

Allah, al-Malik, al-Watan

The Sacred Triangle: Women's Images in Jordanian History Textbooks¹

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The article discusses a question that has plagued researchers in the field of political science and gender studies for years: to what extent can the national state and its institutions serve as a focal point for social change in general, and for women in particular? The article focuses on the specific case of Jordanian statehood, and claims that not only do Jordan and its present-day institutions not constitute a focal point for change and progress in women's status, but women are trapped in a triple oppressive and chauvinist discourse that reproduces gender power relations in society precisely through the state apparatus: in the case studied herein, the Ministry of Education. Women are not presented in the Jordanian curriculum as an active part of the national liberation movement, rather their exploitation and subjugation by the Ottoman Empire's soldiers is depicted as a motivation for liberating woman and the Jordanian nation. Three discourses shape women's positions in the Jordanian social and political hierarchy that constitutes Jordanian women's status today, leaving Jordanian women caught in three

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intrinsically repressive institutions: tribalism, Islam, and nationalism.

Regarding Jordan's national struggle for liberation from Ottoman control, while the struggle was ostensibly intended partially to liberate women from the Ottoman exploitation, it left women outside the boundaries of the national institutions that established Jordan as a state. The process of building a new national Jordanian consciousness as presented in the modern Jordan history textbooks defines the Ottomans as a colonial power. The Jordanian tribes, allied with the British forces that are viewed as one of the liberating forces along with the Hashemite family, played the most vital role in the struggle against the Ottomans.

The source of legitimacy for the new Jordanian regime was religious authority. The crowning of Emir Abdullah gained social and political validation because of Abdullah's being the scion of the Sharif al-Hussein family, who in turn is related to the Hashemites of the Kureish tribe, i.e., the family of the Prophet Muhammad. Thus the ruling family's transcendent, historical, traditional-spiritual legitimacy was accepted along with that of the new state.

The structured triad—Allah, al-Malik, al-Watan (God, the King, and the nation)—on which the ruling Hashemite family relied caused women to be trapped in the pincers of patriarchy: Every attempt to change one of the values from the discourses of the triad described above is perceived as questioning the very foundations of Allah, al-Malik, and al-Watan. For this

reason, the possibility of Jordanian governmental apparatuses operating explicitly on behalf of women's liberation, or their re-positioning in the social hierarchy so that they can become focal points for change is nearly non-existent.

In teaching Islamic civilization, to justify women's subordination to the multi-patriarchal layers of Islam, women are totally excluded by Muslim men, who play an active part on the political, social, economic, and intellectual levels. Islamic civilization is presented in Jordanian textbooks as the ultimate domain of men in all of the spheres mentioned above, so that women are presented by default as outside of Islamic civilization.

The search for focal points of change therefore demands a new path. This article claims that the pervasive absence of women from the discourse that shapes Jordanian statehood—i.e., the tribal and religious bases of the triad—has caused women's disenfranchisement from the arenas of decision-making and key positions in Jordanian politics and society. This claim is illustrated through an examination of Jordanian history textbooks, which shape, form, and create the image of the ideal woman for Jordanian, 9th through 12th graders. At these ages, both male and female Jordanian young people are exposed to content that estranges women from the national liberation struggle and from the domain of Islamic civilization; what pupils are studying and reading in the formative years of their personalities and political views and ideas reveals a great deal about how the state works to

preserve power relations between the genders and the stereotyped images of both women and men in society.

Theoretical background

Inclusion or exclusion of women in the nation-state is a dialectical process that is not particular to Jordanian society or to the Middle East. Indeed, the canonic literature on the development of nationalism highlights the following:

Nationalism in its current form evolved, developed, and has been established in Western European societies as a result of liberal thought. Most modern thinkers, except John Stuart Mill, were gender blind and did not address women as a separate category. Moreover, some of them clearly positioned women as unequal to men, for example, Rousseau in *Emile* (1779) portrays Sophie's female characteristics as natural and destined, thus he described women's role and position in society as confined to being a wife and mother based on her nature-determined destiny. In addition, historically, nationalism evolved in Western countries concurrently with the development of technology, trade, print, photography, and capitalism (Anderson 1991; Gellner 1983). Not only do Western countries legislatively separate religion from state, but Western nationalist discourse tied liberal notions of freedom, liberty, and human rights to modernity and progress. Feminist scholars argue that national states formed as a cluster of male experiences, and MacKinnon

claims that "male power becomes state power" (MacKinnon 1989;161), in her view, national state power become male power too.

According to Anderson's theory, the image of women as the "mother of the nation" is central. The imagined community, i.e., "the nation" is conceptualized in the vocabulary of extended family and kinship ties. Anderson (1991) argues that in forming the imagined community, culture, ideology, symbols, and collective memory play major roles in the construction of nations. Similar to Anderson, Nfsaneh Najmabadi argues that in the Middle East,

Modern nations have often been explicitly imagined through familial metaphors. In particular, the construction of the national community as a brotherhood has pointed both to the centrality of male bonding in the production of nationalist sentiment and to the exclusion of women from the social contract. Within that contract, not only were women subject to men's power: It also implied complementary bonds between men.

—Najmabadi, 1997 p. 442

Often, women's positions within their communities differ, probably based on familial and kinship affiliations.

In the West, nationalism developed with at least two inherently embedded contradictions: First as mentioned above, theoretically, only John Stuart Mill treated women as a separate category, addressing her political,

social, and economic rights, and emphasizing the equal importance of women getting an education, like men (Mill 1869). On the practical and political level, the formation of the national state based on liberal thought did not embody an equal emancipation option for both men and women. While values such as equity, parity, and emancipation regardless of religion, class, and gender were espoused, these values did not in fact render women equal to men.

It has been the long, continuing struggle on the part of feminist movements, ongoing since the early 20th century, to obtain equality for women in the West that sets their achievements apart. A second contradiction is that Western nationalism evolved and is still evolving concurrently with imperialist and colonialist ventures in Asia and Africa that exploit the human, natural, and cultural resources of these countries, in some instances in the very name of liberal values and emancipatory discourses, in particular women's rights.

In most Middle Eastern countries, nationalism gained momentum in the 19th and 20th centuries by opposing Western imperialist power in all its facets and manifestations. Nationalism developed without concurrent economic and technological development, and was mostly dependent on the Western economy. The third important aspect in the development of nationalism in Middle Eastern countries is that with the exception of Turkey, no Middle Eastern country separates state from religion.

According to Chatterjee, the problem with the development of nationalism in the developing countries is that “Nationalism represents the attempt to actualize in political terms the universal urge for liberty and progress. And yet the evidence was undeniable that it could also give rise to mindless chauvinism and xenophobia and serve as justification for organized violence and tyranny” (Chatterjee 1986, p. 2). Chatterjee also points out that nationalism often resulted in regimes of tyranny, exploitation, and chauvinism that trap women in multiple layers of exploitation. In struggling against the West, which represents exploitation and suppression of Middle Eastern countries, women are trapped in between at least two dimensions of oppression: that of the West and that of chauvinism in their own society.

