

IGS Project Series 7

国際シンポジウム

女性、宗教、暴力：国際的視点からの再考

International Symposium

Women, Religion and Violence in International Perspective

Institute for Gender Studies

Research Organization for the Promotion of Global Women's Leadership

Ochanomizu University

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実施概要報告

2016年10月19日、国際シンポジウム「女性、宗教、暴力:国際的視点からの再考(Women, Religion and Violence in International Perspective)」が開催された。本シンポジウムは、エリカ・バッフェッリ氏(本学ジェンダー研究所特別招聘教授/マンチェスター大学准教授)が企画し、報告者にアトリー・セン氏(コペンハーゲン大学准教授)を迎え、ディスカッサントとして松尾瑞穂(国立民族学博物館准教授)、小川真理子(日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)/大妻女子大学)の両氏が登壇した。約50名の参加者を得て、十分に時間をとっての質疑応答・討論も充実したものとなった。

本企画は、バッフェッリ、セン両氏により進められている学際的かつ国際的な研究プロジェクトについて、様々な分野の研究者からのフィードバックを得ることを目的のひとつとして企画された。テーマは「女性、宗教、暴力」であるが、既存の研究とは一線を画し、被害者ではなく、加害者としての女性に焦点を当てている。女性が武器を手にしたり、武力組織への加入や支援、暴力を手段とした社会運動への参加を積極的にする社会背景や、女性解放運動やフェミニズム思想との関わりなど多角的に事象を見つめている。これまでの理論枠組みによる研究者視点の分析手法に疑問を投げかけ、市井の女性たちの考え方に着目する先進的な取り組みである。今回の企画は、研究プロジェクトの概要を示すにとどまる部分があったが、今後の研究展開を待ち、再度、本学において成果発表の機会を持つことが期待される。



【シンポジウム要旨】



暴力的な政治団体への女性の参加の増加は、一般市民のみならず、世界各地の研究者や活動家、政治家、宗教家らにとっても重要な関心事となっています。外国人戦闘員、自爆テロ、反政府武装集団の兵士や支援者、暴力的な政治プロパガンダの唱道者といった形での、女性たちの闘争への積極的な関与は、従来の、戦争や暴力の被害者としての女性像を覆すものでもあります。本シンポジウムでは、女性、宗教、暴力、そして、紛争とジェンダーの研究のアプローチや方法論について、研究者、大学院生、一般参加者を変え、国際的視点から議論を深めます。

【日時】 2016年10月19日(水) 18:30～20:30

【会場】 お茶の水女子大学 共通講義棟2号館102号室

【コーディネーター/司会】

エリカ・バッフェッリ(本学ジェンダー研究所特別招聘教授/マンチェスター大学准教授)

【プログラム】

【開会の辞】 石井クンツ昌子(本学基幹研究院教授/ジェンダー研究所所長)

【趣旨説明】 エリカ・バッフェッリ(本学ジェンダー研究所特別招聘教授/マンチェスター大学准教授)

【基調講演】 アートリー・セン(コペンハーゲン大学准教授)

女性とラディカルな運動:ジェンダーと紛争についての新しい視点を得る

Women and Radical Movements: Exploring New Perspectives on Gender and Conflict

【コメント】 ディスカッション 松尾瑞穂(国立民族学博物館准教授)

Prof. Atreyee Sen の議論を受けて:コメント

ディスカッション 小川真理子(日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)/大妻女子大学)

日本におけるDVの加害者と被害者

【討論】 司会:エリカ・バッフェッリ

【主催】 お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所

【参加者数】 47名

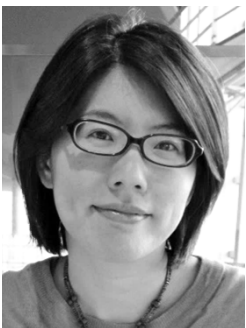
【開催報告掲載】 ジェンダー研究所ウェブサイト IGS 通信など

【登壇者紹介】



Atreyee Sen (アートリー・セン) コペンハーゲン大学人類学部准教授

研究分野は南アジア都市部の政治人類学。ロンドン大学アジア・アフリカ研究学院社会人類学博士(2003年)。2004～2015年、サセックス大学とマンチェスター大学にて研究・教育職。都市空間において暴力的なマイクロ・カルチャーを作り出す軍事的な政治運動に焦点を当てた研究を続けている。右翼運動、コミュニティ内紛争、抵抗運動、ゲリラ活動(ムンバイ、ハイデラバード、カルカッタ、ダラムサラ)についての学際的研究プロジェクトを実施しており、それらの運動のスラムや難民居留地、刑務所内での影響について調査している。代表的著作は、*Shiv Sena Women: Violence and Communalism in a Bombay Slum* (2007)、共編著(with Dr David Pratten) of *Global Vigilantes: New Perspectives on Justice and Violence* (2008)。



松尾 瑞穂 (まつお・みずほ) 国立民族学博物館准教授

人類学者。専門分野は医療人類学とジェンダー研究。インドのリプロダクティブ・ヘルスと生殖医療技術に関する多くの論文、著書を発表している。代表的著書は、『ジェンダーとリプロダクションの人類学：インド農村社会における不妊を生きる女性たち』(2013年、昭和堂)、『代理出産の文化論』(2013年、風響社)。



小川 真理子 (おがわ・まりこ) 日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)/大妻女子大学

カリフォルニア大学ロサンゼルス校(UCLA)経済学部卒業。お茶の水女子大学大学院人間文化創成科学研究科博士後期課程修了。博士(社会科学)。お茶の水女子大学リーダーシップ養成教育研究センター講師(研究機関研究員)、お茶の水女子大学基幹研究院リサーチフェローを経て、現在、日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)。神奈川大学・文京学院大学ほか非常勤講師。専門領域はジェンダー研究、社会学。2015年第11回平塚らいてう賞奨励賞受賞。著書に、『ドメスティック・バイオレンスと民間シェルター：被害当事者支援の構築と展開』(世織書房、2015年)ほか。



Erica Baffelli (エリカ・バッフェッリ)

お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所特別招聘教授
マンチェスター大学日本学准教授

博士号取得後、日本学術振興会外国人特別研究員(法政大学)、オタゴ大学(ニュージーランド)准教授を歴任。専門分野は現代日本の宗教であり、1970年代以降に創設された新興宗教に焦点を当てた研究を実施している。特に、1980～90年代のメディアと新興宗教の相互作用、宗教指導者、宗教運動の生成と衰退、ラディカルな宗教運動における女性の役割に関する研究実績を持つ。近年の代表的著作は、*Media and New Religions in Japan* (2016); (with Ian Reader) *Aftermath: the Impact and Ramifications of the Aum Affair. Special Issue of the Japanese Journal of Religious Studies* (2012); (with Ian Reader and Birgit Staemmler) *Japanese Religions on the Internet: innovation, Representation and Authority* (2011)。



趣旨説明 Introduction

エリカ・バッフェッリ
(ジェンダー研究所・特別招聘教授／マンチェスター大学准教授)
Erica Baffelli
(Ochanomizu University / The University of Manchester)

A couple of years ago, Atreyee and I were working at the same university, Manchester, and we started a conversation over coffee. Atreyee was teaching a new course on Women Warriors in Contemporary Religious Conflict, and she asked me to give a guest lecture. From that conversation we started talking about a research network to look at religion, woman, and violence from a comparative perspective.

In particular, we are interested in looking at women who participate in radical religious and political movements. Comparatively little academic attention has been paid to these women, despite the increasing number of recent publications and research projects addressing the issue of religion and violence. Women's involvement in terrorism (for example as suicide bombers) is still discussed as "exceptional" and "spectacular", as actions that are "out of the ordinary". We think that these approaches essentialize women's wartime character: as nurturing, vulnerable and non-violent, and their reductionism often precludes the possibility of analyzing women's roles as instigators of brutalities.

Scholars from a range of disciplines have begun to challenge these assumptions, and we believe that through sharing methodologies and areas of study we will be able to develop nuanced notions of female militarism and gender and conflict. Our conversation over that coffee two years ago led to a small workshop organized in the University of Manchester in December last year and a grant proposal, on which we have been working together and is now under review for the Arts and Humanities Research Council in the UK.

In particular, in our research and projects, we are interested in looking at three aspects. The one aspect is role and motivation. What are women's motivations for joining violent communities, and what are their ascribed and chosen roles? Why are women from both economically marginalized and affluent areas joining this movement? Do women use this role to gain visibility, agency and access to resources? This is one of our

Research project (Baffelli-Sen)

- **Roles and motivations:** What are women's motivations for joining violent communities, and what are their ascribed and chosen roles?? Do women use these roles to gain visibility, agency, access to resources?
- **Representations:** How are images of women perpetrating violence shaped in policy documents, media discourse and other channels of dissemination, and how does it impact public opinion? How women share knowledge and experiences?
- **Memory:** How are acts of violence involving women's participation re-elaborated and re-narrated in post-conflict contexts?

questions. Then, the next aspect is representation. How are the images of women who perpetrated violence shaped in policy documents, media discourse and other channels of dissemination, and how does it impact the public opinion? At the same time, how do these women share information with each other in different contexts? The final aspect is the memory. How are acts of violence involving women participation re-elaborated and re-narrated in a post conflict context?

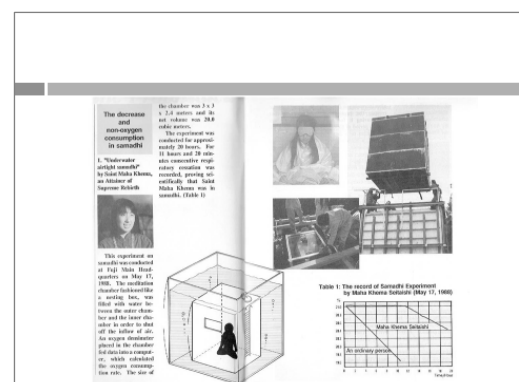
Regarding my research, I have been working on new religious movements for many years. Therefore, I am particularly interested in looking at the role played by women in new religious movements that turned into violence and how these women narrate their experiences. In particular, I have been looking at the role played by female members in conceptualizing violence in Aum Shinrikyō in particular during the early stage of development of the movement, and not only violence toward external but also in the form of extreme ascetics practices.

