Novel and Nation in the Muslim World

Literary Contributions and National Identities

EDITED BY
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I&N
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One of the main objectives of this series is to explore the relationship between Islam, nationalism, and citizenship in its diverse expressions. The series intends to provide a space for approaches that recognize the potential of Islam to permeate and inspire national forms of identification, systems of government as well as its capacity to inspire oppositional politics, alternative modes of belonging, and the formation of counterpublics in a variety of local, national, or transnational contexts.

By recognizing Islam as a transnational phenomenon and situating it within transdisciplinary and innovative theoretical contexts, the series will showcase approaches that examine aspects of the formation and activation of Muslim experience, identity, and social action. In order to do justice to, and make better sense of contemporary Islam, the series also seeks to combine the best of current comparative, genuinely interdisciplinary research that takes on board cutting-edge work in sociology, anthropology, nationalism studies, social movement research,
and cultural studies as well as history and politics. As research on Islam as a form of identity is rapidly expanding and as interest both within the academia and within the policy community is intensifying, we believe that there is an urgent need for coherent and innovative interventions, identifying the questions that will shape ongoing and future research and policy, as well as exploring and formulating conceptual and methodological responses to current challenges.

The proposed series is intended to play a part in such an effort. It will do so by addressing a number of key questions that we and a large number of specialist interlocutors, not only within the academia, the policy community, but also within Muslim organizations and networks, have been grappling with. Our approach is premised on our understanding of Islam and the concept of the nation as resources for social identification and collective action in the broadest sense of these terms, and on the need to explore the ways in which these interact with each other and inform public debate, giving rise to a diversity of experiences and practices.

We would like to thank the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul and the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Lund University, for their support in initiating the series.

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Novel and Nation in the Muslim World

Literary Contributions and National Identities

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This book is part of a larger thematic project that focuses on the relationship between Islam and nationalism. The project was initiated at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul (SRII) in February 2007. Since then a number of conferences have taken place under the aegis of the project, and a number of publications have appeared. As one of the results of these activities, Palgrave has initiated a series of publications, titled *Islam and Nationalism*, patterned on the themes of this network. This volume is part of that series. We extend our sincere gratitude to the series editors, Umut Özkirimli and Spyros Sofos, for their efforts and encouragement.

The foundation of this volume, which explores the role of fictional prose literature, especially the novel, in the formation of nation-states in the Muslim world, was laid during a conference in Istanbul in October 2012. We extend our warmest thanks to the conference participants for their willingness to engage in discussions on this topic, as well as for their valuable contributions during the conference and throughout the work on this volume. Since the conference, several other meetings have been held at SRII locations in Istanbul as part of the preparation for this book. We therefore owe special gratitude to SRII, its board of trustees, and its director, Professor Birgit Schlyter. Due to her background in Turkish language and literature, she has taken a special interest in the program. We also wish to thank administrative assistant Helin Topal for her kind and unstinting support during these gatherings.

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Is fiction for leisure only? This is a redundant question for the humanist involved in literary studies. However, it is not so for scholars in the social and political sciences, since the division of labor among academic disciplines has largely cut off political and social scientists – as scholars – from the realm of letters. Fiction, especially prose, is a source of knowledge too significant to be ignored in the study of social and political relationships. Years ago, Dennis Wrong in *Power: Its Forms and Uses* (1979) expressed the same idea by saying that problems pertaining to state and society were too vital and complex to be left to the social sciences only. The analysis of power and authority – the main subjects of his work – had much to gain from fictional literature. Not unexpectedly, Wrong supported his analysis of the ambivalent nature of legitimate authority by quoting at length from the episode of the inquisitor in Dostoyevsky’s *The Brothers Karamazov*.

