 (1986).

² Aboul-Ela, Hosam . “The Specificities of Arab Thought” in Hanssen, Jens; Max Weiss (eds). *Arabic Thought against the Authoritarian Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp.143-62.

³ Ibid.

⁴ (My adaptation)

Pluralism is “a situation in which people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., are together in a society but continue to have their different traditions and interests. It is also defined as the belief that people of different social classes, religions, races, etc., should live together in a society⁵

In this section, two socio-cultural phenomena; pluralism and diversity argued as a means to achieve Arab world unity. Dr. Hassan Hanafi, an Egyptian sociologist, pointed out that pluralism and diversity as two essential conceptions founded basically in all religions. He stated that there are two interpreters of both conceptions contrastively. Some intellectuals believe that pluralism means division, dispersion, discontent, strife, and fighting. Moreover, it is opposed to unification, order and right. In fact, this is a wrong objection; pluralism is with the right and it is the spirit of truth, the basis of creativity, and a principle that is cherished by religions and condemned by peoples.⁶

The pluralism of Islam ancient heritage has appeared in all sciences; in the science of dogmas, unity and abundance. It is one of the general premises of understanding the universe with rational and reason, duty and possibility, and substance and presentation. The differences of Islamic groups. And the various doctrines of jurisprudence to Malikia, Hanafi, Shafi'i and Hanbali, all taught in mosques. Also, the multiplicity of philosophical doctrines between rational and irrational. But the Sufi bees multiplied stating, indeed, on the talk of the "Survivor Brigade" is centered on pluralism just like its focus on unity.⁷

Pluralism also appeared in the fourth source of jurisprudence, ijihad. By the consensus of fundamentalist jurists, the theoretical right is multiple, and the practical right is one, which can be inferred in many ways, but the realization of the interests of the people is its whole purpose.⁸ The Islamic civilization of ancient and modern based on the principle of pluralism. Science flourished, and intellectual creativity reached its peak in the fourth century where Ibn Sina, Bayrouni, Mutanabi, and Unitarian. The debates were held between scholars, jurists and writers in the councils of the caliphs and princes, who won no one but the MIND, without the support of a team and persecution. Islamic civilization was a model of intellectual pluralism and enlightenment similar to the era of Berkley's in ancient Greece, and the era of enlightenment in the modern West.⁹

Throughout the fifth century, al-Ghazali thought that pluralism ends in the equality of evidence and proportionality, equal rights with falsehood and dispersion of people, loss of faith and even weakness of the state, and the Crusades began a decade ago. His mission was to eliminate pluralism for unity of thought, unity

⁵ Dictionary of Merriam Webster. Online <<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/pluralism>. > Accessed on 5th June 2018.

⁶ Hanafi, Hassan. “Pluralism in Islam between Cancelling and Acceptance.” *Middle East Online* .13th April 2013. (My adaptation)

⁷ Idem. (My Adaptation)

⁸ Idem. (My Adaptation)

⁹ Idem. (My Adaptation)

of class, and unity of regions

This was also the case in the Ottoman Empire, they asserted one right, one succession, one mental, one denomination, one band. Since the dawn of the modern Arab renaissance, al-nahda pluralism has re-emerged in the four main currents: the Islamist movements in Egypt and Syria, liberalism in Egypt and Iraq, Nasserism, Arab nationalism in Egypt, Iraq, Syria, and Arab Marxism Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt Those trends are pluralistic in appearance, but mono in the subcontinent.¹⁰

The Islamist movements brothers or Salafists also difficult to adapt pluralism completely. The obligation is based on diligence. It also rejected dialogue with the other three secular currents. There is no dialogue, from her point of view, between Islam and secularism, liberal, national or Marxist. Is it still subject to the ancient heritage for a thousand years, that is, since the Ghazali jurisprudence on intellectual pluralism in the fifth century AH, thinking that the ancient heritage is one and no difference in it, as long as their claim that Qur'an has discredited the difference?¹¹

al-Muttairi argued that Qur'an raised the diversity as a sign of knowledge and accepted plurality in many verses,¹²

