INFORMATION TO USERS

THE VEILED OTHER:

THE IMPACT OF GENDER AND CULTURE

ON

INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL THEORY

by

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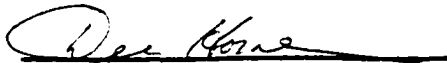
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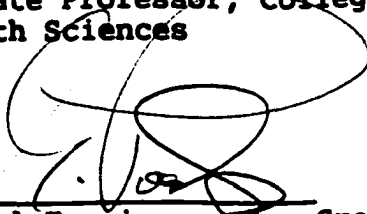
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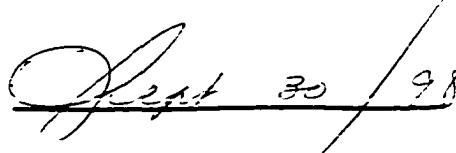
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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I propose that traditional International Relations theory oversimplifies the international political system. An examination of some of the basic dichotomies which ground International Relations theory, such as domestic/international and nation/state, reveals that they may not be as clear cut as previously thought. The primacy of the state, the construction of nation and the concept of citizenship are explored in this context. The Islamic veil illustrates how a gendered cultural symbol is constructed into a metaphor for difference. A feminist reading of Orientalism, along with insights from postcolonial discourse, shows the impact of difference on the state, the nation and on individuals. Empirical evidence of these processes is illustrated through images of veiled Muslim women as they occur in contemporary Western popular culture. I conclude that gender and culture must be incorporated into theory if International Relations is to achieve its goal of explaining and understanding global political phenomena.

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PREFACE

This thesis is a critique of traditional International Relations theory or realism. Traditional theory or realism can be characterized by four main assumptions:

1) the state is the most important actor at the international level.
2) the state is a unitary actor
3) states act in a rational manner in the best interests of their citizens
4) within the hierarchy of issues states grapple with, national security is the most important.

I wanted to do a critique because I conclude that traditional International Relations theory oversimplifies the international system. I believe that the social dimension of international political interaction is overlooked in realism. I also consider that the dichotomies which are basic to traditional International Relations theory, state/nation, public/private, and international/domestic are not as clear cut as they might at first seem. Finally, I wanted to explore feminist and postcolonial literature to see what they could contribute to my understanding of international phenomena.

My critique initially centred on two factors; gender and culture. But as I progressed in this project I realized that these factors illuminate the agency of the individual and that conversely looking at how individuals act politically/internationally, yields information on the dynamics of gender and culture. So I decided to look at all three factors.

However, I did hesitate and considered limiting my study to gender and culture because as I explored the literature I saw why scholars have considered one or another of these factors rather than attempting more comprehensive studies. It is simpler! However, since I was criticizing the oversimplification of theory, I resisted the urge to simplify my study. I decided to formulate a study which would highlight how gender, culture and the individual intersect, to achieve my goal of better theory.

There were other reasons why I decided to go ahead. There is substantial literature on each of these factors. I was interested in exploring the relationships between these factors and how they twine together. And, most importantly, I was unable to find literature that dealt with these factors in such a way as to fulfil what I see as the goal of International Relations theory, which is explaining and understanding international political processes and events.

How to frame a study which would allow me to pull the "threads" of my critique together? Perhaps because I am a

visual learner or because I spent too much time in front of the TV when I was a kid I became interested in the idea of looking at symbols and their impact in the political arena. Symbols reflect the culture they are created in, they are most often gendered, they are created and manipulated to send specific messages, and they can signify different things at the same time.

Once I decided to look at symbols, the question became: How can I set up a study of a symbol which would illustrate the need to incorporate gender and culture into International Relations theory?

I concluded that in order to do this, I had to answer the following questions : Why are symbols created into emblems of difference between states? How are meanings ascribed to these symbols? And, what role does the individual play in the creation, maintenance, manipulation of these symbols?

Thus, I had to choose a symbol and a method of analysis which would facilitate the exploration of how symbols get their meanings. The symbol I chose to consider is the Islamic veil and the method of analysis I use is conceptual metaphor.

Conceptual metaphor is traditionally associated with linguistics but in a broader context it is used to identify and understand how we use gendered cultural concepts to order our universe - to make sense of the world around us.

Metaphor is not simply a way of describing something, but more, it is a way of describing something in terms of something else. I use conceptual metaphor to explain the processes, contexts and history of why, when we see a particular symbol, it calls to mind a whole range of associations - associations that do not necessarily have anything to do with the item itself. That is why, in this paper, I do not differentiate between different types of Islamic coverings. I use veil to include the hijab or headscarf, the chador and other types of Islamic coverings.

The body of my thesis includes a critique of traditional theory and its treatment of gender, culture and the individual. Then through a discussion of postcolonial theory and a feminist interpretation of Orientalism I contemplate how the veil is constructed into a metaphor of difference in the West where the veiled woman is conceptualized as the embodiment of exoticism, eroticism, mystery, timelessness, backwardness, oppression, loathing, fear, religious fanaticism, political extremism and terrorist activity. I also consider the political implications of how meanings that have been ascribed to the veil impact on individuals, especially when these meanings are acted upon.

What did I learn by studying sexualized images of that which is created Other? What is there to understand from considering the images of veiled women found in movies, on

television, in an example of children's literature, some
school books and selected newspapers?

I found that constructions of difference epitomized
through the gendered cultural symbol of the veil affect the
political sphere. I learned that women who wear the veil
are constructed into markers of difference and that this
affects their lives as they live in "our" neighbourhoods,
attend "our" schools and walk "our" streets.

Students who choose to wear the veil are sent home from
publicly funded schools in Quebec. Because they do not
conform to the collective national identity of the
sovereigntist Quebec government these women are denied their
citizenship rights in the form of access to education.

I learned that when veiled women are portrayed as the
embodiment of that which is foreign, the hierarchy between
those identified as "us" and those identified with "them" is
maintained and reinforced.

When veiled women are constructed into markers of
Other, they are denied their identity as women, and are
recognized only as members of their cultural group. For
example the Canadian policy on multiculturalism does not
recognize the special concerns of ethnic women. This
official position bolsters the construction of veiled women
into a metaphor of anti-western extremism.

The metaphors of the veil illustrate how vulnerable
women are when they are perceived to be out of place in the

public sphere. Disguised behind anti-fundamentalist remarks, the legacy of imperialist discourse, which used women as pawns to demonstrate power over the Other, continues to this day. In Canada, veiled women are told that because they wear the veil, and because it is a symbol of oppression, if they chose to wear it they are not welcome in the Canadian "home".

The gendered politics of boundary making and the sexualized nature of national identity are thrown into sharp relief when images of that which is created Other are used to rationalize continuing unequal relationships of power. Similarly, images of veiled women are used in the West to deliberately disguise the position of all women. Thus the veil is used to mask the gendered nature of power relations between and within western states behind the rhetoric of Orientalist discourse. In seeking to find evidence that supports the progressive image Western countries have created for themselves, the East is again denigrated and devalued.

My goal in writing this thesis was proving that gender and culture must be included in International Relations theory. How does this study contribute to this goal?

1) In this thesis I present an analysis of metaphor framed within a feminist analysis of Orientalist discourse and postcolonial theory. I found that international politics is

affected by symbolic discourses where race is gendered and gender is racialized. This suggests that traditional theory neglects variables which are significant to the understanding of events in the international arena.

2) My use of conceptual metaphor allows us to see how symbols become signifiers of power. This permits speculation about how unequal relationships of power are maintained in the international sphere. In addition, conceptual metaphor and what it tells us about the culture creating the metaphor, exposes the hierarchical thinking of traditional International Relations theory which values the international over the domestic and the public sphere over the private.

3) I also demonstrate that traditional understandings of how and why states interact are incomplete. Realism does not explain the "social" world, the space in which you and I and the veiled woman down the street live. If we open up theory to individual identity, we also open the door to considering what is stake for the state in the production of nationalist ideology.

In the conclusion I consider how a realist might scoff and say that an exploration of the images of veiled women is unrealistic and obscure and even too frivolous to be taken seriously in International Relations. After all realists

would have us believe that it is a hard, harsh and very cold world out there. However, as I consider the potential explanatory value of other ways of thinking and knowing on international political theory, an analysis of sexualized imagery is not what some realists might call "wide-eyed idealism". I submit that this thesis is a step towards better theory.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

How do people live their lives together on this planet
we call earth? What are the forces that guide our
interaction, our attempts at cooperation, our failures
called wars? International Relations as a discipline
addresses such questions. Balance of power politics, the
relations between and among states, economic relations and
terrorist activity are all components of International
Relations.

Theory guides International Relations scholars in their
investigations by providing mechanisms for explaining,
understanding and predicting global incidents and events
(Couloumbis and Wolfe 1990; Hollis and Smith 1991). Four
basic assumptions ground the traditional realist approach to
International Relations theory. First, the state is the
principal or most important actor on the world scene;
second, states are unitary actors interacting with the
outside world as an integrated unit; third, states act
rationally; and lastly, within the hierarchy of
international issues, national security is most important
(Viotti and Kauppi 1993).

Given the diversity of issues studied it is reasonable
to expect that how these concerns and occurrences are

investigated would be diverse as well[1]. However, even though some schools of thought dispute the unitary nature of the state, grant agency to non-state actors, and seek to expand the definition of security, the traditional realist state-centric paradigm continues to exert influence over models of international decision-making and behaviour (Beckman 1994). It is this traditional inclination that I address in this thesis.

My belief that traditional International Relations oversimplifies the international political system was confirmed one evening in a trendy Vancouver restaurant. A sudden hesitation in the noise level caused heads to turn and voices to still. An extended family was being seated and while they chatted gaily to each other, the room around them hushed. Within seconds the momentary quiet was drowned by the renewed hubbub of voices and kitchen noises. As I considered what occurred, I was forcefully struck at the thought that the hijab[2]-wearing women in that group were at the root of the room's brief disquiet.

Without a doubt, international politics intruded into a Vancouver restaurant that evening, in a real, immediate, and momentarily threatening way. The veil, the potent symbol of Islam for the West, and the women wearing it, invaded our collective consciousness and affirmed the relationship between the personal and the international.

However, within the confines of traditional theory, this incident is not worthy of consideration beyond the anecdotal since it occurred in the private world of personal experience. Realists regard International Relations as a discipline concerned with the high politics of international order occupied exclusively with trade, war, official decision-makers, academics, soldiers and kings (Sylvester 1996). However, Cynthia Enloe (1993) entreats us to shift the focus of political theory so we might see what is really happening "out there." She maintains that International Relations theory needs to create an intellectual space where the impact of international events on daily lives and the influence of the individual on the international system is assessed. If we consider international events from the perspective of the individual, the inclusion of gendered cultural identities into theoretical models becomes possible.

International Relations scholars have suggested that a number of dichotomies embedded in traditional theory reduce its explanatory power[3]. The dichotomies identified include the separation between the international/domestic realms, state/non-state actors, public/private spheres, high/low politics, and political/cultural processes. Further, the body of literature on the masculinized nature of International Relations' theoretical foundations suggests that different explanatory methods would produce

emancipatory and enhanced explanations for international political interaction⁴. This thesis follows in this lively tradition of debate and critique which explores other modes of thinking and explaining. My hope is that this work will lead to increased understanding as we grapple with the environmental, social, economic and political challenges of the new millennium.

The episode in Vancouver lends urgency to my interest in the potential explanatory value of gender and culture to the understanding of international political events. Individuals and states are involved in image making. Conversely, states and individuals react to images. In this thesis I address traditional theory's treatment of gender and culture through an investigation of the Islamic veil. This allows me to speculate on the impact of gendered cultural signifiers on international decision-making. I also comment on the interconnections between the international/domestic and public/private spheres as they yield insight into the agency of the individual at the international level.

The challenge in structuring a study which has as its intent the inclusion of new variables into theory is substantial. The goal is to develop generalizations about these variables, so that they may become part of international theoretical modelling. Implicit in this is the need for an approach which permits reflection on gender

and culture beyond the specificity of particular cultural contexts. This thesis represents an initial effort toward this goal.

There is a wealth of ethnographic studies concerned with the various historical and cultural contexts of veiling[5]. However, in order to diffuse the rhetoric surrounding the wearing of the veil and its identification with fundamentalist Islamic states, I decided on a more general approach. In this thesis I assess how integral the veil is to the construction of metaphors which represent the feminized Other in order to demonstrate the connections between the public and private spheres and the role that gendered cultural symbols play in the construction and maintenance of unequal power relationships.

In order to accomplish this, I decided to study the veil's meanings as articulated in the West. I use conceptual metaphor to analyze Western representations of the veil because it permits the evaluation of the impact of gender and culture on individuals as they negotiate the margins between the domestic nation and the international state. Metaphor also helps to expose the invisibility of gendered power relations in traditional International Relations by highlighting how the veil has been constructed into a symbol of difference in the West.

I demonstrate that the metaphorical meanings attributed to the gendered cultural signifier, the Islamic veil,

whether or not they are an accurate reflection of Muslim women's reality, shed light on the processes involved in international decision-making. Lazreg (1994) maintains that while social science may not be perfect, it is the quality of the question that determines the viability of the answer. Thus, how can I, a Westerner working within the frame of Western social science, shed light on the reality behind the veil? My assumption is that if I assess the impact of the veil as a gendered cultural symbol on the international political system, I will be able to speculate on the gendered nature of power relationships and the sexualized discourse of national identity. For the purposes of this paper I use Fiske's definition of discourse as a "conversation or political dialogue between unequal parties, with the superordinate party holding the resources - economic, human, and cultural - that determine the context and the content of the discourses" (1996:87).

Chapter two provides examples of how the veil has become incorporated into Western popular culture. It proceeds with a feminist critique of the traditional International Relations perspective and concludes with an exploration of the concepts of nation and citizenship. Chapter three considers the construction of difference and describes the use of conceptual metaphor as an analytical method. In this chapter Said's (1979) Orientalism and Mutman's (1993) feminist reading of the discourse of

difference informs a discussion on the creation of nation and how individuals intersect with the state. Chapter four is devoted to the presentation and analysis of selected images of the veil. In the conclusion, I consider the implications of incorporating gender and culture into international political theory. I also speculate on areas of further research that are required to achieve International Relations theory's goal of understanding and explaining international political events (Hollis and Smith 1991).

CHAPTER TWO

The Veil in Western Popular Culture

Why is a veiled woman chosen to epitomize immigrant women in Canada in Robert Munsch's book entitled From Far Away (Fig.1)? Why does a fashionable Granville Island art gallery exhibiting paintings of ethnic women prominently display a painting of veiled Tuareg women (Fig.2)? Why does a compact disc of traditional Algerian folk songs packaged for the European market have veiled women on the jacket (Fig.3)? Why should a trip to the grocery store be punctuated by an encounter with a veiled woman looking out at me from a box of couscous (Fig.4)? Why does Jean-Paul Gaultier, the fashion designer, integrate the veil into one of his creations (Fig.5)? And, why is it that news reports of Islamic terrorists invariably include a wailing woman wearing the veil (Tremonti 1997)?

I return to some of these images in detail in chapter four to propose that these types of images construct the veiled Muslim woman into a public symbol of Islam. In chapter four I also illustrate that one ramification of the blurring of public and private spheres is to position the individual at the centre of a new discourse where the traditional lines between the domestic and the international

spheres are erased. First, however, I demonstrate why a study of the veil is of value to International Relations theorists.

There many examples which illustrate how images of veiled Muslim women demonstrate a pervasiveness of shared meanings in the West (Kahf 1994). In England a school girl, upset by lewd and sexually suggestive remarks directed towards her veiled body, decides to express her piety in other ways (Alibhai-Brown 1994). In Australia Muslim women are told to take off their veils before going to job interviews. Apparently it makes prospective employers uncomfortable and their chances of getting jobs are increased if they are not veiled (Pegler 1994). In France the citizenship claims of North African immigrants pivot on a furious national debate over the wearing of religious headscarves in French secular schools (Woodhull 1993; Moruzzi 1994; Jasser 1995). In Toronto a young girl is called "terrorist" by her classmates when she wears her hijab to school ("Religious scarf can set young women apart" 1994). In Quebec during the run up to a referendum on provincial sovereignty, the controversy over hijab-wearing school girls sparks a debate over the religious rights of immigrants (Block 1994; Leclerc 1994; "Veiled threats in Quebec" 1994; Norris 1994).

The large number and diversity of examples of veiled women represented in Western popular culture provides

compelling evidence that particular meanings associated with Muslim women affect thinking, structure interactions, and dictate responses. The apparent Western fascination with the veil is not merely a coincidence but stems from the incorporation of the veil into the Western conceptual system. By analysing images of the veiled Muslim woman found in Western popular culture I speculate about the processes involved in the formation of identity and how gendered ways of thinking impact on the concepts of Self and Other, friend and foe, which are so critical to International Relations theory (Blaney and Inayatullah 1994).

The Primacy of the State

According to a number of theorists, the legacy of the Enlightenment underpins realist assumptions about the primacy of the state. The state is at the heart of classical International Relations theory where its primacy is rarely queried and theorizing about the international political system starts from this point (Couloumbis and Wolfe 1990; Pettman 1996; Inayatullah and Blaney 1996).