Lila abu-Lughod elucidates the cultural aspect of the way men of the Awlad Ali tribe who dwell in northern Egypt view women, arguing, “Male and female are symbolically opposed in Bedouin thought...Women’s association with nature is seen as a handicap to their ability to attain the same level of moral worth as men. Women’s lack of independence from nature compromises them *vis-a-vis* one of the crucial virtues of honor, the self-mastery associated with *agl* [social sense or reason] (Abu-Lughod 1986, p. 124).” Furthermore “...Women are always dependent to some degree. Bedouin ideology holds that they are to be ‘ruled’ by men and should be obedient (Abu-Lughod, 1986, pp. 104-105).”

This paper discusses how tribal culture, together with religion and national ideology, shaped the national Jordanian state from its inception. Were these discourses co-opted to make state power men's power, continuing in a different guise the subjugation of women to its agenda?

Research on Middle Eastern women

In discussing the tension between women's liberation and nationalism in the Middle East, several unique aspects must be taken into account. Arab Middle Eastern countries do not separate state institutions from religion legislatively. Most importantly, studying the position of women in the Middle East is too often ideologically, politically, socially, and economically motivated and frequently manipulated for imperialistic needs. This phenomenon is even more problematic in researching women in Islamic countries today under the Western attack on Islam and Islamic representations. Such research has become controversial, taking into account the complex bearing of Orientalism.

In doing research in Muslim societies we should bear in mind Edward Said's argument that the West creates knowledge of the Orient in order to justify its imperialist presence. According to him, Orientalism is constructed through a sharp distinction between the Orient and the Occident: The Orient is perceived and portrayed as irrational, depraved, childlike, and "other"; thus the European is rational, virtuous, mature, and normal (Said 1978, p. 40). In addition, Moghadam (1994:7) warned scholars of "...a

variant of Orientalism that views Islamism as a more or less permanent and authentic voice of Muslim society.”

Bearing this in mind, a major dilemma when researching mechanisms of gender oppression in the Middle Eastern Muslim countries concerns who is conducting the research and for what purpose. Many modern depictions of Middle Eastern women have been set forth by Western powers in order to validate their own actions in the Middle East. For instance the U.S. supports oppressive regimes in Saudi Arabia and Jordan where women do not have equal rights with men. However, the U.S. claims the oppression of women as one of its justifications for invading the countries of Iraq and Afghanistan and imposing neo-imperialism, in the process violating women's rights in these countries. This double standard invites serious questioning of the value of gender equality promoted by Western discourses. The U.S. and its policy in the Middle East holds women hostage and entraps them in a sophisticated discourse. Women need concrete reform to become equal partners in all Middle Eastern societies.

Middle Eastern women and national struggles

Scholars such as Said (1989:20) in studying the Palestinian case insist that “...the role of women was substantially altered...women came to the fore as equal partners in the struggle”. However, it must be understood that the experience in other Middle Eastern countries such as Algeria, Egypt,

Syria, and the Sudan is otherwise. Women's participation in the national struggle in the Middle East and its implications for the status of women and gender roles in society have been discussed extensively (Moghadam 1994; Ahmed 1992; Kandiyoti 1991). While nationalism was perceived as able to bring about social reform within the nation that could mobilize social change affecting women, once independence was won, women were returned to domesticity and subordinate roles, as exemplified by the struggle for liberating Algiers from French colonialism. In these countries, as well as many non-Muslim countries, women emerged out of the "interior" to which they had been confined only to return to it once again after national liberation was achieved (Moghadam 1994).

Jameleh Boherd is an example of an Algerian woman who challenged women's subordinate position in her society while playing a significant role in the national struggle. However, Boherd and women who actively participated in the Middle Eastern national struggle did not enjoy the fruits of national liberation, which failed to sustain a change in gender relations in their societies. The relationship between gender and nationalism in the Middle East is complex. The integration of women into nationalism was forged with paradoxes and ambiguities that severely thwarted the emergence of women as full members of their societies. Women activists often express disappointment at the reluctance of the "secular" male

leadership to confront the Islamic movement on issues that are of concern to women.

This paper explores the interrelations of gender and nationalism as they occur in the Middle East in the context of the reinvention and maintenance of a new social order. I suggest that the nationalist representation of women has most often reflected the complex relationship of conflict and collusion between traditional, tribal, and religious patriarchal norms, including those of nationalism and modernity under the shadow of neo-imperialism.

Nationalistic forms create a new public space and often entail a new division between the public and private spheres, which in turn largely determines women's place within the nationalist endeavor. I argue that nationalism in the Middle East co-opted multiple discourses to subordinate women, including the new national social order. Women's oppression in the case studied is tied to other domains of oppression that cut across multiple discourses, all of which subvert women to the new post-imperial, "modern" national state in the Middle East. This situation, which emerged after the U.S. wars on Afghanistan and Iraq in the name of freedom placed women in unbearable situations wherein every demand for change may be interpreted as cooperation with the West, the Americans, or whoever is designated the national enemy; women's quest for change is therefore translated into disloyalty. Again women are trapped in the lack of support for their cause,

even from their own “liberal” men, and the invasion of the foreigners and oppressive forces in their countries render their liberating mission not only difficult, but dangerous to the point of life-threatening.

This article describes the tension in the formation of a state, how the structure of exploitation is compounded by tribal relations, and how gender messages are transmitted through the education system to perpetuate gender power relations in Jordanian society. This description also sheds light on another case study from the Middle East showing how male power becomes state power that leaves women in multiple layers of subordination which demands work in multiple dimensions to change.

The case of Jordanian independence

We may safely assert that the knowledge which men can acquire of women, even as they have been and are, without reference to what they might be, is wretchedly imperfect and superficial, and always will be so, until women themselves have told all that they have to tell.

—John Stuart Mill, 1869

Jordan as a state was created by Britain’s imperialist desire to control its interests in the region; thus, it should not have included the crisis of modernization as in Egypt or Syria, as modernization in the latter countries was largely resolved by a sharp division between the private

sphere as the domain of culture and tradition, and the public sphere as the domain of modernization and progress wherein the struggle for national independence would imminently be carried out. These circumstances relegated women to the margins of national affairs.

While national struggles against colonial and imperial powers opened up a space for liberation of women in the Middle East by allowing women to participate actively and publicly in their national struggles (Ahmed 1992), this was not the case in Jordan, which is why nationalism as the source of change for Jordanian women is in doubt.

Jordan's educational system has continuously progressed, Jordan having adopted an egalitarian approach to education that has benefited the entire country. By 1996, literacy had climbed to 85%, the highest in the Arab world. Nonetheless, while the overall literacy rate rose, a substantial gender gap remains: Two-thirds of all illiterate Jordanians are women. It is important to note that Jordan's population is young: One third (1.3 million) of Jordanians (4.2 million) are students.

In February 2001, King Abdullah II called for the "remodeling" of the education system as a critical step toward the preparation of the necessary human resources that Jordan needs. On September 15-16, 2002, a conference was held to deal with the new vision for education in the kingdom. In July 2003, the Jordanian government launched the Knowledge Economy Initiative, an ambitious five-year education reform program. New

transportation, legislation, and standardized education systems were established; local industry and agriculture vanished or was destroyed; and land was redistributed, all without any special policy in regard to gender differences.