Of particular interest is the role of some high ranked members as role models for other female and male members as well. Also after the 1995 sarin gas attack members were faced with the violence committed by the group. I'm particularly interested in investigating how violence is re-elaborated through ex-members' personal narratives and in particular through narratives related to their bodies.

Many academic study and non-academic works have been published on Aum Shinrikyō, both in Japanese and other languages. However, the role of women in the group has been overlooked. In the media, women who are members of Aum are often portrayed through three main tropes, as “terrorist beauty”, Asahara’s lovers, or irresponsible mothers.

However, three out of five top ranked disciples were women and, especially in the early stage of formation of the movement, their role cannot be reduced to the above-mentioned tropes. An interesting case is Ishii Hisako who is considered Asahara’s first disciple. She is portrayed in members’ account as an example of devotion to the leader and a model of ascetic training. In particular, she was seen by members as someone capable of performing extreme ascetic practices, such as the underground Samadhi meditation. She also gave lectures and wrote on the group’s publications about her spiritual experiences, contributing to create a common narrative about “spiritual experiences” in the group.

Some members considered her charismatic and she was



able to perform the initiation ritual; she was also reported to have the ability to make prophecies. This seems to indicate that her role was more than just being a support to the male leadership. Furthermore, some recent publications by ex-members and some interviews I am currently conducting seem to suggest that the conceptualization and justification of violence in the group was a more complex process than often portrayed and more research is needed to understand whether female members played a specific role in this process.

The idea of the workshop tonight is to continue our discussion about these issues by also involving speakers working on violence and gender-related issues thereby broadening up the field as well.



基調講演

女性とラディカルな運動

ジェンダーと紛争についての新しい視点を探る

Gender and Radical Movement

Exploring New Perspectives on Gender and Conflict

アトリー・セン(コペンハーゲン大学准教授)

Atreyee Sen (University of Copenhagen)

I am interested in women and especially right wing activism. I am going to try and give you an overview of the current opinion, scholarship, and how it remains much divided, about the mobilization of women into radical religious movements across the world. What Erica and I are trying to suggest is that we are at a very critical juncture in the history of the world where large scale participation of women in religious armies, radical movements, and civil war is being noted by human rights

activists and scholars all over the world. And, whether this actually gives us new perspectives on gender and conflict, which is because, historically, gender studies emerge from woman victimologies. It was about looking at women suffering and being victims of war. So, what does it mean for gender studies, and for us to actually look at women who are participating in war, supporting men in war and picking up arms?

How do we actually represent women as prosecutors and perpetrators of violence? Women who torture and kill other women, women who are participating in war, killing and torturing other men. Dara Kay Cohen's work, for example, talks about how women in Sierra Leone organize rape and torture of other women as well. How do we actually understand that? With the growing number of religious wars and macro and micro level violence across the world, there is a time in history right now, when women are joining militaries, paramilitaries, armies, terrorist groups, formal, and informal militias, groups of people who are just self-styled freedom fighters, underground movements, secessionist movements (both at international and local levels), and also formal and informal street vigilantes.

What historians, anthropologists, sociologists are trying to see is that, again, we are living in a world where the idea of violence has completely changed. Where violence, violent conflict, intercommunity clashes, large scale, and small scale global wars has penetrated and infiltrated into every aspect of society. In this context when women in large numbers are joining these kinds of formal and informal armies, or joining this fight, what does it mean for academic scholarship?

Women as persecutors and perpetrators of violence

- Contemporary mobilisation of women in the context of war, violence and conflict
- Joining militaries, paramilitaries, armies, terrorist groups, militias, freedom fighters, underground movements, secessionist movements, separatist movements, formal or informal street vigilantes...
- Proliferation of civil wars, total wars, revolutions, everyday violence, intercommunity religious clashes, small wars...

I am going to talk a little bit about modes of recruitment. There are different ways in which women are getting recruited in these formal and informal armies. Some of it is voluntary and spontaneous. If you actually see religious leaders in action, they are often giving this kind of indoctrinating speeches which are very easily available over the internet. Women are joining these organizations after giving it a lot of thought. They are being seriously mobilized because they are considering their options and they are well-informed women who are joining these organizations because they really want to.


Because they feel that the cause is their own and they can identify with their cause. They feel a sense of commitment to that cause. The idea that they have been brainwashed is being increasingly dissipated. There are more women who are really engaging with radical religious rhetoric and joining these movements. The other side of the story is that often these women are being welcomed into these radical religious movements because of a crisis in manpower. Increasingly, the men are either killed in battle or it is that more and more international organizations, for example, find it easy to simply kill men. For example, if the US army were faced with a team of ISIS men, they would actually not hesitate to kill, but if they are faced with a team of women, and you know they have their guns trained in the direction of 500 women, they would hesitate to open fire. So, there is a particular crisis of manpower and that is one of the reasons why there is quite an acceptance of women joining these armies.

Women are also being coerced and under many circumstances they are being raped, tortured, and coerced into joining these movements. Sometimes it is a question of birth and motherhood, and again there is some literature which is emerging in the context of Palestine, for example, where children are just born in the context of violence. And, even if they are girl children, they are just joining Hamas because that is what you do when you are born in that violent situation. You have no other option. The question of motherhood also becomes important. If you have sons who just go and join a local terrorist outfit, then as a mother you want to support your children, you want to look after your children. So, you join these groups. But, what is really interesting, and this for me has been very interesting to watch in the context of right wing activism in India, is the role of informal support. You have these radical religious movements, and, actually the person who does their cooking, washing, and looking after them is the women.

Therefore, women are not necessary at the forefront of war. They are not really, like, picking up arms all the time and fighting. But, women show their sympathy and support. And, that becomes really important in the context of sustaining these movements. And, then, you have the importance of the female body. Tunisian women, for example, who are going into Syria marrying ISIS men, getting pregnant, coming back to the safety of their country to deliver the next generation of Jihadist. What they are doing is that they are offering their body. They are offering their body to the war. But,

Modes of recruitment

- Voluntary
- Spontaneous
- Ideological
- Crisis in manpower
- Coerced
- Circumstances
- Birth and motherhood
- Informal and formal support
- The female body
- ETC...



= definition, conception and self-identification, often as activists, militants, freedom fighters, to goddesses, tigers, lions etc...

having said that, what is important for us to know is that in this context, for example, these women do not see themselves as terrorists. When they are joining, they do not want to be named as terrorists. They want to be named as activists, militants, or freedom fighters, and then you have the range of affiliations to goddesses and they like to be called tigers or lions. So, you have, for example, the Black Widows, the Suicide Bombers Chechen, and you have the Black Tigers, who are the women suicide bombers in Sri Lanka. So, they don't identify with the idea of being called a terrorist. They think they are doing something more than that.


Now, what are the sites of mobilization? Where are these women found, the ones which join these organizations. You often find them in areas of vulnerability—that is, in poor areas, urban slums, in ghettos, and in areas of conflict. You often find them in schools, women madrasas, for example, are often targeted by radical movements. You find them in refugee camps, and in areas where women are either suffering grief or loss because some foreign entity has killed their children,

Sites of mobilisation

- Areas of vulnerability: Ghettos, conflict zones, schools, refugee camps, grief and loss etc...
- Areas of non-vulnerability: Women foreign fighters and the power of the rhetoric of violence

"almost all contemporary theoreticians take issue with the position that all women, or at least mothers, oppose war. There is simply too much historical evidence of women's support for, complicity in, and collaboration with the war efforts of men to make that statement defensible"

Mats Utas on 'Victimcy'



MailOnline

White Widow 'is training an ISIS female suicide bomber' said in Syria and overcoming terror group's propaganda

• The widow of a US Marine who was killed in Iraq, she is now a member of the Islamic State group in Syria and is training a female suicide bomber.

• She is also allegedly leading a unit of female fighters.

• The widow of a US Marine who was killed in Iraq, she is now a member of the Islamic State group in Syria and is training a female suicide bomber.

• She is also allegedly leading a unit of female fighters.

and they are in a state of vulnerability. But, there are also lots of women foreign fighters who are joining these radical movements. Women who have been born in conditions of privilege, money, education and freedom, and the other women who want segregation, they want reeling; they want to join these movements. So, what is going on there? Are they doing it because they want a sense of community? Is there some kind of romanticism associated with radical religious movements? Denmark, for example, from where I am, has the highest rate of foreign fighters. And, they all are not necessarily Muslim. They have the highest rate of foreign fighters in Egypt and they aren't just local everyday dames who are very attracted to this idea of joining radical religious movements.

I think it is time that we took into consideration, in terms of academic scholarship, that we cannot only look at these women through the lens of victimhood—that, it is important for us to look at women through more agential engagement with war and violence. Public opinion, academic scholarship, including sort of media representation, is fairly divided when it comes to representing or understanding why or how these women are joining these movements. For example, you have now the 'right to fight feminists' who believe that women should have the freedom to join violent political organizations.

Supporters...

- 'Right to fight' feminists and the egalitarian militarists
- Quest for equality in all fields
- Join state and informal armies and organisations and challenge its dominantly masculinist practices



Whether it is like state-sponsored armies or not state-sponsored armies. Women should be equal to men when it comes to fighting. Why is fighting historically considered to be a masculinist domain? Why is it a man's world? And, it is important for women if they want equality to also be a part of this aspect of just everyday life, which is that, if you want to be part of a society where you

have armies, whether they are formal armies or informal armies, it is important for women to be a part of it. But, it is interesting because the feminists, for example, they argue that if you are part of these armies, if you are part of state armies or radical religious movements, the presence of women can change the nature of the movement. They can often soften the movement or take the movement in a direction which is away from mindless violence. Therefore, according to this point of view, it is important for women to join these movements not because women should be just fighting with men, but the presence of women changes the nature of any institution, and any movement. Any male-dominated movement—whether violent or non-violent— changes when it incorporates women.

