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THE SOCIO-POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMAN A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF JOHN STUART MILL AND MUHAMMAD IQBAL

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Abstract: John Stuart Mill and Muhammad Iqbal are representatives of different socio-cultural norms and traditions. Being an empiricist, Mill's evaluation of social and cultural issues is different from Iqbal. Iqbal tries to understand and elaborate socio-moral issues in his religious perspective. Both of them acknowledge that women are having equal moral and human status in society, but Mill demands perfect equality in each and every domain of personal and public life of humans but Iqbal reduces the solution of inequality issue in the division of biologically assigned responsibilities and duties. Mill, as a liberal feminist, tries hard but remains failed in the implementation of principle of perfect equality between genders. Iqbal, who is against equality's debate, takes help from religion to answer the women's status question.

Key Words: Equality, Gender, Utilitarianism, Emancipation, Women.

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The world is a canvas that volutes with the concept of change being the only constant, having said that, certain variables have remained constant throughout the centuries. The top mentions of variables that remained rather constant over the ages are race and gender. From allocation of chores to other social and domestic responsibilities the categorization remains gender stereotypical. It is easier to find evidence of the designing of family and the responsibilities of family members from religious scriptures but no scientific evidence provides the proofs for the allocation of duties among human beings as family members. The equal participation of both genders for the purposes of reproduction can be seen among other species but after the birth usually mothers take care of babies for a certain period of time without the help of their male partners. Similarly, in human beings, childbearing and nursing are culturally assigned to the females; but unlike other species the males of human societies are socially and legally supposed to look after the needs of their children. It is also meaningful that these differences might not allow both genders to participate in physical, economic and social tasks equally. The whole description of the differences of bodily features and allocated duties do not entail any kind of legal subordination of one gender over another.

The study focuses on analyzing the paradigms of expression regarding the subject of Womanhood and femininity (legal and social) from the lenses of two prominent intellectuals; John Stuart Mill and Muhammad Iqbal. Mill represented the Western Culture of Victorian era, whereas Iqbal hailed as the leading scholar of United India. Mill being the advocate of equality between genders later on acknowledged that the principle of perfect equality is hard to be applied on human population. Iqbal under the influence of religion idealizes the domestic character of women. In this article both scholars will be discussed separately and in the end their views regarding emancipation of women will be compared with each other.

John Stuart Mill's life journey started in 1806 and it ended in 1873, whereas Iqbal graced the subcontinent in 1879 and the poet of the East died in 1938. Mill is considered as the most influential English philosopher of the nineteenth century with liberal and utilitarian approach in the dissolution of political and moral conflicts. Muhammad Iqbal is known for his poetry, philosophical writings on important issues of religion, theology and modern scientific advancements. Apparently, it seems that both of them do not share any commonality because of

geographic, demographic and cultural differences but their views regarding gender may attract readers especially when they try to determine the social and legal status of women. Mill was not a religious person, whereas Iqbal was a staunch believer of Islam, but both of them have almost same thought regarding the place of women in human society.

The socio-political and cultural features can have deep influence on the intellectual development of a person. To understand Mill's version regarding gender differences, the social, cultural and political features of England of his time can be helpful in the understanding of Mill's feminist approach.

In England, woman was considered equal to man from ages. The only meaningful purposes for a woman were to attract suitable man of upper most class to be her husband and to take care of her family. The higher and professional education in colleges and universities for women was not acceptable for English people. In Victorian era, the English society was divided into four classes: Nobility and Gentry, Middle Class, Upper working Class and Lower Working Class. Each class had its own rules and modes of conduct. To sustain identification and social status, it was not permissible for any member of a class to disobey the rules of his/her class. A slight change from one class to the other was considered as a serious wrongdoing among the people of English society. Women of elite class were happy in gossips, fashions, dance parties, balls, tea parties, horseback riding, knitting and social gettogethers. They were supposed to train their attendants in the maintenance of domestic tasks and to coach the unmarried young girls of their class to become elegant and delicate women. The lesser educated women from middle class were allowed to help their male family members in their family business. The women from middle class desired to attract males from the Nobility for marriages because this was the only way to switch over from middle class to the class of Nobility. The schoolmistresses, house keepers and governesses were from the upper working class whereas the women from lower working class worked were used to sell their handmade goods to others and they also worked as attendants in the hoses of the families of Nobility. The last class was of prostitutes and laborers. These ladies were not having opportunities to live their lives in a peaceful family atmosphere in accordance with their desires and preferences.¹It must be noted that the subordination of women in socio-legal matters was not a defining feature of Victorian society particularly, but the exploitation of women in England has been going on for centuries in the name of social, religious and legal regulations. The Regency and the Georgian eras are notable examples of the degradation of women due to gender segregation.²

