

## **Juxtapositioning of “Honour” and Woman’s Body in Religious and Cultural Context: An Exploration of Chinoy’s "A Girl in the River"**

**Syeda Attia Bibi<sup>i</sup>    Mohammad Muazzam Sharif<sup>ii</sup>    Dr. Zubair Shafiq<sup>iii</sup>**

### **Abstract**

In a country like Pakistan, when justice is delayed and/or denied, revenge is excersied by the affectees in order to gain personal satisfaction, and/or equalibrise the harm done, regain the honour and/or avert the social shame. Elopement of a girl from home is marked as a stigma on the honour of the whole family, which consequently calls for punishment. Therefore, this study explores the perspectives of honour killing and crimes originating from similar discourses in the light of women’s body as a substitute for male honour with respect to the Sharmūn ‘ubaīd Chinoy’s "A Girl in the River". The study specifically ventures to identify that who does Chinoy hold accountable in her representation of Pakistani society for honour crimes, either she blames religion or culture, in the Oscar winning documentary A Girl in the River.

**Key Words:** A Girl in the River, Culture, Honour killing, Religion, Woman’s Body.

### **1. Introduction**

Honour in the past few decades has been a controversial topic for Pakistani social discourses. It is the one most talked about in the West with respect to Muslim cultures, however, this is a phenomenon which is not inherent to Pakistan only, non-Muslim dominated countries such as India also faces such horrendous crimes on a daily bases. The upsurge in media to honour killing in Pakistan is symptomatic of fundamental political shifts in the national as well as the international political arena. This topic is becoming even more newsworthy because of the international attention to the reported maltreatment of the roles and rights of women in the macrocosm of the internal ideological struggles of Pakistan.

The documentary under discussion, A Girl in the River is unique, as it is the discussion on the topic of honour killings in Pakistan, from a rare point of view, that is from survivor’s point of view. The documentary uncovers the story of an 18-year-old girl who becomes a victim of the horrifying rage of the family in

---

**i            M. Phil Scholar, Department of English, Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan**

**ii           Lecturer, Department of English, Abdul Wali Khan University, Mardan**

**iii          Assistant Professor, Department of Media Studies, The Islamia University of Bahawalpur**

order to “restore their familial honour”. After being shot, she is thrown into the river to die but she survives miraculously. The unique aspect of the documentary is that it is very rare to tell the story from the survivor’s perspective because in most of such cases the victims perish and justice is hardly properly implemented.

Ṣabā was resolute to fight her case but due to familial pressure and society burdening her with allegations, she finally had to drop the case with her father and uncle not stated guilty by the society or the judicial system at all. In the fear of the neighborhood ostracizing her in-laws, Ṣabā was forced to take her case back against her father.

The cultural role of a brother and a father is to protect the family; however, in the cases of honour-killing, they become the perpetrators instead. Having no economic motivation, honour-killings are triggered by the sheer desire to earn back the family’s honour, where the sole objective is to kill the member – particularly women– whose actions cause dishonor. However, there is another viewpoint that honour killing is also practiced to establish it as a deterrent force in society by making the victim as an admonitory sign of warning for others.

It is normally the loss of authority by men over women’s sexual behavior, which results in this perceived dishonor in the former. In many rural societies, where the family’s status is given priority over education, masculinity is attached to the controlling and policing of woman’s body and sexuality.

This paper intends to discover the underpinnings of this notion where the male honour becomes the embodiment of the female body. Hence any violation of the female body is the violation of male honour. This will be discovered keeping the focus on Sharmūn ‘ubāid Chinoy’s documentary about the survivor of honour killing which is a rare phenomenon in itself<sup>1</sup>.

The hard truth here is that the honour killing before was not even acknowledged as a crime and more or less pardoned. There are two sets of the population: one perceives this honour-killing as a murder and, the other conceives honour-killing as a rightful action to restore, balance, order, and honour. The latter believes that doing so minimalizes profanity. So honour killing not only attains the position of a sacred act but also makes the perpetrator a hero. In Pakistan, after the heinous crime of honour-killing, men consider their handcuffs as the symbol of masculinity and call them “Mard ka Zewar” (Man’s jewelry). Moreover, they proudly refrain from providing alibis to their actions. As a result, they become social heroes.

