

FEMINIST TRENDS IN CONTEMPORARY WESTERN POLITICAL THOUGHT

ABEER SHAM MAHDI Assistant Professor

Dr. College of Political Science, University of Baghdad

Al - JADRIYA Complex, Baghdad, Iraq

ABSTRACT:

Feminism is a diverse set of social theories, political movements and ethos driven by women's causes. Feminists and feminists agree that the ultimate goal is to eliminate the forms of gender-related oppression

It should be noted that feminism originated at the beginning as an emancipation movement aimed only at lifting the injustice and suffering of European women, but over time evolved and crystallized to form an independent thought in itself swimming against all the universals known to humanity in the relationship between male and female nature

This study posits a hypothesis that the feminist movement is characterized by multiple and varied trends, different in its analyzes of the causes of women's oppression, but all agreed on the need to free women from oppression and to establish equality between them and men

There were different views in the division of the feminist movement, including those who call it the first, second, third, or the ideological trend (liberal, Marxist, radical). Women from oppression and the establishment of equality between men and women

Keywords: Feminist. Trends . Contemporary. Western Political. Thought

INTRODUCTION:

This study posits a hypothesis that the feminist movement is characterized by multiple and varied trends, different in its analyzes of the causes of women's oppression, but all agreed on the need to free women from oppression and to establish equality between them and men

To demonstrate the hypothesis of the study, we ask the following questions:

1. What is meant by feminism? What are the most important intellectual reasons for the emergence of the feminist movement?

? What are the most important intellectual trends of the feminist movement 2.

In light of the questions raised in the hypothesis of the research, the subject was divided into four topics, as well as the introduction and conclusion

In the first topic, we discussed a conceptual framework for the concept of feminism

Either the second topic: the intellectual reasons for the emergence of the feminist movement, either the third topic was devoted to discuss: the intellectual roots of the feminist movement, either the fourth and final section has discussed the intellectual trends of the feminist movement

1 . 1 .. The first topic: A theoretical framework for the concept of feminism

As for the concept of feminism, there are many definitions, but all of them are directed in the same direction. It was not easy to define a specific definition of feminism as the term came within different historical contexts, each of which reflects human rights, social and society claims (1).

Feminism is defined as: a political movement aimed at achieving the social goals of women's rights, self-affirmation, role and feminist thought. (2)

It is a theoretical concept that includes issues and analyzes that describe and explain ways to improve the situation of women and how to benefit from their experiences and activates them (.3)

The views of women and the position of women and their political position are a source of dissatisfaction with the state of social injustice against them (4).

Feminism is also defined as: a movement that seeks to achieve social, economic and political equality between the sexes (women) and men also known as: (5)

(an intellectual or behavioral system defending the interests of women and calling for the expansion of their rights)

(Webster) defines it as: the theory that advocates gender equality politically, economically and socially, and seeks as a political movement to realize women's rights and interests and to eliminate gender discrimination suffered by women. (6)

The Oxford Dictionary defines it as the belief that women must have the same rights and opportunities as men (7)

. She is identified by the Canadian (Louise Tuban) as "an individual and collective consciousness, followed by a revolt against the balance of sexual power and the total marginalization of women at specific historical moments. (8)

Linda Jane Shevardd (Feminism) General is any theoretical or practical effort aimed at reviewing,

questioning or criticizing, or modifying the prevailing system of social structures, which makes men the center, is the human, and the second or second person in his home inferior and impose limits and restrictions and prevent the potential for development and tender, only Because it is a woman and on the other hand, the experiences and attributes are limited only because they are feminine, so that civilization looks in different ways (9)

(Sarah Gamble) defines it in her book *Feminism and Post-Feminists'* as: (a movement sought to change attitudes from women as women before changing existing conditions and what women are exposed to Of unfairness as citizens on the legal and juridical levels of work, science and the sharing of political and civil power (10)

. It was also known as:

a theoretical and practical effort reviewed by criticism and modification of the structures in the existing social structure in terms of the man is the center and the woman is subordinate and at his salary lower than it to be the whole human civilization (11)

Masculine origin, which contributes to the consolidation of masculine power of men and subordination of women where they are prevented from participating in all forms

Through the above, it is noted from the previous definitions of feminism that they differed between a movement or a variety of theories, philosophies, visions or a theory advocating gender equality or any theoretical and practical effort in one. The term feminism does not have a clear (12),

This is due to the fact that it is a movement that is highly sensitive to its theoretical and political environment and is shared with other sources of political and social theories, whether through criticism, rejection, moderation or adaptation(13).