As Tickner understands it, the centrality of the state is based on assumptions about human nature that "are partial and that privilege masculinity" (1988:431). This view of the state is further institutionalized by theory's failure

to recognize that gender relations do not exist apart from
other power relations. As Enloe states, this concept
reinforces the presumption that the centre is indisputably
at the hub of political activity and that margins occur
naturally and further that they are naturally silent
(1996:188).

States define themselves by designating, regulating,
and administering boundaries. They actively engage in
constructing the public versus private divide, in order to
maintain control over who benefits from belonging, and under
what conditions belonging occurs. However, the image of the
rational logical decision-making entity collapses when we
consider that the existence of states is conditional on the
selection of a course of action which ensures its continued
power. If we accept Pettman's hypothesis that states are
"historical and contingent" (1996:7) we can subvert the
theoretical underpinnings which guide traditional
International Relations scholarship. Further, in
recognizing the contingency of states we highlight the
exaggerated simplicity of realist theory where peripheries
are unacknowledged.

Realist theory is a mechanism of explanation,
understanding and prediction which includes, as part of its
framework, the ethical and functional scope under which
scholarship is assumed. Smith points out that while
positivist epistemology is now largely rejected as a

methodological approach, it nevertheless continues to play a significant role in International Relations where science is regarded as "the only true form of knowledge" (1996:14).

Positivist ideology establishes a specific vision of relationships between man and the natural environment. The characterization of the state of nature as chaotic and the positioning of the sovereign state as imposer of order is an example of this. As nature came to be identified as a site of disorder, the sovereign state gained authority because its role as orderer reimposed "the balance that nature was once seen to provide" (Runyan 1992:123). Women and people of colour, like nature, provide the symbolic justification for the political authority of the state. In this way they become examples of the imposition of order onto chaos as exemplified by the state's civilizing function.

Western political thought thus, is a parable constructed around the body of the Other where difference, defined as natural and symbolized as female, is the object of fear which must be suppressed (Haraway 1989). Further, the state represents and mediates the production of white, Western, patriarchal culture where androcentric metaphors of Other are integral to its identity (Runyan 1992).

The idea that the truth is 'out there' for us to discover determines how research is formulated and conducted. The assumption that social behaviour exhibits regular and observable patterns has positioned empirical

validation as the hallmark of enquiry where assertions are
deemed credible only if based on directly observed and
corroborated experience. Observed facts are valued as true
knowledge while unmeasurable intangibles like emotions are
dismissed from the construction of truth.

However, if we position the concept of the state within
a historical and contextual framework we can challenge
assumptions about the universality of the state and the
inevitability of a state-centric international system. As
number of feminists have shown, assessment of the gendered
assumptions underlying the concept of the state reveals the
presence of value-laden presumptions about Otherness which
privilege a partial, masculine and Western model of
international political theory (Tickner 1988, 1992; Peterson
1993; Sylvester 1996; Pettman 1996).

What this thesis proposes is a reformulation of what
constitutes relevant knowledge. I suggest that
international politics should be studied from a
multidisciplinary perspective. In this thesis I apply
postcolonialism[6] to my critique of traditional international
political theory since interaction between East and West,
North and South, and have and have not nations, is now a
pronounced feature of international affairs. However,
formulating new ways of knowing are impossible unless we
also embrace new sources of evidence and different methods
of data-gathering found outside the discipline. Darby

(1997a) points out that traditional International Relations' distaste of non-conventional sources reflects and reinforces an academic tradition which ignores issues of social transformation (Darby 1997a). This hierarchical valuing of public versus private, which results in the relegation of the private sphere to the domestic arena, is frustrating since my goal is the problematization of the social in realist theory. My use of other theoretical approaches and methods of data gathering in this thesis stems from my concern about traditional International Relations' understandings about gender and culture and the way these are positioned outside the scope of the international (Enloe 1993, 1996; Pettman 1996; Inayatullah and Blaney 1996).

However, it is not simply a matter of adding gender and culture to traditional International Relations theory as if these are merely contingent influences on the leadership of sovereign states. As Lapid notes, there are great risks involved in incorporating culture and gender into International Relations "... without a corresponding move away from categorical, essentialist, and unitary understandings of these concepts" (1996a:8). Indeed, the projection of masculine characteristics onto the behaviour of states is what allows realists to assert that women subjected to the same circumstances as men, would ultimately make the same decisions as male leaders (Beckman 1994). Similarly, Samuel Huntington's (1993) state-centric

framework for investigating the role of culture in the international sphere yields no new insights into the social world which states inhabit. Huntington maintains that the world population can be broken down into a number of specific cultural groups and that these will replace state as the proponents in world conflict. He suggests that the traditional rivalries presently found between states, identified mainly by economic or ideological factors, will be replaced by conflict between cultural groups. Although he endows civilizations with many of the same characteristics as states, he does not address how or why civilizations will avoid conflict over these issues. Also, in building his analysis Huntington essentializes the dynamics of the social world into a generalized definition of culture. In doing this he fails to account for the reality of multicultural populations found within state borders and the globalized nature of contemporary economic relations. I am not alone in my opinion. Lapid (1996a), for example views Huntington's thesis on the clash of civilizations as a mere rehash of power politics under different labels.

The milieu in which International Relations developed as a separate academic discipline originated in the tumultuous years after the European wars[7]. Traditional modes of diplomatic savoir-faire, having brought the world to the brink of disaster, were seen by realists as

inadequate to the task of manoeuvring within the realities
of a new international order. Characterized by a liberal
and optimistic political leadership, which focused on the
ideal of world peace through co-operation, the political
strategies of the inter-war era were seen as a failure by
realist theorists. After the devastation of the second
European war, conciliatory and optimistic political
philosophies were judged contrary to the laws of nature and
provided evidence of vulnerability and weakness. Since
then, a military strategic definition of power and a male
gendered drive to acquire it have become dominant themes in
traditional International Relations theory.

Conflict and tension define an international system
where a state's ability to maintain and use power
successfully determines its position in relation to other
states. Within this framework, appropriate state behaviour
maintains a state's position in the system; inappropriate
behaviour results in a loss of sovereignty. Beckman (1994)
stresses that from this perspective cooperation is
characterized as a tool of conciliation and an abdication of
authority which interferes with the logical and rational
decision-making apparatus of the state.

In the realist's view the international sphere is an
arena where states do not enjoy the security of fixed
positions or alliances but compete and jockey for positions
of advantage and even survival in a hostile anarchic global

system. The state is the entity which acts in the
international sphere and individuals and groups are
relegated to the private sphere of domestic and household
politics.

Realist explanations accounting for the distribution of
power at the international level are plausible, especially
when the system is severely constrained as was the case
after the second European war (Krasner 1992). However,
theory is not merely a tool for modelling behaviour that
occurs under specific conditions. As Smith (1996) affirms,
it is also an instrument for understanding that addresses
and investigates sources of injustice and inequality between
states.

Rousseau's stag hunt is a narrative typically used by
realist theorists to portray the act of seeking others
within a framework of self-interest serving the desire for
power (Waltz 1959). To them it illustrates how self-
interest overrides cooperation in the chaotic state of
nature. In this fable five men with sufficient basic
communications skills to understand each other come together
at a time of great hunger. Since the hunger of any one of
them will be alleviated by one fifth of a stag, they agree
to cooperate and hunt together. However the hunger of one
would also be satisfied by a hare. During the hunt one
hunter spots a hare and in going after it allows the stag to

escape. This hunter's immediate interest overshadowed his
consideration of his fellow hunters.

The satisfaction of self-interest is a relevant moral
drawn from this fable. However, a reconsideration of the
basis for these assumptions leaves me with some niggling
questions. Although hunger is the general assumption, no
satisfactory answer is given as to why strangers would come
together in a state of nature in the first place. If hunger
is indeed the answer, then why assume that the state of
nature is characterized by a scarcity of resources? Why are
all the hunters in the fable male? The nature of the
hunters' relationship can also be questioned. How do these
hunters communicate? Is the assumption that they all speak
the same language and have the same eating habits and
customs? If the hunters do not speak the same language one
wonders why, after putting in the effort to learn about each
other, these hunters would find the abandonment of
cooperation advantageous. After all they will all be hungry
again tomorrow. Viewed from another perspective, is it not
self-interest than competition?

The state of nature allegory acknowledges the existence
of the social context by recognizing that hunters manoeuvre
for position through contact and interaction. However, the
dynamic relationships which structure the nature of anarchy
are not located within a historical or cultural context.
Could we not assume that the shared meanings constructed

through contact would result in something other than
competition? The presumption that the hunters cannot learn
over time or that they can not adapt their tactics to
account for new or changing circumstances, assumes that
competition is the inevitable outcome of contact.

The circumstances which occasion human interaction may
not be as simple as they first appear and other fables may
be required to explain the motivation for human contact. I
submit that the construction of the Self and Other requires
the recognition that contact occurs within a socially
dynamic milieu of shared histories and cultural experiences.
As Inayatullah and Blaney (1996) suggest, people come
together for self-knowledge rather than self-interest.
Further, I concur when they posit the need for International
Relations theory to reflect a "cultural understanding of
international society" (1996:82).

I suggest that giving voice to issues and perspectives
previously marginalized from the dominant discourse compels
a reevaluation of International Relations disciplinary
exclusivity. In this way we expand our partial
understanding of what constitutes the international realm.
Theory then becomes a tool for recognizing and assessing the
unequal and hierarchical power relationships both within, as
well as between, states (Zalewski 1996).

The Construction of Nation

Beckman characterizes traditional International Relations' premise as the study of the state's urge to power (1994:21). Thus, unless I demonstrate individual agency at the international level or challenge accepted definitions of power, I reinforce rather than reveal the marginalization of the individual from the rational actor state. I attempt the first, the demonstration of individual agency, in this thesis. The second project, that of redefining power is largely outside the scope of this study, however, I offer some insights in chapter five.

International Relations scholars traditionally define nationalism as the identification of individuals with the "territorially organized collectivity" of the state (Couloumbis and Wolfe 1990:60)'. Thus, I investigate nationalism and the question of national identity versus personal identity as a mechanism for assessing the impact of the individual on international political affairs.

Lapid (1996b) in his critique of realism states that nationalism is perceived as an emotional reaction instinctively directed against enemies of the state. Further, he states that in realism, national feeling incorporates the potential of irrational chaos which ultimately threatens state security (Lapid 1996b). In his view, realists' acceptance of an enhanced scientific

framework for the conceptualization of International Relations encourages their belief that nationalism is a precept of disintegration which is held in check only when it is ordered within a rational state apparatus. Thus, he posits that traditional International Relations theory reduces individual identity to an automatically aggressive emotional group response to the identification of a state-identified common enemy (Lapid 1996b). Pettman (1996:48) suggests that traditional theory naturalizes nationalism as the emotional attachment of citizens to their homeland in order to relegate emotion to the domestic sphere. In addition to revealing traditional theory's hierarchical positioning of the international over the domestic, Pettman (1996:48) suggests that this sanctions the mapping of unequal relationships of power and constructions of difference by the state onto constructions of national identity. In this way, the state establishes and verifies the nation so that racialized and sexualized constructions of Otherness become markers of boundary, foreignness and fear.

Traditional International Relations isolation of what constitutes national identity to the domestic sphere shifts gender, culture as well as race, ethnicity, and language to the private arena. This effectively dismisses nationalism to a silent discursive space within the discipline where its theoretical significance is erased (Lapid 1996b). Further,

Pettman (1998:48) maintains that by authorizing the construction of national identity based on exclusivity and difference, traditional theory disguises the state's stake in the political value of unequal power relationships.

The personal identity of citizens, homogenized by linking state identity to physical territory, creates the expectation that people living within specific territorial boundaries will consign their loyalty to the state (Foster 1995). While acknowledging that the boundaries of states and nations do not always coincide, realists such as Gellner (1983) and Morgenthau (1967) direct our attention to the fusion of political and cultural boundaries because of the centralized political control of territory by the state[9].

International Relations in general and realism in particular are discourses about war and survival, where sovereignty, the supreme and final authority over a particular territory, is conferred only on states (Viotti and Kauppi 1993). However, history provides examples where loose associations of stateless people have demanded sovereignty. One such example is the Balkan crisis which precipitated the European War of 1914. Modern-day examples of this phenomenon also exist. The startling break-up of the Soviet Union and the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia signals an on-going urgency to understand the complex relationship between state and nation. Traditional International Relations discourse has focused almost

exclusively on the consolidation of economic and military

power as key to the maintenance of a state's position in the

international sphere. However, recent events remind us that

we need to recognize what structures relationships which

link people, territory and identity. Viewed from this

perspective the importance of the state as a centralizing

ideological authority has been overlooked (Falk 1990). As

Pettman reminds us, culture and ideology are "key to

ensuring the "success' of states ...as states manipulate

symbols, discursive practices, and ideological productions

to mask their coercive power and effectuate indirect rule"

(1996:260).

The Construction of Nation As Female

The authorization of masculinized ideologies in the

construction of nationalism justifies the privileging of men

and legitimates hierarchy. In addition, the state's

relegation of women to the private sphere ensures its

monopoly on political authority and guarantees control over

the sexual condition of women. In this way state control of

ideology production ensures that the creation and

manipulation of symbols and discursive practices mediates

"the discursive, semiotic, and spatial terms of women's

political practice" (Brown 1992:30). The apparent

simplicity of this traditional construct of the state is

grounded within narratives of essentialized behaviour that do not address women's gendered identity (Enloe 1996). In the masculine construct of the state, women are left to "tend the mundane and the necessary while men and the state pursue larger-than-life concerns ... men discount or with their activities threaten the realm of the everyday life while women nurture and protect it" (Brown 1992:25).

In attempting to reconcile the position of women in traditional International Relations theory, I propose that we reconsider difference and its effect in the construction of state power and authority. Since race is a marker of power and nationhood is embedded in gendered identity ((Pettman 1996:43; Fiske 1996:73), I suggest that race, gender and culture are aspects of difference controlled by the state as it consolidates power against those outside territorial boundaries.

In order to integrate new ways of thinking into International Relations theory Pettman focuses on how "nation is constructed on and through gender" (1996:45). Nation, symbolized as a loved woman's body is placed into a binary relationship with the state, which is endowed with male characteristics. Although Tickner points out a significant exception to this hypothesis, specifically the construction of the German nation into the Fatherland by Hitler and the Nazi Party, she concedes that the imagery of the feminized nation as opposed to the masculinized state is

prevalent (1994:32). By assuming control over women's biological identity as reproducer, the state creates women into the raw material out of which states are consolidated and reproduced. Thus while men fight, women as the heart of the nation reproduce, nurture, and grieve. Women's behaviour is constrained within the state so that it reflects the roles women are forced to play, that of mother and obedient wife. This social control of women is then naturally displaced onto the control and policing of women's bodies. Identifying women with nature and focusing attention on their biological roles as mother, wife and sister, allows traditional theory to distance women from the cultural or decision-making sphere which is identified with men.

In deciding to challenge these constructs I question traditional International Relations theory's male-centric understanding of ideology construction. I also contest the naturalized processes which supposedly explain women's subordination and exclusion from the international political sphere. My efforts to reevaluate the construct of woman which underwrites traditional theory incorporates postcolonial thought into International Relations. Thus, my analysis of the symbolic discourse of the veil, is aided substantially by Partha Chatterjee's analysis which I discuss in chapter three. There I discuss his insights into

gender and culture within the context of the dynamic relationship between imperialism and nationalism.

Implicit in my approach is the acknowledgement that international politics is part of the everyday where all of us negotiate culture, gender and identity. It is this recognition which gives the individual agency in a way that is not possible within the confines of traditional International Relations theory.

Citizenship

In International Relations theory, the link between the state and the nation is the citizen (Pettman 1996:15). In traditional theory the state makes decisions in the national interest of the security of its citizens, with security defined in military strategic terms. The authority of the state over its citizens derives from its sovereignty over a physical space which compels citizen loyalty (Foster 1995). Within this model, state decision-makers assure the integrity of territorial borders and the protection of individuals in exchange for citizen allegiance. Citizen devotion to the state is formed through the construction of communal memories of emotional attachment to physical terrain, a common language, and a shared history. An embrace of belonging surrounds citizens dwelling within state boundaries where differences are masked and

unacknowledged. The construction of a national memory by the state through orchestrated images of sameness classifies those outside state boundaries as different where difference is equated with threat, competition, and fear (Foster 1995). State manipulation of emotion into expressions of nationalistic fervour serves to exaggerate and emphasize the constructed differences between states. In this way states construct their sovereign, rational and unitary identities within which they proceed to make decisions in the best interests of a culturally homogenized citizenry (Foster 1995). Implicit in this perception is the assumption that all citizens benefit equally from decisions made by the state (Pettman 1996; Peterson 1996b). However, as Gaidzanwa (1993) points out, the inequality of rights and benefits afforded to women and the marginalized provides compelling empirical evidence that this is not the case.