The true story of Ṣabā’s mistreatment, Chinoy, through the documentary, *A Girl in the River*, also highlights/tells the story of other girls who are victims of domestic violence and honour killing<sup>2</sup>.

Now after the Prime minister’s screening of the documentary, laws have come to be passed which will declare such acts as not only a crime against the victim but also a crime against the state.

Mostly, feminists are related to Western cultures; however, Muslim feminists prefer the deep-rooted dogmas of equality in Islam. Furthermore, the Islamic feminists trace the Islamic principles and compare it with the patriarchal societies.

Gender oppression is associated with the patriarchal setup, such as that of Pakistan, where patriarchy means a complete authoritative position of a male figure, that is, and the father. French (1986)<sup>3</sup> argues that women’s oppression is an integral outcome of patriarchy<sup>4</sup>.

Yāzmīn ‘Alī refers to Dodd that, in typical ‘Arab societies, there are two types of honour: Sharf and ‘ard. Sharf is the social unit of honour of a tribe as well as an individual. Sharf is an unstable variable. The position of an individual may be considered weak if he fails to attain the social unit of honour. Contrarily, the status of the same individual may strengthen if he is hospitable, generous and kind. In a nutshell, we can equate Sharf to the concept of ‘dignity’ as in the West<sup>5</sup>.

On the other hand, ‘ard is strictly associated with the honour of women only. Unlike Sharf, this variable carries only a negative connotation. If we must compare it to a Western concept, we may equate it to ‘chastity’ and ‘purity’. This behaviour is not subtle; however, it is just one way of how people justify their actions in the name of culture/tradition.

### **Problem Statement:**

Honour killing is a controversial concept deeply embedded in the culture, but nonetheless with its religious overtones tends to problematize the position taken and intention behind Chinoy’s documentary “*A Girl in the River*”<sup>6</sup>. The notion, this study tries to explore is that either Chinoy is apologetic for religion or for Pakistani cultural practices in the matter of crimes of honour killing. On which head, does she intend to put the blame for Ṣabā’s horrifying mistreatment.

### **Research Objectives**

This paper with regard to the above-mentioned documentary focuses on exploring the concept:

- To find/show Juxtapositioning of male honour with the female body
- To elaborate the concept of honour in religious and cultural context as depicted in Chinoy’s documentary, *A Girl in the River: The Price of Forgiveness*.

### **Research Questions**

The paper deals with the following research questions.

1. Who does Chinoy account responsible in her documentary for the crimes of honour, Religion or Culture and why?
2. Did culture make Şabā’s father kill her or was his violence rooted in a religious tradition that promotes such acts?

### **Significance of the Study**

The current study may help in putting out the furious debates on Chinoy’s intentions and messages whether conscious or unconscious on the selection of her targeted audience and content of the documentaries. Also, the study explores the perspectives of Islamic feminist interpretation of juxtaposition of the female body with male honour. Moreover, the religious and cultural orientation in Chinoy’s documentaries in the case of withholding the responsibility for honour killing is investigated.

## **2. Literature Review**

Honour killing is a highly culturally grounded practice hence it becomes extremely difficult to explain it with a reference to non-western cultural norms. The concept of male family members murdering the suspected female member in order to restore family honour is not a concept only familiar to Pakistani cultures.

Unni Wikan, a Norwegian anthropologist, in her book *In Honour of Fadime: Murder and Shame*, relates the same concept with respect to a Kurdish descendant Swedish immigrant family. However, the book also raises the question about the understanding of what the western concept of the word “honour” is. Such notions that the cultural traditions or shared values as opposed to rage, anger or insanity would drive a father or a brother or any male kin to murder their own daughter establishes the notion that this particular culture is evil in nature. Identifying a murderous action of an insane human being as “cultural” is simply letting them off the hook with less or no consequences. The documentary in question also deals to discover that in Pakistan similar circumstances are faced by the victims.

The discourse of honour is very controversial. It has raised certain debates in the West about the social and religious discourses of East. This topic is consistently under observation for a long time and it has stirred up some responses from both East and West equally. Pakistani Oscar-winning Documentaries of Sharmīn ‘ubāīd Chinoy, *Saving Faces* and *A Girl in the River* have received their share of equally controversial reviews. Where the Academy voters praise and gratify her efforts<sup>7</sup>, at the same time some people are offended for the documentaries being shown in the West before it could be unveiled in Pakistan, the country in which the original content of the documentaries has been set<sup>8</sup>.