Then, you have the “in-betweeners”. People who are sitting on the fence saying that women should have the freedom to join any kind of radical movement or formal or informal armies, but it is important to recognize the difference between the male and female bodies. The female body, for example, is vulnerable in the context of conflict. If a woman gets trapped, she will be raped, and if she is raped and she is pregnant, that causes problems. And, even if she is not raped, if she goes into war and she


has an affair with a local fighter, and she gets pregnant, a pregnant woman will not be able to fight. So, let's face it that there is a difference in biology between men and women, and it is important for us to take this into consideration that if women get pregnant then they should have the right to withdraw. Also, if women feel sexually vulnerable in a particular context, then they should have the right to withdraw from war. So, these are the in-betweeners, who said, yes let them participate, but they should have the freedom of choice to retreat.

And, finally, you have the absolute critics who think that it is outrageous that people should support women's engagement with war. Partly because, academics have historically believed that, if you don't highlight women's victimologies and women's suffering, then war will carry on forever. The role of women as peacemakers need to be taken into consideration. Historically, in many conditions of conflict between men, it is women who have intervened, and they have intervened very productively in

peace talks and, in informal ways, have brought peace within communities. So, if you glorify or accept the fact that women should be participating in radical religious movements, without just jumping in and saying that “this is really bad”, “they shouldn't be doing it”, then this takes away the importance of women's suffering—that women do suffer, that women are badly affected by war and conflict. So, the question that comes out of this kind of divided opinion is that who are the women who are at peace when at war? Why do women want to participate in war? How can war be sold to women as something which is beneficial for them or that which they can actually benefit from?

Inbetweeners...

- Limited participation of women in formal and informal armies
- Recognise 'the difference' between male and female bodies
- Not involve women in direct action
- Capture of women will involve sexual abuse
- Women must have the choice to withdraw from physical combat



Critics...

- Women's victimologies and suffering in conflict gets undermined
- Women's role as peacemakers need to be enhanced
- Not create a new space for women's sexual vulnerability and silencing
- Can we sell conflict as desirable to women?



"Women have always been the primary victims of war. Women lose their husbands, their fathers, their sons in combat."
- Hillary Clinton



That becomes the controversial question. What are the debates that emerge in response to that question? Most academics, for example, are trying to talk about the fact that war gives women a sense of agency and empowerment—the act of carrying arms, the act of freedom of mobility to walk around freely with guns. Some women have actually said that women just like wearing uniforms. They think that it makes them feel very cool about themselves. So, whatever it is, it is a sense in

which women’s agency and empowerment often becomes tied to conditions of war because war challenges normative conducts, war challenges patriarchy. Women who are, for example, usually used to being cooks and cleaners for their husbands and their responsibility has always been to look after the home, and look after the children, and stay at home. In conditions of war, they feel that they have the mobility to actually carry a gun and get into war with their husbands. So, there is a way in which they can challenge patriarchy. They can step out of their homes They don’t necessarily have to remain limited within the confines of their homes.

Because the idea of home itself becomes complicated in the context of war—homes are broken, homes are torn apart. Women can be free. Women do not have to look after their homes anymore. But, one of the interesting things is that how do you militarize the bodies of women if women are cross-culturally taught to be honorable and respectable and their bodies are meant to be humble, to always show respect towards others? How do you militarize that body of a woman to be actually carrying guns? This is part of the training, which often becomes an important part of radical religious movements. Training is directed towards changing the movement and body of the women to make it far more aggressive. Another part of the controversial debate that arises is around what Erica mentioned, which is around female suicide bombing.

This idea of female suicide bombing is something that has really caught the attention of international policy makers because the fact that women could use their bodies as bombs and kill themselves and blast and destroy to rip apart their bodies and take the lives of people with them, is something that is so torturous for any kind of public imagination. And this has led to an interesting emergence of the politics of female martyrdom. Religious movements are now saying that women can also be martyrs.

Women who have given their bodies for the nation, who have sacrificed their beautiful bodies for the nation—that is something which is being increasingly glorified. But, the women themselves in the run up to the actual act of female suicide bombing, and again, there is some literature which is emerging on it, can use that act; the fact that they are going to make the ultimate sacrifice as people

Key controversial debates

- Women’s agency, emancipation and empowerment
- Challenging normative codes of conduct
- Mobility, freedom and equality
- Women’s voices being heard
- Power to kill and carry arms



Key controversial debates

- Suicide bombing, deaths of women warriors and the politics of female martyrdom
- Emasculation and gendered protectionism
- New cultural and political discourses to support it



know. It is not like the unpredictability of war, you are going as a soldier, you could come back alive if you are a soldier. But, with suicide bombing, you know you are going to die. That women use it as a powerful critic of local men. Saying that I am being forced to give my body to the nation because the men could not serve the nation. The men could not save women. So, it is me, I have to go forward and do it. So, it is a particular form of emasculation which is related to female suicide bombing. But, having said that, there are new cultural discourses—that are emerging within these radical movements—to support female suicide bombing. For example, there is the idea that it is less likely than a woman would be frisked because people would be unsuspecting of them. So, if you are a woman and you are standing in a crowd, people wouldn't look at you and think you are about to blast your body. But, what radical religious leaders are saying is that when women are willing to do that, they become the brides of God. So, women are celebrated as brides. They are dressed up, they are given spa treatments, they have make-up done, and they are considered to be beautiful. And, this kind of radical change in the celebration of women is something that is being incorporated now in radical religious movements. Earlier, it was all about celebrating the men. Now, it is about, let's accommodate different ways in which we can celebrate these women.

From now on I would like to give you a flavor of different kinds of ethnographies which are emerging especially in the context of anthropology, and I will begin with a little bit of my own. I work with a radical Hindu Nationalist Group in Mumbai and I especially look at women's involvement in this group.

One of the key debates which has emerged in the context of women's participation in radical religious movements, is that does it create solidarities between

women? In my area of research, for example, it does create solidarities within women. Even though women join the movement, because they are Hindu nationalists and they are worried about the survival of the Hindu nation, they also coalesce around issues of rape and domestic violence and other kinds of sexual vulnerabilities. For example, the women who are part of this radical group, the Shiv Sena, which I worked with, they distribute local small pocket knives for women travelling on public transport. And, they say, if you are sexually harassed or you feel vulnerable towards rape, feel free to use the knife. And, the party will actually save you. The organization will save you. They will find a lawyer to protect you.

The Shiv Sena, the party, has also launched a smartphone application. If you download the smartphone application and you ever feel sexually vulnerable or feel like you are about to be raped, if you shake the phone hard enough, it starts ringing the local police station. So, you are a poor woman and you are a woman at work and you are travelling on the train, and usually sexual predators are predators who get on the train every day. They are always the same people. You know who they are. And, when you feel vulnerable, you just start shaking your phone and you are rescued immediately. So, these actually are solidarities which are built amongst women, in the context of

Women for women: rape, domestic violence, civic amenities

- Using radical Hindu movements to support women
- Offering small arms to protect poor women
- Delivering collective brute justice
- Spontaneous informal courts run by women
- Shaming rituals + violent beatings



right wing activism. So, superficially they are saying yes, this is about serving the Hindu nation, but on a very practical level, it is about women serving each other.

And then, there are also women who go against women when they join radical religious movements.

For example, in the context of the US, there are anthropologists and other scholars who are looking at Christian radical fundamentalists' women. Women who joined these Christian fundamentalist groups targeted women who are pro-abortion. They are burning down clinics when women are having abortions or terminating their pregnancies. They are attacking immigrant women, women who are coming in from Mexico and from other places, and seeking refuge in asylum. Mary Romero, for example, in her work, says that there is this idea that Christian radical fundamentalist American

women are the perfect mothers. And, all these other women, the ones who are terminating their pregnancies or coming in from Mexico are unfit mothers. So, America should be a land for the fit mothers and fit mothers which come through their engagement with Christianity. Furthermore, you have another example from Kashmir, which is in the northern part of India.

It is a very violent and conflict stricken area, and there is this radical women's Islamic group called Dukhtaran-e-Millat, and they target women who are either prostitutes or women who are taking part in Valentine's Day—because it's a foreign import. "What is this idea of modernity?" "Why celebrate love?" "Your parents should be organizing an arranged marriage for you". "You should not have the freedom to love". So, these women go around, smearing the faces of that women with black ink and sort of ripping their clothes off in public and making them be revealed. This idea of keeping a society clean is also becoming part of these radical religious movements. Therefore, there is a problem with gender solidarities. When are women joining these movements showing solidarity towards other women or targeting and attacking them? What are the radical movements which generate solidarities and the ones which really don't?

In conclusion, when it comes to women in radical movements and looking at it from the perspective of conventional gender studies, can we actually look at it as a brand of soft feminism? If feminist trajectories have dominated gender studies for a long period of time, then a lot of the markers of women joining radical religious movements actually tick boxes which are related to traditional liberal feminism. For example, women joining these movements they seek to sustain women's aggression that women are united and they are aggressive and they are sort of fighting patriarchy. They increase the public presence of women, women move outside their homes, they no

Women against women: reproductive freedom, immigration

- Radical Christian women and fatal attacks on doctors, immigrant women, burning down of clinics
- Immigrants and pro-abortion activists as unfit mothers

Mothers Against Illegal Aliens (MAIA)
 'MAIA shields itself with the armor of motherhood by appropriating traditional images of mothering to conceal its anti-immigrant activism targeting other mothers and their children. In order to attack other women and their children in the name of motherhood and family, MAIA constructs immigrant mothers as unfit mothers and their children as unfit for U.S. citizenship.'

