

authors link India's policy of secularism to multicultural policies in the West and discuss the problematic consequences of these policies for the fight for women's rights (such as alimentionation after divorce) as such fights become hijacked by (Hindu) nationalists as well as compromised in order to give way to religious (Muslim) minority concerns. While throwing light on the intersections between gender, nation, and religion and how these foster inequality between men and women, Hansson and Kinnvall also see in the very process of religious identity construction a possibility for the contestation of meanings and definitions of gender relations in India.

The possibilities for contestation and (female) agency are explored in more detail in the second part of the book. The chapters by Alexandra Kent, Monica Lindberg Falk, and to a lesser extent Kristina Göransson describe how women may find ways to try to break free of social patterns of misrecognition. Kent does so in an interesting chapter on Buddhism in Cambodia and how women negotiate and also invert gender ordering in ways that are transformative, emancipatory, and healing. Lindberg Falk looks at women's role in engaged Buddhism in Thailand. Göransson discusses the reinterpretation of filial piety and gender among Chinese Singaporeans. Rydström's chapter focuses instead on the misrecognition of women in Vietnam against the background of a revitalisation of Confucian ideals and explores how propagated ideals of the happy and harmonious family impact realities of husband-to-wife violence.

Since the majority of the book focuses on women, it is important that the last two chapters address masculinities. Elin Bjarnegård seeks to make the male norm visible in Thai politics and analyses the factors contributing to male dominance in Thai politics. Basing her analysis on the 2001 and 2005 elections, Bjarnegård refers to the importance of networks, cliques, connections, and trust in Thai politics, which are, however, arguably also the very factors contributing to Thailand's first female Prime Minister to come to power in the 2011 elections. Ulf Mellström wrote an ethnographic chapter on the cultural construction of masculinity among working-class Malaysian Chinese. Although the virtues that make a "good man" – hard work, moral behaviour, honesty – could similarly be used to describe the virtues of a "good woman," Mellström points at their masculine importance as a way to balance man's "natural" drives to gamble, womanise, and drink. This indicates that the above-mentioned blurring of what it means to be female or male does not mean a blurring of gendered identities and expectations.

As is often the case with edited volumes, one would like to see some more connections and discussion between the different chapters. I was not really sure how to interpret Mailla Stevens' critical review of the (un)usefulness of the concept of gender in the Asian context in view of the ease with which women, men, and gender are used as categories of analysis in the rest of the book. Anne Jerneck's description of livelihood practices in relation to labour and migration patterns of poor female workers and vendors in Vietnam would have benefitted from a more in-depth discussion on how these practices relate to the

kinds of gendered patterns of (mis)recognition described by Nguyen-vo and Rydström. Another question that came up relates to Kent's discussion of the contingent and flexible codes of conduct or moral norms versus the relatively immutable sacred postulates or final truths which women may draw upon to gain access power from which they are normally excluded. What does this mean for the codes of conduct and ideologies described in the other chapters? To what extent can or do, for example, Vietnamese women make use of the contradictory moral norms and/or higher levels of meaning in communist, neoliberal, Confucian ideologies for recognition and self-realization?

All in all, "Gendered Inequalities in Asia" gives insight into the many dimensions involved in construction and deconstruction of gender identities and will provide an interesting read for students and scholars interested in the ongoing individual and collective configurations and contestations of gender in Asia. Annuska Derks

**Salime, Zakia:** *Between Feminism and Islam. Human Rights and Sharia Law in Morocco.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011. 195 pp. ISBN 978-0-8166-5134-4. (Social Movements, Protest, and Contention, 36) Price: \$ 22.50

The dominant view of women's movements in Morocco is primarily articulated through language of opposition and polarization, a portrayal in which feminist and Islamist women's groups are seen as diametrically opposed forces. In "Between Feminism and Islam," Zakia Salime offers a nuanced critique of this perspective, arguing that a polarized depiction of the women's movement is not only disabling but also inaccurate and incomplete. In contrast, this work aims to show that there is a "process of exchange, not uniquely of opposition, between Islamist women's groups and feminist movements" (xxiv). To do so, Salime traces the Moroccan feminist and Islamist women's movements over the past two decades, showing how each has informed, mediated, and reformed the boundaries of the other.