A series of debates on the language used in the documentaries not being Urdu raises serious questions about Chinoy’s actual intentions regarding the issues taken up in her work, that is, whether it was to create awareness among the Pakistani masses about honour killings and similar crimes or it was only an international stunt in order to rise to international fame and award holdings or rather a self-apologetic approach towards the West for Eastern traditions. This, however, is a debate for some other time; while the study at hand discusses the discourse of honour killing dealt with in Chinoy’s documentary *A Girl in the River* and how with respect to this controversial issue she presents a distinction between Islamic stance on the issue and its comparison with the cultural social aspect of the problem. In simpler words does she blame Islam on the issue of honour killings and similar crimes or the cultural and social aspects of the victims?

The discourse of honour and honour killing, its context and factors leading to this action have been discussed before. Another study also ventures about the “Theoretical, Legal and Religious Perspectives of Honour Killing in Pakistan”<sup>9</sup>. Apart from these studies, research has also been conducted on the silence of the judicial system in Pakistan on this matter<sup>10</sup>. Western discourse about honour killing has been especially active in this regard of investigation of this matter<sup>11</sup>. Similar investigative studies respective to state’s role have also been conducted in other Muslim countries like Jordan and in a non-Muslim country such as India which might beg to differ with discourse in making honour killing a complete Muslim tradition. But at the same time, western discourses of thought can still establish honour killing as a third world issue<sup>12</sup>. However, the present study will venture in two directions in order to come to the point with reference to Pakistani society that who does Chinoy account responsible in her documentary for the crimes of honour? Was Šabā’s father bound to an ancient cultural code that gave him no choice or it was a religion that made him do such action?

The current study tries to explore the horizons of honour killing and crimes originating from similar discourses in the light of women’s body as a substitute for male honour and its accountability; whether the ball is in the court of Islām or cultural traditions and influences, in the Oscar-winning documentary of Sharmīn ‘ubāīd Chinoy<sup>13</sup>.

### **3. Research Methodology**

Keeping in view the nature of the project, qualitative research methodology is followed to find answers to the research questions. The researchers tried to find material available that is relevant to the study. Thus, an attempt has been made to collect and analyze the journals, articles, thesis and other works related to the study. As a qualitative research, subjective views and individual meanings are given importance.

For answering the questions and analyzing the data, the paper utilizes theoretical paradigms given by the Islamic feminist, Amīna Wadūd, where she questions the: Androcentric interpretations of Islamic teachings which leads to the supposed Islamic justifications of such patriarchal, cultural traditions, for instance, honour killing. Her concept of women as biology and male authority is taken up in this perspective<sup>14</sup>.

The theoretical perspective of Yāzmīn ‘Alī<sup>15</sup>, is also deployed, where she defines honour, its implications in ancient ‘Arab societies and in contemporary society as well. Similarly, Simone Beauvoir’s perception of “woman as man’s other” is also discussed with reference to the objectification and dehumanizing of a woman in cases of honour killing<sup>16</sup>.

Furthermore, West & Zimmerman’s concept of the social and cultural construction of gender is also invoked in this regard, that is, gender is a result of certainly received notions of a society. Hence gender is not essential rather it is “done”, it is the performance of gender that shapes the concept of a society regarding the notion of gender and society.

### **4. Analysis**

For a society where the murder in the name of honour killing can be forgiven, the protagonist Ṣabā had no hope of getting justice. As far as her father and uncle were concerned they were defiant, they believed that they had done the right thing by defending their honour and that they would do it again. Her father says:

“yes, I killed her. She’s my daughter and I wanted to kill her. I provided for her. How dare she defy me? How dare she go out without my permission?”

And I am ready to spend my entire life in jail because this is something I did for my honour, the honour of my family. She has shamed us”.

Previously unreported or suppressed, honour killing is brought into the limelight by the emerging media that has enabled people to talk about it openly. Honour killing, according to Mu‘azzam Sharīf “is a serious problem where the killing of the so-called offender is considered obligatory and honourable mainly as a way to avoid social shame”. It becomes obligatory on the men of the family to take revenge when the honour of the family is challenged. A similar reaction was received from her sister too. However, her mother seemed to be the only family member who seemed to have a little sympathy towards Ṣabā regarding this incident. She seemed to be the only one to consider her as a human and also to visit her after her horrifying near-death experience at the hand of her male kin.