The narrative that citizens participate in the state on the basis of their belonging to the "nation" is structured through state agencies that mediate the formation of collective and individual identities (Foster 1995). If we explore the gendered nature of power relationships we unearth evidence of the political value of the unitary identity of the state.

In proposing the acceptance of the gendered dimensions of political discourse I recommend an investigation into the creation, manipulation and articulation of personal cultural

identity. By investigating the intersection of the public/private, state/nation dichotomies we expose how the construction of the Self "only makes sense through the presence of the Other" (Jourdan 1998:129). It is with this as background that I suggest that the creation of the Other permeates consciousness and structures individual reality. Our acknowledging that the individual is engaged in the international sphere is key to understanding why the veil is symbolic of a feminized, racialized, and devalued Other. Further, it propels my investigation of why political theorists position this Other in opposition to the modernist masculinized Western Self.

CHAPTER THREE

The Construction of Difference

An obstacle I faced in writing about gender across cultures is the narrative of distortion within which Western scholarship about the Eastern Other has flourished (Lazreg 1994). Orientalism will be discussed in detail in chapter three. However, at this point it is important to consider the legacy of this particular mode of thinking. How we conceptualize the Oriental Other results from a complex fusing of ideas about race, culture, and gender created under a particular historical, political and military structure.

Orientalism mixes fact with fiction to invent a perception of vast difference between East and West, a perception that exists to this day (Said 1979). In her work Mutman (1993) discusses how imperialist discourse authorized, justified and vindicated sexualized racial difference as the basis for interaction between the Orient and the West. The continuing Western fascination with the veil encourages my opinion that a study of the veil as a marker of sexualized difference is important to international political theory.

Difference in itself is not the issue in this paper. What I wish to highlight is how difference is created and

manipulated, and the political implications of these
processes on the individual. As a Westerner writing about
difference I employ ways of thinking of which I am not, and
perhaps can never be, completely conscious. I acknowledge
that the confluence of race and gender is interwoven in my
intellectual heritage to the point where the identification
of difference becomes an obstacle to understanding rather
than a point of clarification. Lazreg (1994) maintains that
the aim of Western social scientists in studying other
cultures is the desire to understand their own conventions
better. In effect we use the Other to expand our knowledge,
and confirm the superiority, of our own institutions and
systems of thought. Further, Lazreg (1994) asserts that
seeking truth while providing explanations for difference
has only served to reinforce social science's Western
modernist bias. Thus, ironically, while the veil has played
a large role in the representations of the Islamic Other, it
has "...seldom [been] studied in terms of the reality that
lies behind it" (Lazreg 1994:14). I am moved by texts which
comment on the way veiled women are represented in the West.
Both Hoodfar (1993) and Lazreg (1994) comment that veiled
Muslim women are most often portrayed as intellectually
inferior, less academically mature and more traditional in
outlook. Thus a fatuous study of the veil might give veiled
Muslim women an identity they would not claim for
themselves. In addition, the West's fixation with the veil

as a symbol of oppression sets intellectual limits on our understanding of the role it plays in women's lives (MacLeod 1992; Block 1994). I share Lazreg's (1990) impatience with the simplistic view that attributes gender differences in Islamic cultures exclusively to religion even though this perception remains unsubstantiated. The prevalence of these understandings, however, continues to assert that devout women who wear the veil are ignorant and that they actively support a tyrannical patriarchal system.

I am drawn back to my own reactions in Vancouver. The construction of the sexualized racialized Islamic Other affects us all as we live and work in a multicultural world community. Individuals acting politically manipulate, and are manipulated by, constructions of difference within cultural and historical contexts. These constructions affect our actions and have an impact on political decision-making. In essence I endeavour to get at the root of the creation of the Islamic Other in a contemporary context. History lays a foundation for the continuing process of Orientalism which strain the fabric of understanding and compassion which is critical to our ability to explain the processes at work in international political relations.

Postcolonialism includes a revised reading of history and political theory. Thus, I use it as a tool in my analysis of the impact of Orientalist discourse on political discourse. Further, postcolonialism provides a framework

for evaluating the construction of the veil's meanings in
the West. Using these traditions I highlight and
acknowledge the critical role difference continues to play
in traditional theoretical models of the international
political system.

In Orientalist discourse academic knowledge authorized
military and political conditions of unequal power which
were transfused through pictorial and literary
representations. In turn, this created an image of the
Other that imperialist discourse authenticated as reality.
Mutman's (1993) sexualized reading of Orientalism reveals
that Western representations of Otherness occur
synchronously via sexual and cultural modes of
representation. Thus my approach to difference is not
restricted to either gender or culture. Rather they
intertwine in a sexualized understanding of Otherness that
can be symbolized by the veiled woman.

The Veiled Woman as Symbol

The veiled woman has been absorbed into the Western
conceptual framework, where it has become a symbol of all
that is Islam in the West (Moghadam 1994a). A brief
consideration of the relationship between Orientalist art
and 19th century European imperialism helps to uncover the
continuing connection between representations of Oriental

women and the ascription of meanings about the Islamic
Other. Orientalist discourse feminized a racial
construction of Islamic culture and instituted a way of
thinking which continues to exploit veiled women as the
embodiment of Otherness (Mutman 1993:2).

The Orientalist school of art spanned the years from
1798 until 1914, covering the height of French and British
political domination of the Orient. Paintings from this era
focus on the female who, stripped of her veil, waits to
satisfy the decadent sexual needs of the absent and Muslim
male (Fig.6-7). The apparently accurate narrative of the
Orient as captured by French and English Orientalist
painters characterized the East as mysterious, ancient,
powerless, and exotic (Nochlin 1983). The
segregation/seclusion of Islamic women, the existence of the
harem, and the wearing of the veil were all interpreted to
render the Oriental backward, primitive, and degenerate
(Brown 1987; Mutman 1993; Khan 1995b; Lewis 1996). Working
within this frame Nochlin (1993) and Lewis (1996) advance
that British and French imperialists' patriarchal notions
about women and race were used to construct meanings about
the veiled bodies of Othered women. They conclude that
these meanings were translated onto the canvas where the
violation of the eroticized veiled woman became a metaphor
for boundary transgressions. This will be discussed in more
detail in chapter four.

This eroticization of the subjugated woman rationalized colonial behaviour towards Oriental women who "...'needed' male european 'protection'" (Enloe 1989:86). Picturing colonizing men as liberators is as important to imperialist discourse as is the view of helpless Islamic women. The fantasy of the West as protector releasing the vulnerable and defenceless has become part of the West's image of itself.

National discourses structured through religion, culture, and race have used the veil to symbolize the resurgence of religious and cultural purity and the rejection of Western style modernity. While the processes involved in nationalist movements are many and vary from country to country, Ahmed (1992) discusses how the symbolic signifier of the veil is acknowledged as a significant component in all anti-imperialist discourses. Of particular interest to this paper is the creation of Islam into the new 'evil empire' in the West (Hoodfar 1993), which has rejuvenated the veil as a metaphor for backwardness and fear, as effective now as in the days of the crusades.

The essentializing of the West and the homogenizing of the discourses of the veil reflected in these comments are not challenged in this thesis. I recognize that the discourse of the veil serves the needs of those who use it. I do not assume that it is static and unchanging, nor that it reflects unvarying historical, cultural and political

contexts. The same can be said of imperialist discourses. However, the limited scope of this project dictated that I make a number of choices about how to structure my study of the veil. I wanted to yield insight into the impact of gender and culture in international political theory. I also wanted to introduce contextual metaphor as a theoretical tool for International Relations. Thus, while I acknowledge that there are disparate imperialist discourses and that perspectives in the West are varied and diverse, I restricted my study of the veil to that which is framed within a homogenized imperialist discourse of a deliberately essentialized West. I did this in order to highlight the role of political discourse on the construction of difference and the importance of this to international political theory. Although this approach is incomplete, it substantiates the need for further research into the inclusion of gender and culture into theory. It also serves to focus attention on the contribution conceptual metaphor can make to International Relations theory.

Conceptual Metaphor

Conceptual metaphor is a mechanism for understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987; McGlone 1996). It structures our conceptual systems and organizes how we think

about things. Metaphor links everyday experience or what is perceived to be everyday experience with cultural concepts. Once these links are absorbed into collective conscious, the metaphor is understood as characterizing details that are inherent to the item itself. In this way, by masking the face, the veil becomes a metaphor for the mystery, both positive and negative, of the unknown.

Metaphor is most routinely viewed as a feature of language rather than a quality of thought or deed. However, a more comprehensive view places metaphor within a context that extends beyond the printed page so that symbolic meanings pervade not just language but how we think and what we do (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Metaphor is a mechanism for ordering our universe and provides a frame of reference for making sense of the world around us and what we experience within it. Thus, metaphors are not simply ways of describing things in terms of something else but involve the conceptual process of conceiving of something in terms of something else (Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Haste 1994). Unfortunately, as Pettman (1996:51) and Sylvester (1994:128) point out, not withstanding the interest in metaphorical constructions of women's bodies as sites of political struggle, there is a lack of analysis on the implications of these meanings to International Relations theory.

The implications of my study of the veil as a gendered metaphor for the Islamic Other revolves around the

privileging of the state in traditional International

Relations. Realism acknowledges only state leaders or

prominent officials as individual political actors. Within

traditional International Relations theory, ordinary

individuals are insignificant to decision-making at the

state level. Even within the domestic sphere, individuals

do not figure as salient political factors. Notwithstanding

debate about the nature and degree of interaction between

the international and the domestic realms, traditional

International Relations theory sustains the detachment

between high and low politics and the even lower politics of

the family and household unit. This reflects realism's

persistent privileging of the state.

This study of the veiled woman as metaphor for the

Other challenges this paradigm by positioning the gendered

individual in their places of action. In this way I seek to

expose the undertheorization[10] of gender and culture in

traditional International Relations. In contextualizing the

political agency of veiled women through an examination of

the discourse of Orientalism I contest the positivist

heritage of a state-centric theory. Further, I challenge

how realists construct and validate relevant knowledge about

our world.

According to realist theory, nation is the single

ethnic and cultural identity of a state's population.

Nation, thus conceived as a singular concept, is a construct

of gendered difference where women's beloved bodies represent boundary transgressions and the violation of borders. Thus, as Tickner maintains, "as sovereign man depended on the female Other for his identity, so the state secures its identity through its relationship to identities of devalued and dangerous Others, both inside and outside its boundaries" (1996:151).

The Iranian clergy's challenge to American might in the 1970's has become a political trend in the 1990's (Juergensmeyer 1993). The perceived growing threat to world order from fundamentalist Islamic regimes, as viewed from the West, especially the United States, is being played out through the discourse of the veil. In the East, wearing the veil is symbolic of the rejection of the corruption of the West. In the West, this is created into proof of the inequality and backwardness of the Orient. The joint project of symbolic discourse forged through Orientalism enables the construction and manipulation of the veil as a symbol emblematic of both sides. The rejection of modernism coupled with the re-emergence of the traditionalist perspective in fundamentalist Islamic movements in Iran, Afghanistan, Algeria, Israel, Egypt and Turkey (Brown 1994) has pushed the religious and cultural personality of states to the forefront of international political discourse. Because of this, the veil has become an effective political

symbol, manipulated by all participants, in what might
become a new cold war (Juergensmeyer 1993).

The meanings of the veil in the West are created
within Western social, historical and cultural contexts and
have little or nothing to do with the complex religious
meanings Muslim women attach to wearing it (MacLeod 1992).
However these meanings do reveal how Westerners may
manipulate the veil as a symbol of difference to suit
specific political goals.

Orientalism

Orientalism, as a discursive field, is pivotal to
appreciating the gendered and cultural dimensions of power
relationships. The rise of fundamentalism in Islamic states
and the supposed threat it poses to Western secular
nationalism encourages a re-evaluation of how sexualized
representations of difference "regulate the West's every
relation with its Other" (Mutman 1993:2). Western portraits
of the Oriental Other are interwoven with gendered imagery.
As Lewis states, the sexually charged lifting of the veil is
represented in art as a metaphor for political domination
and military conquest (1996:113). In Orientalism Edward
Said (1979) investigates Western political institutions and
illustrates how imperialism validated difference as the
basis of the West's relationship with the East. Situating

Orientalism within the peak period of European colonialism, Said (1979) argues that the creation of knowledge is inextricably bound up with relations of power which naturalize the institutionalization of unequal relationships. In Orientalist discourse, theory and practice moulded into a system of knowledge where the East was positioned as "Other" to the West, where "Other" was constructed as everything the West was not. The establishment of the Western Self constituted in opposition to the Oriental Other justified and validated political domination, and granted moral authority to an imposed social structure (Said 1979).

Because Said (1979) historicized and contextualized the interconnections between academia and popular literature, he uncovered how the construction of knowledge about the East had more to do with how the West imagined the East than it did with reality. British and French novels written contemporaneously with imperialism reflect an Orient where the "interchange between the academic and the ... imaginative meanings of Orientalism" was constant (Said 1979:3).

Said (1979) traces the production of knowledge and demonstrates how the Orient was created as a racial, geographic, political, religious, and cultural entity. The discourse of Orientalism flowed from 19th century Orientalists' interpretation of Eastern strangeness into

something Europeans could understand. In essence the Orient became real to the West because of the knowledge produced in and by Western academic texts. Maintaining ownership over what constituted the Orient imbued the academy with the authority to define the Orient and made Western scholars the experts on what constituted difference (Said 1979).

Orientalism structures the desire to acquire knowledge within the power structure of imperialism (Said 1979). This automatically gives the West a position of superiority and dominance. The coincidental development of modern Western science reinforced the legitimacy of the Western construction of the Orient. The pursuit of truth through the theoretically neutral, objective and impartial use of the scientific method codified the East and through objective empirical confirmation placed it into memory as everything the West was not (Said 1979). The West was familiar, the East exotic, the West was Self, the East was Other.

Orientalism designated the West as the centre and created the East into the boundary lands. The nature of Orientalist thought was such that as European imperial powers moved outwards from the centre their perception of Western cultural vitality was strengthened. Orientalism confirmed that the Orient was naturally subordinate to Europe and that the Orient's natural role was "as an appendage to Europe" (Said 1979:86). Thus, the West's

imperial presence was the bulwark of empire, the gate behind which the 'heathen' massed. In effect what a study of Orientalism highlights in a discussion of political theory is the constant sense of confrontation felt by Westerners dealing with the East. I maintain that it is this sense of confrontation that enunciates and reinforces the constructed chasm of difference.

According to Said (1979), Orientalist discourse emphasized race as the basis of difference so that any instance of native behaviour was archetypal of the primitive origins of the Other where the present is irrevocably chained to truths conceived about prototypical forbearers. To go to the Orient was to witness the exotic, interact with the uncivilized, to take a step backward in time. Orientalism constructed the East into a mythical place where idioms barren of historical grounding asserted the Orient's "place in memory "(Said 1979:86), thus reinforcing the modernity of the powerful West.

A Feminist Reading of Orientalism

Said's (1979) analysis of Orientalist discourse focuses attention on culture and race as the basis of difference. He did not consider the significance of gender in his analysis of culture. However, Mutman in her sexualized reading of Orientalism confirms that "representation of

Otherness is achieved simultaneously through sexual as well as cultural modes of differentiation" (1993:2). Thus, "[t]he western acts of understanding the Orient and its women are not two distinct enterprises, but rather interwoven aspects of the same gesture" (Mutman 1993:26).

According to Mutman (1993) Orientalism constructs the Orient into a place of sensuality. Orientalist discourse produces knowledge about the East creating it into a "site of the unconscious - desire and fantasy" (1993:20). Further, Orientalism manifests the Orient both as knowledge and as the object of desire. The Orient is described as its women are described. The language of difference within the colonial apparatus of power is sexualized (Bhabha 1983) and establishes a chain of equivalence where women are Orient, and Orient is woman (de Groot 1996). By consolidating the metaphoric figure of the veiled woman, the East "constitutes an overdetermined totality whose residue persists in the unconsciousness of the Subject" (Mutman 1993:49). All that is Oriental is incorporated into meanings of the veil. Because the women are veiled, the Orient is deceptive and false.

Mutman suggests that thwarted by the veil's impenetrability and the inaccessibility of the object behind it, Western desire is spurred to ruthless inquiry (1993:47). We in the West then presume that the veil is a guise and its association with unknowability stimulates the desire to know

the Other. In this way the veil becomes a duplicitous mask which turns woman into enigma. This is important to international political theory because it turns the veil into a tool of advantage and power. The gazer cannot see whether threat or promise is concealed behind the mask. The gazer is left feeling exposed and fearing harm from what cannot be seen. As Nochlin (1983) and Lewis (1996) discovered in their study of Orientalist art, Orientalism structures the military objective of invasion, the revealing of the concealed, through sexual fantasy. Thus military opposition is formulated through images of rending the veil, of raping and defiling the 'heathen' who hides herself from the Western male viewer. The veiled woman is thus created into the exotic who engenders fear and whose sexual power must be conquered (Mutman 1993; Lewis 1996).