A central argument of the book is that feminist and Islamist movements influence and engage with one another, often in ways overlooked by the media and academic scholarship. To highlight these interactions, the book makes the case that two concurrent processes have taken place over the past twenty years: an *Islamization* of feminist movements, and a *feminization* of Islamist women's movements. An incisive analysis, informed by participant observation, interviews, archival research, and discourse analysis, this book succeeds in showing how feminist and Islamist women's movements inform, engage, and influence one another as "interdependent trajectories" (xiv).

The bulk of the book is structured around three specific *movement moments*, a term used to refer to the disruptive time-events in which the connections between feminist and Islamist discourses and practices become more accessible to sociological analysis. Specifically, the book looks at three such moments related to the reform of the *mudawwana*, the sharia-based family law which regulates the relationships between men and women within

the family, and gives men significant power and control over women in issues of marriage, divorce, custody, and other matters.

The “Introduction” and chapter one introduce and contextualize the study by offering a broad political and historical analysis of gender politics, feminist organizing, and Islamist movements in Morocco, showing important yet neglected ways in which these trajectories overlap.

Chapter two analyses the *movement moment* which Salime argues is the “birth for both the feminist and Islamist women’s movements in Morocco” (xxi); the One Million Signature Campaign of 1992, a feminist-organized demand for the reform of the *mudawwana*. Arguing that the campaign had a sweeping impact on both, feminist and Islamist discourse and activism, this chapter outlines how the dynamics of the campaign, feminist mobilization, and state response led to a feminization of Islamist women’s discourse and activism. Salime points to three particular shifts as indicative of this feminization; increasing openings for Islamist women to more actively join discourses of women’s rights, a renegotiation of leadership that gave women more power within the traditionally male-dominated Islamist movement, and a new position for Islamist women within the women’s movement itself. Where prior studies largely have focused on the Islamist male response to the campaign, minimizing or ignoring women’s voices, this chapter focuses on evidence of Islamist women’s actions, discourses, writing, and mobilization to highlight the importance of women as centrally important in conceptualizing and enacting opposition to the campaign.

Less than a decade after the signature campaign, and in part a response to successful feminist organizing, in 1999 the Moroccan government proposed the National Plan of Action for Integrating Women in Development (NPA). The NPA drew from CEDAW and United Nations conventions on women’s rights to enact a new standard for gender equality within family law. However, the NPA did not cite Islamic sharia as a source of inspiration, and was heavily influenced by the international community, prompting strong opposition by conservatives and Islamists.

Chapter three analyses this opposition through a second *movement moment*, the Islamic rally of 2000 in Casablanca, where Islamist press claimed that one million people marched to demonstrate their opposition to the NPA. In describing the Islamist Rally and feminist responses to it, Salime shows how the rally became not only a turning point for Islamist women’s entry into the formal political arena but also an critical moment for feminist groups, who were compelled to respond to the rally in ways that enlarged the scope of the feminist movement and moved towards a more inclusive agenda. Specifically, after a decade in which feminist groups continued to gain both credibility and power, the march was a distinct setback, reversing feminist gains and validating Islamist demands, with the eventual withdrawal of the NPA from the table by the government as a result. In light of this Islamist victory, feminist groups repositioned and reorganized, struggling to respond with tactics that incorporated religious

discourse to validate the reform and influence “the street”, the Moroccan people. In this way, feminists moved from a targeted attack on the legal system to a more “Gramscian understanding of culture as the field of struggle” (xvi), an understanding informed by the organizing strategies of Islamist women. Salime refers to these tactical shifts, in which feminist groups explicitly reconstituted their position with respect to Islam, as an Islamization of the feminist movement. Examples of the Islamization of the feminist movement included the use of new, overt references to sharia law as a source of inspiration of the NPA, as well as more subtle strategies of grassroots organization and connection, inspired by Islamist approaches.

Chapter four serves to highlight the intersections between feminist and Islamist activism through a third *movement moment*, the Casablanca bombings in May 2003, in which Islamic radicals killed 45 people. Where locals argued that poverty was the root cause of the attacks, international analyses largely portrayed the bombings as a result of the “importation of Islamist ideology” (110), thus threatening the moderate image of Morocco. Salime argues that these attacks enabled the final adoption of a new family code recognizing equality between husbands and wives, as the Moroccan state used family law reform as a tool to recover its moderate image on the global stage. Citing the sharia as a source of inspiration, but largely reflecting feminist demands, the newly adopted family code represented an inclusion of both feminist and Islamist women’s agendas.