However, there is a consensus that feminism in its origins is a movement that seeks to defend women's political and social rights such as the right to vote and to participate in political life, the right to work, education and other rights (14)

Which were exclusive to men without women - they are (women) - an attempt to rehabilitate women because of the discrimination and marginalization that they have suffered for so long because of the inferiority of their view(15)

1 . 2 .. The second reason: The intellectual reasons for the emergence of the feminist movement: Since feminism refers to the ideas and philosophies that concern women, which originated in the West, and then moved its influence to the rest of the world must be studied women in Western thought, which draws its perceptions and elements of several elements (16),

Religious origins (Torah and the Bible): The texts of the Scriptures are emphasized on a central axis, namely the first sin, eating from the tree contrary to the orders of the Lord, and the texts bear the woman (Eve) and the sin of this sin (17).

This is why the Jews counted the woman as cursing because she had seduced Adam.

The Torah states: "The woman is a matter of death, and the good of the God of God is saved from her, one man among the thousands found, either the woman among them I have not found" (18)

In reference to some aspects of the Jewish religion and the teachings of the Jews, the difference between men and women in the acts of worship shows that there were no priestesses, and women were exempt from all the commandments related to the specific time and place (19).

They were not obligated to perform the rituals of Hajj or perform prayers in the temple. Men (20)

It is also not permissible for a woman to recite the Torah and the intention is that a woman does not have the ability and wisdom to interpret the text of the Torah, understand it and interpret its meaning,

Moreover, the Jewish law strips women of most of their civil rights and makes them under the guardianship of their father, family and husband. In both cases, the status of the slave is taken away Like the rest of the primitive societies, are owned by her father before her marriage and afterwards to her husband (21) .

Not far from this path is the image of women in Christianity. The same idea persists that Eve is the basis of sin.

The Christian clergy saw women as a way of seduction that should be avoided, and they preferred the single to the married because he avoided temptation. The Christian clergy discussed the nature of women, or body without spirit? Or her spirit? (22)

They found that they were devoid of the spirit of salvation from the torment of hell except for the Mother of Christ. This view of women continued until the Middle Ages, when the truth and nature of women were discussed at the beginning of the seventeenth century (23).

GREEK PHILOSOPHY:

Most Greek philosophers and thinkers considered women to be an imperfect creature and rejected the equality of men in anything, eg Plato classifies women in the class slaves and sick and abolished the traditional family system and reduced the importance of marriage and promised a special function without feelings The choice, attacked women as a constraint on men, has been called to "make women warriors a commonplace for all" (24).

Either Aristotle, his views recognized that women are only fit for procreation and that they cannot exercise virtues like men, they are just a deformed creature produced by nature. It is also considered the degeneration of women and the superiority of men and therefore their domination and control, a natural difference, the promise of women is a man is incomplete and with men like the slave with the master, and the woman is helpless and cannot be compared to the man (25).

The proposals made by (Aristotle) in his book (politics) (Socrates) saw that women are like the poisonous tree that is the source of the marriage. It looks nice but the birds die when you eat them (26).

These were the most prominent theses that represented the ancient Greek thought, which is the inferior view of women and that they belong to men or part of their

ownership and place of the house, all these ideas and theses reflected on some thinkers of the Renaissance and Enlightenment as it did not differ much but continued to look inferior in the writings of philosophers of these two times (27)

the modern Renaissance and Enlightenment:

With the beginning of the Renaissance began to turn Europe from feudalism to capitalism emerged God and then industry and with it began to emerge working class, where women participated in the work for several considerations have suffered from the outset of differences in pay between them and men, the man takes a salary (28)

And women began to demand equal pay. This led them to demand equality in other matters and to demand full equality. In the midst of this battle, European society changed and destroyed many of the concepts and traditions, especially the traditions of Religion, church and community systems, including women (29).