On the other hand, liberalists, despite its pluralism, was an expression of the freedom of thought, opinion, and social classes; they also fell into the control of one opinion, the opinion of the class, the opinion of the Pasha, and the opinion of the party's historic leaders. The conflict between the various currents within the one party remains indisputable and can only be resolved by the interface of Pasha. The last opinion just for him, atonement and disobedience for others.¹³

Nationalists or al-Nasiriyah was based on the one-party model in Egypt, Syria, and Iraq from the Ba'athists or the Socialist Union, or the historical founders of the Arab nationalist movement. It is inspired by their national heritage. The differences between the parties are resolved by division, rivalry and perhaps by war. The multiple interpretations of national works also have ideological deviations and national interests.¹⁴

According to Marxists, Dr. Hanafi (2013) stated that:

All Marxists somehow do not come out of the folds of Marx and Lenin are basically distortions and deviations from the straight path deserved to be isolated or separated. Marxism is one, dictatorship of the proletariat working class, public ownership of means of production, surplus value. Humanism, idealism, structuralism, existentialism, or phenomenism, like the rest of the twentieth-century

¹⁰ Idem. (My adaptation)

¹¹ Idem. (My adaptation)

¹² al-Muttairi, Bushra. "Cultural Identity and Globalization; Iraq as a case study," in *CIC2016*, ed. by Emilia Parpala. Craiova: University of Craiova, 2017.

¹³ Beinlin. Joel "Egyptian Workers in the Liberal Age and Beyond" in Hanssen, Jens; Max Weiss (eds). *Arabic Thought against the Authoritarian Age: Towards an Intellectual History of the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp.

¹⁴ (Hanafi, 2013)

Marxism, is the product of the rising bourgeoisie! (Idem)

The old pluralism and modern pluralism are one conception ended up with being monopolistic at all levels and the same opinion in all the issues, which affected cultural life in silence, lack of creativity, and excluded any attempt to get out of the familiar accused of infidelity, atheism, material and moral corruption. Culture in several Arab regions was accused of imitation and obedience to the ancients. Creators, educators, innovators are targeted and marginalized, mostly fearful or duplicitous.¹⁵

Hanafi demonstrated that in the Arab world, indeed, there is no fear of pluralism on the grounds of relativity and denial of truth. These fears are already present in Western pluralism as defined by William James in a “multi-world.” Saying:

The human relativistic reality changes by changing viewpoints and multiplies by multiple interests. The truth is that one achieves benefits for the individual and or a specific community. These were the conditions of Western society when pluralism came up the ruins of the discovery of the falsehood of one opinion and the one doctrine that was represented by Aristotle and the Church. Since the view is inherently visionary, there are many visions and contradictions. The criterion for verifying its validity has been missed. All things are equal to all, certainty and doubt, capitalism and socialism, rationalism and experimentation, individualism and collectivity, order and anarchism.¹⁶ (Idem)

The pluralism in the Islamic culture, it is the jurisprudence within one standard on the level of understanding or applying. Fundamentalists put logic in adjustment and weighting. It is pluralism that begins with the acceptance of standards, such as justice, good work, social justice, freedom, and consultation, and then comes the jurisprudence in understanding and applying according to the circumstances of the new age, its updates, its level of culture and its needs. Take into account, the variables with constants. Do not sacrifice constants for the variables as happened globally known as western pluralism, and do not sacrifice the variables for the sake of the constants, as is the case of the current Arab culture.¹⁷

Pluralism is not only a principle to be defended and recognized, but also a general perception that attacks all aspects of life; educational, cultural, learning, teaching and media. From a young age, the students had to be educated and accustomed to the fact that the truth is known not only by the classical process of teaching, but by scientific research and individual diligence, and that there is no infallibility for any human being. “all of you able to respond and all of you are being responded.” The father in his home returns his family to the free healthy arguments and offer all opinions to make the children aware of the courage and announce the truth., The media presents all the currents and interpretations so that the people compare them and choose what is best for them without being guarded by anyone.¹⁸