In the 19th century, structures and relations of power acquired a gendered racialized dimension in which Westerners shaped constructions of themselves by reference to the exotic, alien, feminized Other. In this sense the origins of metaphor of the veil reveal information about the specificity of the culture in which they developed. The conceptual inheritance of the 19th century resonates to this day. The construction of the Other continues to be critical to the identity of the European self where the veil endures as a barrier between civilization and the primitive (Kahf 1994).

Imperial discourse legitimized Western colonialism and placed the Oriental Other into a different chronological sequence of history. Where the West is progressive, the Orient occupies the past. This allows the West to constitute and affirm difference through temporal means, normalizing the West's imperial violence by portraying it as part of the West's "civilizing mission" (Mutman 1993:148). De-veiling then becomes an emancipatory act, associated with progress, modernity and emancipation.

Mutman's assertion that the most basic aspects of the Orient are inscribed onto the veiled figure, is very powerful (1993:152). This premise positions women as the site of a discursive battle where regulation of gender is central to the articulation of national identity and cultural difference (Kandiyoti 1991).

Chatterjee recognizes this and contributes to the discussion by positing that the identification of social roles by gender, maps the figure of woman onto nationalist discourse (1993:120). Further, he speculates that understanding how this mapping occurs illuminates how the figure of woman reinforces and justifies a masculinized vision of national identity (Chatterjee 1986). I explore these insights because they reveal valuable insights into the processes whereby gender and culture have an impact on the international political system.

However, even as nationalists reject the truth claims of imperialism, they are captive to categories of Western knowledge (Foster 1995). This is because they aspire to modernization and economic progress. In order to affirm the sovereignty of their postcolonial nation-states, nationalists must position themselves within the power structure of an international system which is dominated by the capitalist West. LiPuma (1995) points out that, regardless of nationalist discourse, the dominance of Western capitalist economic practices in the international sphere compels nationalist states to employ economic practices which embody Western epistemology. As a result colonial discourse underlies nationalist interaction with other nation-states in the international system. Chatterjee (1986) explores how this commits nationalists to occupying contradictory discursive spaces at the same time. Further, he traces how the building of nationalist thought on the foundations of colonial discourse results in a discursive battle between imperialism and nationalism with the figure of woman at its centre (Chatterjee 1986). The importance of this discursive battle to international events becomes obvious when we consider how gendered images of nation are used to avenge perceived imperialist indignities.

Chatterjee submits that nationalist paradigms map a material/spiritual discourse onto the foreign/domestic or outside/inside dichotomies which characterize the

intersection of nationalist and colonialist discourses (1993:120-121). The outside or material/foreign sphere is where contact with alien influences occurs. The spiritual or inside/domestic sphere symbolized by woman is the core of reclaimed nationhood. The outside realm of international politics becomes the site of contestation, the arena within which ideological battles are played out through political, economic and symbolic discourses. Underlying this ideological foundation of the outside is the inside sphere which must protected at all costs from the invasive and insidious corruption of imperial modernity.

The mapping of the spiritual onto the inside/domestic creates women's bodies into vehicles upon which nationalists build the discourse of material versus spiritual identities (Chatterjee 1993:116-135). Thus gender, as a primary category of difference serves as a focal point in the encounter between colonial and nationalist discourses. The discursive contradiction is therefore resolved through a re-positioning of the veiled woman within the discourse of nationalism. Because women signify the differences between inside and outside, they embody the identity of nation. Women then share in the nation building project by being constructed into "symbolic bearers of the nation" (Tickner 1996:153) where their personification of a purified ethnic and cultural identity across boundaries is authorized by the male state which creates them into markers of difference.

Thus, veiled women are created into evidence of the male sanctioned authentic culture (Haddad 1985; Moghadam 1992; Chatterjee 1993; Pettman 1996). Particularly relevant to my study is Chatterjee's contention that once women are identified as a medium for the assertion of national identity, controversy over their dress, manners, what they say and their role in the outside world become intensified (1993:130). Accordingly, the veil ensures the continued purity of the spiritual world by allowing women to go 'outside' in a manner which does not threaten their essential 'inside' feminine role as the conduit of cultural purity.

Nationalists, by advocating veiling, continue to use the discourse of gender promulgated by imperialist discourse (Chatterjee 1986, 1993; Ahmed 1992; Moghadam 1992, 1994a; Lazreg 1994; Gole, 1996). In this way the male Self appropriates the veiled woman, yet again, to assert his identity in the outside world. Under imperial rule women were silent pawns used to maintain unequal power relationships. In movements of national liberation women are once again silenced and their bodies sacrificed to the pursuit of political power. Thus, in trying to distance nationalist thought from the native patriarchal tradition identified with imperialism, women become the site where nationalism is reformed to defeat imperialism. Just as imperial patriarchy removed the veil to affirm European

superiority so do nationalist movements use veiling to confirm the purity of their revitalized culture.

Orientalist discourse created the Orient and thereby helped define the West in the joint venture of imperialism (Said 1979). The Western Self and the Oriental Other participating in Orientalist and imperialist discourse, albeit unequally, played a vital role in the construction of the each other's respective identities. The contemporary international arena allows us to reflect on the complicity of nationalist thought as it struggles with the legacy of the imperial project. This provides insight into the continuing legacy of Orientalism.

The on-going discursive battle between imperialism and nationalist thought encourages my belief that the metaphorical meanings attached to the veil construct it into an essentialized instrument of difference between the modernist masculine Subject and the primitive feminized Other. Westerners placed women at the centre of imperial discourse and used them as a barometer of colonial success (Ahmed 1992; Mutman 1993; Lewis 1996). The veil as a symbol of the subjugation of Muslim women provided tangible evidence of the superiority of the colonial elite (Walther 1993). In imperial discourse shedding the veil was synonymous with the casting aside of traditional and oppressive forms of thinking. When women re-veil during

movements of national liberation, the veil is re-inscribed

as symbolic of the backwardness of Islam in the West

(Moghadam 1994a).

Constructing the Metaphor

As I proceeded in this study I realized that the

connection between the construction of the feminized Other

and a critique of realism might not be immediately obvious.

However, since traditional International Relations theory,

like imperialism is based on hierarchy (Prestney 1997)[11],

the search for how hierarchy structures traditional

International Relations theory requires that we evaluate how

relevant knowledge is constructed. Further, this search

challenges theory's apparently uncritical acceptance of

historically authorized knowledge where one interpretation

of reality is validated over others (Wilmer 1996). By

investigating the veiled woman as metaphor for the Other, I

seek to expose how the historical construction of the Self

occurs through the appropriation of all facets of

difference: cultural, racial, and sexual. Because I argue

that the relations of dominance and power central to

traditional theory are symbolized by and executed through

woman's body, I seek an understanding for how European

definitions of masculine and feminine are supplanted onto

issues of the West's power over the East. My study of the

symbolism of the veiled woman locates sexism and racism within Western political discourse and allows me to demonstrate how identities created for the Other continue to position the Orient outside a eurocentric conception of society (Ang-Lygate 1996).

The construction of Self and Other requires that we address more than how veiled women are represented, however. I discerned that where the image of the veiled woman occurs, how it is packaged and the timing of its presentation highlight how the public sphere exploits the private sphere to achieve public sphere goals. The construction of the gendered Other as represented in literature and art is an important component of Orientalist discourse. In order to understand the contemporary context of illustrations of veiled women, we need to appreciate the origins of Western metaphors of the veil. In chapter four I contextualize how writers, artists and political theorists absorbed these metaphors into their conceptual frameworks and patterns of thought.

CHAPTER FOUR

Meanings of the Veil - Historical Context

At the end of the Napoleonic wars the East symbolized easy riches, untrammelled freedom, passion and excitement (Jullian 1977:33). The French and British, having absorbed the moral legacy of the Crusaders, based their right to rule the holy land on their belief in the moral superiority of the West (Fernea and Bezirgan 1977; Haddad and Findley 1985).

With the emergence of the industrial revolution in Europe, the nature of imperialism changed. Government officials' and traders' social interaction with native populations, previously seen as a good thing, was now discouraged (Lewis 1996:13). The new structure of imperialism prescribed increased social and political intervention where the ordering of power relationships was based on the superiority of the British and French (Haddad and Findley 1985).

The newly emerging sciences recorded the East as hierarchically different from the West. This apparently objective observation of empirical phenomena authorized the unequal power relationships found in imperialism (Said 1979). The West, functioning within imperialist discourse, found proof of the intellectual inferiority and baseness of

Muslim men in the cultural practices of veiling, seclusion and polygamy. These justified the Other's political and military subjugation (Walther 1993).

Central to the structure of Orientalist discourses was the cult of the harem (Lewis 1996:111). Orientalist painting organized the needs of the absent but controlling Western male observer by picturing the odalisque[12] (Fig.6-7) preparing herself for the Sultan, "and by proxy the artist and viewer" (Lewis 1996:112). This form of painting illustrates the imperialists sexual fantasy of one man's ownership of many women and links it to the dream of seeing that which was forbidden and hidden behind the veil. In addition, the creation of the white sex slave set in opposition to the black harem servants demonstrates the imperialist's belief in the superiority of the white race. It also illustrates the European's fears that the ostensibly voracious sexual appetite of the primitive Eastern male would be directed against the white, Western mother, daughter and wife.

Typically many of the artists working in the Orientalist tradition never went to the Orient (Stevens 1984) but chronicled what went on there by referring to novels, diaries, and their own imaginings of the picturesque (Jullian 1977; Brown 1987; Mabro 1996). Newly translated versions of the Arabian nights and volumes of Persian poetry as interpreted through Orientalist and Imperial discourse

formed the core on which artists based their representations of Cairo and Constantinople, which by mid 1860's presented the Orient as a reality "informed by the vision of the Orient as different, exotic and archaic" (Lewis 1996:111).

Orientalist painting, functioning as part of the academic tradition, stamped its impression of the Orient as authentic, so that the European establishment "confused the canvas with history" (Jullian 1977:47). The veil and the harem marked the Islamic male as oppressor of women in private places. European artists used these devices to manifest the backwardness of the Other in direct opposition to the civilizing liberating role of the colonizers. Thus, as Nochlin (1983) suggests, Orientalist paintings of the private sphere were used to demonstrate the complete control of the British and French over the public sphere.

Orientalism in the Contemporary Context

Economic, political and symbolic discourses continue to structure the on-going dialogue and negotiation between the Orient and the West, where the veiled female body persists as symbolic of a mythologized past. The importance of this symbolism to International Relations theory is manifest through the appropriation of the veiled woman by the masculine Self as he articulates his national difference from the imperial Western Other. This provides a focal

point for the perception that Islam is a threat to the West
(Esposito 1992; Juergensmeyer 1993; Halliday 1995; Fuller
and Lesser 1995; Husain 1995). Thus, as discussed, the
symbolism of veiling (or unveiling) women has political
implications beyond national borders. What results from the
battle of imperialist and nationalist discourses over the
identity of the nation is that difference, mediated through
women's bodies, is re-inscribed onto the veil where it
validates the persistence of Orientalist discourse.

Although Orientalist discourse continues to mediate
constructed identities of Self and Other, I do not suggest
that evidence of on-going Orientalism in itself erodes the
centrality of the state. Nor do I suggest that it
completely illuminates the concept of nationalism and the
processes through which citizens negotiate identities for
themselves within the state. However, I do propose that if
we are aware of how the gendered Other is constructed, used
and manipulated for political purposes, we have the
potential to shatter simplistic models of state-centric
behaviour. By paying attention to these processes, I
postulate that theorists can also demonstrate how the
ideology of nation building and the discourse of power
interact.

Meaning of the Veil - Contemporary Context

In order to explore the on-going role of Orientalist
discourse in contemporary conceptualizations of difference,
I document circumstances where the veil is constructed to
represent the East in the West. This allows us to reflect
on the interaction between the domestic and international
realms. Further, it stimulates discussion about the
implications of this interaction on international political
theory.

The visual image of the veiled woman has an inherent
authority and familiarity to viewers. It is the pervasive
and persuasive nature of the visual in popular culture that
makes the veil into a powerful and provocative image.
Therefore, I concentrate primarily on visual images in this
paper. I intend to show how images of veiled women provide
clues about the dynamic role of unequal power relationships
in the creation of the exotic Other. In order to
substantiate that metaphor is a viable tool for assessing
the effect of gender and culture on political decision-
making and behaviour, images of veiled women should be
widespread, numerous, and consistent in their message.
Also, if symbols are constructed to invoke a range of
associations, there should be indications that images of the
veil are intended to manipulate the thoughts of those who
observe them. If indeed as Kertzner states, "Men possess

thought, but symbols possess men" (1988:5), then the veil
and the gendered cultural idiom it has been constructed to
represent should be evident.

In order to gain insight into the subtleties of how the
metaphor of the Other is constructed and presented in the
West I consider images of veiled women as I encountered them
in examples from popular culture and the media. The
interpretation of meanings offered are largely expressions
of my own reactions framed within the theoretical literature
I have explored in the preceding chapters[13]. My voice is
guided by my analysis of Orientalism and is structured to
provide clues about the layers of meanings imparted by the
items' content. I am guided in this project by Said who re-
evaluated novels framed within Orientalist discourse. He
maintains that knowledge reflects the imperialist and
Orientalist discourses within which it is created (Said
1979:13-18). The random, everyday circumstances in which I
heard about or saw the veil, allows me to reflect on the
naturalized processes whereby meanings attributed to the
veil are absorbed into patterns of thinking.

Orientalist discourse invents the East as a subjective
experience which is "disgorged ... as a prefabricated
construct" (Said 1979 cited in Mackenzie 1995:8). In this
way Orientalism forms a backdrop for the marketing of
fantasy which organizes consumer experience around an Orient
personified as a mysterious, exotic, and timeless veiled

woman (Studlar 1989). The timeless romance of the Orient affirmed by the British and French travellers, whose journals record their travels in the mysterious East, is evoked by contemporary travel brochures featuring pictures of veiled women in settings emblematic of the unchanging East (Fig.8). Similarly Orientalist discourse sanctions the West's appropriation of the East by associating the veil with artifacts of the ancient world, thereby marking the East as worthy of Western interest. The majestic male Pharaonic god-head opposite the picturesque veiled woman emphasizes the power and dominance of men over women (Fig. 9). In addition, the juxtaposition of splendour versus the quaint, of stateliness versus commonplace, reduces the female image to the quaintly picturesque, confirming patriarchy's perceptions of the hidden female.

A quick trip to the grocery store exposes the subtlety with which Orientalist discourse orchestrates everyday occurrences in ways which may not be immediately evident. Foods bearing figures and emblems of the East are interesting in their number and variety. Products display images of camels, desert, sand dunes, and exotic architecture[14]. However the marketing of the East as a consumable item is especially striking in the President's Choice "Memories of" product line.

The use of a veiled woman's image as the trademark for these products relies on Orientalism's positioning of the

veiled woman as a signifier of the East in the West. President's Choice plays on perceptions some Western consumers may have about the East by incorporating the symbolism of the veil as a metaphor for the feminized Other. The President's choice logo depends on our recognition of the veiled woman as the epitome of the exotic. She signals that consumers will experience the romance of the mysterious East by consuming its foods. The duplicity of the veil is linked to sensuousness and sexual desirability. By cooking this food Western women are invited to become as desirable as the mysterious Eastern Other. By consuming this food Western consumers are enticed by the promise of satisfaction of sexual desire. In effect by eating the food so do we 'eat' and sexually dominate the veiled image and the subservient East she epitomizes.

Orientalism frames the veiled woman as existing in an ahistorical atemporal space. The implicit assumption is that time has stood still in the Orient even though we have progressed in the West. Thus it does not matter if the image appears under the name "Memories of ancient Damascus" (Fig.4) or "Memories of Marrakech" (Fig.10) because all are part of a mythologized, uniform, timeless and homogenized Orient.

Hollywood and the Veil

I focus on the Hollywood movie genre because the discourse of Orientalism links the exotic to the erotic by forging a spectacle of female ethnic Otherness acceptable within North American popular culture (Studlar 1989). The vogue of the late 1940's and 1950's desert romance movie presents the caucasian male romantic champion as an ethnic object playing opposite an unconventional feisty heroine. The heroine's ethnicity is ambiguous both because she is played by an actress with white skin and because she typically has spent many years in the West. In that unseen interval she has changed into a woman who exhibits outspoken, combative, behaviour. Her headstrong impetuous 'female' behaviour gets her into trouble, however, and undermines her role as the masculinized Western Self who only dons the veil as a mask to foil her ridiculous Othered enemies.

These films contain all the elements of the standard romance novel (Radway 1984). I am particularly interested in the dynamics occasioned by the added bonus of a mysterious exotic setting where normal rules of behaviour would not be expected to apply. On returning to her native homeland, the heroine confronts the strong silent hero who behaves enigmatically towards her. She responds to him with coldness and continues to pursue her goals of justice and

revenge in such a way as to endanger herself. The hero apparently ignores her and her plight until his sense of responsibility towards her and her righteous cause forces him to respond to her with tenderness. At this point the heroine matures and begins to understand that the hero's earlier reticence is the result of a previous hurt committed against him and those for whom he is responsible. Once this is clarified the two are united in a commitment of love and together they triumph over the evil that threatened their happiness.