The notion that is of intrigue here is that the attitude of Ṣabā’s father is derogative; he considered and treated her like an animal or his property. He says “I used to feed her three times a day”. He refers to her as if she is his possession or pet not acknowledging her humanity. It invokes the idea of man where he sees a woman only as biology, that is, only as a body which dehumanizes her to the status of an object which is to be possessed.

The aspect of honour killing this paper tends to discuss is, if Islam grants the women with autonomy over her body or not or is it all a result of power struggle between genders. The preview of the documentary arises certain questions such as, “Did culture make Ṣabā’s father kill her? Did he have no choice but to stick to his traditions and societal/cultural codes? Was his violence rooted in a religious tradition that promotes such acts? And most especially does Islam give women autonomy over her body. In the light of the above, Radford (1992) argues that it is the patriarchal setup, in other words, social pressure, which compels men to dominate women by obliging the former to be violent to the latter. Their dominating behavior triggered by social violence results in femicide and allows men to dominate and maintain the patriarchal setup<sup>17</sup>.

Honour, according to Wikan, is an “all or nothing phenomena” that is associated to individuals; however, it is connected to the rest of the society. It is solely the property and purview of men, inevitably linked to the behavior of women, making the bodies of women where men fight their wars. Honour becomes a subjective feeling of worth and a widely affirmed conception of public reputation more important than one’s love for his child. Similarly, in the case of

Ṣabā, her status as a daughter is undermined by her status as a vessel of family honour which objectifies her to such an extent that dehumanizes her.

Amīnā Wadūd discussing female male authority and regards that an independent woman is in a better position to guide people, particularly, her family and friends, to a better future.

When the topic of woman’s honour killing is discussed, her sexuality does come in the conversation. Yāzmīn ‘Alī addresses this controversy and argues that it is potentially fatal for woman if her life and sexual behavior challenges man’s integrity and dominancy. Violations of honor usually involve a girl or woman’s use of her sexuality in a manner that is deemed inappropriate”, which in this case of Ṣabā is her getting married without her parent’s approval. “Research shows that honor violations have included eloping, being raped and/or sexually abused, seeking a divorce, or even being alone with a male in an innocent encounter. Most frequently, male family members tend to be the people who carry out honor crimes” (‘Alī 1).

‘Alī and Wadūd both come to this conclusion that “When a male-dominated government conceals the purpose of religion for its own benefit, what remains is a system exploiting religion to justify patriarchal laws”. Hence, as a result, the male members of the family in order to strip off the women of their right to autonomy make their sexuality as a matter of male honour. As a result, they end up deciding where, when and with whom the female member of the family will use her sexuality. This is done only to achieve a sense of sexual dominance over the female. That is precisely the reason that Ṣabā’s father talks about her as if she is “his to give” as if she is not a human being rather an object or a possession who has no autonomy over her body whatsoever and on her uncle’s que she is “given” away.

Throughout the ages, women’s sexuality has been viewed as something to be controlled, hidden or mastered (and most often) by men. That is also why Ṣabā’s father consistently brings the word “ghairat” into the conversation with the interviewer, that is, he did it “for pride” and he did it “for respect”. He claims that he has done it all for his honour and his pride and even if Ṣabā survived, he proved his honour to the society by attempting to murder her, that is, now he is honour worthy (a ‘ghairātmand’ man). Hence this elaborates the fact that to him the matter of religion is not as bounding and fundamental as to what the society thinks of him. Similarly, these practices of honour killings among other cultures who have nothing to do with Islamic religious injunctions also highlights the fact



that the honour, Şabā’s father is defending in Chinoy’s documentary, is not sanctioned by Islam. We can concur that if gender is a social construct (West & Zimmerman), then honour killing is based on gender, and as a result, it also becomes a social and a cultural construct. Societies which do not share Islamic beliefs also have a similar conception of honour. This states that honour and acts regarding honour are not embedded in Pakistani culture only.

Renowned for her work on sex and gender, Ann Oakley argues that despite the fact of having biological differences between men and women, the discriminating in the upbringing of women – as sexual slaves or inferior beings – is a serious crime, which hinders the complete development of the women’s psyche as well as her attitude to cope with life. She asserts that the gender of an individual is a result of social and cultural conceptions similar to Judith Butler’s discussion of gender performativity<sup>18</sup>.