MARY ROMERO, "Go After the Women": Mothers Against Illegal Aliens' Campaign Against Mexican Immigrant Women and Their Children

Women against women: social and moral impurity

- Women's Muslim moral groups affiliated with militias
- Role in controlling women's social behaviour in terms of dress, veil and moral conduct
- Instigating moral orthodoxy and questions of respectability

On V-Day, Aasiya raids restaurants, gift-shop

longer are segregated and home-bound and they are out. And, carrying arms and engaging with radical movements increases their self-pride. They contest notions of submissive femininity in their body language, in their everyday behavior. All kinds of femininity, which is related to submission to men, are challenged by women's participation.

Women learn how to protect themselves. In conditions of war, it becomes important for them to protect their bodies, so that they know how to use arms or develop comeback techniques which are about protecting their bodies. And, one of the things which form a part of these movements is that they are not really overtly challenging patriarchy. They are supporting patriarchy. They are going along with it. They have temporary spaces which they are maneuvering to get some amount of freedom, but they are not saying that they want a world with no men. They are not saying that they want a world which is completely dominated by women. They want to still look at the broader ideology which comes with these movements. Parashar, who Erica mentioned before, talks about "creative conformity". And I thought this was an interesting thing to throw out there for discussion on whether you agree with it or not. Parashar argues creative conformity explains best the actions and lived experiences of these women—the women I was talking about all this while.

And she says, 'This "creative conformity" comprises actions that may not produce ends that appear "feminist" within a secular-liberal framework, not necessarily align with the intentions of the agent, but nonetheless influence gendered norms about moral life'. Which is, women still manage to challenge and transform conventional gender norms in mainstream society by participating in radical movements.

Great controversy! Women's collective violent action as 'soft feminism'?

- Seek to sustain women's aggression without gender solidarities
- Increase women's public presence, cultural and self-pride
- Contesting traditional notions of submissive femininity
- Women's mobilisation into self-protectionism during war
- Not overtly challenge men and patriarchal economies

...'creative conformity' perhaps best explains the actions and lived experiences of these women. This 'creative conformity' comprises actions that may not produce ends that appear "feminist" within a secular-liberal framework, nor necessarily align with the intentions of the agent, but nonetheless influence gendered norms about the moral life.

(Swati Parashar, p 454)



コメント 1

Prof. Atreyee Sen の議論を受けて

松尾 瑞穂 (国立民族学博物館准教授)

Mizuho Matsuo (National Museum of Ethnology)

私はインドを調査対象とする文化人類学を専門としておりますが、今日は、ジェンダー研究の視点から、コメントをしてみたいと思います。

まず、バッフェツリ先生のイントロダクションにもありましたように、女性と暴力をどのように考えるかということが、このシンポジウムのひとつの大きな問題提起だと思います。

戦争、テロ、暴力というものと、女性との関わりについては、犠牲者としての女性、という視点が中心でした。そこから、加害者としての女性、という視座が登場してきます。80年代以降、日本の女性史研究においても、いわゆる被害者史観から加害者史観へと視座が転換していき、これを上野千鶴子は「反省的女性史の現れ」とまとめています。

具体的には、女性によるこれまでの戦争への加担や、戦争責任というものを、女性史、ジェンダー研究の中で問い始めた、ということがあります。日本の文脈でも、こうした研究は非常にたくさんの蓄積があり、女性が歴史の主体 agency であることを認めるのであれば、同時に、歴史に対する責任を逃れることもできない、と位置づけられています。

私自身を振り返ってみまして、女性と暴力、とくに加害者としての女性を、初めてはっきりと思い知らされたのは、2004年の、イラクのアブグレイブ刑務所での、アメリカ軍の女性兵士の映像でした。ご存知の方もたくさんいらっしゃると思いますが、刑務所の収容者に対する残虐で非人道的な行為を行っている写真の中に、女性兵士も写っていて、もう10年以上前の出来事ですけども、女性もこのような暴力の加害者となる、ということに衝撃を受けました。

こうした女性と暴力というものは、戦闘員・兵士・テロリストといった、ダイレクトに暴力や戦争と関わるレベルから、いわゆる銃後というか、後方支援として、とくに、太平洋戦争下の日本の女性が行ったことも含めてですが、戦争

女性と暴力

- ▶ 女性と戦争、テロ、暴力：被害者 (victim)としての女性から加害者としての女性という視座の登場
- ▶ 80年代以降、女性史における「被害者史観」から「加害者史観」への転換
⇒ 「反省的女性史 Reflexive Women's History」
- ▶ 具体的には、戦争加担や戦争責任
- ▶ 「女性が歴史の主体agencyであることを認めれば、同時に歴史に対する責任を逃れることもできない」（上野2009 (1998) : 30)

女性と暴力

↑ ↓

- ▶ 戦闘員、兵士、テロリスト
- ▶ 戦争協力：消極的～積極的
- ▶ 女性運動家（イデオログ）：目的を達成するための手段として体制、暴力に加担
- ▶ 家父長制下での女性による女性への暴力
- ▶ 被害者

⇒ 誰の立場、視点をとるのか

協力というかたちで、非常に消極的なものから積極的なものまで、暴力への協力という関りがあると思います。

さらには、知識人や運動家が、目的を達成するための手段として、暴力に加担することもあります。例えば私は、女性のリプロダクションの研究をしています。1920年代の女性にとって、避妊や中絶をするということは、国家との闘いが求められる、女性にとっての権利獲得運動でした。それで女性の活動家たちは、当時は禁止されていた避妊をするために、例えば優生学思想のような、当時の国家体制と親和性の高い、質の高い良き市民を作るというイデオログに自らのポリシーを関わらせながら、産児制限というものを達成する、ということを行っていました。このようなかたちで、女性の地位の向上、女性の参政権の獲得、産児制限の獲得、といった目的を達成するために、ある意味暴力に結果として加担していくということも、歴史的にはあったと思います。

さらには、女性と暴力の関わりを非常に見えにくくしているのが、家父長制の下での女性による女性への暴力を、どのように考えるかということです。

私は、インドの農村で、子どもができないことは半人前なことであり、女性性からの逸脱であるとする、ヒンドゥーの規範的な考え方により、子どもができない女性たちが、家族や親族や夫、さらにより広いコミュニティから、劣った人間として扱われている中で、どのように自らの agency を発揮しているのか、ということはずっと研究しています。

その中で、非常に微細ではあるのですが、家庭内、あるいはコミュニティの中で、年長の女性による女性への暴力が、女性の suffering をさらに増長するようなかたちで存在しています。こうした微細な暴力をどのように捉えればいいのか、ということに私は関心を持っています。

セン先生のプレゼンテーションにもありましたように、女性と暴力との関りを、どのような立場から、だれの視点から考えたらいいのか、というのは、ジェンダーを研究している人間にとっても、とても難しい問題だと思います。

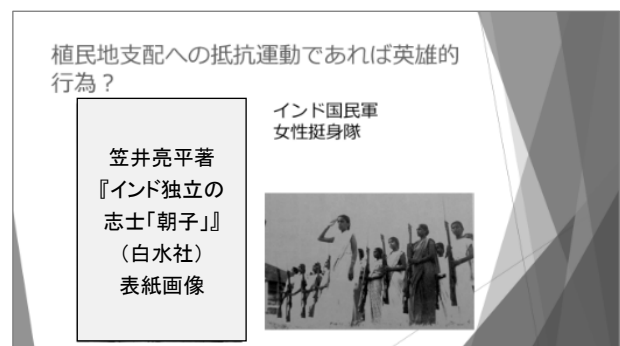
暴力行為 や radical movements への女性の動員を、これまでジェンダー研究の立場では、学問的に捉えるということは、おそらくほとんどしてこなかったと思います。そのような意味で、本日のシンポジウムの議論は大変興味深く、勉強になりました。そしてやはり、だれの立場、だれの視点で、こうしたことを語るのか、ということが、問題提起として、私の中に残っています。

女性と暴力との関りを、どのような視点から見ればいいのか、ということについて、インドの文脈で少し考えてみたいと思います。

女性による暴力や戦争への加担は、帝国列強への抵抗とか国家の独立、といった大義名分の下では、非常に英雄的な行為として称えられ、受け入れられる、と考えていいのでしょうか。

例えばインドでは、1940年代のイギリス植民地支配下、イギリスからの独立を目指す、インド国民軍というものの一部の活動家によって組織されました。そこに、マレーシアやシンガポールに住んでいたインド系住民の女性たちが、志願兵として加わり、訓練を受けて、祖国の独立を海外からサポートする活動をしました。インパール作戦と呼ばれる、日本軍との協力の中で、ビルマを通過してアッサムに入り、そこでイギリス軍と戦いながら、インドの解放を目指す、といった活動をしたわけです。

実際にインド国民軍の中で、女性の部隊が具体的にどのような活動をし、どのように戦地で戦ったのか、ということは、ほとんど知られていません。しかし、日本の敗戦後、インド国民軍の将校たちがイギリスの裁判で戦犯として裁かれようとしたとき、インド国民は、彼らは愛国者であり、祖国のために戦った英雄として扱い、イギリスに対



して抗議、抵抗をしました。こうしたことが、1947年のインド独立を早めた、ナショナリズムを喚起するひとつのきっかけともなったとも言われています。ですから、インド国民軍に加わった女性兵士も、祖国の解放、イギリスの植民地からの解放のために戦った、ということに関しては、英雄的な行為として賞賛されたとも考えられます。

ところが、先ほどセン先生の発表にもありましたが、スリランカのシンハラ系とタミル系の国民の間の内戦で、タミル人民解放の虎、いわゆる LTTE と呼ばれる反政府組織が、インドの首相やスリランカの首相を暗殺しています。その際に、女性の活動家による自爆テロ、自爆行為がとられています。