For several decades, literary studies have been moving from an exclusive preoccupation with aesthetics to inclusion of an interest in the social contexts of various literary productions. Both Azade Seyhan and Gregory Jusdanis, among the contributors to this book, are recognized representatives of this wider, sociologically oriented perspective. By contrast, it seems there has been a greater reluctance among social and political scientists to include fiction in their studies. With few exceptions, Dennis Wrong’s pioneering work has not gained much traction. The purpose of this book is to illustrate, with the help of 11 case studies from various Muslim majority countries, the benefits of taking fictional literature into account in the study of religious and national identities. Taken together, the case studies show different aspects of how the complex entanglement of nation, religion, and modernity, in context of political and cultural identity formation, is probed and verbalized in prose fiction.
Introduction

Within the larger domain of social and political science issues, this book addresses the problem of nationhood. A fundamental tenet is that under modernity, the state (the modern nation-state) has become a more significant institution (or aggregate of institutions) in the daily life of the ordinary citizens than any premodern state, ancient or feudal, ever was. This contention is based on the assumption that the individual citizen encounters the state more directly than was the case in earlier epochs of human history. Charles Taylor describes what he calls the “direct-access society” in the following way: “In whatever many ways I am related to the rest of society through intermediary organizations, I think of my citizenship as separate from all of these. My fundamental way of belonging to the state is not dependent on or mediated by any of these... I stand, alongside all my fellow citizens, in direct relationship to the state, ... the object of our common allegiance” (2004: 159). The counterimage is offered by premodern political systems, built on estates and other communitarian structures. In such systems, the individual was connected to king/state through several personalized relationships: child to father; father to landlord; landlord to feudal lord; feudal lord to king. In a somewhat different way, Norbert Elias (2001) argued that whereas in premodern society, family, tribe, and village served as a “survival unit,” in modern societies, it is the state that plays that role for individuals. The state has drawn closer to the individual and has become a more significant part of his/her daily life than ever before.

The primary focus of this study is not the state as an aggregate of formal institutions, but the ways in which individual citizens identify with the nation, understood both as a political and a cultural community. The nation as a political community concerns the relationship of individuals to the state and deals with mutual rights and obligations. In this perspective, the nation is a group of people bound together as citizens, irrespective of their cultural, ethnic, and other loyalties. The nation as cultural community, by contrast, relates to senses of shared belonging, mostly through linguistic, ethnic, and/or religious identities (Heywood 2007). In the chapters of this book, both aspects are present, even though the main emphasis is on the second, the nation understood as a cultural community.

What makes fictional literature an especially significant source in the study of nationhood is its abundance of identity-related narratives. Linking prose and nation opens the doors to a new realm of research, and the purpose of the present volume is principally exploratory and experimental. Thus stated, the major motives for our book are threefold. The first arises from the idea that prose (i.e. novels, short stories, plays)
can be read as reflections or mirror images of national identities and/or public sentiments. The second dwells on the function of fictional literature as agents in the formation of identities, especially of the nationals concerned. And the third concerns the respect and esteem (symbolic capital) rendered by the wider international community thanks to the existence of a powerful corpus of national literature and, as an effect of that, the efforts by educated and/or ruling elites to launch and bolster such literary manifestations as part of the nation-building project.

Novels as mirrors

I have found Nobel Prize winner Naguib Mahfouz’s *Cairo Trilogy* (1994 [1956–57]) especially powerful in exposing the linkage between novel and nation. Notwithstanding an already abundant literature on Mahfouz’s authorship (Le Gassick 1991; Beard and Haydar 1993; El-Enany 2007), I am here venturing a “nationalist” reading of his work as an illustration of the arguments raised above. His monumental work represents a telling example of an epic, which reflects the lives and inner worlds of individuals from very different walks of life in Cairo in the 1920s and 1930s, a critical period in the formation of Egypt as a modern nation. The political events, narrated through the family members of the patriarch Al-Sayyid Ahmad Abd al-Jawad, their relatives, friends, and business companions, run like an undercurrent throughout the novel. The family, depicted over three generations, is first portrayed as a durable and solid institution, built on strong solidarity. As the generations shift, the family splits, never to reemerge in its traditional form. And as time goes by, the individuals become more autonomous and directly exposed to the various institutions of the state, or organizations within it, and the public sphere.

The characters, narrated through an intricate web of public events and interpersonal relationships, are complex, often revealing inner contradictions. Hopes run high about the country’s national independence and progress; however, prospects are tragically thwarted. For Ahmad Abd al-Jawad’s youngest son Kamal, the author’s alter ego, the disillusionment and frustration at the outcome of the struggle for full national independence is symbolically represented in his experience of an unrequited, albeit Platonic love affair. Young Aïda comes from an upper-class family, well embedded in diplomatic circles and with strong connections with France and other esteemed countries in the West. The story reveals how Kamal’s uplifted feelings toward her are eventually dashed,
in a way analogous to the betrayal by imperial Western powers of the Egyptian people's hopes for national independence. The emotional intensity inherent in Kamal's concern for the well-being and international standing of his own country could not have been brought to the fore so powerfully without the intervention and invocation of another symbolic event or experience, the adoration, almost worship, of young Aïda. Only in this way could Kamal's sublime love for his country avoid being expressed as overwrought nationalism.