Oakley opines that a socially constructed gender is the outcome of fundamental sex which is biologically based. This ‘gender’ had to be learned by (younger) individuals and taught by (older) individuals. Şabā’s gender and sexuality are constructed for her by her society. She has no right on her body and autonomy over herself, and as a result, she must remain as an obedient daughter who is her “father’s to give as he fed her three times a day”. The social concept of marriage and the religious concept of “walī” is so distorted and misinterpreted that women’s consent in marriage has become a completely unnecessary part of marriage.

Men’s desire for dominating women rests on the former’s lust for power, which results in gender oppression of women; as evident from the theories on the subject at hand. In the end, it all comes down to hierarchies and power structures. In this process of domination, an inferior role is thrust upon the weaker party so as to assure authority. So in order to identify oneself as insignificant “other” is formed which leads to the dehumanization of this other which in this case is the woman other, to the man’s self. This is a mechanism of the superior’s coercion and essentially the refusal to recognize the subordinate’s autonomy<sup>19</sup>.

Gender oppression theorists argue that women’s situation is centrally that of being dominated and oppressed by me<sup>20</sup>. So even though Şabā got married to the man that at first her own father selected for her, her actions become controversial not because she is living out of wedlock or illegitimately with her husband but only because her father changed his mind and Şabā still went through

it. If she is his to give he may give her to anyone he desires regardless of her consent because this is the fundamental characteristic of his dominant position as the man of the family. So, in her father’s mind, she must face the consequences because she defied his commands and made him feel lesser of a man in front of the rest of male kin, who will contempt and ridicule him on not being able to control the “female bodies” of his family.

Patriarchy mainly consists of gender inequality and gender differences. Similar to the survival of the fittest theory, patriarchy is the game of the superiority of men over women. In this, the stronger, that is, man, dominates the weak, that is, woman; the former can go to any extent to maintain this status quo, hence patriarchy; therefore, evidently, gender inequality and gender oppression become the tenets of patriarchy. Hence if honour killing involves and supports a hierarchy of sexes then it is not a result of Islamic religious injunctions but the social patriarchal overtones which were present way before the advent of Islam. Wadūd describes that the strong and brutal patriarchal underpinnings of ancient ‘Arab society are one of the core causes that led to the androcentric interpretation of Qurānic verses and teachings. Furthermore, patriarchy is a global phenomenon and is not restricted to one region/culture. However, Islam, then and now, condemns the Pre-Islamic practice of female genocides and killings.

Since beginning, women have faced oppositions as evident from these Pre-Islamic rituals. In recent increase in violence against women, it seems that people have forgotten the message of Islam and Qurān against the killing and maltreatment of women. Hence Qurān does not portray them as cattle or things rather fully functioning human beings. Islam grants women an independent identity and stipulates that just like men, women are also responsible for their own actions. Shaikh Aḥmad Kutty, a renowned Islamic scholar at the Islamic Institute of Toronto, Ontario, Canada, opines that honour killing does not exist in Islam. In Islam, every individual is highly and equally important. He further relates that if Islam does not permit killing of an innocent human, likewise, it does not permit killing for honour. Islam condemns taking law in one’s own hands.

Also, another esteemed scholar Shaikh ‘Aṭīyyah Saqr, former head of Al-Azhar Fatwa Committee, states, “Like all other religions, Islam strictly prohibits murder and killing without legal justification”.

Ṣaddāwī also reinforces the same concept that the oppression faced by women is “not essentially due to religious ideologies but derives its roots from the class and patriarchal system<sup>21</sup>.” Hence society plays a huge role in the committing of honour killing. Ṣabā also wanted to take her father and uncle to court for their

brutal murderous action, but due to social pressures, she has to take her case back which logically makes the situation worse for her as her attempted murderers are free to torment her again.

Bouhdiba discusses in her book *Sexuality in Islam* that there is indeed a “hierarchy of sexes”<sup>22</sup>, hence “married life, then, is hierarchized”. She further describes that the concept such as “indeed the primacy of man over woman is total and absolute. Woman proceeds from man. The woman is chronologically secondary. She finds her finality in man. She is made for her pleasure, his repose, his fulfillment”. This perception of women led to the naturalization of criminalizing actions like Honour killing.