In these films, the female lead is the epitome of the politically emancipated modern woman who, nevertheless, remains chaste and virginal (Studlar 1989). Flame of Araby, 1951 and Baghdad, 1949 are typical of this type of film. Their star Maureen O'Hara was known for her spirited portrayal of strong heroines. The storyline of both films is largely the same. In these films O'Hara is introduced as a native Princess returning to the desert after a long time abroad. She has just learned that her father has been killed by his enemies. This places her in the position of single-handedly keeping her desert kingdom out of the hands of the corrupt villain responsible for the murder. Her ability to succeed in this mission is due to her headstrong nature. She is constantly under sexual threat from the evil lascivious villain who seeks to control her, and through her, her kingdom. She keeps him at bay by using her sexual

wiles and we cheer when she succeeds in outwitting him. She is ultimately threatened only when she falls in love with the handsome hero. By doing this she places her own survival and that of her people in his hands. Her love for the hero causes her to submit her will to him and at this point in the movie, it is his love which tames her, transforming the hero into saviour and protector.

The kidnapped white-skinned sex slave found in Orientalist art (Fig.6-7) still languishes in wait of the Sultan's call while being attended to by dark skinned servants in the 1942 epic <u>Arabian Nights</u>. Here, the slave is transferred to the silver screen where her calls for justice, freedom and sexual choice are given voice. Held against her will, the object of Western sexual erotic fantasy fights the evil Sultan until the Western viewer in the form of the familiar Hollywood hero can rescue her and claim her as his own on the vast and timeless desert sands.

The iconography of Orientalist discourse forms a backdrop to these films with their flowing costumes, rich colours, exotic sights, and foreign music. As Lewis points out these elements allow the viewer to feast on the East as a complete whole (1996:113). The moral decadence of the East symbolized by the luscious fabrics and colours is integral to the discursive construction of the East as morally inferior to the West (Lewis 1996:113). While on the one hand destabilizing accepted standards of male sexuality

by wearing flowing robes and ornate headgear, Orientalist discourse mediates the sexualized ethnic male through his typically Western male "hero" behaviour (Studlar 1989). He is the hero because he does not threaten the heroine with sexual violence. Her active shedding of the veil in front of him marks him as different from the decadent Eastern Other who threatens her. The heroine willingly submits to the hero because of her love for him while the hero, even though demanding her submission, couples this with the promise of emotional tenderness, transforming his masculinity into Western woman's desire (Studlar 1989).

As Studlar (1989) discusses, Orientalist discourse reconciles the Western spectator's participation in patriarchy by facilitating the satisfaction of erotic fantasy while preserving North American ethnic purity and social values. At the end of the film the heroine accepts the limitations on her behaviour that love requires. The movie ends with the heroine safely in the arms of the hero identified as Western.

Consistent with Orientalism, in some films of this genre, the veiled women does not even appear. However, her absence is used to further distance the veiled secluded woman from the typically Western heroine. In <u>King Richard and the Crusaders</u>, 1954, the Saracen Saladin infiltrates King Richard's camp in the guise of a doctor who can cure a wound Richard receives at the hand of a treacherous knight.

The King's sister, played by blonde, blue-eyed Virginia Mayo, is curious about the mysterious Arab who initially is impudent and presumptuous. As he gets to know her, he contrasts her strength and force of character with that of his women who, because of veiling and seclusion, are doubly absent and silenced. Saladin, played in elaborate make-up and costume by Rex Harrison, openly admires Mayo's character, and she in turn, is unnerved by her attraction to the strange exotic. She teeters on the edge of an emotional precipice until Saladin shows the true nefarious nature of the Other and she realizes that her life belongs to the Scottish hero who entreats her to marry him and make his porridge.

The erotic fantasy of the exotic East surfaces again in the 1960's with the television show I Dream of Jeannie. In this program an American astronaut crash lands on a deserted island and opens a bottle releasing a genie who has been trapped for 2000 years. The ahistorical eternal East is given voice through this beautiful ageless genie who wears exotic filmy clothing and who speaks in an archaic manner significant of the timeless past. The exquisite genie seeks to serve her handsome master in any and all ways possible. She is delightfully charming, mischievous and turns his life upside down. While expressing annoyance the astronaut is attracted to this enchanting fantasy and it is clear that he will not be able to live without her.

Barbara Eden plays the genie and her blue-eyed blonde
good looks are the foundation of the all-American dream girl
sexual fantasy. Captain Tony Nelson, played by Larry Hagman
is the clean cut all-American boy who wins the heart of the
beautiful girl. Orientalist discourse mandates the
patriarchy of the master even as it eroticizes the girl in
the flowing veils. Her sexual overtures are located within
Orientalist discourse just as his rejection of them is
located in imperialist discourse. ' In situation after
situation Jeannie, even though often undermining his efforts
to control her, defers to her astronaut master because of
her role as sex slave. Conversely, Captain Nelson's actions
mandates that he act as defender of her virtue. He will not
take advantage of his position as "Master" even though the
Other entices him by her dress, words, and glances. He is
incorruptible and true-hearted, eventually succumbing to her
sexual charms only within marriage and after the exotic
Other agrees to shed her veils and give up her magic powers
to become what every woman apparently wants to be -- an
American housewife.

The 1990's saw a rising tide of emotion against Islam
in the West and with it a corresponding change in the facets
of Orientalist discourse highlighted in the construction of
the Other. The fear of the veiled alien is accented in
media coverage and in a made for television movie Not
without my daughter to be discussed later. Interestingly,

the Walt Disney Company chose this point in time to recall
the mystery of the Arabian nights in its animated epic
<u>Aladdin</u>, 1992.

Aladdin introduces a new generation to the sensual
delights of the Arabian nights where the poor but honest
street boy, because of his love for the virtuous Princess,
can make good against the evil and powerful wizard.
Orientalism forms a backdrop upon which this movie is
scripted and Princess Jasmine is the epitome of the Maureen
O'Hara type heroine as she strains against the strictures of
her royal state.

Jasmine does not wear a veil, even though all other
women in the film do; and where she is outspoken and
defiant, all other female characters are secondary and
silent. Because Jasmine chafes against her life of
seclusion in the palace she runs away to the market where
she meets Aladdin. She rescues him from the palace guards
after a merry chase which cements the bonds between the hero
and heroine. However, like the earlier desert princesses,
patriarchy frames her apparently independent spirit and she
defers to her father and the laws of the kingdom in the
choice of whom she must marry. That she must marry is not
even questioned or discussed. Happily this all concludes
well when the inferiorized Sultan father comes up with a
plan that satisfies all. <u>Aladdin</u> positions Jasmine and
Aladdin outside the Othered culture in which Muslims are

constructed as stupid, sneaky, dangerous and evil. The
coincident release of this film with the eruption of the
Gulf War was opportune for those groups who would use such a
construct of the Other to justify the righteousness of
American participation in the United Nations military action
against Iraq.

The exotic and erotic construction of the veiled woman
is a staple in Orientalist images of the female Other.
However, the diametric opposites of fear, evil, and
backwardness masked behind the veil are also integral to
Orientalist discourse. In the desert romance genre the
brutality of the male oppressor is expressed through the
medium of the veil. This theme recurs in the 1990
television adaptation of Betty Mahmoody's best selling book,
Not Without My Daughter.

Few will forget the gut-wrenching fear experienced when
watching live television coverage of the 1979 invasion and
hostage taking at the American embassy in Teheran. The
images of veiled women eerily shouting with upraised arms,
their faces covered with the black chador filled us with
dread and trepidation. The synchronic placing of veiled
women with fanatical armed gunman mesmerized the world and
signalled a new reality in world politics.

The aftermath of this fanaticism in the mid-eighties
is recalled in the made-for-television movie which
originally aired in the run up to the Gulf War. In this

film, Betty Mahmoody, played by two-time academy award winner Sally Field, is the wife of an Iranian born doctor living in the United States. Initially the husband is portrayed as a successful long-term immigrant whose devotion to his wife and daughter is beyond question. However, the increasing tension in his native land coupled with the antagonism of his colleagues over Iranian extremism cause him to confront the fact that he is, after all, not an American. His longing for belonging makes him ask his wife to accompany him on a short vacation to Iran. He has not been home in decades. After much persuasion he convinces her that it will be safe and that he will not let any harm come to her. She agrees to a two-week holiday to visit his family.

Once in Iran he admits to feeling confused over all the changes to his homeland but he also voices his sadness that he has nothing to go back to in America. He feels he does not belong there. Still believing in him and his American identity, his wife sympathizes with his anguish and comforts him. However, his family and their fundamentalist Muslim beliefs soon turn him into an Islamic zealot for whom religion is more important than the happiness of his child. Even his physical appearance changes. He becomes unkempt, his eyes develop dark circles, his nose becomes more hooked. He becomes more semitic in appearance. As his brainwashing spirals, the viewer witnesses Betty's increasing

victimization because she is ostensibly perceived as the embodiment of American decadence. After pleading to be allowed to take the child back to America, she is beaten, denied food and repeatedly refused access to her daughter. Although offered her personal freedom, Betty's true heroic nature is revealed when she asserts that she will not leave her child behind.

Sally Field, fresh-faced and still looking like Gidget or the Flying Nun, the personification of the all American sweetheart, is forced to wear the veil, denied her self-esteem and her liberty. Eventually she meets members of the sophisticated Iranian elite who recall the Persia of old. Their identification with Western ideals located within imperialist discourse places them on Betty's side. They are Betty's allies against her husband and his family who are identified as dupes of the government because they are ignorant, rural and backward. After much terror and anxiety she attains freedom with her daughter.

In this film Orientalist discourse structures the modern fear of the primitive, and everything about Iran is constructed as strange and alien. The American heroine has no place here and would be erased from existence behind the veil were it not for those components of her behaviour which characterize her Western identity. Her courage, her strength and her devotion to a better life for her female child ensure her survival and ultimately her freedom.

This film dwells on Betty's battles against the strictures of Islamic law and religion and presents her as emblematic of the Western self asserting itself against the alien Other. Betty subverts the symbolism of the veil, wearing the symbol of the brutality of the Other, to mask what American audiences would reasonably interpret as her true strong nature.

However, the Orientalist vision of the veil as the symbol of the subjugation of women is not just a product of Hollywood. Indeed it forms a backdrop to all our dealings with the Other. The West's apparent fascination with the veil is premised on its symbolic representation of the oppression of women (MacLeod 1992; Block 1994). In this way it is constructed to delineate the dividing line between Islamic and Western communities (Moghadam 1994a).

The Media and the Veil

As I proceeded with this project I was struck by the essentializing tropes of gender and culture signifying the Other found in certain examples of mainstream news media. Unfortunately, the links between media coverage and the economic and political advantages gained through the manipulation of difference, is outside the scope of this paper. However, even though I maintain that Orientalist discourse frames the dichotomy between "us" and "them" as

expressed through images of veiled women, I recognize that other influences may be at work in the manipulation of these images.

In the Saturday 19 April 1997 Toronto Star an article on the Islamic fundamentalist regime in Sudan features pictures of armed women standing at attention and shouting "Jihad! Martyrdom! Victory!" (Fig.11). The iconography of the veiled women with guns turns an erotic fantasy into a monstrous nightmare. The viewer is encouraged to link terror with the veil because of the depiction of veiled women as coerced participants in tyrannical Islamic movements. Out of the mass of emotions we experience while gazing at this picture, sympathy for these women as victims of 'fanatical' extremism vies with contempt at their apparent submissiveness to fundamentalist regimes which ensure their continued subjugation.

Orientalist perceptions of the veil as a tool of the sexual exploitation of women licenses the simplistic and simplified message that Muslim women only wear the veil to stay alive[15] identifying their gendered religious context as the reason for the assault against their personal safety.

The photo of a woman grieving after the massacre of her eight children in Benthala, Algeria (Fig.12) is symptomatic of the scorning of the complexity of the cultural, political and religious circumstances operating in Islamic countries. Orientalist discourse mandates the view that the Other is

uncivilized and outrageous. We feel pity for this heart-sick mother in the face of the most grievous of catastrophes, but we also disparage her because she supports the political, religious, and cultural systems that allow this sort of thing to happen.

The construction of the Other is mediated through the body of women where photographs exploit Western conceptions about what might constitute appropriate behaviour. The portrayal of gun toting veiled women (Fig.11) or of veiled women confronting uniformed soldiers in city streets (Fig.13) imprints the iconography of violence onto the veil. We are moved by photographs of veiled women depicted with armed children (Fig.14) or holding war wounded children (Fig.15) which appear to subvert the nationalist iconography of loving and nurturing motherhood by identifying veiled women as the willing accomplices of religious zealots. The veiled woman's apparent willingness to sacrifice her children to a radical cause solidifies the contrast between "us" and "them" marking then as different, less civilized and less human.

On the CBC[16] Evening News on 12 March 1997, Anna Maria Tremonti presented a story about members of the Hezbullah Islamist group operating in Lebanon. Prominent in her report was the story of a veiled Muslim woman who had lost one son to "martyrdom" and who voiced the wish that all her sons would be sacrificed to God in a holy cause. The

association of this veiled woman with terrorism was
seamlessly put together to reflect "the way life is " in
Lebanon (Tremonti 1997). The message is clear. Women like
her are not like us but rather are personifications of a
primitive, alien religious belief named Islam.

The relevance of a study on the gendered iconography of
nation is forcefully demonstrated by a feature survey on the
political implications of the Islamist movement in the
August 6, 1994 issue of The Economist. The title of the
special insert, "Not again for heaven's sake", features a
cover drawing of a crusading white Christian knight fighting
a black Saracen warrior (Fig.16). With this drawing The
Economist recalls the historical and political context of
the crusades. During the crusades knights went to the holy
land, the Orient, to liberate Christian places of worship
from the degenerate Muslims who trampled on them. By
recalling this imagery, the virtuous and pure white knight
is positioned above and against an unholy and corrupt black
Other whose goal, as portrayed by The Economist's editors,
is the destruction of Western institutions. The imagery of
the crusades re-positions the ancient battle of purity and
right over corruption and decadence in contemporary
political discourse. This image, constructed to instill
anxiety and even fear, hints at the impossibility of
vanquishing an enemy that keeps coming back in an almost
supernatural way. In addition, the underlying racism

involved in the social and cultural construction of the image of the Islamic Other is especially striking as it lays the groundwork for the article that follows.

The story features a discussion which constructs Islam into one of the few religious movements which ignores the frontier between religion and politics. Reducing all Islamic culture and history to a religious interpretation (Lazreg 1990), this article views Islam as the West's ideological competitor in the 20th century. Because Orientalist discourse structures The Economist's arguments, blame for the apparently inevitable military conflict between Islamic countries and the West is easily attributed to backward, "bloody-minded" fundamentalists ("Survey of Islam" 1994:6).

This article is punctuated by many photographs, but gives prominence to a picture of a blonde Western woman standing beside a completely veiled Muslim woman (Fig.17). In this photograph, the Western woman adorned in a child-like hair band and pearls is juxtaposed against a completely veiled Muslim woman. This image sets Western openness and innocence against its diametric opposite, the veil, symbol of the masked corruption of the East. This reaffirms to the reader that Islam is Other. This image is used to further intensify the message of separation, alienation, rupture and difference that this article creates between Islam and the West. The potent message is clear. Veiled women are not

like "us" but rather are personifications of Islam. The gendered racialized Other is etched onto veiled women's bodies as something to be feared and reviled.

Orientalist discourse positions the veil as symbolic of Muslim women's oppression. Thus, when we see pictures of veiled women doing things understood as modern, we are expected to subvert this understanding and interpret the photos as evidence that women are confronting Islamic governments, which are necessarily anti-Western and anti-democratic. In this way, women pictured wearing white rather than the standard black chador in the streets of Teheran (Fig.18) or waiting to vote in Yemen (Fig.19), become symbols of the degeneration of the religious dedication of fundamentalist governments. This signals an acceptance of modernity to some Western observers.

The use of veiled women in cartoons (Fig.20-21) ridiculing laws enacted in Ontario allowing the baring of female breasts in public, ironically positions the Eastern Other as arbiter of women's appropriate behaviour in the West. This farcical casting of the discourse of the veil mocks the veiled woman and reinforces Orientalist notions about the primitiveness of Oriental practices even as it reminds us that the veil denies the West access to the feminized essence of Oriental cultural integrity. The promise of forbidden pleasures continues to form one of the contradictory meanings ascribed to the veil in the West

where the eroticization of the purity of womanhood behind
the veil is a vital part of the Western cultural tradition.
In this I agree with Alibhai-Brown (1994) and others who
maintain that it is this paradox which mediates the West's
fear and fascination with the veiled figure (Brown 1987;
Mehid 1993).