¹⁵ Idem. (My adaptation)

¹⁶ Idem. (My adaptation)

¹⁷ Idem, (My adaptation)

¹⁸ Idem, (My adaptation)

Those who strengthened pluralism in terms of deep differences are those who have agendas and want to dominate people's necks anyway. In adapting monopoly of opinion and restricting behavior, and clearing or disabling laws and invoking the maintenance of unity. That is the empty unit without content. It happened with all total Arab Regimes, like Sadam Hussien in Iraq, Hussni Mubarak in Egypt and recently in Saudi Arabia and Bahrain. Thus, depending on the culture of pluralism, Arab people can become accustomed to it and correctly invested. The diversity in geography, in dialects and in people's races, is a sign of knowledge and promises of colorful educational spectrum. The difference is a year in the universe until man moves from difference to symmetry, from pluralism to unity. The dissimilar difference is the difference after certainty, practice and camouflage. The difference is the right. It is necessary for knowledge, which is the basis of *Ijtihad*, the difference of night and day, astronomy, water, earth, clouds, wind, tongues, colors, drink, mountains, birds and planting.¹⁹

At the end, Hanafi concluded that pluralism and diversity are two ways led to successful unity of Arab states under the large umbrella of Plurality. It is a means for attractive unity at the end, From the very beginning, "unity is an empty image if eliminates pluralism in the name of unity." Arab unity is an example. It began as a metaphor and ended with statism, tribalism, sectarian wars and aggression. Even if it began with pluralism as a means and ended with unity as a goal that might have been successful.²⁰

Social Equalities in the Postwar

As a universal goal to achieve justice, Women positions have to be highlighted and investigated, where women are not a half of any community, but it is a whole or an essential core for any community. The Women positions, employment is an indicator for achieving social equalities. In Jordan, the number of women working outside their houses increased despite the conservative milieu. Women formed a 12% as the labour force in 1985. A statistical study done by the Jordanian sociologist Mohammed Barhum proved the observable rising in the representation of women working in Jordan depending on the information data from the Ministry of planning. "The proposition of women working in professional and technical workers raised from 35.4% in 1985 to 36.1% in 1986. Women attendance in teaching, courts, and medicine increased especially with the required need of the double-income family due to the inflation."²¹

Nadia Hijab(1988) argued that "the cultural attitudes were not only the major constrains on women's employment; rather need and opportunity were more significant factors" Undoubtedly, women in al-Meshriq served as reverse labour force during the urgent circumstances of the frequent wars in the region, especially in Iraq from 1968 to date.²²

Nadia Hijab (1988) mentioned that "most employed women were unmarried women. Considered

¹⁹ Idem, (My adaptation)

²⁰ Idem, (My adaptation)

²¹ "Jordan women and work" *ita. The library Congress Country Studies, CIA World factbooks*. December, 1989. <https://photius.com/countries/jordan/society/jordan_society_women_and_work.html>Accessed 1st June 2018.

²² (My adaptation)

initially as a source of trapped labour forces, yet the cultural constraints were clearly militated against women working in production sectors, like, agriculture, industry and construction” It is interesting that the program of development focused on technical training; that was a typical project “ to train women on the maintenance and repair of household appliances” (Hijab, 1988)

Government initiated to discuss development plans and how to encourage working married women and amend labour laws to improve conditions. The proposed amendments included the granting of more maternity leave and the provision of day-care facilities and kindergartens in the workplaces. In addition, the role of media projected more liberal attitude to women's work. Women's employment gained greater legitimacy through national celebrations sponsored by the government and the royal family to honor the work of women.²³

The differences in attitudes towards the employment of women often based on the working conditions. In a study on attitudes towards women and work, Jordanian sociologist Mohamed Barhoum found that the resistance decreased for women working in traditional female occupations such as teaching, nursing and secretarial work. The change in parental attitudes resulted from increased educational opportunities for girls. Parents realized that learning is so as important to girls as boys, especially in the case of widowhood or divorce. The decline in labour wages, which were no longer sufficient to support the family, was a significant factor in legitimizing women's employment.²⁴