Salime argues that the *movement moment* of the Casablanca attacks is significant in part because women’s groups on both sides of the spectrum used the war on terror as an opportunity to engage new spaces, both co-opting and challenging the agenda of the war to create new opportunities for decision-making and dialogue about women’s rights. For feminist groups, the Casablanca attacks provided an opportunity to situate their agenda as representative of the forces of modernity and democracy. In contrast, the attacks provided an opportunity for Islamist women to position themselves as “agents of moderation” through discourses on motherhood as a location and political site, a place of middle ground that embraced neither religious extremists nor “secular feminists.” Thus in the wake of the attacks, both groups were able to claim more space and push the state for their demands.

Chapter five explores several additional spaces where the women’s movements are interconnected in ways that move “beyond the binary of the secular and the religious” (134). This overlap is highlighted in discourse and activism in five particular spheres: the veil, feminism, leadership, education, and foreign funds/Westernization. Through brief discussions of each space, Salime notes the ways in which feminist and Islamist movements intersect in substantive ways, further questioning the feminist/antifeminist dichotomies that characterize media representations, and thus public perceptions of women’s movements.

By showing the interdependencies, entanglements, and substantial overlap between feminist and Islamist women’s movements, Salime highlights how each group

interacts with, and influences the discourses and organizational forms of the other, as they move towards similar goals of “defin[ing] women as agents in projects of social change” (xx). Thus, the main contribution of this work, and a critical one, is bringing these exchanges to light and systematically breaking down the reified stereotype of feminist and Islamist women’s groups as essentially in opposition to one another. A thoughtful and detailed sociological analysis of two decades of women’s activism in Morocco, this book is an engaging work of scholarship, particularly useful for those studying social movements, gender politics, feminism, Islam, and the Middle East.

Maryann Bylander

**Schneider, Irene:** *Der Islam und die Frauen*. München: Verlag C. H. Beck, 2011. 288 pp. ISBN 978 3-406-62210-2. (Becksche Reihe, 6011) Preis: € 14.95

Irene Schneider, Professorin für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft in Göttingen, war in der anglophonen und deutschsprachigen Fachwelt bisher in erster Linie durch kluge rechtliche und literaturwissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zur arabischen Welt und zum iranisch-afghanischen Raum hervorgetreten, die sich thematisch meist auf Familien, Jugend und Geschlechterrollen konzentrierten und dabei sowohl historische als auch gegenwartsbezogene Fragestellungen durchaus differenziert erörterten. Vielen Anderen genügt es, sich in solch eher etablierten Bahnen von geistes- und kulturwissenschaftlicher Fachkompetenz zu bewähren und weiter zu entwickeln. Mit dem vorliegenden Taschenbuch ist Frau Schneider hingegen das unkonventionelle Wagnis eingegangen, diese etablierten Bahnen zu verlassen für den Zweck eines populärwissenschaftlichen Buchprojektes, das sich an eine nicht fachlich spezialisierte und auch nicht unbedingt akademisch vorgebildete Leser/innen/schaft richtet.

“Der Islam und die Frauen” ist übersichtlich in 7 Kapitel gegliedert, deren Schwerpunktthemen mit Bedacht ausgewählt wurden: 1. Die Anfänge, 2. Theologie und Recht, 3. Sexualität und Liebe, 4. Literarische Reflexionen, 5. Frauen und Macht, 6. Bildung und Beruf, 7. Musliminnen in Deutschland. Vom 1. Kapitel abgesehen liegen die zeitlichen Schwerpunkte dabei häufiger in Gegenwart und jüngerer Geschichte; die räumlichen Akzente sind sinnvollerweise durch die eingangs erwähnte Expertise der Autorin markiert. Einige wichtige (Indonesien, Südasien, Nigeria) oder Europa näher stehende (Albanien, Türkei) Einflussbereiche des Islam werden damit zwar nur punktuell berührt – aber jeder Einführungstext muss schließlich irgendeine Auswahl treffen.