The historic encounters between Europeans and peoples
in North Africa and the Middle East created situations in
which peoples were dominated materially, culturally and
politically. Western identities are formed, at least in
part, through reference to Others defined through
imperialist discourses. It is this awareness of the Other
that lays the foundation for the racialized political
structures and unequal relations of power which exist in
Western countries today.

The power relations of the imperial past and the
ideological frameworks denotative of European superiority
are naturalized through Orientalist discourse where the veil
marks women as authentic symbols of Islam. However, the
implications of this on political theoretical modelling
takes on a new urgency when Muslim women, the symbolic
representation of the Other, walk "our" streets, live in
"our" neighbourhoods and go to "our" schools. In a world
dominated by instantaneous communications, massive world-

wide immigration and interlocked economic systems "they" can
no longer be dehistoricized or placed in the arcane frame of
an imaginary past.

Canada and the Discourse of Difference

In Canada, difference is reconciled through the
philosophical ideal of multiculturalism[17]. As de Groot
(1996) notes, however, Canada's official policy excludes
white Western woman from its discourses. This reinforces
perceptions that inequality is based exclusively on culture
and race. In this way Canadian multicultural policy becomes
a strategy for the management of difference where difference
is restricted to inequality experienced by a cultural group.
de Groot (1996) explores the underlying presumption that
white Canadian women are equal to white Canadian men, and
the assumption that the inequalities ethnic women experience
are due to their ethnicity and not their gender. She
suggests that this effectively denies that Canadian women,
whether white or ethnic, experience inequality (de Groot
1996). It also suggests that women are not denied full
citizenship rights because of gender. This position
encourages Hoodfar's (1993) exploration of the frustration
of veiled Iranian women who are fighting for sexual equality
in a mosaic that only acknowledges them as signifiers of
their cultural group. She maintains that creating veiled

women into tropes of their cultural group places them in the position where they must choose between fighting sexism or racism in the context of their daily lives in the West (Hoodfar 1993). Khan (1995a) also explores how the sacrificing of gender to culture silences the Othered woman in Canada. Badeaux's (1996) political cartoon (Fig.22) is an example of how these presumptions are translated into Canadian newspapers via the medium of the editorial cartoon.

This cartoon, though based on United Nations information about the economic conditions of women all over the world (Fiske, J., personal communication, July 11, 1998), masks this reality by picturing a veiled Muslim woman. The implication is that the economic facts contained in the caption only apply to Muslim women, marking them as different from women in the West. The assumption underpinning this drawing is that Western women suffer no economic differences from men. In this way the iconography of the duplicitous veiled Muslim woman is used to mask the reality, not just of Muslim women, but, of all women. Through this masking, the cartoon presents essentialized images of the feminized Other and assumes a belief in masculinized Western superiority. Whether Badeaux's readers think this cartoon is funny or wry social commentary is unknown. What is clear however, is that this image arises from a conception of difference that is constructed through discourse where race is gendered and gender is racialized

(Lewis 1996:12). Another example which illustrates the acceptance of the feminized Other as hidden behind her ethnicity is found in Robert Munsch's 1995 children's book From far away.

This book tells a story about a kindergarten aged girl who has moved with her family from a war torn country 'far away' and her experiences adjusting to life in Canada. The child's veiled mother is neither exotic nor frightening and she remains in the background for most of the story. It is the Westernized father who encourages his daughter to assimilate and adjust to her new home. However, when the daughter decides to change her name from the ethnic sounding Saoussan to the Canadian sounding Susan, the mother forcefully intervenes. As guardian of the Othered culture, the visibly ethnic mother looms literally and figuratively over her daughter and forbids her to change her name (Fig.23). While this book makes a strong point about pride in ethnic heritage, it also stamps the veiled woman as a marker of the ethnic other. By dressing the father in Western apparel and the mother in ethnic costume, Munsch and his illustrator Michael Martchenko, inscribe the bodies of veiled women as emblematic of cultural difference for a whole new generation of Canadian children.

Similarly Orientalist discourse frames two essays found in Far and Wide: Essays From Canada edited by Sean Armstrong, a social studies text used by students in grade

eleven at Prince George Secondary School in Prince George,
British Columbia. In the first article, Naheed Mustafa
tells us she wears the veil because it gives her the freedom
to reclaim her body from the unwanted gaze of men. She says
it releases her from the shallow pursuit of superficial
beauty. Mustafa is openly critical about the stereotypic
responses she has experienced as a result of wearing the
veil. She wonders if people really do think of her as a
terrorist or as a "poster girl for oppressed womanhood"
(Mustafa 1995:89). One senses her frustration over the fact
that even though she was born in Canada, people see her veil
and assume she is an illiterate immigrant.

In the essay immediately following Mustafa's, Catherine
Meck (1995) a journalist who has lived in Islamic countries
offers her views on veiling in Canada. Interestingly Meck
is given the opportunity to comment on Mustafa's essay,
while Mustafa does not have the opportunity to challenge any
of Meck's opinions. Meck attacks Mustafa's opinion that the
veil gives her freedom and labels it a "uniform of
oppression" (Meck 1995:91). She states,

"Its one thing to see covered faces as the exotic and
mysterious product of another culture you can leave
behind when you return home. But finding them on my
home turf, I have to confront my fears about what this

kind of dress represents for me, and for all women:
backwardness, submissiveness, degradation" (Meck
1995:93).

With this statement Meck positions veiled women outside
the discursive space of the Canadian state. In so doing
Meck reflects the opinion of some who would deny veiled
women voice, political agency and citizenship rights. The
Orientalist paradigm relegates veiled women to the private
sphere reinforcing Western patriarchy which proclaims that
"women's normal identities are not the nation space but the
family space" (Kaplan 1997:45). In addition, Orientalist
discourse authorizes Meck's appropriation of the cultural
practices of the East and structures her creation of
relevant knowledge about the Oriental. Further, Orientalism
confirms Meck's authority to speak for the inferior and
hidden Other.

Women wearing the veil in Canada are subjected to a
range of reactions. They are yelled at insulted, reviled in
the press, and perhaps worst of all, merely tolerated (Kurd
1995; Lemon 1995). The static colonial image which has been
absorbed into our thinking denies Muslim communities in
general and veiled Muslim women in particular any political
voice or agency. The controversy over the wearing of hijab
in the Province of Quebec during the run up to a referendum
on provincial sovereignty raises pertinent questions about

the political agency of the individual and the construction of national identity. Further, it helps us to define the processes involved in how states react to the marginalized Other when that Other seeks to assert citizenship rights.

In September 1994 a female student was suspended from a Montreal French language secondary school because she was wearing a hijab (Leclerc 1994). The principal explained that by wearing the hijab the student had violated the school's dress code. She stated, "distinctive cloths like the hijab or neo-Nazi regalia could polarize aggression among young people" ("Veiled Threats in Quebec" 1994). By identifying the Islamic veil with regimes like that of Nazi Germany, this educator has deliberately introduced fear and loathing into a debate. The veil now portrayed as a symbol of totalitarianism gives rise to the anxiety, horror and revulsion Westerners are schooled to experience when faced with the 'fanatical' East.

In December of the same year another student at a different Montreal area high school was also sent home for wearing the hijab (Block 1994). Jean-Louis Boucher, Chair of this school's parent advisory committee, stated that his group was unanimous in adopting a resolution to ban the Islamic scarf. He stated, "Look, there are 1,200 religions in Quebec and it has to stop somewhere" ("Veiled Threats in Quebec" 1994). Also in 1993, a privately funded Islamic

school opened in Montreal and instituted a dress code which forced teachers to wear the hijab as a condition of employment.

While the Quebec Human Rights Commission found that dress codes banning the Islamic scarf in public schools were discriminatory, they also asserted that the Islamic school's dress code violated the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms by forcing teachers to wear the hijab ("Banning of Hijab Called Discriminatory" 1995). In responding to questions about this controversial ruling, Bernard Landry, then Deputy Premier of Quebec, said the government would not intercede in the matter. However, he did state: "Religious freedom, like all others, has its limits. Our role is not simply to allow the exercise of these freedoms but also to establish limits" ("Veiled Threats in Quebec" 1994). Jean Pare, editor of L'Actualite, endorsed this view by stating that the hijab "is a rallying symbol for Muslims in their struggle against the Western satan. In accepting into our home this symbol, we are contributing to our own destruction and that of our values of equality and tolerance" ("Veiled Threats in Quebec" 1994).

The message is obvious, Muslims may wear hijab in their own private schools but not in schools funded by the provincial government where "our" students attend. The Muslim community, symbolized by veiled woman, is not welcome into the Quebec "home" unless they adopt the national

collective identity the Quebec government has forged for itself as it proceeds towards its goal of sovereignty. The imagery of the violation of the home is a startling posture that confirms the veiled woman as marginalized excluded Other vis `a vis Canadian society. Equating the acceptance of hijab with the destruction of societal values recalls Orientalist discourse where the corruption and decadence of the East must be kept at bay.

This debate shows how exposed women are when they, as women, are perceived to be out of place. Simply by wearing the veil, these young women transform a private act of faith into a public symbol of Islam. The transgression of the private/public boundary creates their bodies into sites of conflict between their cultural group and the state authority. The Orientalist rhetoric surrounding the wearing of hijab denies an opportunity for a debate on religious pluralism. Further, it enforces a discursive silence preventing women from defining themselves within a multi-ethnic social fabric.

In asserting their authority, states define who is a citizen and who may benefit from citizenship rights within its sovereign territory. By forcing veiled women to negotiate their place as citizens through their veiled bodies, the Quebec government domesticates difference and

silences the wealth of meanings attributed to the veil and other gendered cultural symbols which impact on everyday political participation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Implications and Conclusions

By investigating the impact of culture and gender on international political theory through the use of conceptual metaphor, I have contemplated a range of meanings attributed to the gendered cultural symbol of the veil. In addition I have speculated on the role this symbol plays in the construction and manipulation of power relationships. However, this thesis is but an initial step in a long journey towards a more complete understanding of the processes at work in the international sphere.

In considering this ambitious task I am drawn back to my experience in the Vancouver restaurant. The reaction generated by those veiled women and my perception that this was significant formed the catalyst for this study. In trying to make International Relations theory relevant to my own life experience I discovered others whose stories also have the potential to affect how international political theory is formulated. The student who is called a terrorist, the young woman who is subjected to lewd comments because of her veil, the women who cannot wear the veil if they hope to get a job; all these women have stories which have been marginalized from traditional International Relations theory. For me, the challenge was not in proving

that their life experiences are politically relevant,
although this forms a substantial part of the thesis.
Rather, the challenge was going beyond the disciplinary
boundaries of traditional International Relations theory to
search for intellectual tools which allow these stories to
be heard.

By considering the impact of Orientalist discourse from
a feminist perspective, I explore how encounters between
East and West have been marked, and continue to be marked,
with the stamps of difference. Evidence that understandings
of gender and culture continue to structure the position of
the Other in the West, encourages my belief that models of
political decision-making must include these factors within
their frameworks. Further, Gole's (1996) work shatters the
conception that traditional culture and religion disappear
in the so-called natural progression toward modernity. By
assuming this, traditional political theory fails to account
for the political impact of the myriad cultural and social
identities found within states.

The use of conceptual metaphor to assess the impact of
culture and gender on political events reveals much about
the cultures within which particular meanings occur.
Western conceptualizations of the veil construct the Islamic
garment into an signifier of deceit. Even the meaning of
the word 'veil' signifies subterfuge and guile. Orientalist
discourse bonds the veil's message of deception and

duplicity to a sexualized imagery, so that the feminized Other becomes a gendered agent of manipulation and exploitation who purposely masks intentions and obscures motives.

This study illustrates how metaphors of the veil distance the West from East. This makes the veil a particularly effective metaphor to analyze in terms of traditional International Relations theory. Examining the role of the veil as a mask and the concealment it affords reveals important characteristics about the power politics under study in the international sphere. The sexualized nature of the veiled woman underscores the gendered nature of power relationships while highlighting how power and the construction of nation are overlaid with Western patriarchal and androcentric assumptions about gender, religion, and cultural practices.

A study of the metaphorical meanings of the veil also yields insight into the position of the individual vis `a vis the nation and the state. Like gender and culture, the individual is marginalized to the private sphere of the domestic, family and household realms. In addition, realist theory assumes the automatic and unquestioned allegiance of citizens to states and ignores the complexity of the gendered cultural identities, the voices and the political wills of individuals. However, my analysis of Orientalist discourse reveals that states

conceal their urge to power behind the mask of national
security, even while they construct national identities
through the manipulation of memory, social conventions,
cultural meanings and historical events. In this sense the
veil and its meanings, whether framed within imperial
discourse or within movements of national liberation, become
a signifier of power at the international level.

A number of questions remain about the construction of
gendered cultural metaphor of the veil. Why are all veiled
images not the same? What is the effect of the particular
historical and cultural contexts within which the veil is
found? Why, in different political climates or even in the
same one, do different meanings of the veil occur? These
unresolved issues notwithstanding, my study confirms the
effectiveness of conceptual metaphor as a tool of inquiry in
the international arena. The importance of this approach to
international political theory is emphasized when we
consider how states might manipulate culture and ideology to
disguise the acquisition and exploitation of power. The
significance of the creation of the feminized Other and the
potential of this, and similar, images as ideological tools
at the international level cannot be minimized. Lurie's
cartoon in Time Magazine which depicts a feminized male
Other, dressed in flowing robes and surrounded by other
symbols emblematic of the timeless and dangerous East, is
evidence of this (Fig.24). This cartoon and the fact that

it is found in an influential American magazine emphasizes International Relation's need to acknowledge the importance of symbolic discourses to international political discourse.

If we accept Morgenthau's gendered assumptions about the nature of rational man's drive to acquire and wield power then International Relations must be about conflict and war. However, if we respond to the feminist challenge, the adversarial view of the international system is revealed as partial and imperfect. If we acknowledge that gender and culture contribute to understanding, theory is opened up to new explanations of how power relationships are structured in the international system.

Sedghi (1994) suggests that a gendered cultural approach allows for the elimination of hierarchy rather than its maintenance as the goal of International Relations theory. Others suggest that opportunities for new understandings of power and power relationships are created through this (Brown 1988; Tickner 1994; Beckman 1994). Critical to any new advances in International Relations is the lesson Pasic (1996) imparts to us about the importance of the social world within which politics takes place. She suggests that we take advantage of the opportunity to write theory contextually, where people live. In this way clarification of the processes involved in the creation of the ideological and physical boundaries between "us" and "them" is possible. The reality is that "we" and "they"

have contact and that a theory of interaction dictated only by one philosophical point of view is not complete (Lapid 1996b).

If we broaden the scope of traditional International Relations theory beyond that of a state-centric international system, we gain valuable insight into the processes involved in the gendered politics of boundary making. Not only does the discourse of difference add to our knowledge of how political identities are constructed, it enhances our understanding of the dynamics of power in the international arena.

A realist might suggest that an analysis of the metaphorical meanings of the veil is too esoteric and impractical to explain the harsh dynamics of global politics. However, as I contemplate the potential explanatory value of different ways of thinking and knowing to international political theory, a study of sexualized imagery is not an expression of "wide-eyed idealism" (Grant 1994:128). It is a key to better theory.

NOTES

1.   For further discussion on the major schools of thought in International Relations theory see, Viotti, P.R. and M.V. Kauppi (1993) and Booth, K. and S. Smith (Eds.) (1995) International Relations theory today. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

2.   In this thesis I use the word hijab also spelled hejab, interchangeably with the word veil to refer to traditional Islamic head, face or body covers which are also known under other names: headscarf, chador, chadir, burkah and nigab or face veil. As defined in The Oxford encyclopedia of the modern Islamic world 1995 v.2, New York: Oxford University Press, there is no single word equivalent in Arabic for "veil" which is referred to as the most commonly used term for all forms of traditional coverings.

3.   The literature criticizing traditional International Relations approaches is extensive. Pertinent items include Rosenberg, J. (1993) The international imagination: IR theory and "Classic social analysis." Millennium: Journal of International Studies 23(1):85-108, Culture in International Relations special issue of Millennium 22(3) 1993, Verwiej M. (1995) Cultural theory and the study of International Relations Millennium 24(1):85-111 and Ruggie, J.G. (1993)

Territoriality and beyond: Problematizing modernity in
International Relations *International Organization*
47(1):139-174.

4.   A number of writers discuss the male gendered imagery
associated with the state. Major texts in this area include
Pettman, J.J. (1996), Sylvester, C. (1994), and Tickner,
J.A. (1992). Partha Chatterjee also discusses this concept
from the unique perspective postcolonialism affords. I am
particularly interested in what Chatterjee terms the
"hypermasculinity of imperialist ideology" (1993:69). In
chapter five I suggest that International Relations theory
needs to address the impact of symbolic discourses on power
relationships in the international sphere. An example of
this type of work in the Indian context is, Sinha, M. (1995)
*Colonial masculinity: The 'manly Englishman' and the
'effeminate Bengali' in the late nineteenth century.*
Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.