Today, formal education is the main tool for social development and empowerment. Education Ministries assume the responsibility and accountability for setting the vision and policy for formal education from early childhood through secondary school. School curriculum is society's tool for achieving change on both the individual and collective levels. As part of the curriculum, textbooks are supposed to reflect in their content the gender roles of the society. The acquisition of knowledge through formal education influences the way pupils perceive the world and shapes their conceptions and attitudes toward themselves, others in the society, and the world. The skewed (in men's favor) social structure in the Arab world is the roadblock that prevents human development and fulfillment for both men and women in Middle Eastern society.

According to the Arab Human Development Report 2002, women in the Arab world have gained access to formal education in the past few decades. However, they face a multidimensional network of marginalization, biases, and suppression, one reason for which may be the tension in the post-colonial state between the configuration of the national state and the traditional tribal patriarchy where gender is concerned.

What is the dynamic / dialectic in this dually conceived tribal-national state?
 What is the relationship between tribe and nation, and how it is reflected in the educational curriculum and textbooks?

Results of a textual analysis

The role of Hashemite national discourse in shaping Jordanian national liberation is described in the history textbooks as a struggle against the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th century. The tribes that led the struggle for liberation were Bani Hassan, Bani Adwan, Bani Huwaytat, Bani Sakher, Al-Tarawneh, and others, along with Arab National Revolution leader Sharif Hussein Ben Ali.

A Jordanian 11th grade contemporary history book teaches about the formation of Jordan, describing its struggle for liberation as a rebellion against the Ottomans, and describing the British as a liberating force along with Sharif Hussein and the Arab Legion until Amir Abdullah was crowned King in London on May 25, 1946. The textbooks present the first component of the liberation struggle as having been led by the tribes. The rebellion against the Ottoman military in Jordan was initiated by the Bani Hamida tribal movement in 1888². The reasons for the insurgency are presented as the bad Ottoman administrative rule in general, manifested

² *A Contemporary History of Jordan – 11th grade – Literature Department, vol. 1 p. 30.*

largely by overwhelming taxes. Further, the tribes rebelled against sending the sons of Arabs to fight in remote battlefields. The direct reason for the revolt was the accumulated taxes that the tribes refused to pay the Ottomans³. The al-Majali tribes fought along with other tribal alliances led by Khalil and Faris, the nephews of al-Majali Sheikh Muhammad, the Sheikh of the El-Karak Sheikhs (1842-1888), who provided the al-Majali with soldiers and horses and agreed to attack D'iban, the Turkish military unit:⁴

The al-Majali based their tribal prestige on the leadership of the revolt against the Ottomans in 1910 as evidence of their rejection of central authority, although in reality, tribal leaders were always in the pay of the local Ottoman administration.

— Joffe' (ed.) 2002, xix

The movement of El-Shararat was another revolt from El-Salt led by Fauzi Pasha in 1889⁵. The text of the *Contemporary History of Jordan* textbook presents the struggle of the Jordanian Bedouin tribes and their alliance with

³ *Ibid.* pp. 30-31.

⁴ *Ibis*, pp. 30-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

the British forces (“Western forces”) along with Sharif Hussein, against the Ottomans.

The second theme presented in the text of the *Contemporary History of Jordan* textbook is the way women are presented in describing the Jordanian liberation scheme, which implies the way that the authorities would like to commemorate the images of women in the Jordanian collective memory of liberation: When they are mentioned, it is as a group, not by individual name, and as weak and needing to be rescued. One of the main narratives of fighting the Ottomans in the history textbook is the 1905 Shobak revolt, considered the first rebellious move against the Ottoman Empire in East Jordan after the forming of the El-Karak Mutasarifia. The text explains the provocation as the Ottoman soldiers enslaving the women of the village to carry water for their horses from springs in the valley, which evoked the resentment of the village men, who attacked the soldiers, drove them from the fortress, and held it ⁶.

Clearly, from its inception, the Jordanian national struggle was framed as protecting women from the Ottoman soldiers who tried to enslave them to Ottoman colonial power, as exemplified by the Shobak struggle to “liberate” women and abolish tribal taxes; the El-Karak revolt; and the 1910 alliance of the Sheikhs of el-Karak and other respected leaders led by Sheikh

⁶ *A Contemporary History of Jordan- 11th grade-* Literature Department, vol. 1 pp. 30-32.

Qadr al-Majali (whose picture appears in the book). Qadr al-Majali's goal was to form an independent government under his authority. To that end, he visited several tribes (Al-Tarawneh, Al-Sarairah, Waldwumor, Wallawanseh, and Al-Qatawneh), who then attacked the Ottoman Brigade and killed its members⁷. Ten members of El-Karak were listed in the text as having been hanged by the Ottomans in 1911 and 1913, all of them sheikhs of tribes.⁸

On the one hand, the idea presented is interesting: to protect women from foreign exploitation is a worthy value for which to fight. On the other hand, does this liberation from the foreigner guarantee the liberation of women from all exploitation and subordination? The image of the man is as fighter who, according to culture and socialization, is in charge of defending and protecting women. According to Fanon, this image depicts the emancipation of the colonized nations as a process in which the black man reclaims his manhood (Fanon 1963).

During WWI, Ahmad Jamal Pasha nominated one of the unionist leaders as General Officer of the Turkish Military Force in Belad el-Sham, using a policy of oppression and terror against Arab leaders in Syria and

⁷ *Ibid*, 33-34.

⁸ *Ibid*,33-34. The sheikhs were Diab ibn Hamud, Aateq ibn Ta'ah el Tarawneh, Mhimad el-Bhiri, Mansor ibn Tarif, Ali ibn Sliman el Nawaiseh, Darweesh ibn Khalil el Ja'afreh, Saher ibn Mhimad el Ma'itah, Mansor ibn Ibrahim el D'inibat, and Khalil ibn Hilal el D'inibat.

Lebanon. In addition, he expropriated their crops, transferred the Arab military units from Belad el-Sham to remote battlefields, exiled Arab families, and expropriated their property, thus exposing women and children to life-threatening circumstances. As if all that was not humiliating enough, he wanted the Arab children to learn Turkish language"⁹.