Although the rise of Europe and its ideas germinated on the philosophies and ideas of the pioneers of the Renaissance, it is noticeable that most of these philosophers were against women and their outlook ranged from hostility to negativity, and few of them were fair to women and called for their rights. (30)

, either the philosopher of the French Revolution (Rousseau), did not differ from the foregoing: The woman did not create (31)

. Russian thought was like the stone of his stumbling block before the presence of women, but it is like a barrier to the possibility of emancipation, which he says: (Look at women only as a means to play and in this an inquiry to the wishes of men) With the advent of new scientific theories such as Darwinists, the inferior view of women as a sexier in his salary has become less To reach the man or to be close to him (32). (

In the face of these intellectual theses represented by ancient Greek political thought, modern Western political thought, and Christian and Jewish beliefs towards women, they led to the crystallization of new feminist theses that proved that the inferior view of

women is the product of the influences of dominant cultures that have no real roots or natural resources on them It is the product of the patriarchal system that was built thousands of years ago, which contributed to the reaction of philosophers and thinkers to defending women's rights and changing this inferior view (33) .

1 . 3 .. The third topic: the intellectual roots of the feminist movement

Feminism is his call for the liberation of women based on its values and principles of the French Revolution. This invitation arose as a result of the oppression that women faced and their promise to be a second being different from the male in their humanity. , And his history professor (Karen Offen) pointed out that the French (Hubertin O'Clair) first used the term feminism in (1882) in its journal and used the term citizen and woman and described itself and its partners in the term feminism. [34]

Feminism as a political concept B Social to the seventeenth century (35)

The first women's movement began to call for women's rights in the early 15th century in France through the book "The City of Ladies in 1405" by the French poet Christine Dubizan (1364-1430), in which she defended women's rights in the face of what was published by monks and The inferiority of women and the reduction of what was most demanded by the women at the time the demands of his project, such as the right of individual property and the right to dispose of what it owns and the right to education. (36)

Then Mary Dakronai (book equality between men and women) in 1622 and demanded the right of women in Education In 1791, the French writer Olympique Dogouge published two years after the French Revolution I am on the rights of women was sentenced to death on the Guillotine platform in 1793 on charges of anti-revolution. (37)

Although most of that momentum was in France, but the circle has expanded to include Britain as well as the British (Mary Woolstonkraft) book On the rights of women (1792), which was originally considered the world feminist movement, which defended rationality in

feminist thinking and criticized a number of intellectuals who viewed women as a marginalized materialist such as Plato, Descartes, Rousseau and others (38)

. Woolstoncraft believed that women have the same citizenship rights as men because their mental abilities are not different but the greatest influence of femininity was in the views of John Stuart Mill and his wife, Harriet Tyler. (39)

John Stewart Mill was considered fair and forbidding. A strong liberal for women, who called for equality between men and women as no less than in the matter. I therefore devoted a special book to discussing the issue of women (the enslavement of women), and explicitly declared his views and condemnation of the prevailing laws governing gender relations, Such issues (40).

He emphasized the importance of an independent, independent personality capable of respecting itself and respecting others, whether male or female. From this perspective, the similarity between the book "Freedom" and the book "Obedience of Women" reaches the fullest extent when we reach a call at the end of the last chapter (41)

The need to revolutionize our social habits that regulate the relationship between men and women so as to build independent personality and even become men and women condemn, the argument here is derived mainly from his idea of (independent individual). (42)

"Obviously, I am very modest in defending their interests when I make their arguments really true, because the negative evidence in this case is few While positive evidence will be crucial, it cannot be said that it is impossible for a woman to become a different Homer, Aristotle, Michael Angelo, or Bethhofen ... but it is quite certain that women can be Queen Elizabeth, Deborah or Jean Rather than a conclusion, but historical facts (43).(

However, with regard to the larger question of removing women's restrictions, Mill says: "I mean recognizing their equal rights with men in all matters relating to citizenship rights - opening up all respectable jobs to them, as well as education and training that qualify for this work - there are many people who do not have enough, It is unfair and this equality has no legitimate

justification, but they need to be given the clear advantages of eliminating this inequality (44)" .

Either his wife (Harriet Tyler) called for the right of women to vote and assume leadership positions and political and civil rights are not based on sex, but the right to assume all civil and professional functions and called for the amendment of the property law to ensure the right to inherit and dispossess its property (45)

1 . 4 .. The fourth topic: The intellectual trends of the feminist movement

Since the beginning of the last century, women have been classified as bourgeois women in contrast to the feminism of the working class, then into old feminism and feminist feminism, feminism versus liberal feminism, but the most common classifications He is dividing them into a liberal, socialist and radical trend (46).

