

nurses, preparing food, and raising soldiers. In Kuwait, the metaphor is rather similar. Conditions for women's citizenship have changed according to the state's economic imperatives. According to Tétreault, violence against women increased in Kuwait after the Gulf War due to the weak and divided front of Kuwaiti women's organizations vis-à-vis the strong Islamist front that has combated women's rights. Finally, Doumato explains in chapter ten how the conservative Saudi elites have used public education forums to further gender segregation. This segregation is clearly evidenced in the ninety-five percent unemployment rate for females compared to eighteen percent for males (250-1). However, the economic hardship felt in Saudi Arabia after the 1980s has encouraged women's participation in the labor force in its private and public sectors.

Despite its economic policies' focus, this book is of interest to historians, sociologists, political scientists, and women studies specialists. In the international development field, this book offers an illustration of the complexity of outcomes harvested from structural adjustment programs.

### **Resistance, Repression and Gender Politics in Occupied Palestine and Jordan**

Frances Hasso. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005. xxxii+216 pp, including works cited and index. \$24.95 (paper). ISBN 0-8156-3087-5.

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Many scholars have examined the role of women in the Palestinian resistance movement, while others have studied the protest strategies of the various parties and groups represented in the struggle. However, none have attempted the kind of amalgamation of gender theory and social movement theory demonstrated in Frances Hasso's historicized ethnography of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP) and its most influential women's organization, the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees (PFWAC). Due to her personal experience with the PFWAC during and after the first Palestinian Intifada, through interviews with current and former partisans, and through examination of policy papers and other documents, Hasso deftly demonstrates the way in which political field opportunities, techniques of mobilization, and party ideology affected female participation in DFLP branches in Jordan,

the Occupied Territories, Lebanon, Syria, and Kuwait. This much-needed contribution to the field helps explain the importance of the relationship between state and movement, inside and outside, leaders and partisans, and men and women, not only for women's issues but in the continuing struggle for Palestinian autonomy.

Hasso brings to the fore the role of DFLP ideology in allowing women to rise to leadership positions in the organization, asserting that the party's Marxist Leninist tradition, liberal intellectualism, and rejection of traditionalism provided a more open space for women partisans. However, she also acknowledges the importance of political field conditions and mobilizing strategies for creating space for women's participation. In comparing the vastly influential women's movement in the Occupied Territories with a limited role for women in Jordan, Hasso notes that Israeli tolerance of women's organizations allowed the female partisans of the DFLP in the Occupied Territories more flexibility to organize grassroots movements, which were supported by the party's commitment to peaceful resistance and eschewing of violence. Secondly, the lack of direct communication and control of the Occupied Territories branch of the Democratic Front by the Central Office and the women's ability to raise money from international donors allowed them to pursue their agenda without a great deal of interference from the leadership in exile. Thus, Hasso demonstrates how the realities on the ground allowed women to take control of various initiatives of resistance.

Perhaps the most innovative and interesting part of Hasso's study concerns the DFLP women's group, the Palestinian Federation of Women's Action Committees, founded in the Occupied Territories in the late 1970s. The committees were originally conceived as a single-sex grassroots movement to get rural women involved in the struggle for Palestinian liberation, through education, marches, and protests. However, it soon became clear to the female leadership of the organization that women's issues proved just as, if not more, important than the nationalist struggle. Therefore, the leaders "reformulated the organization's program, suggesting that partisans shift from a utilitarian nationalist strategy for the mobilization of women to a deeper nationalist-feminist orientation based on field experience and evaluation" (71). The women did not directly challenge the male-dominated structure but worked with women in literacy programs and income-generating projects, attempting

to convey to them a sense of self-worth and skills that would allow them to support themselves and their families to some degree. As Hasso states, "PFWAC attempted to empower women, rupture their isolation in their homes and redefine their traditional work even as it taught them skills and provided services that arguably reinforced the gendered division of labor" (78). The PFWAC also allowed women flexibility because it did not require members to become partisans of the DFLP and it ignored calls for great indoctrination of women with party ideology. These tactics allowed the PFWAC to become one of the most influential grassroots organizations in the Occupied Territories in the 1980s. By 1987, approximately two to three percent of women were members of the PFWAC, ten percent used the services, and fifteen to twenty percent were in some way involved in their activities (26).

However, Hasso indicates that this type of success merely exacerbated the attacks of male partisans, both inside and outside the party, who argued women's issues were a social problem that would be addressed once the political issue of a Palestinian state was solved. However, as Hasso clearly shows, the first intifada and the period of Palestinian state building that followed led to more constraints on women's participation and a jettisoning of women's issues from the political arena. As she explains in the book's second part, "From Intifada to Fragmentation," the intifada caused more control to be asserted on DFLP branches by the Central Office as the party struggled for power with Yasir Arafat's Fateh and other parties. She shows that in the early 1990s, the DFLP was feminized and delegitimated by other parties for its nonviolence and the prevalence of women in its upper ranks. Thus, the leadership chose to move away from both. In that women became excluded from the leadership, they also became excluded from the narrative of the movement. Despite the participation of women on all levels during the intifada, the Unified National Leadership of the Uprising avoided gender and women's issues in their communiqués. This narrative reinforced the idea that the intifada was carried out by men with the support of women (122). This pattern continued as women were systematically excluded from positions of power in the PLO and the Palestinian Authority throughout the 1990s.

In that Frances Hasso's experience in the PFWAC allows her to speak so clearly and distinctly to the condition of women in resistance

movements in Occupied Palestine, one weakness of the book is its tendency to attempt to deal with the larger history of the DFLP, including its historic rise, development in Jordan and the Occupied Territories, and its eventual fragmentation following the first intifada. While this chronology provides useful context for the discussion of women, it does so to the detriment of a more thorough discussion of the gender issues and social movement theory that provides the meat of the book. Given the author's extensive use of secondary sources, her detailed interviews with both male and female partisans, and her unique experience on the ground, one expects more depth, more elucidation, more analysis of the topic that makes this account distinct and, along with works such as Sondra Hale's *Gender Politics in Sudan* and Elizabeth Thompson's *Colonial Citizens*, lays the foundation for those of us interested in studying the way in which women shape themselves and their world.

### Mona L. Russell

Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education and National Identity 1863-1922. Palgrave, Macmillan, 2004.

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It is not new to observe that in the area of Middle Eastern studies, the field of consumer and cultural studies is suffering from a great neglect. Cultural studies are picking up slowly in our part of the world, but Arab academics still mistakenly consider consumer studies as a trivial field. No doubt, the sociology of consumerism in the Middle East still is to come, but exceptions are the recent works (nevertheless in English) of Deniz Kandiyoti and Ayse Saktanber on Turkey and Walter Armbrust's edited volume, both of which deal pertinently with consumer culture and modernity. Nancy Young Reynolds' unpublished thesis on consumption from 1910 until 1960 suggests how significant a role consumption played in nationalist articulations with the issue of the boycott of foreign goods and the dumping of local products, by focusing on the history of department stores in Cairo, which she studied from the angle of the evolution of Egyptian cosmopolitanism in commerce and consumption. However, I have not come across any in-depth sociological or historical studies in the Arabic language that tackle the cultural effects of globalization on Egyptian consumerist attitudes.