The Ottomans are presented in the textbook as a force of oppression not only in Jordan, but in the entire Belad el-Sham region. Women and children suffered at the hands of the Ottomans, who tried to force the children to learn Turkish as a means of imposing Turkish culture upon them. The text describes Sharif Hussein as a rescuing force of the children and women, as well as rescuing the Arabic language from the Turks:

Afterwards, Sharif Hussein Ben-Ali appeared, leading the Arab National military forces, and declared the revolution against the Ottomans at el-Hijaz on June 10, 1916. Ben-Ali was declared as a King of the Arab countries on October 29, 1916. Ben-Ali fought for Arabs along with his allies in East Jordan, as well as his sons, Abdullah and Faisal. On July 1917, the el-Aqaba liberation took place; the revolutionary forces became a regular army called the Arab Army, and comprised the right wing of the British forces

⁹ *A Contemporary History of Jordan - 11th Grade* - Literature Department, vol. 1 p. 39-40.

on its way to Palestine under Commander Sir Edmund Allenby.¹⁰

From the beginning, the link between the Arab revolutionaries was via the sheikhs of their tribes. On 1917, the first alliance, the sheikhs of el-Rawlah, Anzah, el-Huwaytat, and Bani Sakher, met with el Emir Faisal Ben el-Hussein. Before the Arab Revolutionary Forces' entry into Jordan, Sheikh O'odeh Abu-Taih, the Sheikh of the el-Huwaytat tribe, joined them. Abu-Taih suggested to Emir Faisal attacking Aqaba. To that end, he recruited and trained 500 fighters from el-Huwaytat, and with the revolutionary forces led by Sharif Nasser Ben-Ali¹¹, attacked Aqaba and liberated it on July 7, 1917.¹² Sharif Hussein, assisted by his sons—the most prominent of whom, Faisal, became the King of Iraq, and whom Abdullah crowned King of Jordan aligned with the tribes and the British forces to liberate Jordan from the Ottomans.

The link between the tribes' struggle against the Ottomans and the Arab national struggle of Sharif Hussein Ben-Ali, Amir of Mecca (descended from Bani Hashim, the Prophetic branch of the Kureish tribe) created a huge constraint for Jordanian women. From its inception, the state

¹⁰ *Ibid* p. 47.

¹¹ Sharif Nasser Ben-Ali is the brother of Sharif Hussein.

¹² *A Contemporary History of Jordan - 11th Grade* - Literature Department, vol. 1, pp.50-51.

tied its legitimacy to Islam, Arab nationalism, and the tribal coalition to liberate Jordan. The united forces aimed to “liberate” women from the enslavement attempt of the Ottoman Military Forces as illustrated by the 1905 Shobak revolt, when Jordanian women were forced to carry

Later, the text presents women and children having been exposed to life-threatening circumstances as a result of the oppressive terror policy of Ahmad Jamal Pasha. The tribes are presented as having banded together under their national revolutionary leader, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, protector and savior of women and children. In their formation of Jordanian national discourse, the history textbooks co-opted Islamic history for its political agenda—Arab national history and modern European history—for the purpose of subordinating women and keeping them repressed rather than as a social agent of history, and far from deserving to be liberated. The images of women in the Jordanian textbooks are those of women who are kept marginalized for the sake of the national Hashemite project.

Al-Mahadin (2004) shed light on the national, international, and textual “knowledge” that surrounds gender bias in education in a context such as Jordan’s. She emphasizes that the importance of nationalism and its discursive practices in reformulating approaches is based on gender-biased stereotypes in education (p. 22). These images of women in the textbook *Modern Arab History and its Contemporary Issues for the 10th Grade*

present the Algerian resistance and struggle against French colonialism and the Egyptian rebellion against the British as initiated and led by men. In the Egyptian case as exemplified by the Dunshwai incident 1906, villagers go out to protect their crops and¹³ their women thusly: In June of 1906, five English soldiers went hunting near the Egyptian village of Dunshwai. One fired his gun, injuring a young woman. The villagers attacked the British soldiers, who injured four villagers, and dozens of villagers were jailed and executed.

The reasons for Egyptians resisting foreign oppressors are similar to those of the Jordanians; in contrast to the Jordanian case, the British are herein presented as the oppressor and as having invaded the private sphere of the Egyptian villagers and attacked women in their domain. Thus, the struggle for liberation is a struggle both against Britain and to protect “their” women, where the cultivated fields are an extension of the private sphere where women move freely and foreigners are not supposed to enter. Protecting crops and women is a male mission; therefore, images of women in history textbooks are of those who need to be protected by men, while those who initiate and lead the struggle are young males. In contrast to the Egyptian narrative, which presents Britain as an invader that must be fought,

¹³ *Modern Arab History and Contemporary Issues - 10th Grade* p. 50.

in the Jordanian narrative, liberating the nation was done in partnership with the British, who are depicted as a liberating force.

Another example presented in the history text book is that of the Sudanese struggle for liberation. Accordingly, Sudani youth organized into an organization called El-Gamhia El-Arabia El-Fatah. Calling it El-Fatah [“young women” in Arabic] was an attempt to draw an allegory of the nation as a young woman, which differs from Anderson’s (1991) theory that the nation is conceptualized as an extended family, with women as its “mother”. It is true that the nation here is presented as a female image; however, it is at the same time young and individual. This many imply women’s reproductive responsibility (Moghadam 1994; Kandiyoti 1991); however, she is not “the mother of”, rather, she is El-Fatah, or “the young women”. Nevertheless, Kandiyoti’s ambivalent nationalism that regards women as agents for change and modernity still remains a question.

The sole woman mentioned as part of the Arab struggle against imperialism was Jamela Boherd¹⁴ (p. 100), the first woman mentioned as having taken part in the armed struggle of Algeria’s revolution against French colonialism in Algiers. The information provided on Boherd is quite interesting. Boherd’s unique experience shows that only women who enter the war domain earn the right to be remembered in the textbook.

¹⁴ *Modern Arab History and Contemporary Issues - 10th Grade* p. 100.

Furthermore, Boherd's case reflects a complicated issue surrounding the participation of women in the national liberation movement, where women had just emerged from the domestic sphere into the public sphere, only to return to it once again after liberation, as Moghadam argued that this is a phenomenon of the Middle East, as well as of other, non-Muslim developing countries (Moghadam 1994).

Regarding the case of Jordanian women presented in the textbook as not having been a part of the liberation movement, the text tied liberating the nation to liberating women. However, the (male) youth is presented as protector of the women of his nation, or in the case of Jordan, the tribes who led the attacks with Sharif Hussein and his sons against the imperialist Ottoman Empire. What differs in Jordan's struggle against imperialism is that women do not play a role. For example, Egyptian women as exemplified by Leila Ahmed (1992, p. 173), were part of the struggle for Egypt independence: "...the country erupted in riots, strikes, and acts of violence against the British, with women at all class levels openly participating." In contrast, Jordanian women are presented in the history textbooks as passive; they were not part of the national struggle at any level.

What is quite obvious and notable in Middle Eastern history textbooks is the extensively elaborated role of El Sharif Hussein and his

sons—Abdullah in particular— as main activists in the resistance, as in *The Great Arab Revolution*¹⁵ [against the Ottomans]. Again, this is an attempt to focus on and emphasize the legitimacy for Jordan’s regime today based on Islamic sacred heritage.

Finally, in creating the liberation myth of women and about women, as best exemplified in *The History of Islamic Civilization- 9th Grade*, women are reduced to slaves and Jawari¹⁶, while men lead the way toward civilization; men are educated and enlightened and write poetry and literature, while women have only one (domestic) role. If women should breach the boundaries and enter the war or the public sphere, they are punished and become slaves or Jawari, not to mention that they are not even presented as being part of Islamic civilization: They were excluded from the civilized arena, or “outside the civilized domain” in the *History of Islam* text.