この LTTE は、自爆テロ、自爆行為が非常に突出していると言われています。インドのラジーブ・ガンディー首相は、タミル少女による自爆行為によって 1991 年に暗殺されています。タミルナードゥ州というところで、花輪をガンディー首相に捧げようとした少女が、自爆したのです。この場合、彼女たちは「テロリスト」として、インドの文脈の中では犯罪者であり、批判され、報復を受けるべき対象となったわけです。

このように、どのような行為をテロや反政府的行為であり、また、どのような行為が愛国的で賞賛されるべきなのか、というのは、どのような視点から見るとによって、大きく変わってくると思います。

一方、インド国内の文脈の中では、マハトマ・ガンディーによるイギリスからの独立運動の中では、女性の動員が大規模に行われました。

女性は、男性よりも、より道徳的な力が強く、忍耐があり、そして、勇気があるのだと。だからこそ、女性が非暴力運動である独立運動のフロントに立って戦うことがふさわしい、とされました。このときが、インドの大衆女性にとって、初めて政治的な主体となる契機であったと言われています。

非暴力であるということが、女性性と大いに結びつけられ、そこに、女性というのは特別な精神性や道徳性がある、と見なされる。これはジェンダー研究において、今まで使われてきたレトリックだと思いますが、しかしそうしたものでは、もう語り得ないものがある、ということ、今日のセン先生の発表から、大いに考えさせられました。

一方、私自身の研究に引き付けて考えてみますと、よりもっと微細な、例えば家庭内とか、人間関係の親密な空間の中で行われる暴力をどのように考えたらよいだろうか、ということが、個人的な関心としてあります。

例えば、サティー(寡婦殉死)という、夫が亡くなったときの葬儀で、妻あるいは妻の一人が、夫の遺体と共に焚き木の火に焼かれるという、インドのごく一部の階層で行われていた「宗教」的行為があります。こうした行為は、

民族運動は「テロリスト」?

- ▶ 1991年 Rajiv Gandhi首相の暗殺
- ▶ 女性によるSuicide bomb
- ▶ スリランカ内戦-タミル人民解放の虎 (LTTE)のWomen's wing

ラジーブ・ガンディー 首相画像

女性兵士画像

女性にふさわしいのは非暴力?

- ▶ M.K.ガンディーによる反英独立運動への女性の動員 (1930年代〜)
- ▶ "Women have greater moral power, endurance, courage and nonviolence than men" (Gandhi)
- ▶ 非暴力運動 (Sattyagraha) =>大衆女性にとって、はじめて政治的主体となる契機

女性による女性への暴力

- ▶ サティー (寡婦殉死)
- ▶ 19世紀にイギリス植民地下で禁止
- ▶ 「伝統」「宗教」「貞操」vs「野蛮」「暴力」「犯罪」
- ▶ 「サバルタンは語ることが出来ない」 (Spivak)
- ▶ 周辺の女性のagencyは?

19 世紀にイギリス植民地下で、犯罪あるいは暴力として禁止されますが、多くのヒンドゥーの男性たちが、これはヒンドゥーの伝統であり、宗教行為であり、女性たちはサティーをする権利がある、女性たちは喜んでサティーをすると主張し、イギリスによる禁止に対して、抵抗をしていくわけです。

スピヴァクの有名な『サバルタンは語る事が出来るか』という本の中でも、スピヴァクは、このサティーを取り上げて、サバルタンとして女性の声は聞かれないと言っているわけですが、私自身が非常に気になるのは、これはサティーを描いた絵ですが、サティーを見学している人たちの中で、サティーをする女性の周りにいる女性たちの声も、また同時に、聞かれることはないだろう、ということです。彼女たちは、サティーをする女性を encourage しているのか、force しているのか、それとも、悲しんでいるのか。周りにいる女性たちは一体、何を、どんな役割を果たしていたのだろうか、ということも、我々は聞くことはできないわけです。

彼女たちも暴力の加担者なのか、それともやはり、暴力の犠牲者と言えるのか、あるいはそのような二分法で分けることは、もしかして、ふさわしくないかもしれませんが、暴力というものを考えるときに、女性の agency というものを、どのような視点から考えたらいいのだろうか、という疑問があります。

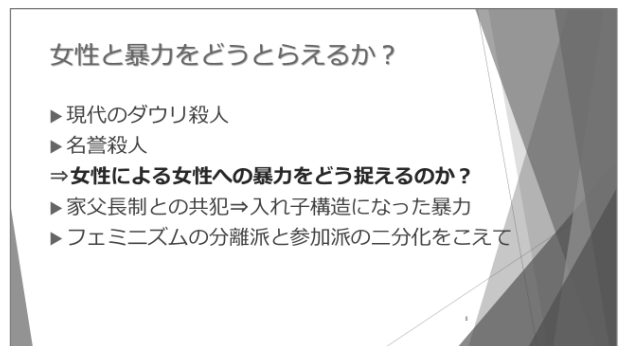
それは現代のダウリ殺人も同様です。ダウリと呼ばれる持参財を女性側が持つていくのですが、そのダウリが少ないということを理由に、サリーに火をつけられて殺されるということが、インドではしばしば起こっています。その際に、閉じられた家庭という空間の中で、多くの場合、女性がその犯罪の犯人として検挙されることが多いです。

名誉殺人も同様です。娘たちが、例えばレイプにあったときに、その娘を家族が受け入れるということは名誉に問題があるので、その被害者である娘を、家庭内の年長者が殺してしまう、ということも、しばしば起こり得ます。

こうした、例えば、母親による娘への暴力、あるいは、義母による嫁への暴力のように、intimate な関係の中での暴力というものを、どのように捉えたらよいのか。とくに、私は不妊という問題を扱っていますので、不妊である若い女性たちにとって、もっとも厳しい存在というのは、多くの場合、家庭内での年長の女性たちなのです。彼女たちが、不妊である若い女性をいかに説得し、複婚といわれる、夫に二人目の妻をめとらせるのか、あるいは、離婚を促すのか、といったような暴力があります。

ただ、その中で、女性たちが、すべて犠牲者であるかということ、それだけではなく、実際に子供がいない女性たちが、自ら、二人目・三人目の妻を夫のために用意することも起こっています。彼女たちがどういう人を連れてくるかということ、例えば、障害を持っている女性とか、非常に年の若い女性とか、そういう人を第二婦人として、夫のために自分が用意すると。その中では、犠牲者である女性と、さらに、犠牲者化された女性という入れ子状になった暴力というものが、微細な日常生活の中ではみられます。

私からの感想としては、フェミニズム、女性研究の中で、こうした様々なかたちの暴力というものと、女性の関わりというものを考えるきっかけを今回与えていただけたと思っています。





コメント 2

日本における DV の加害者と被害者

小川 真理子 (日本学術振興会特別研究員 (PD) / 大妻女子大学)
Mariko Ogawa (JSPS/Otsuna Women's University)

私は、DV (ドメスティック・バイオレンス) 被害者の支援や民間シェルターの調査研究をしておりますので、今日は日本の DV の状況に触れながら、本シンポジウムのテーマに関連して女性の DV 加害者という視点も含めて考えを述べさせていただきたいと思います。

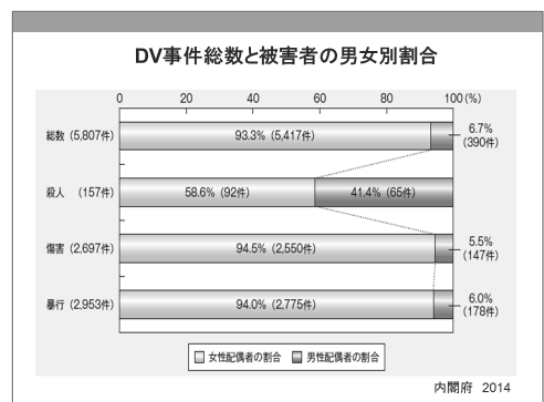
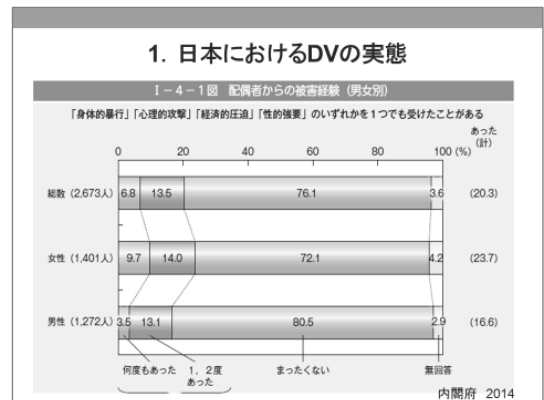
本報告の構成	
1.	日本におけるDV被害の実態
2.	DV殺人事件～女性加害者と男性被害者
3.	DVが社会問題になるまでの経緯
4.	DV防止法制定から15年を経て
5.	DVにおける被害者と加害者

日本の DV の実態についてですが、内閣府の統計では、配偶者からの暴力は、総数として 5 人に 1 人が暴力を受けたという結果になっています。性別で見ますと、女性の約 4 人に 1 人が配偶者から被害を受けたことがあります。そして女性の約 10 人に 1 人は何度も受けています。

男性の被害経験というのは、女性の割合 (23.7%) よりも少なく 16.6% なのですが、決して少なくない割合です。

「DV 事件総数と被害者の男女別割合」の統計では、全体のうち約 9 割が女性の被害者です。傷害と暴行事件における女性の被害者は特に多く、ともに 9 割を占めています。一方、殺人における女性の被害者は全体の約 6 割、男性の被害者は約 4 割となっています。

DV 事件における女性被害者は、殺人事件の割合が約 6 割で、傷害と暴行の割合と比べると少なくなっています。そこで、なぜ殺人事件では、女性の被害者数が減少するのか、一方でなぜ女性の加害者数が増加するのかという点について、ある事件をご紹介します。



