

学位論文の要旨 (論文の内容の要旨)  
Summary of the Dissertation (Summary of Dissertation Contents)

論 文 題 目

Dissertation title: Negotiation for Extended Gender Roles in Islam: Women in  
Tablighi Jamaat in Bangladesh

広島大学大学院国際協力研究科  
Graduate School for International Development and Cooperation,  
Hiroshima University  
博士課程後期 教育文化専攻  
Doctoral Program Division of Educational Development and  
Cultural and Regional Studies  
学生番号  
Student ID No. D116149  
氏 名 □  
Name BEGUM MOMOTAJ Seal

Men are always in the frontline as the spokesmen of Islam, and hold the authority by engaging in the roles of prayer leader, jurist-consultant, preachers and teachers of the Muslim community. However, in the context of women's growing participation in Islamic movements among Muslim societies, women's roles began to take a new shape—increasingly they are visible as sharing the roles of the Muslim men in the wider Islamization project. The changing role of women in Islam requires scholarly inquiry for two reasons: a) whether the increasing role of women in the modern Islamization project provides any opportunity to exercise female religious leadership and authority, and b) whether it leads to any form of change in historically established and patterned gender relations in the domains of the religious practice and movement. This study aims to explore these questions by taking into account the case of Tablighi Jamaat (TJ), an Islamic faith renewal reformist movement that originated in British colonial India in the 1920s, and now widely known as a transnational movement.

Since its inception, TJ's reformist program was seen as equally important for women based on an egalitarian notion, and TJ's mission for women, known as Masturat Jamaat (Group of Unrevealed Women, MJ), formed in the 1940s. Over the years, it became a wide spread movement operating in parallel with the male TJ movement around many countries including Bangladesh. Although TJ promotes a shared gender responsibility between men and

women in order to achieve success in its faith-renewal mission, the methods of male and female TJ activities are different. The notion of TJ's 'shared gender responsibility' originated 'with male dependence' and seclusion ideology. While examining the genealogy of the seclusion ideology rooted in the TJ movement, I looked beyond the religious doctrine of gender division as prescribed in Islam. I contended that the core discourse on "women reform" emerged in a complex interplay of historical-political forces—colonial power, nationalistic aspiration, and communal division in the Indian subcontinent—had largely been reflected in the gender ideology of the Tablighi reformist movement as framed by its founders, the elite Islamic scholars in British colonial India. I argued that in the women's reform project in colonial times, Muslim women were relegated in a new patriarchal context in which they were expected to have a more active role but in a separate world of domain from men—the inner world (home) for women and the outer world for men. The gender ideology of TJ fitted to the discourse with the seclusion ideology, but paradoxically wanted the Muslim women to have extended and renewed responsibilities in the wider Muslim community in colonial India.

The restricted gender norms as framed in TJ under the wider debate on 'women's reform', however, have not been followed strictly by all the women who want to take active roles in Islamizing the society equally with their male counterparts, as revealed in the case of *Char Sathir Dal* (Group of Four Companions; hereafter GFC). The GFC is a new form of Tablighi movement operated by women and for women beyond the mainstream form of the female TJ movement. In this dissertation, my ethnographic account takes in both cases of the TJ movement. In both cases, as I have delineated, the women practice and cultivate piety-based religious activities following the rules and guidelines authorized and instructed by the leaders of TJ. Although women follow strict guidelines provided by the male leaders of TJ, they work alternatively by their own choices and desire to bring other womenfolk into the fold of TJ and to the spiritual and ascetic path of Islam (discussed in Chapter Five). Those leading female Tablighi activities without male guidance, as in the case of GFC, are considered to be violating the principles of TJ, though the followers may adopt the core TJ activities. The findings of the study have drawn from several ethnographic research fieldwork conducted in various parts of Bangladesh (Dhaka, Rajshahi, and Gaibandha Districts) and India (Nizamuddin Mosque, Delhi, the World Headquarter of the TJ movement).

