Are Capitulating), Henryk M. Broder, is fuelling anti-Muslim sentiments, is seeking to enrage the public against Islam, and even suggests that ‘young Europeans who love their freedom should emigrate to Australia or New Zealand’ (p. 135). These ideas resonate with the Australian white supremacist’s discourse on Muslims in Europe as ‘invaders’.

All in all, Esra Özyürek’s book is a great contribution to the fields of anthropology, political science, and religious and racial studies in that it richly documents the growing racist, xenophobic, and Islamophobic discourse in the new Europe. The book successfully shows the counter-discourses and empowerment strategies used by Muslims by birth and converts to make Europe a home for Islam. While revealing to us the most intimate details of the lives of converts, the book also indicates the political ramifications of religious conversion, which can take the form of threats, fear and violence against the converts. This book should be on the current ‘must-read’ list of books about the new Europe that is being re-shaped along the lines of race, religion, and the ‘refugee crisis’.

Unveiling Lower-Class Bodies and Queering Labour History: ‘Industrial Sexuality’

Claire Savina


In *Industrial Sexuality, Gender Urbanization and Social Transformation in Egypt*, Hanan Hammad investigates the effects of industrialisation, urbanisation, and mass capitalism on the construction of modern gender and sexual identities. She focuses on the daily experiences of male and female workers, adults and children, in al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā, the largest and most productive Egyptian textile factory and, in 1947, the stage of the most important protest in the history of modern Egypt. Through a challenging exploration of archival sources that have been left aside by historians of labour, on the one hand, and historians of gender, on the other hand, the author describes how the industrial modernisation and organisation of the town and a coercive class hierarchy led to the concentration of tens of thousands of strangers, men, women, and children at work and at home and to aggravated
violence, sexual harassment, molestation, prostitution, and the spread of diseases. She argues that this, along with a fair sense of injustice and a feeling of national solidarity, led to the tremendous strike of 1947. She exposes the social and national anxiety around sexuality and reveals how the private and public boundaries, in al-Maḥalla’s compounds, were blurred, exposing both homosexual and heterosexual sexualities to the public. As put by Liat Kozma on the cover, author of *Policing Egyptian Women: Sex, Law, and Medicine in Khedival Egypt*, ‘Hammad’s book is a beautiful micro-history of a place, one of the best histories of labour I have ever read, and also a wonderful exemplar of gender history.’

*Industrial Sexuality* focuses on the first half of the 20th century, namely between the 1920s and 1947-49, when, after the Egyptian Revolution, the Egyptian bourgeoisie launched a drive for industrialisation, financed by the Bank Misr Group and the Egyptian Industrial Federation. The book follows the evolution of the working and living conditions of workers at the Misr Spinning and Weaving Company since its establishment, in 1927, in al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā – which was already home to what since 1912 had been the second most active cotton market in the country, and notably was also one of the tension points during the uprising of 2011 – up to the infamous strike of 1947 that caused its unthinkable closure for two months.

Her work is, Hammad writes, ‘based on the idea that local social groups play a key role in the struggle between change and continuity’. Originating in the – necessary – trend of ‘from below’ history, she argues that ‘[m]ale and female peasants, artisans, and workers were not merely recipients of change imposed by outside forces’ but also participated in making and writing history. Consistent with what makes her research and book so rich and precious, Hanan Hammad chose to look at sources produced by the locals themselves, when available, along with state documents. Examining the archives of the company, the Department of Corporations in the Finance Ministry, and the Cabinet, among other official sources, and court reports, petition files from the ‘Abdīn Archive, contemporary periodicals, memoirs, and oral history, Hanan Hammad provides colourful yet tragic accounts of the working and living conditions of those workers, female and male, and both those who were originally from al-Maḥalla and those who had come, alone or with their families, from villages in the Delta to tempt their chances and build a better, modern life.

The text, which follows ‘men’s and women’s journeys as they were transformed into gender-classed industrial urbanites’, is divided into six chapters:

The first chapter describes the relationships between the ‘docile’ male workers and the supervisors, the ‘afandiyya’, and explores the transitional and at times conflictual navigation between traditional and modern masculinities. It presents the constant violence, which was occurring here at the nexus of two forces: the hostile population from al-Maḥalla, the ‘al-Maḥallawīyya’ (as opposed to the ‘Shirkawīyya’,}
the population of al-Shirka, “the company”, familiar term used for the MSWC, and the coercive and intrusive industrial organisation, as the performance of both a contestation and alteration of men’s masculine identities. The paternalist attempt to recruit ‘docile’ workers and to control them with threats and physical violence is shown here to result in contradictory and competing (hyper)masculinities.

The second chapter continues the exploration of masculinity at the time of industrialisation and urbanisation. It goes further in the exploration of violence as an expression of manhood, which was necessary and crucial, the author argues, to the process of adapting to industrial and urban life. Males from the rival communities of the Maḥallawiyya and the Shirkiyya, and namely the futuwwa, who disappeared from bigger Egyptian cities at the turn of the 20th century, still control al-Maḥalla, especially in specific, men-only spaces, and seek to protect their communities and challenge the state. The chapter also retraces the micro-history of three families in al-Maḥalla and their powerful ties (e.g. oversight over parades and ballot boxes) to the nationalist notables in the period after the 1923 Constitution was introduced. This serves Hammad as an opportunity to engage with another, this time bourgeois, representation of masculinity. The chapter ends by emphasising the overall solidarity, the ‘male glue’ that was at work in the hyper-populated town and factory of al-Maḥalla.