John Stuart Mill is an advocate of individual liberty. He wrote On Liberty (1859) and Utilitarianism (1863) before writing The Subjection of Women (1869) which is the main document regarding his views on gender classification. In his On Liberty, he clearly states that no one ought to interfere in an individual's matters because it is against the principle of liberty. Even the society or state should not restrict an individual from doing some act, if that act is not damaging other fellow beings.³ He states that the beliefs adopted by the majority are always considered as the right ones, which is not a justifiable approach. He believes that the number of people does not determine the justification of the rightness of some belief. An individual or minority is never considered wrong because of having lesser advocates of the opinion against the views accepted by majority. He condemns the tyranny of majority in the rejection of minority's views and says that everyone should be given the right to design his/her own opinion freely but if someone's freedom is creating harms for others, the society should restrict his/her freedom to secure others from damages or injuries.⁴

Mill claims that all kinds of moral disagreements can be settled with the help of a utilitarian approach.⁵ He says that social and communal life demand welfare, happiness and progress as desirable consequences. Mill in his 1863's work *Utilitarianism* backed up Bentham by stating that the right acts are always the producers and promoters of happiness and acts with disastrous or evil consequences must be titled as wrong or immoral acts. Unlike Bentham who emphasized on the quantity of pleasures, Mill

¹ Role of Women in Victorian Era, http://www.victorian-era.org (April 6, 2020)

² Charlotte Betts, Women and Marriage in the Georgian and Regency Period

http://www.charlottebetts.com (April 3, 2020)

³ John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty 1959* (Kitchener, Ontario: Batoche Books, 2001), 1. 4 Mill, 8-9.

⁵ Mill, 14.

focuses on the quality and hierarchy of pleasures.⁶ He says that some pleasures are qualitatively higher than other pleasures irrespective of quantity; for example book reading provides a higher quality of pleasure than watching any adult video content.

Mill's On Liberty and Utilitarianism serve as premises for the designing of his argument regarding the emancipation of women. As an advocate of individual liberty and one of the pioneers of utilitarianism, Mill concludes that for the development of the society, it is necessary for every member of the community to use the abilities freely or without any hindrance. He strongly believes that human beings have natural propensities for self-improvement; therefore, they must be given equal opportunities to enhance their quality of life by their own personal experiences.⁷ He says that the development of mankind is impossible if the half of the human population is ignored and unaddressed. He claims that women, as the half of human population, are exploited for centuries by the male members of their families under the title of family prestige, social norms and religious doctrines. To him the standards of superiority and inferiority are entirely meaningless notions in the debate of gender classification. He condemns that the socially and legally accepted superiority principle of men over women is based only on emotions and does not have any logical proof for its validity.8

The Subjection of Women, in which Mill clearly expressed his thoughts regarding emancipation of women, was published in 1869 though it was completed in 1861. Mill, in his Autobiography, states that he intentionally kept this work with other unpublished writings because he was continuously working on its improvement. He served as a Member of Parliament from 1865 to 1868 in *The British House of Commons*. In 1866, he presented a petition for woman's right to vote, and backed the Married Women's Property Bill in 1868. After losing his seat of the Member Parliament in 1868, he was having enough time to revise the earlier draft of his essay. Therefore, it was published in 1869.⁹As a political scientist he stimulated that each and every woman should be given equal rights in human community and they should be

⁶ Mill, 11-12.

⁷ Mill, 55.

⁸ John Stuart Mill, The Subjection of Women 1969 (London: Penguin Classics, 1999), 1.

⁹ John Stuart Mill, Autobiography (London: Longmans, Green, Eeader and Dyer, 1873), 285.

able to use their right to cast vote as per their own desires. *The Subjection of Women* highlights his idea for a socially, morally and politically better society having perfect equality among its inhabitants without any grouping based on gender difference.