In the *History Of Islamic Civilization* textbook for 9th grade, images of men and women are introduced based on stereotypical tribal heritage and traditions. Women are absent and estranged from civilization. For instance:

Abu-Baker consulted Ahl El Akd Wal Hal of
the Muslims, including Abdurhman Ben-

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 66.

¹⁶ Women were owned by wealthy men or Khalifs under the Abbasid period to entertain them in the Harem. Some of them were highly educated, singers, poets and dancers.

Aof, Othman Ben-Affan, Ali Ben-Abi Talib,
Said Ben-Zaid, and Osaid Ibn El Hader.

It is obvious from the text that Khalif Abu-Baker was consulted by males only, conveying that regarding serious issues, the Khalif takes into account only men's opinion, which was considered a source of knowledge on which to base decisions, whereas women's knowledge and opinions are not worthy. This situation does not jibe with the little that we know about women from Islamic history, which contradicts the knowledge presented in the textbook.

For example, we know that the Prophet Muhammad consulted with his wife Aisha bint Abi Bakr, his favorite wife. It was well known that he referred to her extensive knowledge of Islam, and is reported to have said: "Learn a portion of your religion [*din*] from this red-colored lady." *Humayra*, meaning "red-colored" was an epithet given to 'A'ishah by the Prophet¹⁷, meaning that he trusted her knowledge and her interpretation and opinions regarding religious issues. He recommended her and offered her knowledge of the most important issues of religion in the Muslim community. This is a case where we should question such exclusion of these few examples from the textbooks being read by pupils in their formative years.

¹⁷ <http://www.sisteraishah.com/whowasaishah.htm>; for further information see Fernea and Bezigan, 1977; pp: 27-36.

Presenting the Prophet in the textbook as having consulted with men only is not accurate; it implies that only men had reason upon which he could rely for advice. Therefore, not only are women absent, but they are not trustworthy and are strangers to the arena of Islamic civilization. These misrepresentations have profound implications for both female and male conceptions of the self, the other, and each other's roles in society.

The second theme in the History of Islamic Civilization book for 9th grade is:

“[That] they are the people of the heaven: Said Ben-Zaid Ben Amr Ben-Nafil, yet the other six—Ali, Othman, Abdulruhman Ben-Aof, Saad Ben-Abi Wakes, Alzobair Ben-El-Awam, and Talha—shall pick up a man among them.”¹⁸ What we can understand from this text is that all those promised the destiny of heaven are men. It is remarkably interesting why none of those promised to be destined to heaven are women, as not only was Khadija the first person on earth to embrace Islam, but she donated her vast wealth in service of the Prophet and the spread of Islam. Is not she one of those who deserve to be mentioned in the text as one promised to be destined to heaven?

¹⁸ *History of Islamic Civilization 9th Grade*, p. 12.

Men, women and war

Muslim men are presented as warriors, and only men go into battle and fight boldly in war, e.g., “Men attacked one another”¹⁹. Men who do the fighting have economic privileges: “The land was allotted according to the number of the soldiers that the commander commanded or the emir who provide them to state during the war...”²⁰ All of those mentioned by name are men. Furthermore, women’s images are linked on more than one occasion to children. For instance, in the war, women and children were taken as hostages. This implies that when women enter the battlefield, their fate is to become hostages and objects because women were but a resource of *Bait Al-Mal*, or the Treasury of the Islamic state.

Men are presented as able economically, manifested by their ability to “buy” women: “The rich men bought female slaves, who performed female jobs” points to men having greater wealth among the citizens. Business and trade are presented as exclusively the domain of men (which is accurate—see Khadijah). The text also mentions buying female slaves to perform various services: “Whoever wanted a female slave for marriage...” This means that household chores were for female slaves, implying that there are women who were not slaves: “People tended to buy female slaves, including

¹⁹ *History of Islamic Civilization 9th Grade*, p. 37.

²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 43.

mothers”²¹. The book admits that trafficking in women was engaged in, and even that a mother could be a slave. In this regard, it is mentioned that the status of a mother slave changes when and if her children (probably her sons) become masters. Again, men only are presented as the sole, ultimate rescuers of women, even their own mothers.

It is important to note here that various kinds of trade and trafficking were known in Islam, not only in women; yet a merchant and successful businesswomen like Khadija, whose vast wealth and business talents were known, is not mentioned. Such “subversive” information, as well as the perpetuation of the fear of powerful women, has a strong effect on both men and women; therefore it was hidden, not discussed, and its significance was not learned because it contradicted tribal values and the way they view women.

Another realm in which women are dismissed is literacy: “The Prophet surrounded himself with part of the Sahaba, who knew how to read and write, among them Ali Ben-Abi Talib, Othman Ben-Affan, and Moawia Ben-Abi Sofian²².” The message herein is that reading and writing are exclusively male activities; women were not among those who knew how to read and write, and therefore not of those who should surround the Prophet.

²¹ *Ibid*, p. 77 - 78.

²² *History of Islamic Civilization 9th Grade*, p. 93.

This elimination of women from such realms is inaccurate: Al-Khansa' was one of the great poets of the period just before and during the emergence of Islam. She converted to Islam, was talented, and regularly took part in the poetry contests of the time, e.g., "The Prophet is said to have been very fond of her poetry and often asked her to recite for him when she was in his company" (Fernea and Bezigan 1977; p. 4). From this we can assume that Al-Khansa' knew how to read and write, and frequently attended the Prophet. What is interesting is that the text argues that "All of the prominent poets were male"²³; even the author does not acknowledge Al-Khansa' as one deserving of mention as a literate woman.

On the other hand, Walladah bint al-Mustakfi, an 11th century Andalusian poet, is categorized as a prominent poet: "Walladah emerges as an independent and individualistic woman, the focus of an important literary circle, a poet in her own right (Fernea and Bezigan 1977; p. 65). In addition, Walladah "...did not marry. She inherited a large enough fortune to make her economically independent, and she proceeded to open her house to people of letters, both men and women. Her salon become a center for brilliant *soire'ees*, to which poets and artists flocked. Poetry readings and discussions and musical evenings were regular features of Walladah's circle (Fernea and Bezigan 1977; p. 66)." Another remarkable woman who would

²³ *Ibid*, p. 104.

be good to present as active agents of Islamic civilization is Sakina bint al-Husain, a “...delicate beauty, never veiled, who attended the Quraish Nobility Council. Poets gathered in her house. She was refined and playful” (Mernissi 1996, p. 115).

Margot Badran argues, “Among the elites there have always been the exceptionally literate, and sometimes highly gifted women. The genealogical line of known Arab women writers and poets goes back to pre-Islamic Arabia, when women competed with men in public debates. The elegies of al-Khansa of the Muder tribe are counted among the masterpieces of Arabic poetry. In early Islamic Arabia, Aisha, a wife of the Prophet Muhammad, issued religious interpretations. In the 8th century, the mystic Rabia al-Adawiya composed esoteric verse (Badran and Cooke 1990, xxvi).