-FEMINIST LIBERALISM:

A secular movement that did not seek change from within. It saw religion as the main reason for the deterioration of women 's status. It accused religion of devising patriarchal thought, legitimizing public and private division, supporting the outlook for women only as a wife and mother, , And such a trend threatens the role of the Church in the social control of its influence on the increasing preparation of women in Western societies, who represent the majority of the Church's dissidents, (47)

The feminist trend has historically emerged in the liberal capitalist society as a movement for the liberation of women in the nineteenth century The deterioration of the situation of women under the industrial revolution and beyond marginalization of women's social and political role ,(48)

and if there have been many writings have raised women's issues and called for change since the seventeenth century, but the nineteenth century such as the height of this call and organized in the form of demands supported by a strong social movement and these trends From the outset within the framework of liberalism sought to change by obtaining legal

guarantees for women in the sphere of working conditions and political rights especially the right to vote (49).

The liberal feminist approach focuses on individuality or on women as individuals, on their abilities and their ability to acquire and maintain their rights through their activity and effectiveness, when they secure freedom, independence and all rights (50).

Liberal feminism believes in the capitalist system's ability to achieve perfection and adapt to changes in providing women with men by changing gender laws, forming pressure groups, influencing and changing ideas and beliefs in the long term (51).

Liberal feminists believe that personal interaction between men and women can change society and that women can achieve full equality with men without changing social structures and that equality between men and women comes through politics and law.

The liberal feminist approach is based on the intellectual and moral dimension of the French Revolution and its stated principles: equality, freedom, and the demand for women's rights equal to men's rights.

The philosophical foundations of the liberal theory that the liberal feminist movement starts in its understanding of the nature of women are the principle of individuality, the principle of freedom (52),,

In short, the liberal feminist trend can be summed up as being concerned with the achievement of equality between men and women, especially in public life. Its leaders have no major challenges to dismantle and reframe the economic and social system, nor do they directly challenge the existing economic (53)

MARXIST FEMINISM :

adopts Marxism's vision and philosophy of existence, life and conflict. The oppression of women is linked to the ideas of Karl Marx concerning the exploitation of capitalism for the efforts of the working classes and the exploitation by the patriarchal society of women's efforts as producers of products for the production of children and domestic work

They do not have the means of production and their efforts are stolen, as is the case of a worker who is exploited by the employer

In this view, it is impossible for anyone, especially women, to obtain real equal opportunities in a class society where resources are provided by the underdog and confined to the hands of the few powerful.

Therefore, it is estimated that all women, and not only the few who are beneficiaries or excluded, will someday liberate.

The capitalist system will end up replacing the communist regime, because under communism no one will be responsible or economically dependent on the other. Women will be independent from men and thus equal. (54). (

Marxist feminists are working to bring about a comprehensive societal change.

They are concerned with changing society rather than the individual who is the component of society. In the view of transforming the means of production into social public ownership, the individual family will not maintain the unity of the economic community (55)

The private home economy becomes a branch of social activity.

With children and their upbringing, the entire society and the exit of women to work will be freed from tired domestic labor and will achieve economic independence leading to equality between women and men.

With the fall of the Soviet Union crystallized within Marxist feminism two main doctrines

Popular feminist doctrine: Sexual discrimination is only the first element of oppression of women and the struggle for gender equality must be accompanied by the struggle against oppression, marginalization and racism.

The principle of pay for domestic work: This indicates the size of the unseen and unaccounted sector in the economy from the point of view that domestic work and labor (or human production) is a place for exploiting women in conjunction with economic association with

men and their free work. For women half of the capitalist organization that serves the first half of the market (56)

RADICAL FEMINISTS:

Radical feminism seeks to compensate for some of the shortcomings it sees in Marxist liberal and feminist feminism by emphasizing the general and transient nature of regions and cultures that are independent of classes for discrimination against women. Radical feminists believe that patriarchy is the basis of discrimination against women And control over them in all spheres of social, political, economic and sexual life.(57)

The Patriarchate creates a system of stereotyping of the two sexes through two cultures: a dominant male culture 54 and a dominant women's culture. This trend emerged during the late 1960s In the 1970s, when the feminist movement realized the extent of oppression suffered by women because of the ill treatment of men, this trend required women not only to be equal in rank with men, but to view women as one of the highest priorities and thus to demand that men obey women,

Radical and revolutionary feminists were interested in theories and issues of gender and class. In the discussion of domestic work, women viewed the concept of economic and political as a form or type of violence that was already threatened or threatened by violence. A number of radicals sought to subjugate women to biological inequalities such as socialists, While most see in the former social structure on the existence of capitalism. From this point of view, radicalisms criticized Marxist feminists by saying that the authority and dominance of men is due to the capitalist system and they stressed that this form of divine relations A predecessors of capitalism and perhaps the source of all forms of domination, such as class and race (58).

