MOVING BEYOND THE LINES OF MUSLIM CATECHISM -ILMIHALS-: A SOCIOCULTURAL ANALYSIS ON ISLAM AND GENDER

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ABSTRACT

Muslim Catechism (ilmihals) are the works that contain the orders and prohibitions in Muslim societies, as well as the culture and traditions of the societies. In terms of containing these socio-cultural features, Catechism books include elements that reveal the sociocultural structure and are settled in the common memory of the society. The aim of this paper is to make a gender examination on these works, ilmihals. In detail, to reveal the ways in which different masculinities are constructed and how men are positioned and act in ilmihals (Muslim catechism) published at Republic Period in Turkey, with a specific emphasis on sociocultural structure of these works. The analyses show that men were portrayed as carrying gendered masculine traits and traditional masculine gender roles. Moreover, the characterization of men is gender-biased and ilmihals uphold hegemonic ideals that show how masculinities should be. All these findings demonstrate that there are two masculinities handled in these works: being equal to women in terms of servitude and being superior to women in terms of being God's deputy and trusty. Furthermore, ilmihals play an important role at reproduction of gender roles and serve as a model for the reflection of the patriarchal structure by putting women at private sphere and men at public sphere.

ARTICLE INFO

ARTICLE HISTORY

KEYWORDS

Introduction

The Islamic sources of fiqh literature which include information for the believers about how to worship, how to behave in a given society, to show the duties and responsibilities in every institution in the family, sociocultural aspects, and subjects related to belief and morality are Muslim catechism-style works (not the same as what Christians have, but the teaching style of these two works can be regarded as compatible with each other), which is named as *ilmihal* in Islam.

Being an effective factor in shaping the sociocultural structure, these resources, which a believer of a religion, a Muslim in specific for this study, can consult when s/he wants to have information about all aspects of her/his religion, contain a lot of information about individuals in the society. One of this information is the characterization forms, roles and traits of femininity and masculinity that arise due to gender inequality. Therefore, a key rationale for the study is that are important in that they contain common gender stereotypes in a society and in this context play a major role in transforming these judgements into social behavior. Within these judgements, the changeable socio-cultural determination pointing to the masculine and feminine traits, roles, and responsibilities attributed to men and women called gender stereotypes (Bhasin 2003) are also included.

Rereading of the Islamic Sources

There has been a growing research discussing the place of women and/or the egalitarian perspective of the Islamic sources such as Qur'an, Hadith, Sunnah and other religious teaching texts (Berktay, 2012; Tohidi and Bayes, 2001; Martı, 2009; Wadud, 2021; Mernissi, 1987; Barlas, 2001; Badran, 2001; Mir-Hosseini, 2004). Anchored in this discourse, Islamic feminism is a global phenomenon taking Qur'an as its central and making exegesis as its main methodology with the core idea of full equality of all Muslims regardless of their genders. Naming themselves also as Islamic feminists, some of these researches were conducted by using hermeneutics model (Wadud, 2021) while some others carry out their research by arguing that Islam does not accept the

genders as equal, and attributes this inequality to the female body and grounds the sexual power held by women under pressure (Mernissi, 1975).

The point, then, is, to underline that for Islamic feminist literature, there are many Islamic references like Hadith, Sunnah, and other religious teaching texts other than Qur'an itself. Within these references, the works in which how each and every base of life of an individual and a community should be regulated is written, the *ilmihals,* are seen to have received insufficient attention. Another point is that the gender roles and gender stereotypes that ascribe women and men have been on the agenda of most of the scientific research for decades. However, conceptualizations and interest of men and masculinity have not received enough attention and seen as essential to shed light on.

As an evidence showing that these gaps in Islamic literature is seen as compatible with the former literature, these instances may be given: "Men have" says Kimmel "come to think of themselves as genderless, in part because they can afford the luxury of ignoring the centrality of gender." (1993, 30). With this challenging quote, Kimmel (1993) tries to make men visible in contemporary gender studies and addresses the dynamics of gender. Even though the research and studies on men and masculinity have increased in the last 30 years in many scientific fields to some extent, it is important to note that the sociological analysis on men and/or masculinity and religion is very limited. More specifically, while the studies on the construction of femininity in Islam is salient, less attention has been given to the construction of masculinity in Islam. By doing so, there has been little discussion of the forms of Muslim masculinities, especially in Islamic sources.