Badran (1993) discussed and elaborated upon the lyrical correspondence of the medieval Abbasid court poets in Baghdad— among them Ubaida al-Tamburiya, Sakina, and Queen Zubaida— who along with the Caliph Harun al-Rashid was much praised. In the late 18th century, the Egyptian historian al-Jabarti spoke of Cairene women distinguished by their learning. In the late 19th century, we have Arab women intellectuals such as Zainab Fawwaz and Maryam al-Nahhas, the mother of Hind Nawfal and the founder of the first women’s journal. Also counted among these intellectual women were Mayi Ziyada, who showed how men fear the immortality of women, explaining that the liberty of women means men losing their power

and control over them, which in turn means losing their masculinity and their exclusivity of decision-making and totally ruling both the public and the private domain

I present these examples in order to demonstrate the extent of Muslim women's exclusion from the textbooks, and to explain the significance and implications of this omission. Muslim women in the Arab countries are invisible in the political, economical, and intellectual spheres. Reducing women to slaves and Jawari as in the Islamic civilization textbook has negative implications for both men and women.

Women and education

Women are also described in the textbooks as those who cared for children, e.g., "The woman took care of the children and raised them according to Islamic code", thereby defining women's role. The text goes on to claim, "There was no discrimination between males and females", implying that Islam did not discriminate based on gender, which in turn implies women's equal status in Islamic society. However, regarding where the elite sends its children to educate them, the text describes only boys and what relates to them, e.g., "Do not make the boy's heart heavy with grammars [grammar as a male domain]," said Hesham Ben-Abd El Malik to

Suleiman Al-Kalbi when he hired him as a teacher for his son ²⁴, thereby addressing only males.

Some Khalifs, ministers, and rulers hired teachers for their children, known as *El Moadebeen* [the teaching tense for males]. The teachers are referred to as “the disciplined” [El Moadebeen]. In Mernissi’s words (1994, p. 3), “Education is to know the *hudud*, the sacred boundaries...”, i.e., to be a Muslim was to respect the *hudud*. For a child, to respect the *hudud* was to obey. Yet women as well as men were obliged to obey. This is a quite problematic and contradicted value in today’s world, where girls are admonished, at least on the surface, to avail themselves of all resources to achieve self-fulfillment.

Political discussion

The classroom doubled as headquarters for Muslim meetings to discuss the political, logistic, and military matters of the day. Discussing such matters took place only among males, with the teacher sitting in a corner surrounded by his pupils. Women were not part of the political and military discourse; these domains are described as exclusively male domains.

²⁴ *History of Islamic Civilization 9th Grade*, p. 94-5.

Women's contributions

The copiers (scribes)²⁵ were all men (copying was a male job); by the same token, the readings were named after men. The alphabet was formulated by Abu Al-Asad Al-Doali, who added pointing (vowel signs) to the letters. Therefore even pointing was a male domain, e.g., “El-Hajaj ordered two students to point the grammar: Abu Al-Asad Al-Doali—Nasr Ben-Asem and Yahia Ben-Amer”. All of the books published during this era were written by men. The text presents all scientists as men, e.g., “Among the most famous Muslim doctors²⁶ were Ibn-Sena and El-Razi”. All doctors were men, as were engineers, e.g., “Among the Muslim engineers”²⁷ (all engineers were men).

Women did not belong to the civilization of Islam as depicted in the Islamic civilization history textbooks. They were socially and politically trivialized in accordance with then-current tribal values. The images of the constructions of both female and male divide perceptions of femininity and masculinity, often positioning women as inferior to men and confining them to subordinacy and to marginal roles in society, all in the name of religion, the tribes, and the nation.

²⁵ *Ibid* , pp. 102, 107, 108, 109.

²⁶ *Ibid* , p. 127.

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 134.

This image of women portrayed in the text as outsiders from their own (Islamic) society is particularly interesting because women were and still are active players in that society. While I do not argue that women are equal to males, I do argue that women were and still are active agents in their societies, even as the patriarchal hegemony deprived them of the acknowledgment of what they did and gained, and still does so by trivializing their role and accomplishments. Interestingly, throughout Islamic history, some Muslim women did take part in public and civil life; yet they are absent from the textbooks, their absence reflecting the fear of Muslim men of women who have power or access to power. Excluding women from the corridors of power reflects men's fear of women in power in general. Mernissi (1992) explained that the fear of women in power in Muslim society is likened in the collective memory to violence during the time of Jahiliyya²⁸: The goddesses of war and death were honored by bloody sacrifices; thus females should be barred from the sphere of power, which coincides with the sacred. According to Abu Lughod, men must keep women subordinate to them because women don't have the moral self-mastery of men. According to Mernissi (1992), this supposed moral lack combined with the political current neo-imperialist power in the region led to the fear of *garb* [the West] as a place of moral darkness becoming more

²⁸ The historical period in the Arabian Peninsula before the appearance of Islam.

real and concrete for both women and men. In such circumstances, women are more endangered than before, and every demand for emancipation is interpreted as unfaithfulness to the nation (the “imagined community”), which in turn results in cheapening their lives.

While women could be agents of modernity in its positive manifestations, they “could” also be agents of the West and its “exploitation agenda”, and be manipulated to serve neo-imperialists, and they thereby endanger and estrange themselves from their own society and interest.

Women’s questioning and exploitation in Middle Eastern countries is real, serious, and concrete. In thinking of a policy for the improvement of the status of women, we have to address the mindset of the policy-making of men and try to think how to convince them that it is in their interest to help make their women equal to them.

Concluding remarks

Feminist scholars stress that nationalism is a product of powerful constructions of gender that spring from an intrinsically masculine experience. This paper shows how male tribal and religious power formed a state wherein women caught in its borders were subordinated to it in all dimensions. This paper discusses how from its inception, the modern national state of Jordan was formed by men to “rescue and protect” women from “foreigners”, i.e., the Ottomans. Further, it discusses how the policy-

making of the state apparatus reproduced the Islamic subordination of women to men by introducing knowledge to the new generation (pupils in Jordanian schools) that shapes its conceptions regarding women and men in society. In this way, they reproduce the religious and tribal social order and hierarchy, and maintain it via the state apparatus, which is the educational system in Jordan today.

Indeed, the very language of nationalism, as it has been manifested in all of Jordan's history textbooks, reveals that national identity is constructed through complex and often contradictory processes of differentiation that situate gender in inherently discriminatory terms that in turn keep women subjugated to multiple levels of patriarchal conceptions.

The state became a major instrument of oppression of women, confining them to the home and field. By constituting an anti-Ottoman Jordanian past based on the glorification of the role of the tribesman as warriors rescuing female villagers, gender power relations were embedded in state apparatus. By linking Sharif Hussein's anti-Ottoman struggle with the tribes, a sacred coalition—which later constituted the Jordanian state—was created. Consequently, women remained outside the state-building process, and moving toward gender equity and equality was perceived as challenging the foundations of the state.

As was demonstrated herein, in its history textbooks, the Education Ministry as a state agent serves the nation-state, maintaining its chauvinistic

“legitimacy” backed by Islamic discourse. Any discourse that stretches or challenges these oppressive codes is accused of challenging the will of God. This is particularly true for women, who are supposed to prove their obedience to their patriarchal kin as well as to God.