1994年に妻による夫殺人事件が起こりました。この事件の特徴は、長年暴力を受け続けた妻が、夫を殺害したというものです。

1994年の大晦日に、夫は朝から酒を飲みながら妻に執拗な暴力をふるい続け、妻は玄関から逃げようと試みたのですが、夫に引きずり戻されます。夫は妻の首を絞め、さらに、ゴルフクラブで妻を後ろから強打しました。妻はこのままでは殺されるかもしれないと考え、仰向けになって横たわっていた夫の首をナイフで刺して殺害したという事件です。

この事件の判決ですが、裁判所は、人のいのちを奪った結果は重大であるとしながらも刑免除という結論を下しています。この判決は、非常に画期的でした。裁判所は、被告人である妻が長年にわたる夫からのすさまじい暴力の被害者であることを認め、夫の暴力に厳しい判断を下しました。すなわち、夫の暴力がこの事件の原因であり、妻の生命侵害の危険が高く、それゆえ、妻を強く非難することはできないとして刑免除の判決を言い渡しました。

裁判の争点となったのが、妻の刺殺行為が正当防衛にあたるかというところですが、判決では、妻の防衛行為がもし失敗した場合に、さらなる暴力行為が加えられる恐れがあり、妻の命の危険がより高くなるということを認めています。

妻の弁護側も、これまでの夫の暴力の実態を法廷で明らかにしました。また、弁護側の参考人として出廷した研究者は、当時、夫や恋人など親密な関係にある男性から振られる暴力が、女性に対する暴力として国際的に問題になっていることを指摘しました。こうした状況も説明して妻の弁護側は裁判で戦ったのです。

この妻による夫殺し事件が起きたのは1994年ですので日本でDV防止法が制定される前になります。当時の日本では、夫婦の間ごとには、個人的な問題であるという規範が浸透していて、暴力を振られた女性たちは沈黙をせざるを得ない状況がありました。

国際的には、国連などが90年代以降、女性に対する暴力を女性の人権問題として取り上げ、日本でも90年代初め民間女性グループによる全国初のDV調査を契機に社会的な関心が集まるようになりました。また、90年代後半には、草の根の女性たちがDV被害者を保護・支援するシェルターを設立する動きが全国的に広がりました。

国の動向では、1999年に初めて男女間における暴力に関する調査を実施しています。この調査結果では20歳以上の成人女性の5人に1人が生命の危険を感じるほどの暴力を経験していることが報告され、大きな衝撃を与えました。

妻による夫殺害の事件が起こった90年代半ばは、まだDVが社会的にも認知されていない状況で、社会的な対応がほとんどなかった

2. DV殺人事件～女性加害者と男性被害者

- ・妻による夫殺人事件(1994)
- ・暴力の被害者がなぜ殺人事件の加害者に？
- ・7年間にわたる夫からの激しい暴力
- ・長年、夫の暴力にさらされた挙句、夫を殺害することで暴力から解放

「刑免除」判決(1995)

- ・裁判所:被告人である妻が長年にわたる夫の暴力の被害者であることを認め、妻を強く非難することはできない
- ・裁判の争点
妻の「刺殺」行為が正当防衛にあたるか
夫:酒乱、被害妄想状態での凄まじい暴力
妻:生命の危険
→妻は、夫の暴力に対して1度逃げようとしたが失敗。防衛行為が失敗した場合、より一層生命の危険性が高まる

3. DVが社会問題になるまでの経緯

国際的な動向

- 1960年代 欧米で女性に対する暴力撤廃運動が起こる
民間の女性達がDV被害女性を保護
シェルターを設立
- 1995年 第4回世界女性会議女性に対する暴力に焦点化

日本の動向

- 1990年代 日本初の民間女性NGOによる全国DV調査を契機にDVへの社会的関心が集まる
各地で草の根の女性達が民間シェルター設立

- ・1999年9月 旧総理府(現内閣府)
初の「男女間における暴力に関する調査」実施
(以降3年に1度実施)

- ・20歳以上の成人女性中5人に1人が「生命の危険」を感じる程の暴力を経験

頃になります。ですので、弁護側は、妻がぎりぎりまで追い詰められてしまったにもかかわらず、妻が助けを求めることが出来なかったのは、社会的な支援や対応の遅れにも問題があると主張しました。

その後、民間女性 NGO を中心に DV 被害者を保護するための法律を作ることを目的とした運動が起こり、多くの女性たちの力が結集して 2001 年に DV 防止法が成立します。

DV 防止法施行後には、公的機関を中心にして DV 被害者支援制度が整備されてきています。DV 防止法はこれまでに 3 度の改正が行われています。けれども、未だに DV 事件は後を絶たない状況が続き、支援制度の不備についても指摘されています。

4. DV防止法制定から15年を経て

- ・2001年 配偶者暴力防止法(DV防止法)が成立
2004年、2007年、2013年一部改正
- ・DVセンターへの相談件数 10万件以上(2016)
- ・公的機関中心のDV被害者支援制度の整備
→ 3度の改正を経て課題が残る
- ・全国都道府県「DV対策の推進調査」(2004)
→ DV被害者の自立支援制度の欠落
- ・総務省「配偶者からの暴力の防止等に関する政策評価書」(2009)
- ・相談取組不十分(自治体担当者40.3%、民間担当者79.1%)
- ・総合的な被害者支援制度の未確立、行政との「連携」困難他

「DV における被害者と加害者」についてですが、先程、配偶者からの被害経験の割合は、女性が 23.7%で男性が 16.6%と申しました。そして同じ調査で、DV 被害を「相談しなかった」と回答したのが、女性は 44.9%、男性は 75.4%となっています。とくに男性の割合が高いということがわかります。

男性の被害実態というのは、まだまだ見えにくい状況です。その理由のひとつとして、妻から暴力を受けているなんて恥ずかしくて誰にもいえないと一人で問題を抱え込む男性の姿が浮かび上がります。

5. DVにおける被害者と加害者

- ・配偶者からの被害経験 女性23.7% 男性16.6%
- ・そのうち、「相談しなかった」と回答したのは
女性44.9% 男性75.4%
- ・みえにくい男性の被害実態
→ 恥の意識、プライド
- ・DV被害者支援制度の行き詰まり
→ 支援の地域間格差、複合的な困難への対応
- ・男性のDV加害者向けプログラム

一部の自治体では男性被害者への対応を始めていて、東京、京都、神奈川などでは、男性専用の電話相談を開始しています。

DV の特徴とは、第 1 に、ジェンダー化された対立の構造があり、性別に偏った加害・被害の傾向があるということです。第 2 に、悩んでいる本人も被害者・加害者として認識することが難しいという当事者性の喪失という問題があります。DV 加害者向けプログラムについては、まだ多くはありませんが男性の DV 加害者向けプログラムが民間団体を中心に行われています。また、その位置づけは、DV 被害者支援の一環としての DV 加害者教育プログラムになっています。国では、調査をしたり実施したりという試みをしていますが、DV 加害者教育プログラムの取り組みはまだ始まったばかりです。

・ DVの特徴

- ・ジェンダー化された対立の構造
性別に偏った加害・被害の傾向
- ・当事者性の喪失
悩んでいる本人も被害者・加害者として認識することが難しい
- ・DV被害者の9割は女性

今見てきたように、実態として、DV 被害者の 9 割は女性であり、国際的な傾向とも一致しています。妻による夫の殺人事件は、年間 70 件前後を数えると言われています。この中には、DV に耐えかね夫を殺害することで暴力から解放されるケースも多いと研究者は指摘しています。

男性の DV 被害も顕在化している状況ではあるのですが、DV の実態を見る限り、女性への支援の必要性和支援がスムーズに受けられるような制度の整備を早急に進めていくことが重要だといえます。

報告は以上になります。ありがとうございました。

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質疑応答

【Question 1】

女性が武器を手にすることで力を得て家父長制度や家庭から解放されるということだが、ラディカルな運動や軍隊の中には、やはり家父長的な構造があると思われる。その中で女性たちは矛盾を感じていないのか？

Atreyee Sen: I want to start by Erica mentioning how these women go through extreme asceticism to show their involvement or commitment to their organization. And, how they have to spend hours displaying the fact that they could be a very involved and committed member of a very hardcore radical organization. I think that this is something which is interesting in terms of looking at international perspectives on women's participation in radical movements, a kind of extreme violence that the women subject themselves to in order to show their loyalty or commitment to the rhetoric.

Several scholars, for example, will argue that female suicide bombing is a very extreme example of that. Committing your body to be subjected to extreme violence or something that is more of a symbolic violence, this is a more dreaded form of violence. The fact that the women, the female bodies in particular, can be offered to an organization through the path of violence is something that is important. The question of victimhood and perpetrators is something that I found really, really fascinating in the context of Dr. Ogawa's presentation. And, I think again what Erica and I are trying to do in this project is that to step aside from this pattern of looking at women's participation in violence exclusively through the lens of either victimology or rhetoric of suffering.

All the agencies involving women in the context is something that women articulate themselves as emancipatory. What we have emphasized on these trends is: What are actually women's roles? How do women themselves see their engagement in those roles? How are they being represented by themselves? What are their own motivations? What are their memories once this violence is over? How do they see their actions? We are returning women's voices to a history of violence and conflict. But, it is always about women who are looking at themselves as victims or people representing women as victims.

What you raised was a very important question which is that people don't necessarily look at their own actions as victims or perpetrators: heroic or non-heroic. It is about how people represent them. The women belonging to the Indian National Army, for example, were really glorified by people. Their heroism was something that was celebrated and glorified by people. The women wrote a letter in blood to the head of the Indian National Army and said that, as women, they wanted to also make a contribution because at the beginning, they were banned from participating. But when women joined the Army, they were really celebrated. While it was accepted that men would do it, that men

would fight the colonizers, the fact that women chose all these different paths—whether it is Gandhi’s nonviolence movement or the Indian National Army— it was people who attributed heroism to them. And, I think, what is controversial about the way we are looking at radical movements now is that local people continue to attribute heroism to women who joined radical religious movements.