For instance, Islamic feminists argue that it is not the Islam itself to oppress women, but it is the patriarchal misinterpretations of the religious texts of Islam. So, these women reread and/or interpret Islamic texts from the eyes of women and for women in a feminist perspective. This means that although there are some movements and platforms for Muslim women to discuss patriarchy, oppression to women grounding on gender roles, identities and other issues, there is not a similar way for Muslim men in this particular context, or if any, it is rather rare. Going further, Ouzgane (2006) clarifies that masculinity in Islamic cultures is an unexamined and unidentified category. Bounding on this relative lack of social and cultural context in Islamic literature on men and masculinity, this research provides a valuable window on rereading ilmihals (Muslim catechism) and contributes to the scientific study of Muslim men and masculinities.

Based on all the frame drawn above, this paper aims at revealing the ways in which different masculinities are constructed and how men are positioned and act in ilmihals (Muslim catechism) published at Republic Period in Turkey. In order to reach this purpose, the masculine gender roles and masculine traits that are present in ilmihals are going to be analyzed.

In this context, the following research questions are going to be sought:

1. Which masculine traits are used in ilmihals?
2. What are the masculine gender roles in ilmihals?
3. Is the characterization of men in ilmihals gender-biased?
4. To what extent do ilmihals uphold hegemonic ideals and sociocultural structure that show how masculinities should be by looking at masculine traits and gender roles?

From Masculinities to Gender Stereotypes and Masculine Traits

Being a woman and a man are socially-constructed with different duties, responsibilities and roles (West and Zimmerman 1987). In other words, gender inequality paves the way for different gender roles and stereotypes for women and men.

Also called as masculinity ideologies, 20th century scholars described men as behaving in parallel with traditional male gender roles and stereotypes, consisting of three norms such as toughness, success-status, and antifemininity (Thompson and Pleck 1986). Levant et al. (1992) added self-reliance, homophobia, aggression, and sexual attitudes. Burn (1996) asserts that when men do not act according to these traditional masculinity norms, this situation ends up with stress and its consequences.

Here, masculinity needs to be examined from multiple angles, as there is not a sole masculity, but there are multiple masculinities constructed from gender order (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Harrington 2002). For another term derived from masculinity, Connell (2001) defines hegemonic masculinity as "hegemonic' signifies a position of cultural authority and leadership, not total dominance; other forms of masculinity persist alongside. The hegemonic form need not be the most common form of masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is, however, highly visible. (…) Hegemonic

masculinity is hegemonic not just in relation to other masculinities, but in relation to the gender order as a whole. It is an expression of the privilege men collectively have over women" (p. 17).

Thinking culturally, Silberschmidt (1999) listed the roots of masculinity in the precolonial period but still valid as "what a respected and good man should do":

- He takes care of his family;
- He educates his children and pays school fees;
- His wife does not roam about;
- He marries many wives and gets many children;
- He is friendly and shows respect toward his people;
- He assists his people when they have problems and gives good advice;
- He is generous and does not quarrel;
- He respects himself (p. 53).

Masculinity in Islamic Discourse

In Islamic discourse, the issue of equality of men and women, and the viewpoint of Islam on both genders have been handled by many different perspectives. Gender inequality underlies these different perspectives, although the concept of "gender" is not mentioned in most of the research in the field.

The research and discussion point of masculinity in Islam starts with the different interpretations of the Quranic verse that "men and women are complementary to each other" (Verse Baqarah, 187). Another point is that the ideal male personality in Islamic tradition is of Prophet Mohammad and with his explicit teaching and directions, that is, the Hadith literature and Sunnah, his behavior should be imitated by Muslims (Samuel 2011).

These points bring scholars such as Sardar (2013) to another insight that God has no gender, so, the attributes of God are valid for both masculine and feminine traits and roles. On the other hand, he adds, Muslim researchers name god with two names, both referring to different sexes: Majesty (corresponding to masculine traits and roles) and Beauty (corresponding to feminine traits and roles). Although there seems to be an equality within these traits, it can be understood that masculine traits have been entrenched here. Moreover, as Prophet Mohammad is a male political, religious and

military leader, patriarchy and masculinity are emphasized in the Islamic texts.

Leaning back to these grounds, the question, then, is how the scholars and researchers demonstrate the construction of Islamic masculinities in their research.