The potential for men to challenge these boundaries is not safe in Jordan, however (in contrast to other Middle Eastern countries), as the tools for justifying the institutional domination of the state’s reproducing the gender sphere lie separately in the private and public domains. The language of liberation in the history books took on men’s political morality in the way that they construct the image of women in Islamic history. We see the contradiction and complexity of forming the Middle Eastern nation in perpetuating gender inequality, and how state institutions serve the normative dichotomies and tribal-social and tribal-centric structures. We also see the asymmetry of the private and public construction of the state, which in turn relies on religious moral discourse for its legitimacy and to serve the alliance between tribal values and norms and the interests of the perpetuation of state rule.

Herein I exposed the inherent contradiction that exists between the building of Jordan and the innate right of women to liberation and equality. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the state to work for equal rights for women in all its agencies and at all levels. This is why recommendations should be directed at state-level institutions, in our case the Education Ministry, but

also, and mainly, society's civil institutions. It should be remembered that because of anticipated opposition and sensitivities regarding gender equality in tribal-patriarchal sectors, any change proposed that might disrupt tribal hegemony should be dealt with the utmost sensitivity. I recommend that such changes be proposed through negotiation with the state through civic coalitions. The Education Ministry is expected to reconsider the way that it teaches independence, and its textbooks should include female figures with concrete names and faces. All textbooks should present males and females on an equal platform, and most importantly, should encourage analytical discussions and critical thinking in this regard.

A multidimensional approach is needed to ensure that women and men are assigned equal importance in textbooks. This approach must include short and long term strategies. In the short term, government officials with decision making powers, in particular those in the ministry of education must be presented with the importance and possibility of men and women playing egalitarian roles in the society. Men and women have to be introduced to their consciously and unconsciously gender biases in the textbooks and develop more sensitivity and responsibility to change these biases. In the long term, literature for early childhood until adolescence should be produced. This literature should address the roles of women and men in society in such a way that the public and private spheres are not dominated solely by one gender. Therefore the ministry of education as well

as NGO's and other civic organizations should design projects for creative Arab intellectuals, both men and women, to develop literature that raises gender issues, allows children, caregivers, parents and teachers to discuss and reflect on the existing gender dichotomies in society and consider the new gender relations that are portrayed in the new literature that suit the every age and its issues with new role modeling as formed in new story telling literature. The children's and pupil's literature should also negotiate gender power relations in society and exemplify desirable women's and men's roles from their local cultural, social, religion and historical traditions. Such literature also should be included in teacher training curricula. It is hoped that thus, coming generations will be exposed to new values through literature.

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אללה, אל-מאליכ, אל-וטןהמשולש הקדוש: ייצוגי נשים בספרי לימוד היסטוריה בירדן.

פטמה קאסם

המאמר עוסק בשאלה המטרידה חוקרים רבים מתחומי מדע המדינה, תרבות ומגדר זה זמן רב: באיזו מידה יכולה המדינה על מוסדותיה השונים, לשמש כמוקד המאיץ שינוי חברתי עבור נשים. המאמר מתמקד במקרה הפרטי של המדינה הירדנית

במאמר נטען כי לא רק שהמדינה הירדנית איננה יכולה להוות מוקד לשינוי מהותי המקדם נשים, אלא שבשונה ממדינות ערביות אחרות, כגון מצרים, מיצובן הנמוך של נשים בהירארכיה החברתית הינו מובנה בתהליך כינון המדינה. לטענת המחברת, החל מבנייתה של המדינה וראשית התהוותה, נוצרו אינטרסים משותפים בין בית המלוכה, השבטים ואנשי הדת. ומכאן שהמדינה, אשר נבנתה יש מאין, נשענה על עמודי תווך אידיאולוגיים בהם מובנית אפליית הנשים: שבטיות, לאומיות ודת האסלאם.

לטענתה של המחברת, שלושת יסודות אלו של השיח הירדני שולבו יחדיו בברית עם תחילת המאבק על שחרור לאומי מידי התורכים העות'מאניים. מאבק זה השאיר את הנשים מחוץ לגבולות השיח והלגיטימיות של המדינה המודרנית.

תהליך בנייתה של האומה החדשה דרש את מיצובם של התורכים ככוח קולוניאליסטי והאדרת השבטים, להם נועד תפקיד חיוני ביותר במאבק נגד התורכים, בין אם במציאות או בתודעה הירדנית. בהעדר סמכות אותנטית מקומית היסטורית, התבססה הלגיטימיות של השלטון הירדני החדש על מקור סמכות ולגיטימיות דתית. המלכתו של עבדאללה בנו של חוסיין בן עלי קיבלה תוקף חברתי –דתי בשל היותו בן למשפחת שריף אל חוסיין המיוחס לבית האשם מהשבט קוראייש, כלומר: למשפחתו של הנביא מחמד. כך קיבלה המשפחה השלטת כמו גם המדינה החדשה לגיטימציה היסטורית ורוחנית-מוסרית טרנסצנדנטית.

השילוש המובנה בירדן, של כינון מדינה לאומית מודרנית המתבססת על ברית עם השבטים והשבטיות, מצד אחד, ועם ההירארכיה הדתית מן הצד השני גרם לכך שנשים נלכדו בצבת הקונספציות הפטריארכאליות. כל ניסיון למרוד באחת מצלעות המשולש נתפס כערעור על אושיות המדינה. זו הסיבה לכך, נטען במאמר, שהאפשרות כי מוסדות המדינה יפעלו במודע למען "שחרורן" או מיצובן מחדש של נשים בהירארכיה החברתית כמעט ואינה אפשרית. החיפוש אחר מוקדי שינוי מחייב, אם כן, דרך חדשה הנשענת על ארגונים אזרחיים ונשים אינדיבידואליות הנקראות לייצר נרטיבים אלטרנטיביים לאלו המיוצרים ע"י המדינה.

במאמר נטען כי העדרן המתמשך של נשים מהשיח שכוון את המדינה הלאומית, כלומר השיח השבטי והדתי הביא להדרתן ממקומות מפתח ומנע את שחרורן האישי.

אין מקום טוב יותר לבדיקת הנחה זו הנוגעת ליחס המדינה לנשים מאשר טקסטים של ספרי לימוד היסטוריה, המשקפים את יחסי ההכלה – הדרה ומכוננים אותם בתודעתם של האזרחים הצעירים. המאמר מתמקד בבדיקת מקראות ההיסטוריה לכיתות ט', ז', י' ו-יא', בגיל המעצב את אישיותם של הילדים ותודעתם. ניתוח המקראות חושף את האופן בו פועלת המדינה על מנת לשמר יחסי הכוח המגדריים בחברה ואת הדינאמיקה והדיאלקטיקה בין מדינת הלאום, השבטיות והדת בשימור יחסי הכוח המגדריים.

