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| Author(s) | Muhammad, Ala Uddin |
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| 氏名 | ウッディン ム ハ マ ッ ド アラ Uddin Muhammad Ala |
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| 論文審査委員 | (主査) 准教授 宮原 暁 (副査) 教授 河森 正人 教授 リチャード・ズグスタ 准教授 神前 進一 |

論文内容の要旨

This dissertation is an ethnographic description of the *Paharis*, the indigenous peoples of the Chittagong Hill Tracts that attempts an insight into the management of fear (fear of eviction and extinction)—how the Paharis have been living in a hard environment afflicted by the outsiders. This problem is intertwined with the question—how far generalization about the uniformity of the Paharis is justifiable throughout the whole region. To that end, drawing upon the current theoretical debates in anthropology this study explores the survival strategies of the Paharis in the context of displacement, where the locals (Paharis) have routinely been displaced from “their lands”, lives and livelihoods by the outsiders (i.e. Bangali) and engendered by the government-sponsored transmigration program began in the late 1970s.

While the Paharis began to resist the Bangali influx, the government security forces took combined counterinsurgency operations to quell the Pahari insurgents (Shanti Bahinis) that eventually turned the region into a fearful one to its inhabitants. In this situation, for their survival, the Paharis have employed several strategies relating to indigeneity and transethnicity. Here “indigeneity” refers to local consciousness that underlines “traditional” way of life while “transethnicity” refers to local adjustment (through cultural traits e.g. dress, language) with dominant socio-political setting.

The dissertation is an outcome of ethnographic fieldwork carried out mainly in Rangamati district between 2008 and 2009 among the Chakmas and Pangkhoas; other groups were also consulted (e.g. Mros, Gurkhas and Bangalis) in relevant contexts. It is formed into main three parts. Part one deals with the study questions and its background providing theoretical orientations and methodological contemplations. The second part depicts the context of the displacement, the past made present history of the region—the role of colonial administrations and post-colonial states including the security forces of Bangladesh in ‘making’ and ‘unmaking’ the discourses of isolated and excluded territory and its estranged peoples. By illustrating the

everyday life-experiences (e.g. eviction, torture, sexual violence) of the Paharis illustrated in part two, the third part expounds diverse strategies employed by the valley and mountain-dwelling Paharis (*Khyongsa* and *Tongsa* respectively) for managing the fearful situation and survival problems in their own land. This is followed by an account of survival crisis of an unrecognized group—the Gurkha.

Throughout the study, it reveals that locating, also dislocating at distinct places (i.e. river-valley, mountains-ridge) the Paharis possess distinct life-ways; in consequence, their life-experiences as well as responses toward the outside world are also diverse. While the valley-dwelling Khyongsas (e.g. Chakmas, Marmas) employ military (insurrection) and bargaining (agreement) strategies, the mountain-dwelling Tongsas (e.g. Pangkhoas, Mros) have been reluctant over the conflicting and survival issues. Juxtaposed with reluctant disposition, they rather choose cultural resistance for their survival. In addition, war against the Shanti Bahinis was chosen by the mountain-dwelling Mros as a means of their survival who were provided shelter and support from the government security forces. Over and above, in an attempt to manage the survival problems with own identity like other ethnic groups, the Gurkhas have been approaching for a recognized (“tribal”) identity. They perceive recognition as a means of their survival.

Here the manifested/visible strategies are labeled as *salient* that are dominant in kind, and the invisible strategies are labeled as *silent* that are defensive on the other. The reason of diverse strategies (i.e. salient/dominant–silent/defensive) is the ineffectiveness of salient/dominant strategies (e.g. insurrection, agreement) employed by the dominant Khyongsa groups (led by Chakmas) that failed to meet their supposed demands—e.g. constitutional recognition, regional autonomy, peace; further, entangled the inter-ethnic relations (e.g. Chakma–non-Chakma, Khyongsa–Tongsa). Resultantly, the Tongsas choose several silent/defensive measures (e.g. reluctance, cultural resistance) for managing survival problems.

Along with the salient and silent strategies evolved from indigeneity, the Paharis (both Khyongsas & Tongsas) incorporate various transethnic measures in an attempt to ease their relations with outside world making significant adjustment with the dominant cultures (e.g. dress, language). The reason of transethnic strategies is to save them from outsiders that often view their life-ways as “primitive” and their women as naked and sexual entity. In consequence, they incorporate *other* clothes to ease their communication in public places and to get rid of sexual harassment often committed by the settlers and security forces. Here bifurcated life-worlds are observed as well—while the Khyongsa women adopt Bangali dress (e.g. sari, salwar-kamiz), the Tongsa women maintain western dress (e.g. skirt, jeans) that signifies the incorporation of “modernity” and Christianity. Likewise, the Paharis communicate with each other groups in Bangla, and use it in their everyday life as a *lingua franca*.