Mahfouz's novel offers ample illustration of the various dispositions or habits at work among individual actors in this drama. The grandchildren of Ahmad Abd al-Jawad come of age in the Egypt of the 1930s. Youngsters from the same family find outlets in various political movements: one joins the Communist Party, another the Islamists around the Muslim Brotherhood. In terms of family upbringing, lifestyle, and values, they share similar backgrounds. Still, they go in opposite directions in terms of political engagement. However, beyond these differences stands the question of the future regional and international status of Egypt. The basic concern, cutting across political ideologies, is the question of Egypt's future as a fully independent nation. It is in that context that their dispositions and actions have to be interpreted.

Novels as agents

The question raised in this section concerns the possible influence of the novel on the formation of identities, especially of the nationals themselves. The dialogues in Mahfouz's novel are often combined with long inner deliberations, offering insights into the deeper or wider motives behind the actions and attitudes of various characters. No reader could easily remain untouched by such revelations. The novel has the potential to strengthen the self-consciousness, and hence the personal and/or collective (national) identity of the reader.

Benedict Anderson (1983) has pointed to another effect of fictional literature in the formation of national identities – eloquently described as “imagined communities” – namely the tearing down of the walls of individual separation, isolation, and/or privacy. Through the narratives conveyed in novels, individuals gain deeper insights not only into their own selves, but also into the selves of other individuals from different walks of life. In this way, the repertoire of available “others” in the constitution of individual and social identities increases considerably. The novel thus becomes a significant participant in the process of the formation of nationhood, that is, it contributes to the formation of the idea
(or imaginings) of the modern nation, and the notions of self in the minds of readers/citizens.

**Fictional literature as participant in the nation-building project**

The third rationale for linking novel and nation derives from a theory developed by Gregory Jusdanis in *Belated Modernity and Aesthetic Culture: Inventing National Literature* (1992), and it is further elaborated in *The Necessary Nation* (2001). His work constitutes a theoretically more developed argument than the foregoing ones, which are more provisional. According to Jusdanis, nations are formed in competition with each other, with weaker nations experiencing an urge to catch up with those perceived to be more advanced. The experience of underdevelopment or backwardness, so often heard in relation to the “Third World” vis-à-vis the “West,” is by no means limited to present-day developing countries. In fact, this syndrome was found in earlier periods of European history among the latecomers to modernity, such as Germany, Greece, Spain, and Portugal, in relation to the forerunners, such as Britain, Holland, and France.

In the studies mentioned above, Jusdanis maintains that people use culture to bring about social change. One example is provided by the idea that fictional literature, and especially the novel as a genre, plays out as an important strand in the struggle to assert one’s own nation vis-à-vis more advanced ones. Fictional literature is rallied or mobilized as an important resource, since a tradition of strong novelists provides a country with prestige and status, even where, in other respects, it is considered less advanced or even backward. Russia in the nineteenth century is a telling example. So is Egypt in the post-war era.

**Novel and nation in the Muslim world**

Why a book on novel and nation in the Muslim world? For one thing, this cultural field constitutes a general research interest among the initiators of this book, and there is an apparent dearth of studies on it. Beyond that, the answer is closely related to the above discussion in which it was suggested that Muslim majority states generally are nation-states in the making. Following Jusdanis (1992, 2001), including his chapter in this book, the use of fictional literature for political, especially nationalistic, purposes belongs to a certain phase in the nation-building process. A key element in that process is the experience of belatedness
and, based on that, a conscious effort to catch up with more developed nations with the help of culture, specifically fictional literature. For consolidated nation-states, that chapter largely belongs to the past, which means less political pressure on literary production in the present. By contrast, in the Middle East and other parts of the Muslim world, this phase is more current and present. Thus, we are here dealing with politico-cultural contexts in which the novel–nation problematic can be studied as it evolves and unfolds. Among the cases presented in this volume, this is most evident in Hashem Ahmadzadeh’s analysis of Kurdish fictional literature, where a Kurdish nation-state is still but a vision projected into an uncertain future, and also for conflict-ridden, not yet fully consolidated states, such as Libya, Yemen, Iraq, and Pakistan (British India).