5.   There is a significant amount of literature on women in
Islamic countries and the significance and implications of
the veil within particular cultural and historical contexts.
I consulted a number of texts for this study. For example,
for information on Algeria, Egypt and Turkey consult M.
Lazreg, A.E. MacLeod, and N. Gole. Additional material on
other Middle Eastern and North African countries may be

found in: Olson, E. (1985) Muslim identity and secularism in contemporary turkey <u>Anthropological Quarterly</u> 58(October):161-171; Mernissi, F. (1975) <u>Beyond the veil: Male-female dynamics in a modern Muslim society.</u> New York: Schenkman.; Mernissi, F. (1987) <u>The veil and the male elite: A feminist interpretation of women's rights in Islam.</u> New York: Addison-Wesley; Yaganeh, N. (1993) Women, nationalism and Islam in contemporary political discourse in Iran <u>Feminist Review</u> No.44:3-18; Najmabadi, A. (1993) Veiled discourse-unveiled bodies <u>Feminist Studies</u> No.3:487-518; Nakanishi, H. (1994) <u>Creating the "ideal" woman and reconstructing "Islamic" women: Ideology, power, and women's consciousness in post-revolutionary Iran.</u> Ph.D. thesis University of California, Los Angeles; Yeganeh, N. (1993) Women, nationalism and Islam in contemporary political discourse in Iran. <u>Feminist Review</u> 44:3-18; Shukrallah, H. (1994) The impact of the Islamic movement in Egypt <u>Feminist Review</u> No.47:15-32; Sallam, A.M.A. (1980) <u>The return of the veil among undergraduate females at Minya University, Egypt.</u> Ph.D. thesis Purdue University; MacLeod A. (1991) <u>Accommodating process: Working women and the new veiling and change in Cairo.</u> New York: Columbia University Press.

6. There is debate over the meaning of postcolonialism. In this thesis I use it to include works of social criticism that are concerned with the unequal and uneven processes of

power relationships, whether these focus on the colonial
past or whether they deal with the social and cultural
spaces of our increasingly interconnected world.

7.   I use this term to include the European War of 1914-
1918, commonly known as World War I, and the European War of
1939-1945, commonly known as World War II.

8.   A thorough investigation of nationalism is beyond the
scope of this paper. Works which consider nationalism
beyond the realist perspective explored here include:
Couloumbis and Wolfe (1996), Viotti and Kauppi (1993), Haas,
E. (1993) Nationalism: An instrumental social construction.
Millennium 22(3):505-545, Haas, E. (1997) Nationalism,
liberalism and progress. Ithaca: Cornell University Press,
Ignatieff, M. Blood and belonging: Journeys into the new
nationalism. Toronto: Viking, Smith, A. (1995) Nations and
nationalism in a global era. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press,
and Ward, B. (1966) Nationalism and ideology. New York:
Norton.

9.   Discursive attempts to homogenize national identities
are not always successful. A glaring example of failure is
the Israeli state's attempt to construct a national identity
which excludes its Palestinian citizens.

10. I use this term in the same sense as Inayatullah and Blaney (1996) when they suggest that the ahistorical acultural state of nature fable prevents International Relations theory from providing a more meaningful analysis of a culturally diverse international society.

11. Prestney examines the role of culture and science in the historical construction of the Western Self. Through her study of the Hottentot Venus, she illustrates how Western thinking, and specifically International Relations theory, is based on assumptions about the hierarchy of difference.

12. An odalisque is an Eastern slave or concubine found especially in a Sultan's seraglio or harem.

13. I am aware that discourses of the veil in the West are not as homogeneous as they might at first seem. As I point out on p. 33, discourses of the veil, as well as imperialist discourses are not uniform, nor static, but rather they reflect their historical and cultural contexts.

14. Products with these images include: Casbah brand couscous pilaf and Uncle Ben's brand specialty rices pilaf.

15. For examples of this see: Hepburn 1994, Fatima 1994, and "Women have become targets in undeclared war" 1994.

16. CBC is the common name for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

17. The official definition of multiculturalism is, the recognition of the diverse cultures of a plural society based on three principles: we all have an ethnic origin (equality); all our cultures deserve respect (dignity); and cultural pluralism needs official support (community). Source: Canada. Report of the Standing Committee on Multiculturalism. (1987) Multiculturalism: Building the Canadian mosaic. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, p. 87.

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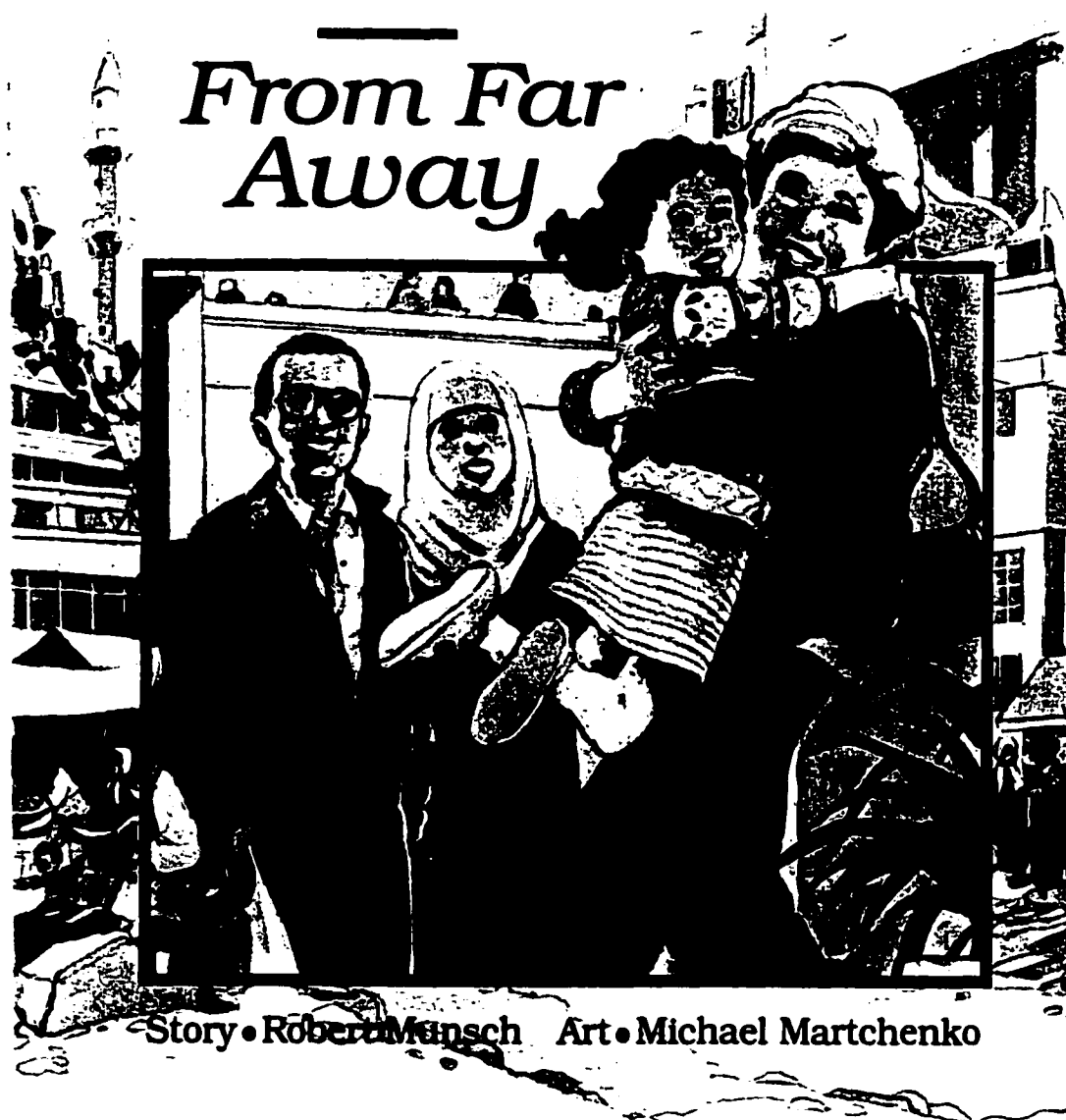
Fig. 1   Book cover. Munsch, Robert (1995) <u>From far away.</u>
Toronto: Annick Press. Art work by Michael
Martchenko.

Fig. 2   "Tuareg" watercolour by Irene Klar.
           Published and distributed by:
                Links Fine Art Cards,
                Box 33036, Glenwood Postal Outlet,
                Edmonton, Alberta   T5P 4V8
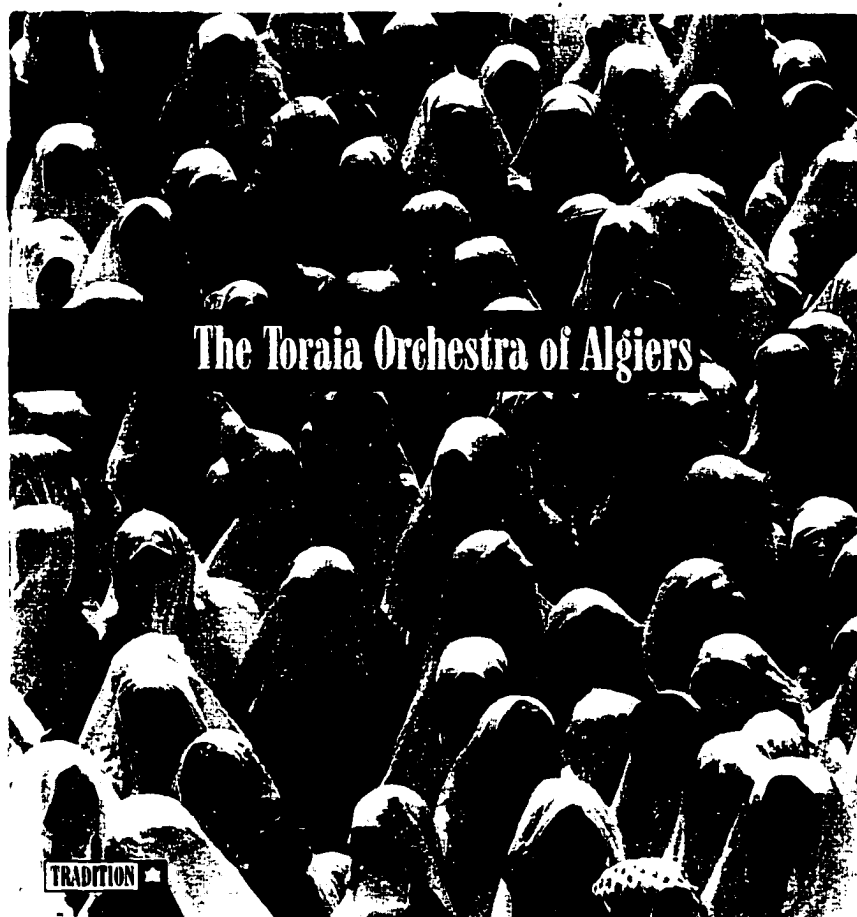
Fig. 3   Compact disc jacket. The Toraia Orchestra of
          Algiers. (1997) Ya Bay! London: Tradition.
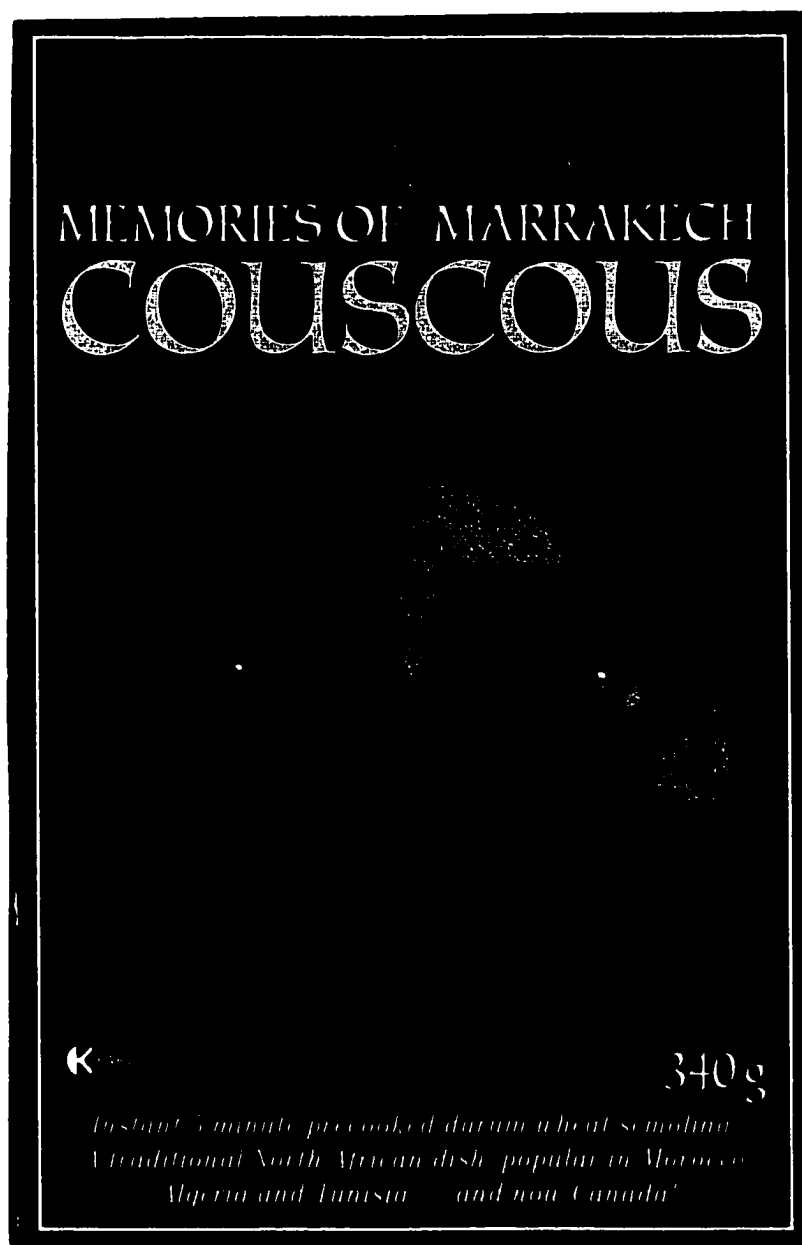
Fig. 4   President's Choice Memories of Marrakech brand
          couscous purchased at Overwaitea Foods in Prince
          George, B.C.

Fig. 5   Fashion designer Jean-Paul Gaultier's response to
         the debate over the wearing of the Islamic
         headscarf in French secular schools.

Fig.6   Jean-Jules-Antoine LeComte de Nouy. <u>L'esclave blanche, The white slave.</u> 1888. Oil on canvas.

7.1

7.2

Fig. 7   7.1 Jean-Auguste Domonique Ingres. <u>Odalisque.</u>
              1820. Oil on canvas.
          7.2 Edouard-Bernard Debat-Ponsan. <u>The massage.</u>
              1883. Oil on canvas.

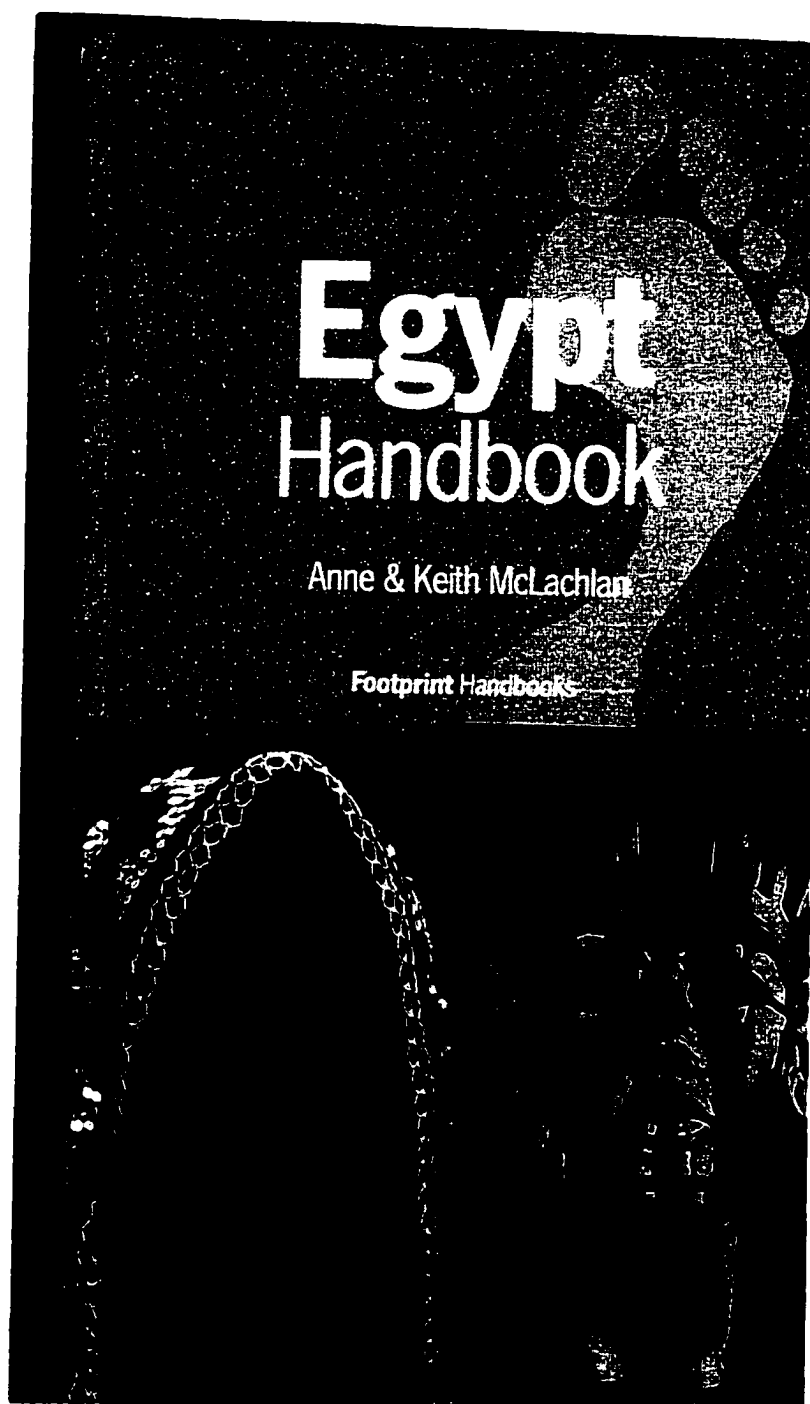Fig. 8   1979 Travel brochure from Insight Travel Company, London, England advertising a tour to the Middle East.