Among the strategies of this trend to change the vertical equation is the restoration of women to their bodies and entities and the rehabilitation of their own culture to the point of secession from men and to live in independent women's societies. From this work, intellectual and monetary doctrines were added, each adding new types to psychological analysis and understanding (Los

Iriegarai), which developed the thinking about the concept of difference

and created discussions on the biological and social nature of this difference and reinstated the doctrine of the French feminist journal Simon de Beauvoir:

)The woman does not generate a woman but society is the one who teaches her to be a woman) making him the most prominent slogans

It can be said that the radical feminist trend seeks to achieve the following objectives through governmental and non-governmental efforts, as well as through international and international organizations (59).

.Calling for gender hostility and war against men.1

-2 Work to abolish the role of the father in the family through the rejection of parental authority.

.Family rejection and marriage .3

.Rejection of motherhood and childbearing .4

CONCLUSION:

It follows that despite the divergence of feminist attitudes regarding the analysis of the status and status of women in society and the degree of focus on gender relations and issues, these trends all share an interest in issues of unequal power with regard to gender relations, perhaps because of social construction Which gives men power, power and status while denying women many rights in society.

At the end of our research entitled (Feminist Trends in Contemporary Western Political Thought) we reached the following results

Feminism is defined as: a global feminist movement that has emerged in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, which calls for full equality between women and men in all spheres of political, economic and social life and is concerned with achieving equality between men and women in the political sphere in particular.

.The emergence of the Western feminist movement against male oppression cannot be determined at first,

but it can be brought back to the arrogance and patriarchal system of women.

-One of the reasons for the emergence of this movement in the West is the image of women in Jewish and Christian religious sources, as the movement is the product of Western society and culture and not the product of other societies. The other positive attitude is the negative attitude of many Western thinkers and philosophers towards women such as: Plato, Descartes, Kant, Rosso.(

Opinions differed in the division of the feminist movement, including those who call it the first, second, or third direction, or dividing it according to the intellectual trend (liberal, Marxist, radical), and despite the differences in feminism in the analysis of the reasons for women's oppression and grading grades between them and men, The need to free women from oppression and to establish equality between men and women

REFERENCES:

1 Kaltham Al-Ghanim, The Conceptual Frameworks and the Conceptual Limits of Arab Feminist Thought, Journal of the Future Arab, p. 401, July, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 2012, p55.

2 Metric Monk, Religion and State: Theology, Women and Media, Diyar Publishing, Bethlehem, 2011, p. 68.

The British Encyclopedia, 23/6/2017 :3

www.britannica.com/ebchecked/topic/724633/femimis.

4 Diab Manal, The Problem of Feminism in Feminist Philosophy: Simone de Beauvoir Model, Master Thesis (Unpublished), Introduction to the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Demolay Eltahr-

P. 11.

5 Ahmed Amr, Feminism from Radical to Islamic: A Reading in the Ideology, Arab Center for Humanitarian Studies, p. 142, 21/8/2010: www.alarabiya.net.

6 quoting: Nabil Mohammed Saghir and Linda Akdir, The Problem of Identity and Equality in Post-

Feminism, in the Letters of the Past in the Exploitation or Modification of Philosophical Projects,

P. 249.

7 Nadia Laila Issawi, Feminist Movements and Ideologies, Urban Dialogue, 9 March 2002: www.ahewar.org

8. Linda Jane Shepherd, Femininity of Science, translated by: (Yemna Kholy), Knowledge World Series, p (306), Kuwait, 2004,

P. 11.

Nabil Mohammed Saghir and Linda Akdir, op.cit, p. 250 .9

10 Raqqat Raad, Cultural Criticism and Feminism in an Attempt to Establish a Philosophy Outside the Male Formality, in Feminist Philosophy in Exposing the Disdain of Female Right and its Neglect, Male Concentration and Criticism,

P. 165.

11 The Names of Jihad Ragab Ismail, The Evolution of Feminist Thought in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank 1991-1996, Unpublished Master Thesis, Introduction to the Islamic University, Gaza, 2015

,P. 21.