In the Victorian period woman did not have the right to vote in elections¹⁰ and she was not having the privilege to participate in political decision making. The English woman was not allowed to sell or purchase property in her own name. If she was gifted some property from her father as dowry, she was not allowed to use it in accordance with her own will after her marriage. Her husband was considered as the owner of all earnings from the properties of his wife. Her children also belonged to her husband. She did not possess any social or legal control over the family matters; so the husband had full-fledged authorities in the making of decisions regarding financial issues, property and children. No laws protected her from spouse abuse in domestic violence. The unmarried young girls tried to become elegant wives and the wives were supposed to take care of their husbands and children. No women were socially allowed to show disagreement with her husband in any family or domestic matters. No divorced woman was allowed to have contact with children without the consent of the father of her children. Many oppressed women could not leave their despotic husbands due to the fear of not getting permission to meet their children and the possibilities of social boycott from their own families after the commencement of divorce.¹¹

Mill as an empiricist raised objections over traditional morality which imposes restrictions and limitations upon women due to gender based physical dissimilarities. He wrote explicitly in his *The Subjection of Women* that in comparison with the male segment of society, women are never provided with open opportunities to exhibit their potentials and capabilities. They always served as subordinates, not as leaders; therefore, nothing can be asserted regarding their incapability of leadership. Mill says that the attitude and behavior adopted by females of his time were the consequences of societal habituation, and the real

¹⁰ In 1918 *the Representation of the People Act* was passed which allowed women over the age of 30 who met a property qualification to vote. Although 8.5 million women met this criterion, it was only about two-thirds of the total population of women in the United Kingdom. *UK Parliament.* 2020. https://www.parliament.uk (accessed October 21, 2020).

¹¹ Mill, On Liberty, 7,8,9,12,14,37,38,39,40,52,89

nature of womankind can be discovered if they will be given equal opportunities in the society.¹²

Mill was not a supporter of the traditionally designed institution of marriage and he considered marriage as a modern form of slavery. He said that man, as husband, needs an obedient wife without sentiments of her own to fulfill his psychological and physical desires. Moreover, the wife must not behave like a forced slave rather she must be willing to satisfy all physical, sexual, emotional, social, domestic and other needs of her husband. Mill criticizes those who advocate the power of superiority and force especially in the matter of man-woman relation by presenting the example of Southern American slavery and comparing it with the status of women. He quotes that the owners of the slaves used to assert that slaves were not suitable for freedom. Thus, freedom should never be granted to them. He says that the abandoned form of slavery has transformed itself in the institution of marriage. Mill affirms that the traditional concept of slavery is abolished with the passage of time and there remain no legal slaves, except the mistress of every house. Mill also concludes that all the law makers are always men; therefore, legal codes do not facilitate women in legal matters of inheritance, marriage and divorce. ¹³

Mill considered marriage as an unpleasant and ruthless form of slavery. To avoid master-slave relation in marriage, he suggests that marriage must be based upon equality principle so that the married couple may be having balanced and strong relationship. He advised both partners (husband and wife) to respect each other without considering the other partner as superior or inferior.¹⁴

Mill bemoans that law and religion both force women to get married to men; or else they have to stay in the convents until the last moments of their lives. Mill expresses his anger by saying that Churches were absolutely failing to act as an institution who opposed forced marriage instead it facilitated the occurrence. The one and only word anticipated to be heard from the bride in a wedding is a formal, ceremonial and religious "yes". After marriage bride has to follow the

¹² Mill, *The Subjection*, 85-88. 13 Mill, 92-93 14 Mill, 110.

rules of submission, obedience and compliance to make her marriage successful. Mill asserts that religious and social conditionings of women are responsible for such kind of conduct.¹⁵

Mill criticizes the role of religion in determining the status of women. He says that religion never came forward to protect women from brutal and violent social male members of the families. In the name of religion women were sacrificed, killed and forced to live in convents against their desires. He further stated that religion always supported men in divorcing women without proper justifications.¹⁶

He persisted that gender inequality is the main obstacle in the way of human progress. He claims that society would make progress if and only if women would be given equal legal, professional and educational opportunities. In his *Principles of Political Economy*, he criticized the difference of wages given to male and female workers. As women of his era were not offered opportunities according to their ratio in the community, the existent employments were inadequate for them. Therefore, Mill stated that the overstocked employments were responsible for women's low earnings.¹⁷

Although Mill made practical efforts to advocate for equal societal, legal and economic status for all genders, but later he admitted that socially defined responsibilities are very meaningful in the maintenance of family; therefore, woman should prefer to stay at home with her children for the welfare of her family. In the end of the second chapter of his *The Subjection of Women*, Mill shares his point of view regarding the societal and family role of husband and his wife.