All the countries that are the focus of the case studies in this book are Muslim-majority states. This means they are all part of the same Islamic civilization. In addition, all of them, more or less, suffer from instability and/or lack of institutional consolidation. Institutional deficiency is true not only of civil-war ravaged Iraq, Libya, and Yemen, but also of Algeria, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, and British India/Pakistan. Seemingly more stable nation-states, such as Turkey and Iran, still have a long way to go before a more settled order is in place. The connection between these two strands – religion and instability – is not causal. The instability and/or belatedness is related to the way in which the world economic order has developed under modernity rather than to any inherent characteristic of the Islamic religio-cultural heritage. This does not mean that the importance of culture is ignored in our approach. On the contrary, this study is based on the assumption that culture, here considered in the form of fictional literature, is a factor to take account of in the formation of nations as political and cultural communities.

What unites the case studies in this book is the prominent presence of an Islamic heritage, but the choice of cases within this larger civilizational domain is based on cultural and linguistic diversity. Too often, Islam or Islamic culture is exclusively identified with the Arabic language and its literature, as well as with Arabic nationhood, especially as represented by Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine that are all countries with a strong literary tradition (see e.g. Suleiman and Muhawi 2006). In this study, we have chosen to steer away from the Arabic core and instead emphasize more outlying states such as Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Iraq, and Yemen and non-Arabic countries and/or areas such as Turkey, Azerbaijan, Iran, Kurdistan, and British India (the Muslim community).
This focus has several advantages. First, attention is drawn to the scope of cultural and linguistic variation within the Islamic world. This in turn counteracts essentialist notions of Islam. Second, it emphasizes the multiethnic contexts within which many national communities and/or identities are shaped in the Muslim world. Third, it also underlines the importance of defining and clarifying the wider historical and political context. Fourth, by examining the fringes, less mainstream and less well-known literary productions are uncovered and brought to the fore. Finally, the exploratory character of the study is a call for a more experimental, non-systematic approach: our purpose is not to vindicate specific theories and hypotheses, but to generate new ideas.

Presentation of the chapters

The authors of this volume are drawn from different fields in the humanities and the social sciences and constitute a medley that is both multidisciplinary and colorful. The book is divided into five parts: one introductory and four comprising mainly geographical clusters of case studies. The first set of such studies relates to Turkey, Azerbaijan, and the Kurdish-speaking areas of eastern Turkey and northern Iraq. The second covers North Africa (Algeria, Morocco, and Libya) and the third the Arabian Peninsula (Saudi Arabia and Yemen) and Iraq. The last part addresses non-Arab nations further to the east (Iran and the Muslim communities of British India). Since the initiative for this book was taken by scholars connected to the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, there is an overrepresentation of authors from the Scandinavian countries. In spite of their small size, Sweden and the other Nordic countries can pride themselves on a relatively long tradition of Oriental research, a tradition carefully nurtured by universities, research institutes, and sponsoring foundations.

In addition to this book overview, the introductory section contains a chapter by Gregory Jusdanis, which represents the key theoretical contribution to this volume. For more than 20 years, Jusdanis has worked on problems related to fictional literature and nationalism, especially in a European and Latin-American context (1992, 2001). What many view as a new “discovery” – studying nations and nationalism through novels – is for him a well-established research agenda. Jusdanis in his contribution to this volume outlines with great poise and in broad brush strokes the close affinity between national literature and nationalism; emphasizes, for most countries, the importance of a literary canon, comparable to other symbolic expressions of nationhood such as a flag, an army, a
bureaucracy, and a legal system; points to splits and divisions within the same nation and how this is reflected in literary texts; underlines the transnational aspects of nationalism; and highlights paradoxes, such as the distinction between texts being bound to a particular nation, but not necessarily representative of that nation. These observations are situated within a historically oriented framework, where nationalism is firmly anchored in modernity. The overall question Jusdanis reflects on in his chapter is the future prospects for literature as we know it today. Is there, for example, a place for the novel in a society where more and more communication is expected to take place in cyberspace? Are we already in a post-national and post-literary era?