The first relevant study is from De Sondy (2009), one of the key and leading researcher on Muslim/Islamic masculinities. With his studies on Islamic texts, he argues that the message of Qur'an does not discuss similar norms of masculinity or femininity, because the message is not restricted by a specific form. He adds "The heterosexual man has interpreted the Quran in a patriarchal Islamic culture. Are we so surprised with the results? The codification of gender has also strengthened a limited understanding of Islamic masculinities, through the establishment of Islamic law as it was also shaped in a deeply patriarchal culture of Arabia". Another figure, Shaw (2000), sets forth that Muslim men are regarded as being free to use patriarchal authority and actors of the rigid cultural norms of hierarchical Muslim families. He also states that cultural ideals have unequal effects on gender relations for both sexes. For example, the gender and power relations in a family may be abusive; and/or most of the perpetrators of the violence resulted in crime are Muslim men especially in forced marriages (Razack 2004).

Gerami (2005) aimed at exploring the prototype of Islamist masculinity and the construction of masculinities within Muslim countries, that is, Muslim masculinities, for which he calls "un-organic masculinity issues". He stated that national construction of masculinity and ideal masculinities in this way stems from the heroic models of nation-building periods such as Mustafa Kemal Ataturk (Turkey), Jamaal Abdul Nasser (Egypt), Reza Shah (Iran), etc. These leaders both shaped the nation and the ideal masculinities. Another factor for constructing Eastern Muslim masculinities is the Cold War period accompanied by a global hegemonic masculinity and hierarchy of masculine modalities. Third factor, with ethnicity and racial diversity within Muslim communities, together with dominant prototype Muslim leader, there tend to be some weak and funny men to be visible on TV and in other mass media. An important point here is that even if this figure is a leader, or a working class hero, he was secular, but committed to Islamic moralities. In short, he made a division between Islamist masculinity as a construction of fundamentalist resistance movements; and plural Muslim masculinities as the gender identities of real men formed across boundaries of nationality, ethnicity, and class.

Thinking from a political perspective, the post-September 11 context of Muslim masculinity can be regarded as "Their universally recognized prototypes are bearded, gun-toting, bandanna-wearing men, in long robes or military fatigues of some Islamist (read terrorist) organization or country." (Gerami 2005, 449). Furthermore, bombing at London in 2005 are the other factors that made contribution to the labelling of Muslim men as perpetrating violence and crime, so needing to be regulated and controlled (Fekete 2009). As a natural result of these factors, these Islamic societies, the relationship between masculinity and nationalism are hegemonic and organizing, in a conservative and patriarchal manner (Waylen 1996). The honor of men in Muslim societies are bound to the veiling of the women, which must be protected by men and which puts women as a symbol of politics and nationalities (Gerami 1996). Meanwhile, this politicization process of women addresses to manhood and nationhood as a means of the control of women's bodies (Augustin 1993; Tohidi 1991).

Together with masculinity, the existing literature highlights us with some information from masculine gender roles in Islam. Portraying transnational "ghar damads" (son in-law) as unhappy husbands, Charsley (2005) made a research on Bristolian Pakistani narratives of transnational marriages by exploring the link between migration and masculinity. As a result, the researcher underlines that the stereotyping of these men can be categorized into two such as one argumentative and violent groom who marries to a British Pakistani woman in order to get a visa. On the other hand, the second men pursue an emotional life, and face some social, economic, and cultural problems associated with their migration. The writer also states that this kind of a marriage limits his capability to fulfil gender roles: "Rather than contributing to a household budget which sustains both his parents and his wife and children, after migration this becomes a 'double responsibility' to provide for his dependents in Britain, and to contribute to the household of his family in Pakistan".

Methodology

Since this study aims to reveal how different masculinities are constructed and how men are positioned and act in ilmihals published at Republic Period in Turkey by masculinity traits and male gender roles, it was decided to conduct this research with the techniques and processes of qualitative research paradigm. Qualitative research is one of the types of the scientific research in which the process in conducted by collecting, analyzing, decoding and interpreting non-numerical data in terms of the meanings people bring to them (McLeod 2019).

As to the research design of the study, content analysis was used as it aims to reveal the intended meaning of the messages (Tavşancıl and Aslan 2001).

Data Collection, Analysis and Procedure

The data was collected through document analysis technique meaning the analysis of written materials that the case or cases that are going to be investigated are present (Yıldırım and Şimşek 2016). The analysis of the data collected were done through Three Step Qualitative Data Analysis (Miles, Huberman and Saldana 2015) including data condensation, data display, and conclusion drawing and verification.