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on women and the construction of a modern, urban, industrial female identity. Chapter 3 looks specifically at lower-class women workers and engages with both gender equality and inequality. Demonstrating that mechanised factory work, equally new for all new workers, women and men, in essence neutralises gender basic dichotomy, Hammad points out that no women served on the company’s board or in high administrative positions. She brightly analyses the processes whereby women’s labour is rendered invisible in modern work production and examines the separation or absence of women in labour history. Inequality of pay and violence – both between women and perpetrated by men jealous of female workers ‘taking their jobs’ (for less money) or while sexually harassing them – are here revealed to be a daily component of working conditions.

As a counterpoint, and in what seems to be a way of re-balancing a male-focused history while also exploring the small-scale management of a newly urbanised area, Hanan Hammad focuses her fourth chapter on middle-class women. Here she examines the social history of landladies and their contribution to the town’s socio-economic transformation. This chapter gives the reader another perspective, one that is entirely situated outside the factory, and provides an understanding of the nature of the housing market at a time of intense urbanisation, with the constant arrival and multiplication of new workers.

The fifth chapter, following the analysis of the construction of female and male
workers’ identities in a newly industrialised urban context, engages with two other forms of violence: sexual abuse and public coercion. If the cases of sexual harassment (and rape) of women seem under-represented here, probably because of the lack of written, accessible sources, the sexual violence suffered by children working at al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā is greatly exposed through multiple cases. Hammad describes how homosexuality between lower-class men was treated under the scrutinious eyes of normative Egyptian society. By comparing the treatment of upper-class and lower-class alleged sex offenders she manages to demonstrate that the punishment of sexual offenses depended more on class than on the crime. The author unveils the hypocrisy of an oppressively surveillant society at the time and persuasively describes how the female body, which is supposed to be protected and hidden, was carelessly exposed to the public, in many cases through intrusive medical examinations, intended to ensure this very protection.

Particularly brilliant is how the ‘journey of male and female workers’, adults and minors, ends with the strike of 1947. Underlying the analysis of the construction of gender and sexual identities throughout the book, Hammad never fails to shed light on the common sense of injustice felt towards the company and constantly reminds us that this fast and violent concentration of men and women in al-Maḥalla also became the stage of unheard-of solidarity and resistance against the hierarchy. Chapter 6, which shows both the reality of the significant damages caused by urban industrialisation on working bodies and the dehumanising cover-up by the company, which unfairly blamed sexual practices and launched a war of words against brothels and prostitution, concludes this book on the largest labour strike ever known in modern Egypt.

Although Hanan Hammad takes on the challenge gracefully and brilliantly, we can only regret that, unfortunately, the local sources cannot present a balanced picture and, for different reasons, are unequal in terms of gender – because of the almost systematic illiteracy of lower-class women, the reluctance to and the shame attached to testifying in harassment and rape issues, and overall invisibilisation of women at work in historiography. The memoirs that Hammad had access to were all written by men and we find that, while court reports contain an abundance of information about child molestation, accusations of adultery or sex outside marriage, suspicion of homosexuality, etc., all of which are related from a patriarchal perspective, there are very few accounts in the book of rape and sexual aggression perpetrated on women. This, of course, is not a criticism of Hammad’s work, quite the opposite; it only sheds light on the wager that, until the mid-1950s, the unequal treatment and perception of lower-class women represented for historians and reveals the mastery with which this study is undertaken and led.

At the intersection of labour and gender history, Hammad triumphs with what
would seem to be the impossible gamble of giving the lower-class bodies of al-Maḥalla a voice. Her comprehensive history of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā allows us to (re)think class and gender violence and inequalities at a time of massive urbanisation and intense industrialisation during a key moment in modern Egyptian and global history, and it presents a brilliant example of what micro-history, based on local sources, voices, and sexualities, can bring to the field, whilst unveiling lower-class bodies and queering labour history.

The Struggle over Women’s Bodies in the Global Beauty Industry

Anna Rybová


Looking for a nuanced analysis of beauty among gender studies literature? The Global Beauty Industry: Racism, Colorism and the National Body, published by Routledge in 2016, is a perfect introduction to the ways in which beauty standards are used to regulate women’s bodies and lives. The author, Meeta Rani Jha, is a Black, British, Asian scholar, who entered academia after a decade of feminist and antiracist activism in the UK and is currently teaching at UC Berkeley. In her book, she introduces the reader to a subtle analysis of beauty starting with US culture and then taking a global and transnational perspective. The goal is to introduce beauty as an analytical category in order to examine how beauty cultures are formed in the political context of globalisation, highlighting here the role of mediated beauty pageants in three different countries: the United States, India, and China. Each chapter focuses on using beauty as an intersectional framework to think critically about beauty’s imbrication in the structural power relations of gender.

The first chapter, ‘Beauty as Structural Inequality’, examines beauty as a structural inequality and deconstructs the myth of beauty pageants. The ultimate American dream for many young women and girls in the United States is to be crowned as the most beautiful woman in the country. Jha opens her book with an anecdote about Robin Morgan’s ‘No More Miss America’ (Morgan 1970: 484), where she outlines ten reasons for boycotting the prestigious American beauty pageant. Morgan sparked