... If she takes on any further share by having paid employment outside the family, it seldom relieves her from this but only prevents her from doing it properly. And that is very serious, because the care that she now can't take of the children and the household isn't taken by anyone else; the survivors among the children have to grow up as they best can, and the management of the household is likely to be so bad as to cancel much of the monetary value of the wife's earnings. In a just state of things, I

¹⁵ Mill, 37.

¹⁶ Mill, 73-74.

¹⁷ John Stuart Mill, Principles of Political Economy (New York: D. Appleton And Company, 1885), 247.

don't think it is desirable that the wife should usually contribute by her labor to the income of the family.¹⁸

Tulloch criticizes Mill for not being sensitive to the fact that the traditionally divided duties or labor is actually the division of power.¹⁹ Shanley supports Tulloch and says that Mill's division of labor creates distances between father and children. Moreover, this division of labor may have disastrous effects on the development of healthy marital relations.²⁰ Okin also raises objections over Mill's division of duties between husband and wife by saying that Mill advises women to stay at home to fulfill her domestic responsibilities, but he didn't ask or even suggested males to participate in household activities.²¹

Ring declares that Mill has inconsistencies in his arguments regarding the status of women in society. She critically evaluates Mill's claim that the true nature of women is still unexplored, thus without having prior knowledge of female capabilities; it is not legitimate to say that women cannot manage socio-economic, political or legal matters independently. He further blames that the traditional social morality has designed the life styles of women as subordinates to the male members of their families. Mill demands equality in every domain of life so that women can exhibit their true and unexplored nature. Ring says that Mill's objection can be applied on his own views. If he claims that unavailability of proofs of women inefficiencies does not entail their inferiority, then he still has no observable facts to affirm that women could perform better if they would be given equal rights. She denies that their true nature is not known.²²

The thoughts of John Stuart Mill regarding the status of women in human societies can be compared with the views of a South Asian Muslim scholar Muhammad Iqbal. Although both of them do not share

¹⁸ Mill, The Subjection, 57.

¹⁹ Gale Tulloch, Mill and Sexual Equality (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989) 30.

²⁰ Mary Shanley, "Marital Slavery and Friendship: John Stuart Mill's The Subjection of Women," *Political Theory* 9 (1981): 242.

²¹ Susan Moller Okin, "John Stuart Mill- Liberal Feminist." Women in Western Political Thought (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979) 229-30

²² Jennifer Ring, "Mill's The Subjection of Women: The Methodological Limits of Liberal Feminism." *The Review of Politics* 47, no. 1 (1985): 29-32.

any socio-cultural commonality but their conclusions regarding division of labor and social responsibilities of both genders have significant similarities.

Muhammad Iqbal derived his thoughts regarding status of women from predefined socio-religious roles and responsibilities assigned to Muslim women. He openly confessed in his The Muslim Community- A Sociological Study, that he is not an advocate of absolute equality between genders.²³ In the same lecture, he blamed that the Western Individualism and unhealthy economic competitions were responsible for the emergence of the erroneous conception of emancipation of women.²⁴ He said that there is no need of formal higher education for women because there will be no economic benefits out of this experiment.²⁵ He accepts the universality of some values in human culture, but asserts that every culture has its own socio-religious standards of right and wrong, therefore, it is not permissible for any society to blindly follow an alien's society's codes of life without prior understanding of the essence and importance of its own norms and principles. He basically wanted to stop Muslim women from following the Western slogans of equality between sexes because he thought that Western world had destroyed the role of woman which was assigned by the nature itself. He wrote that Islam assigns specific social status to women, so a Muslim woman must occupy her religiously prescribed social position in the society. Her education must be in accordance with the nature of her social status and religious responsibilities. For the welfare and continuity of national life, women should be necessarily given sound religious education along with general knowledge of the Islamic history, domestic economy and standards of hygiene. This knowledge will help her in providing intellectual companionship to her husband and she will become a successful mother which is the principle function and essence of any woman. Iqbal suggests that the Muslim women should not be taught subjects which can be effective in reducing womanhood or having tendencies of de-womanise and de-muslimise.²⁶