Um es vorweg zu nehmen: Das Wagnis hat sich gelohnt, der Zweck eines populärwissenschaftlichen Buches zu einem komplexen, und hierzulande wie anderswo mit vielen Vorurteilen beladenen Thema ist im Großen und Ganzen sehr gut erfüllt. Klare Fakten werden dort benannt, wo sie auch erwartet werden dürfen; lebendig erzählte Geschichten illustrieren die vielschichtigen Facetten des Themas; die Autorin verteidigt den Islam in seiner Vielfalt wo er fehlgedeutet und missverstanden wird, ohne mit eigener Kritik dort zu sparen wo dies aus

weiblichen und feministischen Sichtweisen heraus auch notwendig oder zumindest nachvollziehbar ist. Ausgewogeneres, Sachkundigeres und zugleich Differenzierteres liegt in deutscher Sprache für ein breit gefächertes Publikum zu diesem Thema kaum vor.

Besonders gut gelungen sind die Kapitel 4., 5. und 6. dieses Bandes. “Literarische Reflexionen” widmet sich berühmten Frauengestalten in Dichtung und Populärkultur, wobei der Bogen von Ibn Qutaibas “Buch der Frauen” (9. Jh.) und von Shehrezad in den Erzählungen aus 1001 Nacht reicht bis zur libanesisch-christlichen Sängerin Fairuz als einem Massenidol, und zur algerischen Regisseurin und Buchautorin Assia Djebar in der Gegenwart.

Das Kapitel “Frauen und Macht” befasst sich in verdienstvoller Weise mit der Dekonstruktion von orientalistischen Stereotypen über einen einheitlich gedachten “Harem”, und mit einflussreichen Frauen hinter den Kulissen der Macht: Diskutiert werden hier Sultansmütter im osmanischen Reich des 17. Jh.s, aber auch E. W. Lanes frühe ethnografische Berichte über ägyptische Alltags-sitten in den 1830er Jahren. Im Anschluss werden jüngere nationalstaatliche Entwicklungen treffsicher untersucht und anhand der Fallbeispiele Marokko, Ägypten und Iran vergleichend diskutiert. In diesem Zusammenhang stellt Irene Schneider die Unterscheidung von Azza Karam zwischen islamistischen, muslimischen und säkularen Feministinnen zur Debatte, um sie in weiterer Folge dann auch selbst mit Gewinn anzuwenden.

Das Kapitel “Bildung und Beruf” schließlich beeindruckt besonders durch die klaren historischen und aktuellen Perspektiven auf die Einzelbeispiele hochgebildeter Frauen aus der Frühzeit des Islam, von denen (meist männliche) Chronisten berichten, ebenso wie auf die dramatischen Veränderungen des 20. Jh.s bei der Überwindung von weiblichem Analphabetismus und der Öffnung des Hochschulzugangs für Frauen. Zu Recht unterstreicht Irene Schneider die großen Schwierigkeiten, die demgegenüber heute noch für viele arabische und islamische Frauen auf dem Weg in die Erwerbstätigkeit bestehen.

Das erste Kapitel über die “Anfänge” repräsentiert hingegen einen wohl unvermeidlichen, aber dennoch schmerzhaften Kompromiss zwischen dem, was für Laien gerade noch absorbierbar sein dürfte, aber für die beiden Welten der Gläubigen und der Wissenschaft als zu knapp gelten wird. In den Kapiteln “Theologie und Recht” sowie “Sexualität und Liebe” schließlich bietet die Autorin mithilfe ihrer eigenen fachlichen Spezialisierungen einen an sich furiosen Einstieg in das Buch. Paradoxerweise wird aber aus Sicht von Ethnologie und Kulturanthropologie gerade an diesen beiden Kapiteln die meiste Kritik zu üben sein. Aussagen zum massiven Einfluss des Gewohnheitsrechts in vielen Teilen der islamischen Welt werden hier nur extrem knapp getroffen, und der Thematik von Sexualität und Liebe fehlt stets Substanzielles, solange die Dimension der Heirats- und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen weitgehend ausgeblendet bleibt. Studien zu Gewohnheitsrecht sowie zu Heirats- und Verwandtschaftsbeziehungen zählen nun aber zweifellos zu den etablierten Kernkompetenzen von Ethnologie/Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie. Dass die Autorin den diesbezüglichen Wissensstand aus