In the first step, the data was selected through the sections of the ilmihals including social life. This step was fulfilled by reading the selected sections three different time periods by the researcher in the light of the themes "men", "masculinity" "gender roles and traits" until the data set was determined by the researcher. After the data set had been ascertained, the codification/categorization process of the data set is done and these categories were presented to three field experts (two experts, having Ph.D. degree at sociology of religion and one at sociology of gender) to reach a consensus. So, the validity and reliability of the study were strengthened. In the second step, these selected data are positioned on a visual table in order to categorize them better. So, a preliminary preparation was made for the process of associating and interpreting between themes and categories. In the last and concluding step, the obtained data divided into categories were interpreted by having been supported by some examples from ilmihals and existing literature. As a result of these steps, the findings and comments was discussed and conclusions were reached.

Population and Sampling

The population of the research are the Islamic ilmihals. There are more than 100 Islamic ilmihals ranging from many subjects.

As the samples of the study, 9 Islamic ilmihals were selected via criterion sampling, one of the purposeful sampling techniques (Patton 1990, 182-183). These criteria were; being published in Republic period in Turkish, having a widespread readership and having the ability to represent the diversity of Islamic theology in Turkiye:

- *İslam Dini, Ahmet Hamdi Akseki, 11th Edition, İstanbul: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı Yayınları, 1960.*
- *Büyük İslam İlmihali, Ömer Nasuhi Bilmen, İstanbul: Bilmen Yayınevi, 1947.*
- *Tam İlmihal, Seadet-i Ebediyye, Zeynel Abidin Işık, Işık Kitabevi: İstanbul, 1979.*
- *Ansiklopedik Büyük İslam İlmihali, Ahmet Tabakoğlu and İsmail Kara, İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, 1980.*
- *Yeni İslam İlmihali, Süleyman Ateş, 6th Edition, Ankara: Çelik Yayınevi, 1989.*
- *İlmihal I-II "İman ve İbadetler-İslam ve Toplum", 2nd V., Prof. Dr. Hayreddin Karaman Prof. Dr. Ali Bardakoğlu Prof. Dr. H. Yunus Apaydın, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı Yayınları, 2006.*
- *İslam İlmihali (Kalblerin Anahtarı), Ömer Öngüt, İstanbul: Hakikat Yayınları, 1998.*
- *Ahir Zaman İlmihali, M. Hayri Kırbaşoğlu, 11th Edition, Ankara: OTTO, 2015.*
- *İzahlı Kadın İlmihali Ansiklopedisi, Asım and Mürşide Uysal, Konya: Uysal Kitabevi, 1991.*

Assumptions and Limitations

There were some limitations of the study. One of them was that 9 ilmihals were selected as the samples of the study. Another limitation was that only the chapters of the ilmihals regarding social life was regarded as the data set of the research. The last limitation was about the editions of the ilmihals. The content analysis conducted only within the framework of the above-written editions of the works; in case of possible changes, the previous or later editions of the works were excluded from the analysis.

During the study, it was assumed that the more the number of editions of the ilmihals was, the more the number of the readers of the ilmihals had. Moreover, only the above written ilmihals of the writers were taken into account. Not any of the writers' other products were considered.

Findings

In order to reach to the results of the research and make some discussion and interpretation among them, firstly the two research questions (revealing the masculine traits and gender roles in ilmihals) were answered respectively. These answers laid the groundwork for answering the third and fourth research questions.

Findings about the masculine traits used in ilmihals

As a result of the analyses on the data set, these masculine traits were found in ilmihals:

Responsible for his family, dominant, authoritative:

• Householder, head of the family (Akseki, 1960, 362-363; Ateş, 1989, 613-614; Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980, 32-33; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 68; Öngüt, 1998, 708)
• The shepherd of the family responsible for herding (Ateş, 1989, 612-613)
• Keeping his family under his command (Ateş, 1989, 612-613)
• Caring for his family not to depend on others (Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980, 32-33)

Act as a leader, having leadership abilities and strong personality:

• Having influence and administrative power over the public (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 279-280)
• Totally fair (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 279-280)
• Having a good policy in managing and protecting the affairs of the country (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 279-280)

Based on the generalization that the main place of men is the public sphere, these masculinity traits, which equate areas such as law, administration, security, and religion to the male gender, were found to be reflected as linguistic uses in ilmihals: Passing from father to son (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 273); idea/statesman (Işık, 1979, 27; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006; Kırbaşoğlu, 2015); man of politics (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006); man of government (Işık, 1979, 398, 399, 779), man of law (Kırbaşoğlu, 2015) man of parties (Işık, 1979, 526); man of God (Işık, 1979; Ateş, 1989; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006; Kırbaşoğlu, 2015); man of science (Işık, 1979, 534, 789; Ateş, 1989, 650; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006), man of physics (Işık, 1979, 27), War Lords (Kırbaşoğlu, 2015); businessman (Işık, 1979, 400) are some of the instances for sexist language uses.