The first case study deals with Turkey. The author, Azade Seyhan, is a professor of German and comparative literature, but she has written extensively on Turkish literature, for instance in *Writing Outside the Nation* (2001) and *Tales of Crossed Destinies: The Modern Turkish Novel in a Comparative Context* (2008). Turkey has a rich literary tradition, and novel writing goes back almost a century and a half. Still, the experience of belatedness, of lagging behind the more advanced nations of the West, has been a typical preoccupation of Turkish writers and intellectuals. Where Jusdanis has emphasized the political effects of belatedness, a state of mind that promotes literary production for the good of the nation, Seyhan gives a different – more existentialist – interpretation of this experience. According to her, rather than being a sign of backwardness, belatedness is an integral aspect of modernity itself. The famous lines from *Communist Manifesto* – “All that is solid melts into air” – contain the explanation of this experience. Under modern/rational capitalism, social transformation is so deep, stirring, and pervasive that people are generally unable to keep up; therefore, they experience themselves as always being a step behind. The feeling of belatedness is itself an indication that a nation is under the spell of modernity. It is through narratives, literary or otherwise, that this predicament finds articulation. Seyhan (2008: 1–2) writes:

Nothing allows us a more insightful access into other times and cultures than narratives. The relentless passage of time brings in its wake inevitable surges of amnesia and awakens in human consciousness a sense of irredeemable loss. From the desire to reclaim what is lost or beyond reach spring narratives that connect us to our pasts and to others in webs of intimacy and memory as well as in webs of enmity and error. Such narratives respond to the universal human need for identification or affiliation with a clan, a community, a religious or
ethnic group, or a state. Contingencies of history and politics, however, pose a constant threat to any stabilization of collective identity, for these entangle us in the histories of numerous others, leading to fragmentation and reconfiguration of allegiances. It is precisely because of the unstable and unpredictable nature of life and history that we draw on fiction to lend in retrospect sense, unity, and dignity to fragmented lives and times.

Seyhan’s overall aim is to settle accounts with Orientalism, specifically to question essentialist notions based on the West versus Islam. This too is Jusdanis’s intent, but his mode of argument is different.

In her contribution to this volume, Seyhan elaborates on narratives related to the encounter between Islamists and Westernizers. In no other country in the Muslim world has secularism been as deeply embedded in official ideology as in Turkey, a discourse, however, that has not gone unchallenged. The secularism–Islamism rift runs deep in Turkish national identities. Seyhan’s chapter deals with these divides and how, in various ways, they were represented by some of the well-known novelists of the early republican period – Reşat Nuri Güntekin (1889–1956), Halide Edip Adıvar (1884–1964), and Yakup Karaosmanoğlu (1889–1974).

Chapter 3, by Zaur Gasimov, examines Azerbaijan, which offers a different experience. Azerbaijani national identity, as it is known today (“Azerbaycanlı olmak” – being a citizen of Azerbaijan), developed during the Soviet era, but it has its roots in an unusually mixed linguistic, ethnic, and religious environment. Caucasia is notorious as a borderland, where Turkish, Arabic, Persian, and Russian influences have mixed intensively and extensively. The Russian influence became especially noticeable after the czarist conquests of this region in the Russian–Persian wars of 1806–18. The transnational context of the early twentieth century was based on dense networks, in which the educated elite could read and communicate in three languages as they traveled between cities such as Istanbul, Tabriz, Baku, Tiflis, and Kazan. The literary work analyzed in this chapter is a play entitled My Mother’s Book, written in 1918–19 by the Azeri author Celil Memedkuluzadə (Celil Memedkuluzade 1869–1932) and staged in Baku in 1923 and Tiflis in 1924. The historical context, with all its linguistic, ethnic, and religious diversities, dynamics, and transformations, is carefully delineated. So is the plot of the play, its author, his intellectual environment, and the reception of the play from the 1920s until recent times. This chapter offers ample illustration of how Muslim identities
have been asserted and carved out in a highly multiethnic, borderline environment.