12 Faten Mohammed Razak, The Intellectual Components of the Liberal Western Feminist Movement, p. 89, July 23, 2017: www.iasj.net/iasj

13 Women's discourse at Roger Garaudy, 1 March 2017: www.dspace.univ-bouira.dz:8080/jspui/

Genesis op.cit p: 6-7 .14

Jewish personality, 12/6/2013: www.blogsp.najah.edu
15

16 Nadra Senoussi, the masculine memory of Western philosophers against women's ability to think, in feminist philosophy in dismissing the contempt of female right and its negation and masculine concentration and criticism, ibid., P. 22.

Ibid, p. 23.17

18 Mustafa Shaka, Islam without doctrines, I 11, the Egyptian Lebanese House, Cairo, 1996, p. 102.

Quoting: Khaloud Rashad Al-Masri, op. cit e, p. 19.19

20 For an elaboration on the communism of women and the family, see Ghanim Mohammed Saleh, The Old and Medieval Political Thought, Baghdad University, vol.

Quoted by: Khuloud Rashad al-Masri, op. cit e, p. 19.21

22 Abdullah winter, the inferiority of women at the philosophers between history and reality, on 6/3/2018:

bouira.dz.8080 www.dspace.univ-

23 Justin Gard, Sophie: A Novel on the History of Philosophy, translated by: (Hayat Attia), I 2, Dar al-Muna, Norway, 1991, p. 127.

24 quoting: Salwa Muhammad Nasra, Feminist Philosophy in the Thought of Imam Muhammad Abdo, Dar Al Ma'aref, Egypt p19,

Ibid p 19 25.

Khuloud Rashad al-Masri, op. cit p 37 ,26

Ibid p 37 27

P 77 Mih al-Rahbi, op. cit 28.

29 .in front of Abdel Fattah, Rousseau and Women, Dar Al Tanweer, Beirut, 2010, pp. 110,69,.

Abdullah al-Shatawi, op.cit p66.30

31 Ryan Foot, Feminism and Citizenship, Translated by: Ayman Bakr and Samra Shishakli, National Project of Translation, Cairo, 2004, p44.

32 Hafnaoui Baali, Introduction to Feminist and Post-Feminist Criticism, Arab Science House, Beirut, 2009, p. 43.

33 Shaima Numan, European Feminist Movement and the Problem of Freedom, 24 Rajab 1433: www.almoslim.net

34 .ibid

Nabil Mohammed Saghir and Linda Akdira, op. cit p 66 35

36 . ibid .p254

37 Amal Alloushish, Women in the View of Philosophy, in Feminist Philosophy in Exposing the Disdain of Female Right and its Neglect, Male Concentration and Criticism, op. cit, p. 43.

38 John Stuart Mill, The Obedience of Women, translated by Dr. Imam Abdel Fattah, Madbouli Library, Cairo, 1998, pp. 29-30.

39 . ibid p144

Ib id, p. 144. 40

Quoting: Faten Mohammed Razak, op. cit, p. 104.41

42 Heba Raouf Ezzat, Women and Political Action: An Islamic Perspective, Dar al-Maarifah, Algeria, 2001, p. 48.

44 ibid

Mih al-Rahbi, op. cit p48 45

Nadia Leila Issawi, op. cit p 78.46.

47 The Global Feminist Movement and the Motives of Its Presence and the Stages of Its Development, 23/8/2017: www.momahidat.org.

48 Youssef Bin Yazah, The Achievements of the Global Feminist Movement from a Gender Perspective: A Conceptual Approach to Originality, Journal of the Researcher for Academic Studies, p. 1, March, Patna University, 2014, p. 44, 23/7/2014: www.elbahith. univ-batana-dz/

Mih Rahbi, op.cit p34.49

Ibid p33.50.

51 John Bellis and Steve Smith, Globalization Policy, Gulf Research Center, Dubai, 2004, p. 109.

citing: the names of Jihad Ragab Ismail, op.cit, p. 26. 52

53 Ibrahim Al-Nasser, Western Feminist Movement and Globalization Attempts, p. 10, 6/3/2015, <http://almoslim.net/node/82674>.

Yousef bin Yazah, op.cit . p 10.54

55 Rania Kamal, Intellectual Trends in Women's Theory, Oud Al-Nad Magazine, p 86, 22/4/2010: www.oudnad.net

Yousef bin Yazah op cit p 44. .56

P86 . Ibid. 57

Ibid p86.58.

59..Anwar Kassem Al-Khodari, The Global Feminist Movement and Its Motivations and Stages of Development, 2/10/2012: www.momahidat.org