Moreover, it was found that the writers of the ilmihals used "man" instead of "human/person", indicating as if there was only one gender in some uses such as man (Akseki, 1960; Bilmen, 1947; Işık, 1979; Ateş, 1989); mankind (Ateş, 1989, 541-542; Kırbaşoğlu, 2015); earthman (Ateş, 1989, 540), son of Adam (Işık, 1979, 75, 84; Ateş, 1989, 544; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 500), son of the earth (Ateş, 1989), father's friend (Işık, 1979, 53; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006), mother of all evil (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 500) and man of his words (Işık, 1979, 677) were the structures settled in the language, based on the premise that the female gender is secondary in addition to the male gender.

<u>Self-reliant, strong personality, generous, trustworthy, sensible, makes decisions easily:</u>

- Fair (Bilmen, 1947; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Respectable (Bilmen, 1947, 480)
- Tough (Öngüt, 1998; Ateş, 1989, 613-614)
- Trustworthy (Bilmen, 1947, 507)
- Smart (Işık, 1979, 100; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Doing the things suitable for humanity (Bilmen, 1947, 507)
- Generous (Işık, 1979, 585; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Powerful (Ateş, 1989, 613-614; Öngüt, 1998, 708)
- Brave (Ateş, 1989, 638; Öngüt, 1998, 708)
- Sensible (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 279-280)
- Physically healthy (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Having the superiority of understanding and comprehension (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Having a strong memory (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Having an effective declamation (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)

- Directing people to the right path (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90; Öngüt, 1998, 708)
- Admirer (Öngüt, 1998, 707)
- Whose value is known (Öngüt, 1998, 707)

Findings about the masculine gender roles used in ilmihals

Another finding gathered from the analysis was that there are traditional masculine gender roles such as protecting women, subsistence payment, being dominant on women, teaching women how to behave ethically, having the right to get married and to end the marriage, being able to perpetrate violence against women, having the right to marry more than one woman, being patient against the bad habits of women, being good natured and helping women with household chores. More specifically, these masculine gender roles can be exampled as follows:

<u>The protector of women</u>

•   Protecting women (Bilmen, 1947, 480; Uysal and Uysal, 1991)

<u>The supplier of the alimony (nafaqah)</u>

All the ilmihals examined have made men responsible for the financial maintenance of a house, and even considered this supplying a duty for men. Meanwhile, women's work have been considered to be an additional support to men. This responsibility, named with the methaphores such as "householder, heod of the family, shepherding of the family", points to the gender inequality-based duty of men to meet all the financial needs of women and families.

The most general evaluation on this subject is made by Diyanet Ilmihal "Men, both having this superiority that Allah has given to them (having created as men) and because they spend money for this cause, they manage the affairs of women." (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 315-316).

•   The supplier of the alimony (nafaqah) (Bilmen, 1947, 480; Işık, 1979, 588; Ateş, 1989; Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 315, 246-249; Öngüt, 1998, 708; Uysal and Uysal, 1991, 395)
•   Exhausted (Öngüt, 1998, 707)
•   Pitiable (Işık, 1979, 589)

Being dominant on women

- Dominating over women (Işık, 1979, 600; Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980; Öngüt, 1998, 707-710; Uysal and Uysal, 1991)
- Giving woman her freedom (Ateş, 1989, 432)
- Not allowing his wife to live in the houses on the street, against parks, playgrounds, sports fields and/or schools (Işık, 1979, 602)

Teaching women how to behave ethically

- Examining the belief, worship and morality of women and teaching these to women (Akseki, 1960, 362; Işık, 1979, 598)

Having the right to get married and to end the marriage

- Divorcing (Işık, 1979, 588; Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980, 602-603; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 225-227; Öngüt, 1998, 670-675)
- Solemnising (Bilmen, 1947, 446; Ateş, 1989, 422-423; Öngüt, 1998, 658-659)
- Protecting woman by wedding (Ateş, 1989, 422)
- Devastating woman while leaving, throwing her out without giving anything (Ateş, 1989, 422)

Having the right to marry more than one woman

- Be able to marry up to four women (Işık, 1979, 571)
- Womanizer (Işık, 1979, 380)

Being able to perpetrate violence against women

- Using power (Işık, 1979, 398-399)
- Bad-tempered (Işık, 1979, 599-601)

- Torturing women (Ateş, 1989, 432)
- Beating women (Ateş, 1989, 614; Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980, 33; Uysal and Uysal, 1991)