الله, الملك, الوطن- المثلث المقدس\القدسّي- انعكاس صورة النساء في كتب التاريخ الاردني**فاطمة قاسم**

هذه المقالة تبحث سؤال لاحق العديد من الباحثين في العلوم السياسية وعلوم الثقافة الجندرية منذ عدة سنوات: بأي مدى تستطيع الدولة القومية ومؤسساتها المختلفة ان تساهم بشكل اساسي في التغيير الاجتماعي بشكل عام وفي تغيير وضع المرأة بشكل خاص؟ المقال يبحث الحالة الاردنية, ويدعي بان هذه الحالة لا تقتصر على الاردن كدولة قومية. في الحالة الخاصة المدروسة للاردن على مؤسساتها الحالية يجب ان لا يعتمد التغيير على مؤسسات الدولة فحسب وإنما يجب مشاركة مؤسسات المجتمع الأهلي وتمكينه من أجل العمل على التغيير في مكانة المرأة. ان طريقة وصف وإبراز صورة المرأة في الكتب المدرسية الأردنية على أن النساء لسن جزء مشارك وفعال في حركة التحرر الوطني, وإنما بناء الدولة الأردنية جاء جزئياً ليحرر المرأة من استغلال الامبراطورية العثمانية ومن الناحية الثانية المشاركين في عملية التحرير طوّقوا المرأة في قيودهم المعتمدة الخطاب الوطني الديني والقبلي في الدولة الجيدة.

هنالك ثلاثة انواع من الخطاب والتي حددت المكانة الاجتماعية, والسياسية للمرأة في التركيبة الهرمية الاردنية. والتي وضعت المرأة في مصيدة مفخخة وممنهجة اسرتها في ثلاثة خطابات محبطة ومومأسسة: القبيلية, الاسلام والوطنية, انعكس على الصعيد الفعلي بأنه ترك المرأة خارج حدود مؤسسات الدولة الوطنية كما اتضح من تحليل كتب التاريخ المدرسية للصفوف التاسعة, العاشرة والحادي عشر. هذه فترة جيل حاسمة لتكوين الصورة الذاتية للذكور والإناث ودورهم في المجتمع.

في الكتب المدرسية الأردنية عرف الحكم العثماني كقوة كولونيالية مستبدة ومستغلة للأردنيين بشكل عام وللنساء بشكل خاص. القبائل الأردنية بتحالفها مع العائلة الهاشمية لعبت الدور الهام والحيوي في النضال ضد الأتراك وتحرير الأردنيين من استبداد الأتراك. تحولت الدولة إلى أداة متخصصة في

اضطهاد وظلم المرأة، واقتصر عملها وتواجدها على البيت. أن عرض نضال التحرر الوطني الأردني في الكتب المدرسية لجيل المراهقين إناث وذكور المناهض للدولة العثمانية والذي اعتمد تمجيد و تعظيم دور أفراد القبيلة كمحاربين مقاتلين والانجليز وتحالفهم مع عائلة الشريف حسين كمحررين ومنقذين للنساء القرويات، حصرت المرأة الأردنية في طوق علاقات قوة ، العلاقات الجندرية منذ تأسيسها مطوقة بأحكام وأجهزة الدولة. كما يظهر في كتب التاريخ، وزارة التربية والتعليم كوكيل يخدم الدولة القومية، صان ١ أكد الشوفانية واعطاها شرعية باستنادهم إلى الخطاب الإسلامي. إن أي خطاب توسع أو مد أو تحدى مجموع القوانين الخطابيات التعسفية أو الجائرة كان وما زال يعني بأنه تحد لوجود الله. وهذا صحيح خاصة عند النساء، واللواتي من المفروض إن يثبتوا رضوخهم وطاعتهم للأهل البطريركين تماما كما يخضعون لله.

ما لفت التنبيه اليه بشكل خاص أن تغييب وتعريب المرأة من الحيز العام ومحيا لدورها في الحياة العامة الذي برز بشكل كبير في الكتاب التدريسي للحضارة الاسلامية ذلك يدل على مدى خوف الرجل العربي من المرأة في مركز القوى ولذلك حتى القليلات اللتين نعرف عنهم والقليل القليل تم تجاهلهم ومحيهن من النص التدريسي وذلك للتقليل من مكانتهن والمحافظة على صورة دونية للمرأة ودورها في المجتمع للفتية والفتية في هذا الجيل.

إن شرعية النظام الاردني اعتمدت بالاساس وتعززت بربط شرعية الحكم بسلطة الدين. تتويج الملك عبدالله اكتسب مصداقية اجتماعية وسياسية لان الملك عبدالله هو من سلالة الشريف حسين والذي يرتبط ببني هاشم من قبيلة قريش والتي ينتمي اليها الرسول محمد (ص).

إن المبني الثلاثي- الله، الملك الوطن والتي استندت عليه العائلة الهاشمية على اساس قبلي ، اسلاموي قومي، ادت الى محاصرة النساء ووضعهن في تشابك بطريكي.

ان الربط الغير قابل للفصل ما بين شرعية حكم العائلة الهاشمية وما بين المثلث المقدس- الله الملك الوطن ادت الى اتهام كل محاولة تغيير بأنها مسائلة في الاسس المقدسة- الله الملك الوطن.

ولهذا السبب, ان امكانية احداث تغيير في التركيبة الهرمية الاجتماعية في وضعية المرأة من خلال المؤسسات الحكومية الاردنية هي غير وارادة تقريبا. بناء على ما ذكر فان فرصة التغيير لا يمكن احداثها الا من خلال اجاد بدائل مبتكرة جديدة. في نفس الوقت التغيير في مستوى الدولة لا يمكن التنازل عنه يجب أن يمر الرجال في مناصب أخذ القرار إجراء تغيير في قناعاتهم لحتمية الاهمية في تعبير مكانة المرأة في المجتمع من أجل المصلحة الفردية والجماعية للرجل والمرأة سواء. من اجل ذلك على المنظمات المدنية أن تلعب دورا ابداعيا من مشاريع تشجع الرجال والنساء المبدعين على الكتابة والابداع في ادب الاطفال بشكل خاص الذي يصف ويصور المرأة فعالة ويجابية مثلها مثل قرينها الرجل, ويلغي التقسيم في الوظائف التقليدية والنمطية لكليهما على أمل ان تأتي اجيال تكون قد تعلمت قيم جديدة من خلال ادب جديد.

في السياق السياسي الحالي ووجود وجه امبريالي جديد في منطقة الشرق الأوسط المتمثل باحتلال الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية للعراق وأفغانستان ووجوه أخرى والتي تستعمل خطاب الديمقراطية والحقوق الإنسانية يجعل كل مطالبة للنساء في حقوق سياسية كانت أم اجتماعية لتحسين اوضاعهن في محل لاتهمهم كمتخاذلات وحتى متعاونات مع الغرب المشتغل ذو المطامع الامبريالية في المنطقة ويعدهن عن الخطاب الحضاري للغرب, وبالتالي عملية نضالهم من اجل مساواتهم في مجتمعاتهم العربية والإسلامية في تراجع كبير.

اعتمد الادعاء على فحص الكتب المدرسية بموضوع التاريخ للصفوف التالية: التاسع, العاشر, الحادي عشر والثاني عشر.