### **5. Concluding remarks:**

The questions that are answered by this discussion are that Chinoy does not present Islam as the offending cause behind the horror of honour killing in her documentary under discussion; rather this brutal practice is strongly grounded in culture. Wadūd’s discussion on the issue of woman’s autonomy gives the insight that Islam does not disregard woman consent on matters regarding her body but the cultural and patriarchal overtones of society strip off her of rights to make decisions about her body leaving her as an object in the hands of the patriarchs of the family and the society. However, society has a misconception about the concepts of honour and religion being intertwined somehow. When Ṣabā’s father disregards his Qurān vow he took in front of Ṣabā’s in-laws for her safety, it diminishes that he had any regard for religion whatsoever. It was a matter of social face savings and cultural honour. Ṣabā’s case is a result of a cultural crime which has no whatsoever groundings in the Qurān and Islam. It is established through the above discussion also that Honour killing is a pre-Islamic practice. However such horrific crimes have no doubt to be prosecuted in the same seriousness which is intensified with the effect it's having on culture and society.

### **References**

- 1 Link for the documentary: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=enaJUDGt5TM>
- 2 Sharīf, Mua‘zzam. “Hamlet in Pakistan”. University of Southampton, 2017.
- 3 French, Marilyn. *Beyond Power: On Women, Men and Morals*. NY: Random House Publishing, 1986. e-book.
- 4 West, Candace/ Zimmermann, Don H.: “Doing Gender”. In: *Gender and Society*, vol 1. no 2, 1987, pp 125-151.
- 5 Dodd, Peter C. “Family Honor and the Forces of Change in ‘Arab Society.” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1973, pp. 40–54.
- 6 Fatiḥ, Navratan Singh. “Honour killing. Graduate Department of Law, University of Toronto.” University of Toronto, 2012, pp. 1–2

- 7 Correspondent, Special. “Pakistani Documentarian Sharmīn ‘ubaīd Chinoy Blazes a Trail with Oscar.” The Nation. N.p., 27 Feb. 2012.
- 8 Riḍvī, Aḥmad Ḥussain “Why I Won’t Celebrate Sharmīn ‘ubaīd Chinoy’s Oscar Win”. The Nation. N.p., n.d. Web. 07 Mar. 2016
- 9 Zia Ullah, “Honour killing in Pakistan under Theoretical, Legal and Religious Perspectives”. Department of Global Politics Studies, Malmo University, 2010, pp 1-4.
- 10 Iqbal, Muḥafar. “Honour killing and Scilence of Justice System in Pakistan. Lund University”. Center for East and Southeast Asian studies, Lund University, 2007.
- 11 Haile, Jane. “Honour killing its Causes and Consequences: Suggested Strategies for the European Parliament”. European parliament, 2007.
- 12 Singhal, V. K. “Honour killing in India: An Assessment”. Deptt. of Political Science, C. C. S. University, Meerut, n.d. pp 1-5.
- 13 "She Survived An 'Honor Killing': Oscar-Winning Documentary Airs Tonight." NPR One. Web. 25 Dec. 2016.
- 14 Wadūd, Amīna. Qurān and Woman Re-Reading the Sacred Text from a Woman’s Perspective. 2nd ed. New York, New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.
- 15 ‘Alī, Yāzmīn. “Honour, the State and its implication: An Examination of Honour killing in Jordan and the Efforts of Local Activities”. Auburn University. 2008. pp 1-3
- 16 Barlas, Asmā., “Believing Women” in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Qurān. University of Texas Press, 2002. Print
- 17 Ja’farī, ‘Amir. H. Honour killing: Dilemma, Ritual, Understanding. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008.
- 18 Oakley, Ann. Sex, Gender and Society. London: Temple Smith. 1972.
- 19 Beauvoir, Simone De. The second sex. New York. Knopf, 1953. Print.
- 20 Ritzer, George and Douglas J. Goodman. Sociological Theory. 6th ed, New York: McGraw-Hill, 2003.
- 21 Ṣaddāwī, Nawal El. The Hidden Face of Eve: Women in the ‘Arab World. London: Zed Books, 1980.
- 22 Bouhdiba, Abdelwahab. Sexuality in Islam. London. Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985.