The contribution of women employment to family income rewarded women a higher voice in related family issues. On the other hand, the household was done by another women rather than shared between both man and woman. Women from lower incomes began relying on other women from their social network to help them to child care and household. While upper and middle income women hired foreign maids from Philippines, Bangladesh, Srilanka or even from Egypt to manage their houses and children care.²⁵ According to Women Role in Egypt in the postwar, Reema Jazar (2011) throughout her research work about women political and cultural movements in Egypt for one century emphasized, saying:

The Egyptian women's movement contested and resisted against the secular nationalists (the state) and conservative Islamists for just and equal society in general, and political rights, and educational, marriage, and divorce reform specifically”²⁶

She pointed out to the disunity and diversity of women movements after the long silence of nationalists. Also, she “shadowed women's existence in Egypt's crucial years of nationalization eventually leading to a unique emergence of an incorporation of Islamism and feminism.”²⁷

²³ Ibid

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Jazar, Reem. *The Egyptian Women's Movement; Identity Politics and the Process of Liberation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, MA thesis. Tempe: Arizona State University, 2011, pp. i-

²⁷ Ibid.

The movement of women's rights during the twentieth century was comprised of three main factions, the moderate nationalist groups led by Huda Sha'rawi, the conservative Islamist group headed by Zainab al-Ghazali, and the more politically aggressive and liberal group headed by Durriyah Shafiq. The nationalist group was in full swing by 1908, when Egyptian women were greatly involved in the written press, began entering the university, and attending and giving lectures. The conservative faction was epitomized in the group founded by al-Ghazali in 1937. The third faction was comprised of the generation that began graduating from universities in Egypt and Europe in the early 1930s and entered the workforce. (4)

Jazar (2011) cited to Talhami (1996)²⁸ Under Nasir, al-Azhar²⁹ "favorably welcomed and supported controversial state policies such as neutralism, family planning, and nationalization. However, when it came to reforming to *shari'ah* regarding women's issues, al-Azhar expressed fervent objections." (80) However, anything to reforming *shari'ah* regarding women's issues, al-Azhar expressed fervent objections. Undoubtedly, the "agreement between the state and religion with regards to the jurisdiction over the public and private spheres, and the duality attained by al-Azhar became the core of the struggle Egyptian women's rights activists faced for the same demands for decades with very slow progress."³⁰

A Hostile Place for Women Intellectuals in the Postwar

Max Weiss and Jens Hanssen (2018) in their introduction pointed out that Arab intellectuals settled many programs led to the noticeably increased mind production, as in:

The expansion of the postwar Arab intellectual field was predicated on a number of factors: state education programs increased literacy, new universities were founded and old ones expanded, cultural associations and trade unions blossomed even as radio, television, and subsequently satellite networks reached into the living rooms of ever more households. (27)

This intellectual expansion increased the chances of educating people directly at schools or indirectly by media as it happened after the widespread of broadcasting and journalism technological revolution. It implicitly leads to political and cultural diaspora especially after the domination of the total regimes ruling for decades in a provisional democracy, Ba'ath Party on both Iraq and Syria, Salafis on the Arab Gulf States and brotherhood on Egypt.

However, they stated that one of the intellectual fruit is instead of embracing and hosting female

²⁸ Talhami, Ghada Hashem. *The Mobilization of Muslim Women in Egypt*.

Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996. 33.

²⁹ al-Azhar as a prominent establishment, as a Muslim government would never easily oppose, the teaching and dissemination of the Islamic heritage.