²³ Muhammad Iqbal, "The Muslim Community – A Sociological Study." In *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, edited by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, 118-137 (Lahore, Punjab: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2015), 134.

²⁴ Iqbal, "The Muslim Community - A Sociological Study." 134.

²⁵ Igbal, 134-135

²⁶ Iqbal, 135.

In his Position of Women in the East, he articulates that the desires of having equal opportunities and rights have destroyed the previous socio-ethical status of the Western women. It can be concluded with certainty that the manners and protocols of Western men are changed due to women's demand for emancipation.²⁷ The Western woman has lost her respect among males of society because of her own desire of becoming equal to men. He admires Muslim woman because she believes that her well-being depends on following Islamic principles that advise her not to be equal to men.²⁸ Iqbal, in the same essay, supports veil to protect the sacredness of women. To substantiate his position, he says women has the attribute of being creative and all creative forces are hidden, that is why she should remain in the veil. He also admires Islamic instruction to man and woman for not staring into the eyes of each other in a meeting. He claims that the universal existence of such practice of not looking into the eyes of other person could make the veil unnecessary.²⁹As Islam allows polygamy with the fulfillment of certain conditions, Iqbal said that polygamy may have positive consequences because women are greater in number than the overall population of men but the legal and religious conditions imposed by Islam must be observed strictly to avoid social corruption.³⁰ Iqbal also discussed the Islamic rights of women regarding divorce. According to Islamic laws, a woman can call upon her husband to delegate the right of divorce to her, to her father, brother or any other person at the time of marriage. Iqbal says that after divorce, a mother can keep her children with her as a legal custodian. A Muslim woman can participate in trading, making contracts and litigate in her own name. She can be elected as a Caliph of Islam too. She may also receive maintenance from her husband other than the fixed dower amount.³¹

Iqbal's views regarding status of women can be derived equally from his poetry and prose. In his poetry, he presented similar ideas which are present in his lectures and essays.

28 Iqbal, 192.

²⁷ Iqbal, "Position of Women in the East." In *Speeches, Writings and Statements of Iqbal*, edited by Latif Ahmad Sherwani, 192-194 (Lahore: Iqbal Academy Pakistan, 2015), 192.

²⁹ Iqbal, 193.

³⁰ Iqbal, 193.

³¹ Iqbal, 194.

Hassan states that Iqbal's views regarding women's social status are culturally conservative but these views are merely a reflection of a small fraction of his thoughts. She claims that Iqbal, as a universal humanist philosopher, believed that both man and woman are sent to this world as God's vicegerents so they fulfill the duties assigned to them by the Divine. She further states that Iqbal, in his poetry and prose, constantly tries to give the vision and energy to both men and women to get engaged in a passionate quest for a new world.³²

Tahir says that Iqbal...

... condemned the dishonoring remarks of medieval literature that woman had fermented from sin and had an incarnation of devil. He denied monasticism, according to which, to attain piety and purification, one should keep him away from woman. He extremely negated the views of eastern societies, religions and cultures that women should be detained and confined in homes. He denounced their approach that woman has no role in society.³³

In his fourth lecture, "the Human Ego- His freedom and Responsibility", Iqbal discussed individuality and uniqueness of human being in the Quranic perspective. Iqbal gives the name "ego" to human self and claims that human ego is immortal because it is connected with the Divine. He further said that human ego can attain real freedom with the help of religion only. Although Iqbal continuously used the terms *he*, *his*, *and man* throughout his lectures but these words indicate all mankind figuratively and are not used to highlight that women are excluded from the class of humans. For the development of Ego, which is the ultimate purpose of human being as the vicegerent of God, Iqbal saw equal potentials in both classes of men and women.³⁴ He said that

³² Riffat Hassan, "Iqbal and Women — A Deeper View."The Express Tribune. June 17, 2010.

https://tribune.com.pk/story/21967/iqbal-and-women--a-deeper-view (accessed July 23, 2020).