Being patient against the bad habits of women

- Mature for what his wife does (Tabakoğlu and Kara, 1980, 32-33)
- Dignified against the nervousness of the woman (Akseki, 1960, 362)
- Softly welcoming the grudges of his wife (Işık, 1979, 599-601)
- Being patient with his wife's wrong actions, unreasonable words and deeds (Işık, 1979, 585)

Being good natured

- Polite (Akseki, 1960, 362; Ateş, 1989, 613-614; Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 315; Öngüt, 1998, 707-710; Uysal and Uysal, 1991)
- Takes the hearts of woman by promising even the things he cannot do (Işık, 1979, 600)
- Soft-spoken (Işık, 1979, 585)
- Contented (Karaman, Bardakoğlu and Apaydın, 2006, 88-90)
- Respecting the rights of women (Öngüt, 1998, 707-710)

Helping women with household chores

- Helping women in disciplining children (Işık, 1979, 600)

Findings about the gender-biased characterization of men in ilmihals

The above mentioned and listed findings of the masculine traits and masculine gender roles in ilmihals demonstrate that the characterization of men in ilmihals is gender-biased. The masculine traits and masculine gender roles are in parallel with traditional gender roles.

It should also be noted that all of the ilmihals examined do not treat women in the secondary position in each and every issue and under all conditions, and in line with the egalitarian structures used and the provisions of the Qur'an, they assigned equal duties or responsibilities to both genders at some points.

The non-sexist language structures that are present in these ilmihals are "Every man and woman" (Akseki, 1960, 328); "her/his mother and father" (Akseki, 1960, 330);

"all humanity, every Muslim, every human being, male or female" (Işık, 1979); "girl or boy" (Kırbaşoğlu, 2015, 349), "man or woman" (Kırbaşoğlu, 2015, 371- 101-206-215-217-279-286), "Muslims with women, men, elderly or young people" (Kırbaşoğlu, 2015, 387). On the other hand, both egalitarian language structures and the Qur'an attributing equal duties and responsibilities to both genders in terms of servitude and child rearing are among these examples. Moreover, it is obvious that the egalitarian structures used in the surface structure deal with the oppression of women in the deep structure. In other words, there is an operational inequality in terms of discursive and expected actions from men and women. Even if the discourses expected from women are egalitarian, the actions are passive; and the discourses and actions expected from men are the actions that make men effective.

Findings about the hegemonic ideals in ilmihals

The findings of the masculine traits and masculine gender roles in ilmihals also manifests that ilmihals uphold hegemonic ideals that show how masculinities should be by looking at masculine traits and gender roles. In other words, to a large extent, ilmihals consist of some presumptions of hegemonic ideals.

What is understood from the term "hegemonic ideals" in this context is just as the same as Connell (2001) refers. According to his theory, there are multiple masculinities that were constructed within culture of society through a period of time. In this practice of gender relations within a given society and sociological field, men are more dominant than women and so have dominant social roles over women by leading a dominant position and embodies a form of hierarchical social organization in a given society.

Discussion and results

In this section, the findings obtained from the research carried out via content analysis were interpreted in the light of the existing literature. What the findings of the study mean, their compatible and incompatible aspects with the literature were evaluated by taking the limitations of the research into account.

From the answers of the first two research questions, the masculine traits and masculine gender roles used in ilmihals, it was found that men were portrayed as

carrying gendered masculine traits and traditional masculine gender roles. Moreover, the characterization of men in ilmihals is gender-biased and ilmihals uphold hegemonic ideals that show how masculinities should be by looking at masculine traits and gender roles.