Dealing with diverse strategies employed by the Paharis, this study reveals dynamics and differences in survival strategies. Consider, for example, Pangkhao strategies are different from the Chakmas, Mro strategies are not similar with the Pangkhoas, and even within the Chakmas, there are several versions over the insurrection and agreement. This dynamics eventually challenge the prevalent stagnant views that tended to envision the region by the manifested accounts (e.g. Chakma insurgency, JSS–UPDF conflict) ignoring those who have been reluctant and defensive over the conflicting and survival issues. Concomitantly, by moving more deeply inward and investigating the hill situation from within indigenous conceptual frameworks and by tracing major phenomena and responses toward the outsider invasions, the study challenges the prevalent stereotyped narration, and argues that a single type of social composition cannot prevail in the whole region whose peoples do not share a particular sense of uniformity. Therefore, the study suggests that a comprehensive and critical view with holistic analytical power should replace the prevalent stereotyped accounts, through close attention to micro–macro interactions. It urges for the vision from within, from the people concerned.

By applying relevant theoretical frameworks and utilizing unique anthropological research methods, this

study establishes its position in the domain of political anthropology. The significance of this study is that, it deals with an unfamiliar, unaddressed, and even unknown aspect of the Hill Tracts that challenges the prevalent and stagnant representations, and admits versions of local histories. While the hill problems have routinely been presented as ethnic/Chakma insurgency to be met with military-politico-development tangle ignoring those who have been reluctant, this study urges for conceptualizing the situation distinctively with critical view admitting local versions on group and individual variations. Thus, this study will not only be an addition to the existing literature, it will promote a deeper understanding of the polyethnic nature of Bangladesh among the South Asia though the theme is much broader than the present inquiry.

論文審査の結果の要旨

学位申請者Uddin Muhammad Alaの課程博士学位請求論文“Forming Indigeneity and Transethnicity among the Chittagong Hill People, Bangladesh: The Management of Fear in the Context of Displacement.”は、バングラデシュ・チャッタゴン丘陵に居住する人々が、直面する生存基盤に関わる不安にどのように対処しているかについて、民族誌的記述と政治人類学的分析を通して明らかにした英文9万5000語に及ぶ労作である。

チャッタゴン丘陵には、ビルマ系に加え、ネパール系のグルカ、アッサム系のアホムを加えた13の民族集団が居住していると言われる。しかし、先行研究における記述とは裏腹に、「民族集団」といった概念や「パハリ」(Pahari)というビルマ系民族集団に対する総称は、チャッタゴン丘陵の開発とベンガル系住民の入植を通して、イギリス植民地統治やバングラデシュ政府が導入した統治の枠組みとみることができる。本論文の出発点はこの点にある。

この枠組みは、当初、植民地主義や国民国家によって押しつけられた枠組みであった。と同時に、主流派の住民が国民国家への異議申し立てを行ったり、国際社会に対して支援を求めたりする際に採用される戦略的枠組みともなってきた。また、こうした民族的枠組みは、土地と人を強固に結びつける「定住」の論理に根ざしたものであり、チャッタゴン丘陵の人々にとって最大の不安要因となっており、民族集団間に格差と不和を生み出す要因ともなっている。「民族集団」や「パハリ」という枠組みが生存にとって有利に働く集団もいれば、不利に働く集団もいるのである。

13の民族集団の間に働く力学は複雑である。近代国民国家の思想は、人を土地に縛りつけながらも、土地に対する住民の権利を認めることはない。チャッタゴン丘陵の民族集団は、焼畑農耕に由来する移動性を特徴としながらも、外部のインパクトに抗するためには、「定住化」と「土地権」を主張せざるを得ないのである。

本論文の第1部では、チャッタゴン丘陵の民族集団に関する先行研究が「パハリ」の文化的均質性への素朴な信奉に立脚してきたことを確認するとともに、民族集団の生成と帰属変更を記述するための方法的検討を行っている。続く第2部では、植民地統治やチャッタゴン丘陵の開発とベンガル系入植者に関する歴史的資料に基づき、チャッタゴン丘陵の住民が土着性やエスニシティをどう表象しているかについて政治人類学的な分析を行っている。また第3部では、こうした複雑な状況の下で、人々がどのように不安を処理し、その過程でどのような越境が見られるのかを明らかにしている。チャッタゴン丘陵の住民は、外部のインパクトに対して様々な手法で対処している。主流派であるチャクマ (Chakma) のように他のグループをも巻き込んでバングラデシュ政府に対する武装闘争を展開するグループの他に、そうした「低地民」とは一線を画し、「山地民」として焼畑農耕を維持しようとするグループも存在している。また、グルカのように民族集団としての認知を求める集団もいれば、結婚式等の際にもベンガルや西欧の衣装を採用するなど、エスニシティの表象が放棄されているような場合もある。

本論文は、これら多様な対処の仕方がいずれも事態を根本的に解決する打開策とならず、むしろ事態を複雑にする要因、あるいは人々の間に新たな不安を生み出す要因となっていることを明らかにしている。この点で、本論文は、政治人類学、および南アジア地域研究の分野において、きわめて重要な意義を持つと考えられる。以上から、本論文は博士(人間科学)の学位論文として十分価値あるものと認められる。