³³ Ali RazaTahir, "Status of Women in Allama Muhammad Iqbal's Thought." *Al-Hikmat* (Department of Philosophy, University of the Punjab) 39 (2019): 102.

³⁴ Muhammad Iqbal, The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), 90-

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Islamic laws provide protection and remedies to women in the matter of inheritance, divorce and separation.³⁵

Conclusion

John Stuart Mill's inferences regarding women's emancipation were highly influenced by the radical utilitarian approach of his father James Mill and mentor Jeremy Bentham, the socio-political environment of England during 19th century and his wife Harriet Taylor's thoughts regarding civil and legal rights of women. Mill personally faced legal and social obstacles in the ways to marry Herriot because in those days divorced women were not given legal rights, alimony or respect in the society. Herriot was willing to leave John Taylor, but she was compelled to not to divorce him because of the fear of losing her children and social pressures. John Stuart Mill and Harriet Taylor got married after the death of John Taylor. Harriet herself was an advocate of gender equality. Mill acknowledged that she helped him in writing his Principles of Political Economy, especially in the completion of one of its chapter named "On The Probable Futurity of the Laboring Class". He further wrote that this book was a joint production by his wife and himself. On Liberty was published after one year of Harriet Taylor Mill's death, but Mill admitted that most of the contents of the book were the reflection of her thoughts. Mill's Subjection of Women is closely related to Harriet's The Enfranchisement of Women³⁶ which was published in 1851. It can be concluded that his views regarding the status of women were deeply rooted in his own life experiences.³⁷Mill tried hard to prove that gender

Quality is inevitable for the progress of human community but he remained unsuccessful in designing any single formula for the implementation of his perfect equality principle in human societies.

³⁵ Iqbal, 106.

^{36 &}quot;The Enfranchisement of Women," published in The Westminster Review in 1851, is the best candidate for a significant philosophical work authored primarily or even solely by Taylor Mill ...It maintains that the denial of political rights to women tends to restrict their interests to matters that directly impact the family, with the result that the influence of wives on their husbands tends to diminish the latter's willingness to act from public-spirited motives. *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online*, s.v." Herriot Taylor Mill, " accessed October 29, 2020.https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/harriet-mill/.

³⁷ Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy Online, s.v."Herriot Taylor Mill," accessed October 29, 2020. https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/harriet-mill/#EnfWom.

However, he must be given the credit of highlighting women question among his contemporaries on high political levels. He admitted that the social decorum of a family may be destroyed in the absence of woman. He concluded that the existence of respect between husband and wife is inevitable for the healthy marital relationship. According to Simon de Beauvoir, Mill accomplished thought of Diderot regarding status of woman in society³⁸.

Unlike Mill, Iqbal never advocated equality between genders but it must not be concluded that he was willing to oppress or victimize women. He merely believed that the concept of equality cannot be applied on both sexes due to different social and physical responsibilities assigned to each of them. Iqbal's discussion of mankind never excludes women from the category of human beings. Iqbal used premises from religion to draw his conclusions regarding the structure of family and society. He acknowledged the importance women's role in society as a mother and care taker. He also said that she can become the head of the state too but most desirable duties for female segment of human society are the nourishment of children so that the nation may have healthy and intellectual minds.

Iqbal is critiqued because of not giving equal status to women in human society. His ideology for education is highly criticized among the advocates of higher formal education of modern times. Iqbal's own poetry and other writings provide evidences to support his views regarding inequality between genders but it must be kept in mind that he was a representative of a particular environment and traditions. Being a staunch believer of Islam, he found each and every solution for social problems in the Quran. Likewise, Mill presents a specific picture of nineteenth century's England. He was not ready to take help from any religion; therefore, his whole system of thoughts is designed by himself while Iqbal's views have Islamic reflections in them. Apart from social and cultural dissimilarities, both of them find 'home' the most suitable and appropriate place for women and both believe that her existence is very meaningful in the designing of strong social structures of family and human society.

³⁸ Simon de Beauvoir, The Second Sex, (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972)

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