Control and subversion: gender, islam, and socialism in Tajikistan
Harris, C.

Citation for published version (APA):

General rights
It is not permitted to download or to forward/distribute the text or part of it without the consent of the author(s) and/or copyright holder(s), other than for strictly personal, individual use, unless the work is under an open content license (like Creative Commons).

Disclaimer/Complaints regulations
If you believe that digital publication of certain material infringes any of your rights or (privacy) interests, please let the Library know, stating your reasons. In case of a legitimate complaint, the Library will make the material inaccessible and/or remove it from the website. Please Ask the Library: http://uba.uva.nl/en/contact, or a letter to: Library of the University of Amsterdam, Secretariat, Singel 425, 1012 WP Amsterdam, The Netherlands. You will be contacted as soon as possible.
CONTENTS

Acknowledgements v
Dramatis Personae vii

Technical Information And Terminology
Translation viii
Transliteration viii
Specific Terms viii
Abbreviations viii
Glossary ix
Soviet Terms ix
Local Words ix

Introduction
The Research Setting and Methodology 1
The Health Project 2
Why Tajikistan? 4
Focus of Research 4
The Researcher in the Field 6
Research and Sex 8
Dilemmas of Fieldwork 10
The Subjects of my Fieldwork 12
Reflections on Ethnography 14
Tajikistan and the West 15
The Trajectory of this Book 17

Chapter 1
Conceptual Background
Theoretical Framework 19
Power Relations 19
Gender Norms 21
Gender Identity and the Theories of Butler 23
The Formation of Human Identity 25
Variant Gender Performances 27
The Research Setting 30
A Brief History of Tajikistan 30
Islam in Tajikistan 39
The Family and Women’s Role in Islam 41
The Tajik Family as Institution 44
Before the Revolution 45
In Soviet Times 46
Post-Soviet Times 48
Conclusion 49
Contents

Chapter 2
The Bolsheviks Attack
The Power of the State 51
Life before Socialism 51
The Revolution comes to Central Asia 58
Hujum 59
Karomat’s Mother abandons her Faranja 62
The end of hujum 63
The ‘New’ Central-Asian Women 64
Karomat – a ‘new’ Tajik Woman? 66
Government Institutions of Control 67
The Failure to ‘Modernise’ Tajikistan 71
Conclusion 75

Chapter 3
The Tajiks Resist
Traditions Taken for Granted 77
Traditions made Conscious 83
Traditions as Political Weapon 87
Conclusion 90

Chapter 4
Community Control
Auto-Surveillance, Auto-Repression 91
The Tajik Community 91
Honour and Shame 93
Male Honour – Sharaf and Nomus 104
Ayb and Religion 106
Community Relations 109
Men and Ayb 114
Conclusion 116

Chapter 5
Inter-Generational Family Control 119
Parental Power 119
Control over Children 126
Gender Ideals for Adolescents 127
Choice of Kelin 130
Marriage for Love 132
Criteria for Choice 136
Divorce 140
Relations with Kelins 141
Grandchildren 147
Russian Wives 148
Conclusion 150
Chapter 6
The Individual Unmasked
The Dreams of Youth 154
The Will of Youth 163
Problems – Unmarriageable, Infertile 169
Problems – Suicide 172
The Performance of Masculinity 174
The Story of Rustam Continued, or Another Way of Expressing Masculinity 177
Conclusion 179

Chapter 7
The Couple Relationship: Love, Sex, And Marriage
Marriage 181
Life in an Arranged Marriage 181
Tahmina 181
Abdurakhmon 183
Rustam 185
Robiya 188
Violence against Women 189
Battery 189
The Aftermath of War 191
Marriage for Love 193
Tillo 193
Karomat 200
Gulbi 201
Gender Relations in Marriage 202
Sexual Relations 204
Virginity and Innocence 205
The First Night of Marriage 207
Sex in Marriage 212
Tahmina 212
Davlatpochcha 213
Rustam 215
Sitora 215
Desire and Passion 218
Sexuality Resurveyed 222
Love 225
Conclusion 230
Contents

Chapter 8
Control And Subversion
A Summary of the Findings 235
Some Reflections on Theory 237
Honour and Shame 237
Foucault and Butler 240
Variant Gender Identities and Gender Masks 242
Hegemonic Femininities 244
Relations of Subordination 245
Reflecting Back on the Title 247
Control and Subversion 247
Gender, Islam, and Socialism 247
Tajikistan and the West 248
Future Directions for Research 250

References Cited
Western European Languages 253
Russian Language 265

Summary
Control and Subversion: Gender, Islam and Socialism in Tajikistan 267

Samenvatting
Overheersing en Ondermijning: Gender, Islam en Socialisme in Tajikistan 271

Index Of Characters 275
Subject Index 277