We look at it as terrorism. Women have joined up a terrorist group. But, somewhere, these women are being celebrated, they are considered to be heroes and nationalists. What we look in imperialism, women participating in the revolution, in Algeria, for example, where they were fighting the colonizers, was like a part of history. But, if you look at it from the perspective of women now taking part in the radical religious movements, they still think that they are fighting imperialism. They are fighting western imperialism or some sort of imperialism. I think that this is what makes this issue about victims and perpetrators look a bit complex.

There is limits of gender frameworks to understand women’s participation in radical movements. We have to constantly think about the fact that; Are they challenging patriarchy, are they not challenging patriarchy? Are they feminists, are they not feminists? Are they or aren’t they conscious of gender solidarities? But, if you look at it from the perspective of the women themselves, as I was working in the slum with these group of women, what they want is a brief reprieve. What they want is a temporary state of being where they could just go to work freely without the fear of being attacked or sexually abused in public space. They wouldn’t understand words like “patriarchy”; they are just illiterate, average, and everyday women. For them, if you tell them, “Okay here are some knives, and I am telling you that it is fine for you to use knives”, you are talking about the case of self-defense. What the women feel from their perspective is power. Power is a word they understand, but patriarchy is a word they don’t understand. It is complicated to look at it through the lens of scholars. We are saying, “yes they are re-enforcing patriarchy,” but, for the women themselves, they think they are challenging the men and getting more access to public space. I think that is where the academic paradox really is. Can we actually explore this from the perspective of the people who are joining these movements? There are obviously some benefits that they are getting out of it.

Erica Baffelli: I just wanted to add on what Atreyee was saying about the central idea of the body, the asceticism and this kind of glorification. Although my case study is in a very different context and I’m working on a relatively small group, something that I am starting to notice is the narrative about the body glorified through the ascetic practices, to take one’s body to the extreme, purified by the asceticism. Then, when women are re-elaborating their past and rejecting narratives about the body change, some of them start talking about violence and of denying their femininity through the ascetic practices. Or the bodies that were described as strong and purified are now seen as corrupted and sick. This idea of bringing their voices, their narratives is quite fundamental for our project.

And, this can be probably one of the key terms and elements we can use to look from a comparative perspective, tanking into consideration the different contexts.

【Question 2】

Professor Sen made a very compelling case on the way in which gender figures in the construction of these women's identities as freedom fighters, terrorists, or even women who defend themselves in public transportation. And, I wanted to ask whether gender is also part of the conversation, if and when these women are arrested or captured. Does it figure in the punishment decision as either an aggravating circumstance or extenuating circumstance or not at all?

Atreyee Sen: This question of gender that very much comes into being; but, I think, what is interesting is the fact that it comes into being, but not for Muslim or Christian or Buddhist women, or women from any other religious groups, because they are not given that privilege. It is only the women who are part of these radical religious movements who are going to get this privilege. It is a way in which you also tend to mobilize women who maybe Hindu women, but are not interested in party politics or religious radicalism. For example, if you ask these women how to spell "nationalism", they don't know, because they are that illiterate and poor—often like working as domestic laborers and maids in factories. They are not women who actually know about the ideology or nationalism, or anything like that. But, it is about these practical services of gender solidarity, which are offered to these women, which work for them. So, they remain committed to the party. Are they really concerned about the Hindu nation? I don't think they care. You know they are slum women, they don't give a damn, but when it comes to saying that if you join the party then we will give you knives and you can actually protect yourself on the street and the police will protect you as well, it is a fantastic deal for them. I am trying to say is the women are also strategic in the way that they engage with this kind of religious radicalism.

【Question 3】

There are three slides, about supporters, inbetweeners and critics of women participation, and among the supporters, there was this argument that the women once joined state and informal armies and organizations, their challenge its dominantly masculine practices. So, it is an argument often made that when an organization gets diversity, something will change and usually it is for the better. Can you elaborate a little bit on the gender side of this? I mean, it is not just diversity, but we are talking about women. How do the organizations change?

Atreyee Sen: I am going to give one example from my own work. The Shiv Sena, has been around

from the 1960s, and it has been a very prominent party. And, it was around for 25 years, when in 1985, they created their first women's wing. For 25 years, they hadn't even thought about diversity. They didn't even think that it was a party which was in any way made for women. But, accommodation of women in the Shiv Sena, over time, transformed a lot of its political agendas. The party incorporated the idea of women's rights; what can we do for the Hindu women? what can we do to protect everyday women on the street? It never had an agenda which was ever directed towards women. Even though it is as narrow and parochial as only offering good things to Hindu women, they still brought in women's agendas into question. For example, the party leader, when this whole thing about knife giving was becoming quite controversial in the press, was actually developing choices for women by saying that if you think that it makes you feel quite weird about carrying a knife in your purse, carry things which you associate with your kitchen. Carry chili powder in your purse, so you can actually throw into the eyes of the perpetrator. It gives you time to run. So, these are the ways in which the party increasingly sensitizes itself to the needs of its vote bank, it is a female vote bank, frankly. They need the women to remain in power.

If you look at some studies which are looking at women joining the US Army, for example, which is a State sponsored army and not a radical religious movement. A lot of scholars look at the US Army as a Christian fundamentalist organization. That it is a way in which they accommodate a load of Islamophobic people and deploy them to work or fight wars in Islamic nations. But stepping away from that, the incorporation of women in the US Army, for example, a lot of people have said, has reduced the amount of bullying that went on within the Army. People are hesitant to do hazing in front of or in the presence of other women. I am not saying that there is no sexual abuse in the army. There is quite a high rate of sexual abuse of women and rape in the army, as well. But, that was one of the arguments which was put forward that because of the diversity, it changed all the very strong masculine practices which had been there in the US Army for a long time.

Erica Baffelli: Going back to the question about punishment, I was thinking about a point that we haven't mentioned which came up in studies on Northern Ireland IRA members. Miranda Alison, for example, looks at IRA women combatants and says that in post-conflict situation female combatants were more stigmatized than men for being part of it. This is one of the other elements we are quite interested in looking at in this project. How these women are seen in the society in the post-conflict context and what are the differences between female and male combatants. Even if they haven't been in prison, they are being stigmatized for having chosen to be a part of these groups, for not having a family, for renouncing to motherhood in order to be part of radical movements and so on.

Atreyee Sen: Just to add a little bit to that is that historically, once women had an opportunity to be non-domestic in the context of violence, and in the post-conflict time, they found it really hard to get back to domesticity. It was like tasting the freedom that came with violence and conditions of

violence and conflict. You see it in the World War I and II, where the women went to fight. Men too went to fight in the trenches; and women had to take up the banks, post office, and as factory workers. When the men came back from work, women hated going back to domesticity and they fought to keep their jobs. The men were absolutely outraged by the fact that women became so organized in trying to retain their economic activities and freedom. This is something which keeps on coming back in the context of the post-conflict areas. That is why we have given a lot of emphasis on this idea of memory. Which is that, how do women remember the violence and relate it to what is going on with them now.

【Question 4】

I would like to know your opinion about the idea that some women act for or play for socially dominant ideology or perception which often tend to be masculine and I think this is a kind of issue of women members of the Aum cult, right? So, some women killed or hurt other women as an agent. What do you think about this kind of idea? You touched upon this I believe but I would like you to clarify on that again.

Atreyee Sen: It depends on to what extent women see themselves as culturalised or committed to the organization. If you are somebody who is very, very committed to a socially dominant masculinist radical religious movement, you would often see killing as not necessarily act of taking a life or you might not face any ethical challenges because you see it as defeating an enemy. But having said that, there is a lot counter literature which is emerging right now, which looks at women's participation in violence as sport that they are doing it because they enjoy it. And the question is that what is the psychosocial impact of that for other women or for the next generation? When I was working with this group, for example, the fact that often male children saw women carrying arms created a very confused masculinity in them. It does have a certain kind of psychological impact on the next generation.

Erica Baffelli: I think in Aum there is an interesting element that is the idea of being part of an elite. During interviews, some women said that it was easier to renounce to the beliefs and to renounce to the leader than to renounce the idea that they were a chosen elite and they were going to save the world. This idea of being “special”, which even women, if doing the ascetic practice properly, could reach higher spiritual levels, gave them authority in a sense. And then, at one point, the beating became part of it. Beating was acceptable because it was seen as helping the other person to reach liberation. Even before the killing started, the beating had already started, together with the idea of gaining power in the movement through extreme ascetic practices. I think this idea of “elite” is similar in other radical organizations and it’s a key element to understand what kind of violence (and toward whom) is accepted in the group.

【Question 5】

What happens to media images of women fighting? You probably know 20 years ago, there was a movie called *G.I. Jane* and more recently there has been popular movies of Mixed Martial Arts fighting. Some of these women, may look good for Hollywood, are quite violent. There must be a gap between what men think of women in the army and the women who were actually in the army and that you interviewed. Has there been any influence between each other and is there going to change? Is there anything more recent you want research about?