When ilmihals are examined in terms of the presence of masculinity traits, it was revealed that these masculinity traits are responsible for his family, dominant, authoritative, act as a leader, having leadership abilities, strong personality, self-reliant, strong personality, generous, trustworthy, sensible and makes decisions easily. Furthermore, the writers also supported these traits with some sexist language uses. It can be interpreted from these finding that these uses position women in the private sphere and men in the public sphere, they both play a role in the reproduction of the gender roles of ilmihals and serve as examples of the reflection of the patriarchal structure in traditional societies to modern societies. When the current literature is examined, these findings and results appears to be in agreement with the results of this study, that is, there are "pro-male preferences" in ilmihals (Deaux and LaFrance 1998; Bem 1974; Kavuncu 1987; Bacacı-Varoğlu 2001; Sugihara and Katsurada 1999; Lara-Cantu and Navarro-Arias 1987; Ward and Sethi 1986; Showronski and Lawrence 2001). One of these researches was conducted by Bem (1974), stating that "act as a leader, aggressive, ambitious, analytical, assertive, athletic, competitive, defends own beliefs, dominant, forceful, has leadership abilities, independent, individualistic, makes decisions easily, masculine, self-reliant, self-sufficient, strong personality, willing to take risks, willing to take a stand" are the masculine gender roles. Taking Bem's inventory as a basis, Kavuncu (1987) adapted this scale to Turkish society and put forward that "responsible for his family, dominant, generous, impassive, masculine, forceful, sociable, adventurous, willing to take a stand, ambitious, idealist, self-sufficient, assertive, strict, acts as a leader, sensible, authoritative, willing to take risks, aggressive, trustworthy" are the masculinity roles accepted in Turkish culture. Another study conducted by Bacacı-Varoğlu (2001) also emphasized that males are considered to be the parts of public sphere while females are to be the parts of private sphere. Moreover, Sugihara and Katsurada (1999) adapted Bem's inventory to Japanese culture, Lara-Cantu and Navarro-Arias (1987) to Mexican culture, Ward and Sethi (1986) to Malaysian and South Indian culture. Similarly, Showronski and Lawrence (2001) states that within the gender traits, male stereotype is often positive such as independent, logical, etc. whereas that of women is negative such as emotional, illogical, etc. On the other hand, there are some previous research that the findings and results of this study do not match by resulting in having more positive attitudes toward women (Eagly and Mladinic 1989; Eagly, Mladinic and Otto 1991).

As to the masculine gender roles, it was found out that ilmihals portrayed men with traditional gender roles such as protecting women, the supplier of the alimony (nafaqah), being dominant on women, teaching women how to behave ethically, having the right to get married and to end the marriage, having the right to marry more than one woman, being able to perpetrate violence against women, being patient against the bad habits of women, being good natured and also helping women with household chores. It must be noted here that there are also some egalitarian uses in addition to those that only put women in a secondary position against men, but they are not as much as those of traditional roles. This findings and results are consistent with the results of the studies of Charsley (2005), Samuel (2011), Gerami (2005), Metcalf (2000; 1996), Hopkins (2006), Sunardi (2013). Metcalf (2000), in her research on the Sunni Islamic missionary movement called Tablighi Jamaat, underlines that the members of the movement has a focus on reconfiguring of gender roles such as men's learning how to cook, wash or look after one another; behaving gentle, self-abnegate and modest such as common feminine gender roles in society. In another research, Metcalf (1996) also gives an example to a political oriented Islamic movement such as Pakistani Jama'at-i Islami, which concentrates on the domestic roles of women rather than the previous movement. The latter movement think that women is a public reference and/or symbol for the institutionalization of Islamic order. Referring to the Muslim Pakistani men in Scotland as "relatively middle-class-, Hopkins (2006) stated that Muslim men form a dangerous and aggressive subculture while those of South Asian are passive, physically weak and conformable compared to English men and Afro-Caribbeans. With these stereotyping, Muslim men are to face with a complex way of constructing and negotiating gender identities. Sunardi (2013), for instance, gives the Muslim celebrations such as circumcisions to celebrate a boy's transition into adulthood as a means of masculinity marks.

Given this line-up and according to the analyses, another interesting outcome is that the characterization of men in ilmihals is gender-biased. Furthermore, these findings are unsurprising in that in parallel with traditional gender roles and ilmihals uphold hegemonic ideals that show how masculinities should be by looking at masculine traits and gender roles; and how men positioned superior to women through traits and gender roles that are linked to each other. In other words, another implication gathered from the analyses is that in some cases, masculinity is glorified. The findings also highlight that with some gender roles such as providing nafaqah by being the breadwinner and having the financial power and responsibility, men have control over women. For instance, Bilmen (1947) associates courage with masculinity by saying that "Masculinity means doing what is suitable for humanity, taking things that look good

