氏名 (本籍) Sultanalieva Syinat (キルギス) 学位の種類 博士(社会科学) 学位記番号 甲 第 9668 号 学位授与年月日 令和 2 年 9 月 25学位授与の要件 学位規則第4条第1項該当 審查研究科 人文社会科学研究科 学位論文題目 Towards a Reframing of Non-Western Feminisms: "Coloniality of Being" in the Narratives of Kyrgyzstani Women's Rights Activists (非西欧のフェミニズムの再解釈に向けて―キルギスの女性の権利活動家の 語りにおける「存在の植民地性」一) 主 査 筑波大学 教授 博士 (国際関係学) タ゛タ゛ハ゛エフ ティムール 査 筑波大学 准教授 博士 (国際政治経済学) タック川崎 レスリー 副 副 査 筑波大学 准教授 博士 (文学) 塩谷 哲史

# 論文の要旨

This dissertation focused on how women's rights activism develops in the areas which are not traditionally known for such movements. In particular, this thesis takes on the case of Kyrgyzstan and attempts to place the movement towards female emancipation within the multiple agencies, socio-political factors, and histories of neo/colonial relations. In addition, it demonstrates how the influences of Western feminism colonizes non-western feminisms often leading to the postcolonial critiques.

Structurally, this thesis is composed of 7 chapters, with chapter 1/introduction focusing on the problematization, chapter 2 placing this study in the relevant literature, chapter 3 focusing on the theoretical framework of coloniality of feminism, chapter 4 providing contextual background, chapter 5 narrating the interview results, chapter 6 building a new theoretical concept of non-western feminism and chapter 7 proving main conclusions.

This study raises the following two research questions: What are the characteristics of women's rights activism in Kyrgyzstan? How are these characteristics related to regional and global feminisms? In raising these questions, this thesis aims to uncover how women's rights activists became ones, how they joined activism, which would help to depict stories of initiation into activism. In addition, this thesis aimed to look into the roots and goals of their activism, which focuses on how women's rights activists view the causes of the injustices they are struggling against and what is their ideal future. The questions posed above also inquire into how their activism is conducted, which strategies they use, how do they learn about possibilities of strategies and approaches to their activism. The characteristics also include the historiography and cartography of women's rights activism in Kyrgyzstan to see if there are any temporal

and spatial differences and convergences. And, finally, asking these questions will also involve looking at the different internal conflicts that characterize women's rights activism in the country, focusing on the existing clashes between the different groups of activist women.

Methodologically, this thesis is based on the analysis of narratives of 78 Kyrgyzstani women's rights activists received via 28 deep-structured interviews and 13 focus groups. Through the discussions in the interviews above, this study proposes the ways in which non-western feminisms may be reframed towards a more productive framework.

In terms of theoretical framework, this thesis first provided an overview of feminist history and theories, looking at the relationship between the feminisms of the Global North (West) and the Global South (East) as well as the history of Soviet feminism. This was followed up by a discussion of the colonial question in gender studies. This thesis also proposed the concept of nomadity of being, which, it argues, could be viewed as an anti-thesis to the concepts of coloniality of being and hybridity.

As is proposed by this thesis, the concept of nomadity of being treats historiography of feminist activism in Kyrgyzstan as one, where foreign borrowings are merged with local knowledge resulting in such notions as Kurak feminist. According to the coverage in this thesis, Kurak-feminism is feminism that is half-donor-commissioned, half-learned through interactions (personal, media, academic, professional), unashamed of its borrowed nature, working towards own purpose that is being developed as the blanket is being quilted. This thesis concludes that weaving in elements from completely different and, to a Western eye, incompatible approaches 'nomadity of being' might pave the way towards a Central Asian reframing of non-Western feminisms.

### 審査の要旨

## 1 批評

There are several aspects that distinguish this work among other studies of feminist narratives. First, this study problematizes the blind copy-pasting of Western notions of feminism to non-western societies. It follows the path of studies in which feminisms in non-Western contexts have often been critiqued, from a postcolonial/decolonial point of view, for their significant degree of dependence on Western feminist thought and practices, becoming 'watered down copies' of Western originals as a result of intellectual mimicry. This study adds up to this criticism by taking up the case of Kyrgyzstan where this study claims there is a tendency towards "self-colonizing practices", where Kyrgyz feminists and activists become 'native' informants or agents of Western feminist thought.

Second, this study contributes to the previous works on gender and feminism by attempting to place not only Kyrgyzstani experience into them but also integrating Soviet advances of women emancipation in Central Asian region into a broader field of feminist theorizing. This thesis argued that it is important to note that the post-Soviet experience in general has remained largely untranslated into the language of postcolonial discourse. This thesis echoes the studies where the Soviet influences on the freedoms of women were both colonial and immanent. Incorporating elements of coloniality, expressed in the forced reordering of the gender regime, as well as abrogation of religion, and cultivation of the Russian culture as a lingua franca among all of the Soviet republics, the Soviet administration still succeeded in being desired by the local population because of the promise of the Homo Sovieticus and the inevitable rise of

communism. This thesis also referenced a number of studies which claimed that there was a powerful grassroots movement of women in Soviet era.

And third, when it comes to the current feminism in Kyrgyzstan, this study offered a perspective that Soviet and post-Soviet developments cannot be fully interpreted through either the postcolonial or decolonial optics with their typically modernity/colonialism delocalized universalism. The complex intersection of post-socialism and postcolonialism needs its own discourse and its own critical optics, intersecting, but not coinciding with either postcolonial high theory or more applied postcolonial studies. As a contribution to this need, this study offered the concept of "nomadity of being", which responds to the epistemological dead-ends of both the postcolonial "hybridity" and decolonial "coloniality of being". This study claims that "nomadity of being" provides an unbridled space for creative bricolage of ideas and relations, unfixed, transdisciplinary, engaging. It does not pose any moral or theoretical conundrums, but rather describes what exists, and what exists.

To summarize the above, this thesis claimed weaving in elements from completely different and, to a Western eye, incompatible approaches 'nomadity of being' might pave the way towards a Central Asian reframing of non-Western feminisms.

While the thesis drew certain criticism about the concept of "nomadity of being" not having a structure and detention, which can be applied universally, this can be considered as a task for future academic endeavors of the author. Despite this conceptual deficiency, this study is well written and fulfills the requirement for successful award of the degree for which it has been submitted.

# 2 最終試験

The final examination committee conducted a final examination on July 10, 2020. The applicant provided an overview of the dissertation, and addressed questions and comments raised during the Question-and-Answer session. All committee members reached a final decision that the applicant passed the final examination.

#### 3 結論

Therefore, the final examination committee approved that the applicant is qualified to be awarded a Doctor of Philosophy in Social Sciences.