In this dissertation, I interrogate the women in TJ in the light of the contemporary anthropological and feminist theoretical debates on women's subjectivity, power, and agency.

Since the 1990s the liberal feminist notion of agency has been in question due to its failure to recognize women's actions in their own life-context. The revised notion of agency places women and their actions in their own contexts, indicating a clear shift from structuralism to a more practice-oriented theory which prefers to locate women's agency as resulting from a complex interplay between structure and everyday actions. I distinctively sought in this dissertation as to whether pious subjectivity and religiosity constructed through the cultivation and repetitive performances of religious practices, as in the case of the Tablighi women, can create and generate power towards the end of a potential transformation of conventional gender relationships and of spatial reconfiguration of men and women in the religious sphere.

As my findings suggest, Tablighi women's subjectivities are regulated and constructed by the doctrine of Islam and ideology of TJ on the one hand and these pious subjectivities become means of transforming them from passive religious subjects to active religious agents on the other. In this sense, the power of religion that reinforces women's subordination with the mask of TJ, and thereby ensures their conformity to gender ideology, values, and norms already rooted in social lives and religious practices. At the same time, it turns to be the means by which Tablighi women take certain roles in the wider religious sphere. The roles they take, such as religious preacher, organizer of Islamic reading circles, and founders of community-based religious spaces (such as the *Talim* house for religious lessons), are neither a widely practiced phenomenon nor conventional in Bangladeshi society. Therefore, Tablighi women's agency, if we take into account their own contexts, needs to be understood in relation to their capabilities in spreading the message of Islam and in generating new roles in the religious sphere.

Resistance, for them, is not an oppositional force to the men's world; rather, it can be seen as generative and creative resulting from their relationship with a 'lived religion' in an ambivalent social context in which they live. Despite their submission to patriarchal norms, the Tablighi women's actions for preaching and teaching Islam can transform their social and religious status in the community. As analyzed in the case of GFC, the members, mostly housewives, are able to establish new social relationships and to have a wider social exposure through their involvement in the TJ movement. These women whose worlds were demarcated mainly within the domestic space and kin circles were able to access the outside world through their involvement with the religious practices of the Tablighi mission of GFC. Over

the course of their involvement in the TJ movement, they are able to establish personal and social relationships, maintain social networks, and take collective initiatives in favor of their religious subjectivities and desires. For them, religion becomes vehicle of social exposure and connection beyond their familial and kinship relations. These enable them to transcend conventional the boundaries of religious practices and performances, from home to neighborhood, to community and to wider society. After a long-term experience in TJ, some of them began to take leadership roles, albeit limited to the womenfolk, and with lesser power and authorship as compared to their male counterpart. They are often invited by male Tablighi followers in various communities to preach Islam to women. Earlier, preaching Islam has historically been men's responsibility, now the women have begun to share this responsibility with the male members, and this is an indication of the potentiality of transformation in the longstanding gender and power relationships in the religious sphere. On the contrary, the Tablighi women willingly cultivate the piety promoted through repetitive and disciplinary religious practices in the ideology of the TJ movement. The pious subjectivities they embody consciously submit to the gender ideology of Islam instead of confronting that ideology. Neither have they expressed a desire for liberating themselves from the shackles of patriarchy embedded in religion and social structure. Rather, as I argue in this study, their actions, primarily driven by pious subjectivity and conscious responsibilities for religion, enable them to respond in multiple ways that lead to a potential context of negotiation with the male dominated religious world by which they are able to extend the roles and spaces of their own actions as religious agents. This process I identify as a 'negotiation within patriarchy' taking place through the dynamic interplay of Tablighi women's submission to patriarchal structures and their 'generative actions' in the men's religious world.

備考 論文の要旨はA 4判用紙を使用し、4,000字以内とする。ただし、英文の場合は1,500語以内とする。

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