Chapter 4 by Hashem Ahmadzadeh deals with Kurdish nationalism, or rather proto-nationalism. In this chapter, the reader encounters a relatively new literary tradition that has developed in Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, all countries where Kurds are part of the original population but constitute a minority. In addition, because of the political repression of Kurdish minorities that has forced many people to take refuge outside their own countries, a fifth category of diaspora Kurds has developed, especially in Europe. The literature referred to in Ahmadzadeh’s chapter originates in all five contexts. A shared, overall theme is the ethnic (or nationalistic) and political resistance to the repression by the ruling elites of their own “homelands” and the quest for a Kurdish nation and nation-state. What complicates the formation of a common Kurdish nationalist discourse, however, is not only the existence of fragmented citizenships and very complex strategic political issues, but also the fact that the Kurdish language is divided into two main “dialects,” Kurmanji and Sorani – Northern and Southern Kurdish – and three different orthographies, based on the Arabic/Persian, Latin, and Cyrillic alphabets. These predicaments are brought to the fore and problematized in some novels, while, in others, the nationalist impulses weigh more heavily and are expressed in bolder, more explicit terms.

The next part deals with three North-African countries: Algeria, Morocco, and Libya. The history of colonialism and the struggle for national liberation weigh heavily on the literary productions in those countries. Of the three, Algeria has been most deeply involved in and affected by these developments. In Chapter 5, Abdelkader Aoudjit analyzes the Algerian novelist Kateb Yacine’s well-known novel *Nedjma* from 1956. In it, the crucial issue is raised of how to relate to and narrate a history that is not entirely one’s own, but forced on the nation by an intruder. In his analysis, Aoudjit points to the “deep grammar” (Wittgenstein) that underlies colonial history, namely the difficulties experienced by nationals in freeing themselves from the colonizer’s hegemonic narratives without taking refuge in a romanticized view of primordial, ethnically pure origins. Based on the assumption that literary form and content are closely connected, Aoudjit’s analysis concentrates on the structural forms of the novel. The novelist Kateb developed various techniques by which the complexity and confusion of the whole colonial/postcolonial experience can be articulated. With ample illustrations from the narrative itself, Aoudjit demonstrates the effects achieved by shattering the chronological order; by having the same event narrated by different characters; by depicting the past
through reflections and dreams of the characters; by including reflections on the fictional character of the narrative. Through these and other techniques, the novelist has been able to evoke the idea that historical representations are in fact constructions.

Morocco’s experience of colonialism was shorter, less dramatic, and less pervasive. However, as much as the monarchy has been a stabilizing factor, it has also served as a brake on social and economic reform. Morocco is therefore a country with major development problems, including high rates of illiteracy, something that directly affects literary production in the country. In Chapter 6, Florian Kohstall analyzes three Moroccan novels published in 1956, 1967, and 2010, respectively. All focus on the vulnerable parts of the population, such as lower-class people, people who cannot even make a living for themselves, and street children. Because they offended the establishment, these novels triggered heated debate in Morocco and abroad. An important insight conveyed by Kohstall is that fictional literature represents a field in which highly critical and controversial issues related to national identities are formed and expressed, issues that are meant to challenge the officially endorsed and exalted notion of nationhood.

Libya resisted colonization for a long time. In *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (1949), Edward Evans-Pritchard provided an illuminating analysis of the religious and tribal forces that, combined, were able to keep foreign invaders at bay after the Ottomans departed in 1912. It was only under Mussolini, during the 1920s, that Italy was able to conquer these areas, but at the cost of almost total devastation. The modern novel has really not had a chance to develop under these circumstances. Modern literary works did not enter the market until the 1980s, and literary production has been modest. Tetz Rooke’s contribution, Chapter 7, is an analysis of the work of Kamil Hasan Maqhur (1935–2002), considered to be one of the best writers of his generation. The chapter particularly centers on expressions of collective identities and possible inner tensions. Bearing the precariousness of Libya as a nation-state in mind, as well as the burgeoning character of Libyan fiction, the question of the impact of such early literature on the formation of national identities renders this chapter especially interesting.

The third part focuses on the Arabian Peninsula – Saudi Arabia and Yemen – and Iraq. In Chapter 8, Madawi Al-Rasheed analyzes a very different stratum of Saudi Arabian society, namely young, well-educated women who, during the past decade, have raised their voices against the old guard. The Wahhabi ʿulamāʾ do not have the monopoly on cultural and political identities any longer, and it is especially the young Saudi women who challenge the establishment. This chapter analyzes recent