³⁰ Ibid.

intellectuals in different Arab states, who launched to challenge their place inside typical macho societies due to their long cultural heritage determined female production:

But the Cold War made the intellectual field a hostile place for female intellectuals even though joint struggles for national independence had opened up universities, the press, and other professions to an increasing number of women around the Arab world. Many of these figures –from Egyptian Communist student activist turned English literature professor and writer Latifa al-Zayyat (1923–96) to Syrian feminist academic turned Ba‘thist regime hack Buthayna Shaaban (b. 1953)– initially became visible through women’s rights associations and popular movements even as conservative and radical men would brand them liberal and elitist.(27)

Also and throughout recent research about the socio-cultural forces determined Arab Women thought, it is interesting to list Arab Women Writers subjected to prison in the postwar because of their literary production:

Layla Ba‘labakki (b. 1936) from Lebanon is another example where her writing style at the time was prose and open-minded, sometimes using obscene language. Soon after the publication, the novel was ordered to be withdrawn from the market, and the author was imprisoned for a short time.

Suhayr Al-Tall from Jordan is also another women writer sentenced to jail for writing. “The predominant concern or factor was the concept of the story beyond the story, as in the case of “The Gallows” by Suhayr Al-Tall, who was prosecuted and jailed by the Jordanian authorities for publishing it. At the time, the real event of a hanging offered the writer a deeper prompt for her creative work” according to Cohen-Mor’s perspective. However, the final decision on any story is generally influenced by personal taste and interpretation of facts.

Layla al-Uthman (b. 1945) from Kuwait narrated the story behind her story. The trial lasted for four years. In the end, I was sentenced to two months of imprisonment, with the possibility of work and visits. I was in Beirut. An unknown inner voice said to me: ‘Write! Write! Nothing other than writing is a Savior and a Savior.’”³¹ She wrote the book *al-Muhakema (The Trial)*, but the Kuwait censorship blocked its publication, and its multiplication was banned. As for the novel *Alu’su’s* and the short story collection *Kul Laila (Every Night)*, al-Uthman dedicated both of them to those four extremist men who filed the lawsuit against her. In her autobiography, she recounts the effects of the socio-political pressure upon her work: “That lawsuit urged me to continue writing... [...] I was lucky when I started publishing in the press in 1965 when my community at that time was open to breathing the air of freedom.”³²

Nawal al-Saadawi (b. 1931) from Egypt in 1981, helped publishing a feminist magazine called *Confrontation*, but she was sentenced to death on September 6, during the period of President Anwar Sadat. Freed after his assassination, she continued to defend the truth, often risking her life. In 1983, she published

³¹ Atta, Ali. “Layla al-Uthman dusts her life with writing”, *al-Hayat*, 25 December 2017. <<http://www.alhayat.com/Articles/26278913/لليلى-العثمان-تنفض-الغيار-عن-حياتها-بالكتابة>>. Accessed 23 March 2018. (My adaptation)

³² Idem.

Memoirs from the Women's Prison. In 1988, as a result of her opinions and her writings against religious beliefs and practices, she was threatened with death by extremist Islamic groups and was subjected to exile. She was offered various academic positions at American universities and received several prizes such as the 2004 North-South Prize by the Council of Europe. Since she has defended women's rights, her Egyptian nationality was about to be withdrawn and her marriage forcibly dissolved. She considers the hijab and some religious rituals as things of the past and remnants of paganism.

Max Weiss and Jens Hanssen in their introduction mentioned the same event saying that "The feminist Nawal el-Saadawi (b. 1931) is distinguished, among her literary and intellectual accomplishments, for having been imprisoned by every Egyptian regime from King Faruq (r. 1936–52) through Gamal Abdel Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak." (34)

Thus, Arab women's activism always faced challenges to fit in "the male-dominated ideological trench wars, and many feminists opted to work for international, regional, and national organizations in which they traded revolutionary activity for improving social and economic conditions in their home countries." (Weiss and Hanssen, 2018:27) In the Algerian and Palestinian resistance, some women played leading roles. While "others decided to participate only indirectly in party politics as they devoted their energies to Arabic cultural production and academic careers, increasingly in Europe and North America"³³

Observingly, the repetition of these events of placing those women in prison because of their production in different states of *al-Meshriq* is indeed considered as a factual proof that the ARAB INTERNAL POLICIES AND REGIMES ECHO EACH OTHER³⁴ even though they are different in the formation of their political regimes. As if they share same internal systems to govern the people.