and avoiding situations that require reproach. The opposite of this is decency.". Ateş (1989) also used manhood with the same meaning as bravery. All these descriptions were knitted on the positioning of women in the private sphere and men in the public sphere, and set an example of views confirming that the patriarchal structure in traditional societies is also reflected in the structure in modern societies. When the literature is taken into account, it is seen that this result and finding of this study correspond to the ones in the existing literature (Doğan 2012; Şefkatli-Tuksal 2012). Arsel (2014) states that Islam does not glorify women, on the contrary, it offers them to the service and domination of men in many areas. Arat (1986), Poya (1999) and El-Saadiwi, (1997) also attribute the secondary position of women to religion, culture and tradition. Like all other Islamic feminists, Şefkatli-Tuksal (2012) and Ahmed (1992) argue that this status of women is not due to Islam, but from the different and misinterpretation of Islam and the Islamic tradition. Doğan (2012) claims that at Islamic ilmihals, women are treated as dangerous and men are portrayed as the superior sex, who are in control and rational. Dönmez (2008) found that in myths, men are seduced, virtuous and powerful, while women are the seductive, flawed and ruled sex. Berktay (2012) states that monotheistic religions consider the function of men in reproduction as a reflection of God's creation of the universe, and in this regard, women are despised because of their fertility. In contrast to these statements from the literature, there are some contrary ideas such as Samuel (2011). Samuel (2011) asserts that while the Qur'an is concerned in various ways to protect women and assert their rights, it is explicit about male authority over women. He adds that the ideal Islamic male personality, Prophet Mohammad, with his explicit teaching and directions, that is, the Hadith literature and Sunnah, his behavior should be imitated by Muslims. The other factors influencing the different views are women's being positioned in the private sphere while men's in the public sphere, and in this context, women' being attributed to the domestic household chores, the care of the sick, the elderly and children, and men's being attributed to public affairs that are included in the state agenda.

As overall implications of this research, it can be asserted that in ilmihals, there are two new alternative masculinities that are handled in these works. These alternative masculinities may be a way of the changes of the gender order and may make a contribution on the studies about Muslim masculinities: being equal to women in terms of servitude and being superior to women in terms of being God's deputy and trusty.

• Regarding the servitude issue, the egalitarian structures used and the provisions of the Quran assigns equal duties or responsibilities to both genders at some points. It is an undeniable fact that these responsibilities are dealt with only in some

ilmihals, and especially in terms of servitude and raising children.

•   In terms of superiority, Boase (1985) states that in Islam, men are regarded as God's deputy, trusty or vice-regent. Spiritually, man owns nothing as everything is God's; but, men has the power to regulate all the economic system such as private property, purchasing and selling the goods, earning money, etc. Similarly, there are also opinions arguing that Islam values women, women do not have to work but all their needs will be met by a man, and even men are in a pitiful state due to this burden (Işık 1979, 589). Some others put forward that these responsibilities of males give men the power to dominate women (Yavuz 1983, 528; Tabakoğlu and Kara 1980, 298; Uysal and Uysal 1991, 394-395), and in this context, they argue that men should get twice the share of women in inheritance, and all this is based on the fact that men provide livelihood (Tabakoğlu and Kara 1980, 298; Işık 1979, 589).

All these language uses, references, masculinity traits and male gender roles found in the works are proof that ilmihals serve as a bridge in the reproduction of gender roles in the sociocultural structure of a given society. In other words, men who will be included in the domain of gender determinations according to these ilmihals, dominating women, duties belonging to the public sphere, etc., will be able to find their responsibilities as roles ascribed to them by the society, and will be able to shape their behavior according to what is written in these ilmihals. These findings also serve as a model for the reflection of the patriarchal structure at traditional societies to modern societies by putting women at private sphere and men at public sphere.

Excluding the epistemology and roots, but including only methodology, it can be thought that this study may be an equivalent of what intellectual Muslim women do for and by themselves (Islamic feminism), by thinking that the masculine traits and masculinities of men can also be reread and interpreted within religious texts.

Lastly, when evaluating the findings and results obtained in the research, it is useful to keep several limitations in mind. The first limitation, that is, the samples of the study (nine ilmihals) were selected among all the ilmihal works. The second limitation is about the data set, that is, selecting only the chapters of the ilmihals regarding social life is regarded as the data set of the research. These two limitations are about the large population of the ilmihals, as Gürkan (2021) listed more than 100 Islamic ilmihals ranging from many subjects. Thus, there occurred a need to select some of the ilmihals and some of the chapters of the ilmihals. The last limitation is about including certain editions of the works and excluding the previous or later editions of

the works from the analysis. This situation is related to the fact that the readers of this research may be confused by naming the writer and/or all of the editions of the works. However, when conducting this research, it was assumed that only the written edition of the ilmihals is valid for the validity and reliability of the study.

The limitations above simply indicate that a single study is not definitive and many further research is going to be necessary to obtain a full view of masculinities in ilmihals. However, it is certain that the data set of this research can be differentiated and provide some insight to the other researchers to make a study on other ilmihals or religious texts on different issues.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

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