Fig. 9   Cover illustration from McLachlan, A. and K.
          McLachlan (1997) Egypt handbook. Bath, UK.:
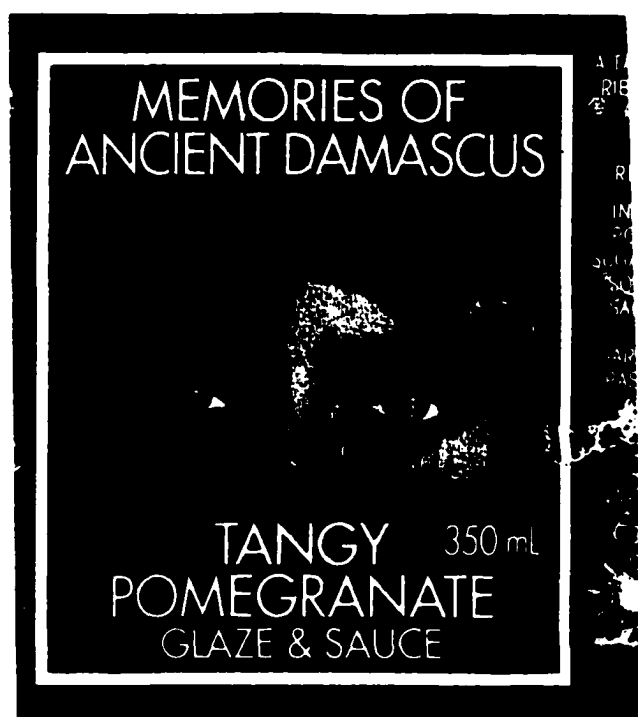   Footprint Handbooks.

Fig. 10   Label from a bottle of President's Choice brand
           Memories of Damascus glaze and sauce. The image
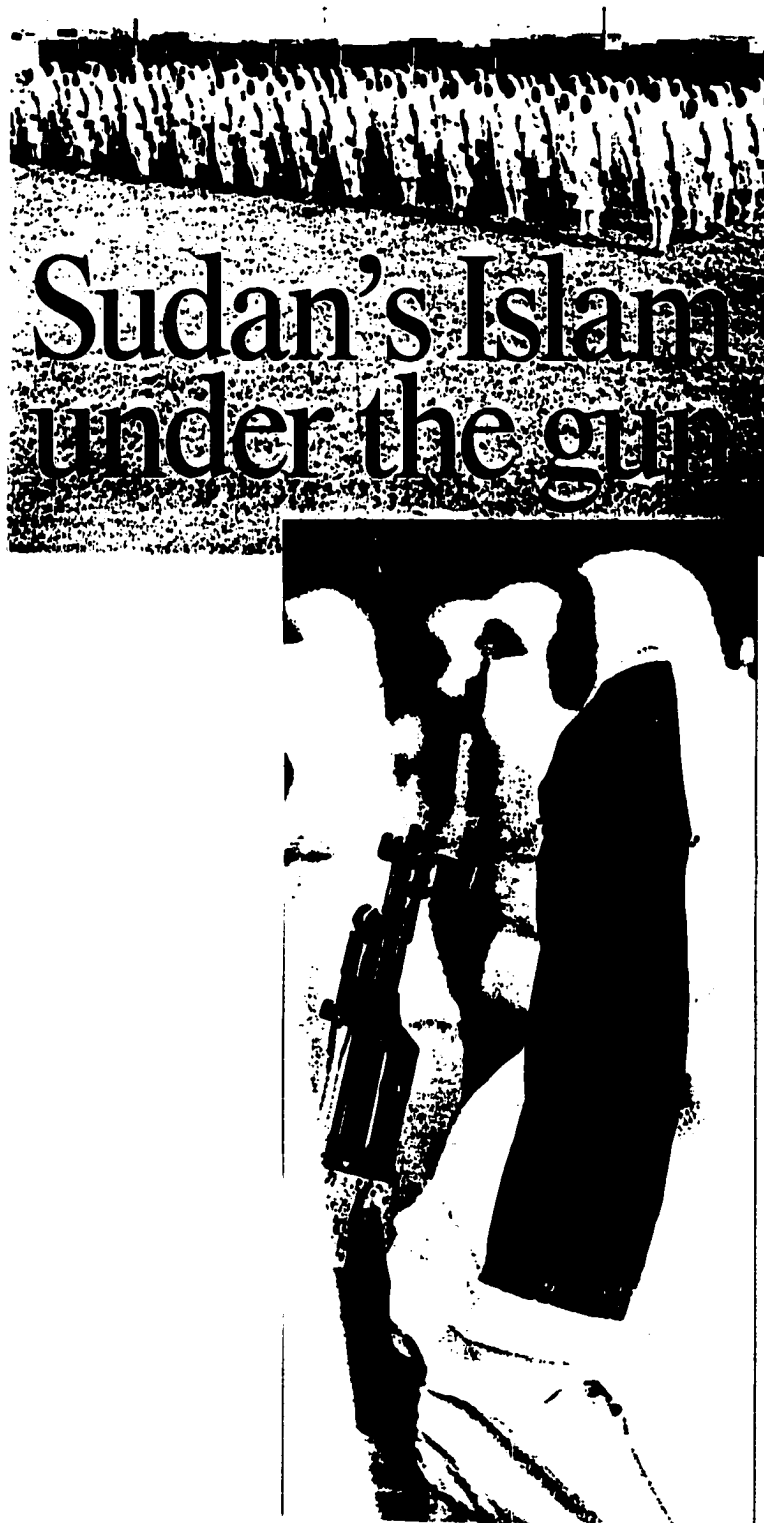   is identical to Fig. 4.

Fig. 11   These photos appear in full colour taking up 3/4
           of the front page of the Insight section of the
           12 April 1997 <u>Toronto Star</u>, p. C1.

Fig. 12   In a 1997 World Press Photo of the Year, an
            Algerian woman grieves after the massacre in
            Benthala, Algeria. This photo appeared in the 14
            February 1998 Prince George Citizen, p.30.

Fig. 13   This picture illustrates a story in the 7 October
          1996 Maclean's magazine entitled, "The tunnel that
          started the battle" about Palestinian reaction to
          the opening of an underground passageway in
          Jerusalem.

Fig. 14   This photo illustrates Don Belt's article on conflict in Galilee in the June 1995 National Geographic.

Fig. 15   This portrait of a mother with her war-injured
child accompanies an article on the on-going
conflict in Afghanistan in the October 1993 issue
of National Geographic.

Fig. 16   Cover of a special insert entitled "Not again for heaven's sake" in the 6 August 1994 issue of The Economist on Islam and its impact on the West.

Fig. 17   This photo captioned "Islam and the West: The next
          war they say" is in a special insert on
          Islam in the 6 August 1994 issue of The Economist.

Fig. 18   This photo is captioned "Young women in a Tehran
           street stray from the colour black as the strict
           Islamic dress code is relaxed."   It illustrates an
           article entitled "Modernists take on Iran's
           mullahs" in the 12 April 1998 Guardian Weekly.
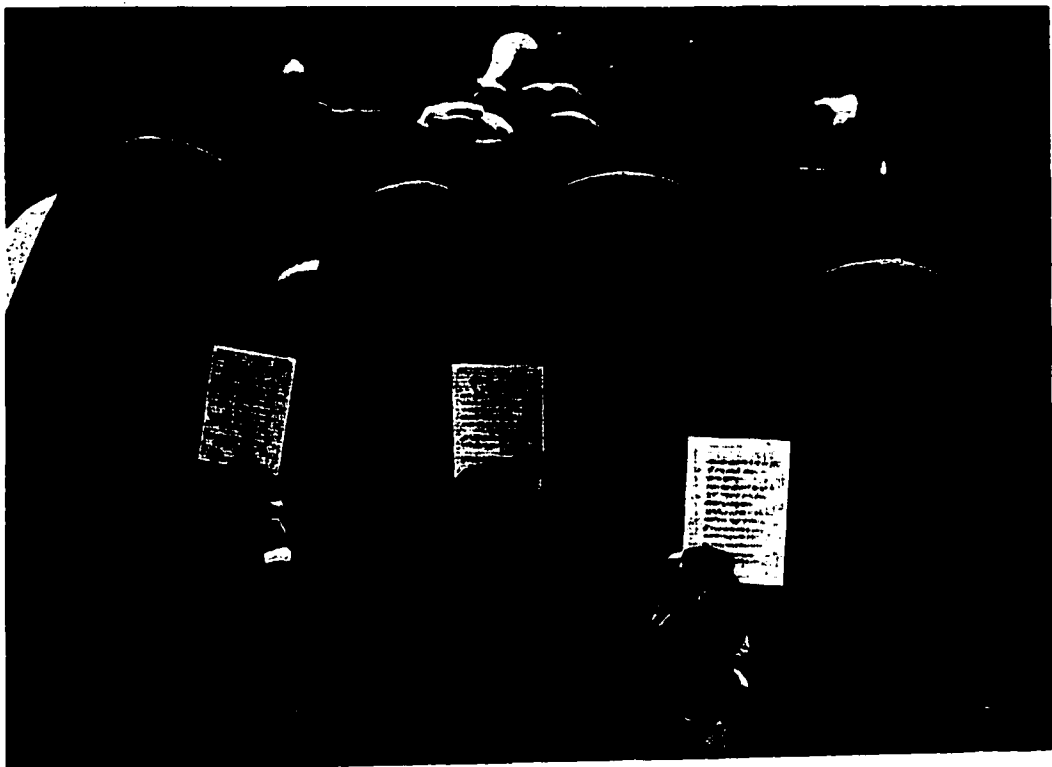
Fig. 19   This photo appears in the 4 May 1997 Guardian
           Weekly. The caption describes how these women are
           lined up to vote in Yemen's parliamentary
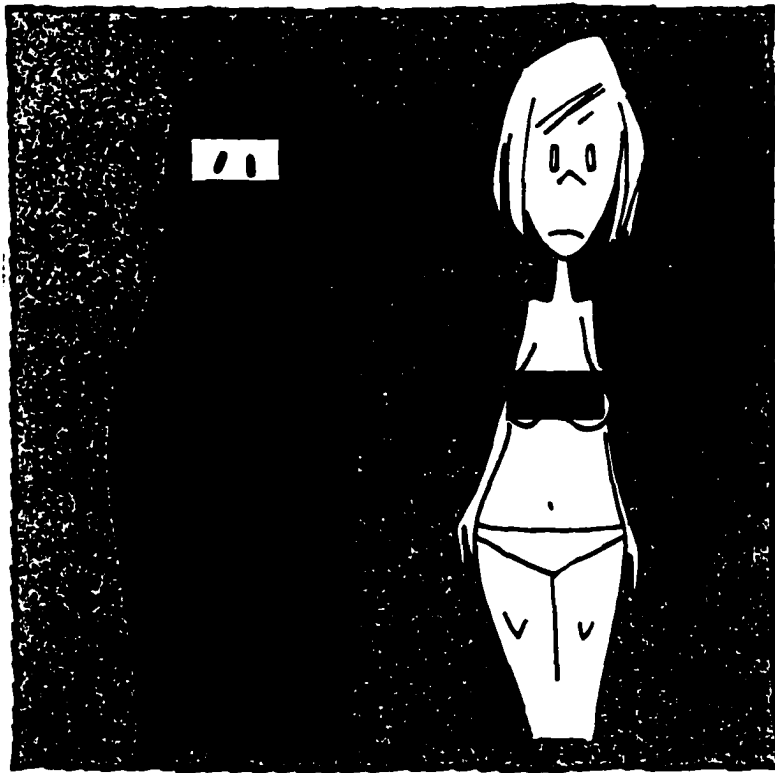   elections where 2,306 candidates are seeking 301
           seats.

Fig. 20   Editorial cartoon by Guy Badeaux (pseudonym Bado)
           originally published in Le Droit Ottawa in 1997.

Fig. 21   Editorial cartoon by Charles Jafee (pseudonym Je)
           originally published in the Ottawa Citizen in
           1997. The caption reads, Summer in the city:
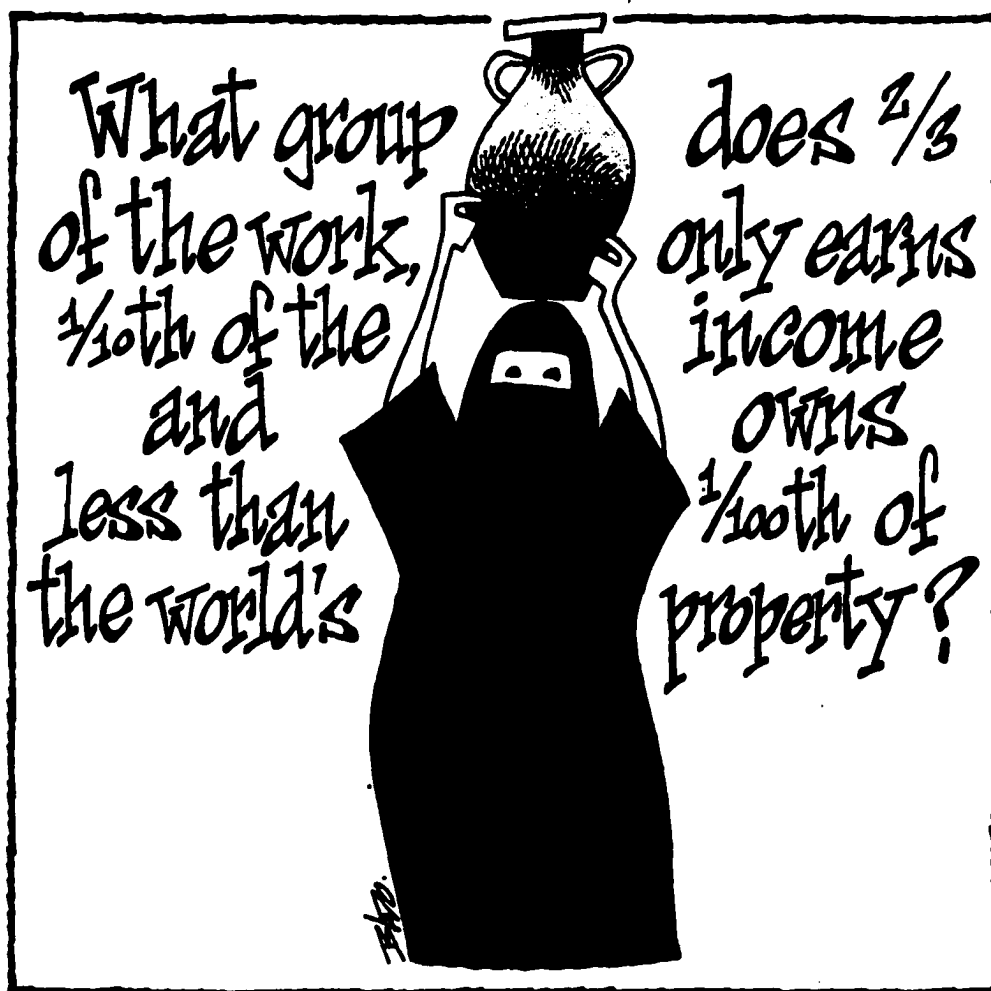   1998?

Fig. 22   Cartoon by Guy Badeaux (pseudonym Bado) originally
           published in Le Droit, Ottawa in 1996.

Fig. 23   Illustration from Munsch, Robert (1995) <u>From far
           away.</u> Toronto: Annick Press. Art work by Michael
           Martchenko.

Fig. 24   Lurie's World. Cartoon from <u>Time Magazine</u>,
July 8, 1996.