Joel Benin, the Professor of Middle East History at Stanford University demonstrates that "urban workers were one social class that found itself consistently marginalized and trampled underfoot by the platitudes and promises of liberal government and ideology." (284) she also remarks and projects the women roles in holding mass workers strikes:

In September 1988, the termination of annual grants to public sector workers to purchase clothing and supplies for children at the start of each school year resulted in a strike initiated by women workers at Ghazl al-Mahalla that closed the factory for three days. (253)

Joel Benin mentioned that happened in 2004, the collective labor of workers intensified and assumed a more militant personality than previous periods. And more strikes, in contrast to the factory careers with the continued production, "Nasser era tactic, when production could be stopped widely condemned as undermining national economic development. The strikes have become longer, with several months to months."³⁵ Actions from the 1970s to 1990s were largely in the public sector companies, where the workers fought to maintain the gains made in the era of Arab Socialism.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ My emphasis.

³⁵(Idem, 285)

After 2004, the number of workers increased. The private sector has been expanded. “In 2009, 37% of all collective .The actions were in the private sector; in 2010 the figure was 46% of working women who have previously participated in group work.” Thus, and obviously and gradually “Women workers, who previously had participated in collective actions mainly in an auxiliary capacity, became increasingly assertive and in some cases became prominent activists and even spokespersons”³⁶

Concerning another Arab state, Yassin al-Haj Saleh in his study about Syria entitled “The Intellectuals and the Revolution in Syria,” translated by Max Weiss, saying that besides, workers numbers, the participation of intellectuals in the Syrian revolution presents two observable features:

The first is the important engagement of women, including in work on the ground. Some women activist intellectuals have been arrested while many have been forced to keep a low profile and still others have had to flee the country. Alongside Razan Zeitouneh and Fadwa Soliman, we should add Reem Al Ghazzi (who is still arrested today), Rafah Nashed, Hanadi Zahlout, Razan Ghazzawi, Guevara Nimr (arrested for a period of time), Rosa Yassin Hassan, Khawla Dunia and Hanan al-Lahham and so many others, to say nothing of those activist women who now live outside the country, including Rima Fleihan, Mai Skaf, Rasha Umran, Suheir al-Atassi and Samar Yazbek, all of whom left in order to escape the dangers threatening them. (374)

Then, he mentioned “the dozens of young women working to organize revolutionary actions, including regional coordination, as well as those who have just begun their reporting and artistic work.”³⁷ Even though this would give least account about the participation of Syrian women in the revolution in general, “including such well-known figures as Dana Jawabreh, Marwa al-Ghamian and Malak al-Shanwani. .all three of them arrested for some time”³⁸ or about their initiative to organize themselves while remaining independent in their work. None of this has yet been considered systematically. (374-375)

Natalya Vince, in his study “Women labour after postwar,” mentioned and cited to Lazreg, Marnia (1994) that “Women in Tunisia before and after Independence did not share in or directly respond to the feminist ferment, meetings, and debates that marked the 1920s and 1930s in Egypt, Turkey and France . . . Algeria had no feminist male writer as Iraq did with Jamal Sidqi, Egypt with Qasim Amin [1863–1908] or Tunisia with [Tahar] Haddad. It was as if the promotion of women’s rights was tantamount to a denial of men’s rights” (205)³⁹

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Lazreg, Marnia. *The Eloquence of Silence: Algerian Women in Question* (New York; London: Routledge, 1994).

Conclusion

At last but not least, this study displayed the most prominent forces dominated the Arab societies in *al-Meshriq*. Authoritarianism, pluralism and diversity are mostly trends as political forces dominated the whole Arab Region and their political regimes in the postwar. Social Equalities is another trend defined as a socio-cultural force by Arab and regional theorists and sociologists. Then, the Hostile Place for Women Intellectuals in the Postwar is defined as a socio-cultural force that dominated the Arab societies and proved by literary contexts published at that period.

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