松尾:『GI ジェーン』のころの女性兵士のイメージはすごく特別な女性という感じだったが、最近観たロマンチックコメディ映画で、男性の奥さんがアフガンで戦死した兵士であるという設定があり、それが日常のモチーフとして出てきているのを見たときに、女性兵士の表象というものが、『GI ジェーン』の時代からは大きく変わって、女性兵士の存在がそれだけ日常化しているのではないかという印象を受けた。

小川:DV 被害者については、脆弱な女性というイメージがいまだに大きいと思う。1960年代70年代にアメリカで、battered women's movement が起こり、その後、フェミニズムの中で、「victimization-agency 議論」が展開された。アメリカのフェミニスト法理論の基礎を築いた研究者であり弁護士のキャサリン・マッキノン、DV 被害女性を裁判で弁護した際に、女性を脆弱な存在であると捉え裁判を闘った。けれども、女性を脆弱な「被害者」だと捉える視点は、女性を従属的な立場と不可分なものとして捉えることになるとして批判を受けるようになる。フェミニズムの議論では、被害者と表明することによる補償や支援は被害者の防御策として重要だという意見がある一方で、女性を惨めな被害者に還元することは、多くの女性の体験を反映してないという批判があった。エージェンシーの観点では、女性は無力で脆弱な存在ではなく、個人の考えに基づいて成長し行為を起こす能力をもつ存在であり、変化の主体となる可能性があると言われている。それゆえ、既存の秩序の中で生き延びてきた DV 被害者はエージェンシーであり能動的な存在といえる。このような議論があったので、アメリカでは、DV 被害女性のイメージが翻されている側面があるのではないかと思っている。

Atreyee Sen: I am going to say a couple of things. One of the key categories of representing women fighting, or women fighters, is of hyper-sexualization. That sort of fighting women's body carrying arms is sexualized. It is a very attractive, desirable, female body. There is a particular sort of return to the hyper sexualization of it. The second thing is that if you look at the media representations of women who are fighting—if they are fighting for the nation, a nation which is considered to be legitimate by the media itself, then it is still something which is glorified or something which is accepted. But, if it is a woman fighting for a cause, which the media considers to be illegitimate and unjustified, then the same woman is considered to be who I had put one slide, “the hybrid monster,” which is that she remains neither man nor woman, and she has no space within the sort of mainstream society.

Because you mentioned Lynndie England, I was thinking about that. This term “hybrid monster” was actually developed in the context of the Lynndie England controversy. When images of her

torturing prisoners in Abu Ghraib actually hit the media. Women in army are entering into this hyper competitive space, where they have to show that they are as good as men when it comes to displaying violence. Are we actually creating these hybrid monsters who are not sure whether they are women anymore and are aware of the fact that they can't be the same as men? One of the things about Abu Ghraib, which again, sort of in terms of its representational politics, became much gendered as there were a lot of women in Abu Ghraib. They were the women who were interrogators, torturers, soldiers, but somehow only the character of Lynndie England got attention. And, she was severely punished for it; she received a media trial, was chucked out of the army, never given another job, never returned to mainstream civil life. So it is like the media holds the trial as to who they think are the legitimate participants in any kind of violent organization.

「IGS 通信」掲載開催報告 吉原公美(お茶の水女子大学ジェンダー研究所特任 RF)

2016年10月19日(水)、お茶の水女子大学にて、ジェンダー研究所主催による国際シンポジウム「女性、宗教、暴力:国際的視点からの再考」が開催された。本シンポジウムは、ジェンダー研究所のエリカ・バッフェツリ特別招聘教授の企画立案であり、バッフェツリ氏の共同研究者であるコペンハーゲン大学のアトリー・セン准教授を基調講演に、国立民族学博物館の松尾瑞穂准教授と日本学術振興会特別研究員(PD)の小川真理子氏をディスカッサントとしてお招きした。本企画は、バッフェツリ、セン両氏により進められている研究プロジェクトについて、学際的かつ国際的なフィードバックを得ることも目的のひとつであった。

石井クンツ昌子ジェンダー研究所長による開会挨拶に続く、バッフェツリ氏の趣旨説明では、バッフェツリ氏とセン氏による、過激な宗教・政治団体、運動への女性の関与についての共同研究を開始した経緯が紹介された。両氏とも、女性たちが武器を手にしたり、暴力的な行為に積極的に参加している事実があるにもかかわらず、いつまでも女性の被害者性が強調されたり、自爆攻撃などへの参加は「例外的」と特別視され続けていることに疑問を持ち、研究プロジェクトを立ち上げたとのことである。また、同プロジェクトは、女性たちの過激活動参加の動機・その表象・その後の記憶の3つの要素に注目している。そして、バッフェツリ氏からは、自身が研究を続けているオウム真理教内での、女性指導者の役割がどうであったかについての解説が加えられた。

女性の右翼活動の研究を進めてきたというセン氏の基調講演では、過激な運動に関わる女性たちの多様な動機や参加形態の例を挙げ、それらが、従来のジェンダー分析の枠組みやメディア表象では説明しきれないものであることを示した。例えば、過激な宗教団体に加入する女性たちは、加入前にその活動についての十分な情報を得ており、複数の選択肢も検討し、熟慮の上でその道を選んでいる。フェミニストであれば、女性にも男性と同様の「戦う権利」があるとの意見を持つこともある。対照的に、男女の身体的差異を重要視し、銃後の支援という「女性の役割」を請負う者もいる。こうした事実は、女性＝被害者、女性＝ピースメーカーという理解の枠には収まらない。また、重要なポイントとして、男性主導の運動に女性が加わることで必ずその活動に変化が起きること、また、戦時という状況が、既存の社会規範や家父長制度を揺さぶり、女性のエンパワメントをもたらすことも指摘された。さらに、過激な運動における女性同士の関係性のあり方の例として、まず、セン氏が調査を進めてきたヒンドゥー・ナショナリスト団体シヴ・セナの運動における協力関係が紹介された。団体の女性たちの連帯は、その思想のみでなく、公共交通機関を利用するときに持ち歩く小型のナイフやレイプ被害を防ぐための専用のスマートフォンアプリなど、自衛手段を供給することによって強化されているという。また、女性間の敵対、暴力のケースとしては、米国のキリスト教原理主義団体の女性たちが、自らの宗旨に基づく理想が唯一のアメリカの母親像であるとして、中絶を行うクリニックの焼き討ちや、移民女性を死傷させたりする例や、インド・カシミール地方のイスラム教女性団体が、社会をクリーンにすると称して、公の場で、西洋の習慣であるヴァレンタインデーを楽しむ女性たちの顔にインクを塗りつけたり、着衣を破くなどの辱めを与えるなどしている例が示された。結びでは、「女性の集団暴力は『ソフト・フェミニズム』か?」という設問が投げかけられた。フェミニズムという視点を持つてみると、過激な運動への女性の参加は、女性たちを家の外へ連れ出し、武器を持たせ、自尊心を高める結果をもたらしている。ただし、そうした中でも、女性たちは、面と向かって男性や家父長制度に挑むのではなく、むしろソフトに、「創造的服従」とも呼べる新しい順応の形態を創り出すことで、社会全体のジェンダー規範に変化をもたらそうとしているのではないかと結論が述べられた。

ディスカッサントの松尾氏からは、戦争加担や政治闘争を背景にした加害者としての女性の存在は、歴史的かつ継続的に見ることができるが、その暴力に対する評価は、いつ、誰の視点で語るのかによって、大きく異なってくるだろうとの指摘があった。例えば、戦後の日本においては被害者史観が先行していたが、80年代以降、戦時中の女性たちの後方支援者としての戦争加担に目が向けられるようになり、加害者史観への転換が見られた。自身の研究フィールドであるインドからの例としては、独立運動の現場において、女性特有の道徳性や忍耐力が非暴力運動にふさわしいというジェンダー・レトリックによる女性動員が行われたが、こうしたレトリックはセン氏の報告に見られる現代の事象にはもはや当てはまらない。結婚時に嫁の持参財(ダウリ)が少ない場合に、サリーに火をつけて殺してしまうケースで女性が殺人者として逮捕されたり、レイプにあった娘を家庭内の年長の女性が殺してしまう名誉殺人が行なわれたりしている。閉じられた家庭内で発生する暴力の背景には、母と娘、義母と娘といった女性同士、そして男性も含めた家族内の、わかりやすい加害者と被害者像に当てはまらない、入れ子状になった複雑な暴力構造があるだろうとの指摘もなされた。

続いて、小川氏からは、専門分野であるドメスティック・バイオレンス(DV)の日本の現状に照らしてのコメントがあった。DVに関しては、傷害・暴行とも、男性加害者・女性被害者のケースが9割を占めるが、殺人については、女性加害が4割に上る。妻による夫殺害では、長年にわたる夫からの暴力に耐えかねての殺人というケースも多く、加害者・被害者の暴力構造は単純ではない。未だ女性が被害者になるケースが圧倒的多数ではあるが、男性被害者の存在にも目が向けられている。しかし、DV被害を誰にも相談しなかった割合は、女性が44.9%であるのに対し、男性は75.4%となっており、妻からの暴力について恥ずかしくて人に話せないといったジェンダーバイアスが、男性の被害実態を見えにくくしている面があるとの指摘がなされた。また、男性被害者も顕在化している状態ではあるが、圧倒的多数である女性被害者に対する支援制度の構築が急務であること、被害者支援と同時に加害者教育をする必要性や、当事者が被害者や加害者として自身を認識することに困難があるという現実が示された。

質疑応答と討論は、小川氏がコメントの最後に挙げた、セン氏への質問で開始された。「女性が武器を手にすることで力を得て家父長制度や家庭から解放されるということだが、ラディカルな運動や軍隊の中には、やはり家父長的な構造があると思われる。その中で女性たちは矛盾を感じていないのか」という質問に対し、セン氏は、過激な運動に参加する女性たちが実際に「家父長制度」などの概念を使ってものを考えているわけではなく、そこに既存の学問領域におけるジェンダー・フレームワークの限界があるのではないかと指摘で応じ、既存の理論枠組による研究者視点の分析手法に疑問を投げかけ、市井の女性たちの考え方に着目するという、バッフェッリ、セン両氏による研究プロジェクトの姿勢が示された。その後も聴衆からの質問は続き、登壇者・聴衆間の間でも充実した討論が持たれた。

今回の企画は、研究プロジェクトの概要を示すにとどまる部分があったが、今後の研究展開を待ち、再度、本学において成果発表の機会を持つことが期待される。

国際シンポジウム
女性、宗教、暴力：国際的視点からの再考

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