Lecture 3: An ethnic group named "Citizen"
A study on the symbolic world re-constructed based on four stranger representation and ethnic self-images among Prajas in Nepal

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There exists a group of people whose ethnic name generally means a "citizen" and a "subject". "Praja" in Nepal is such a people. These people were conventionally called "Chepang. But people themselves have rejected to accept this name 'Chepang', since it is connected to "uncivilized" images. Although people have an identity as "Praja", they will not tell many for whether who they are. That is because the narration about a self-image will be taken into "uncivilized" statements.

This paper tries to explore the bunch of ethnic self-images for people who name themselves as "Praja" and who have difficulties in self-representation. The analysis and discussion are based on the result of the fieldwork for about four years, and it is going to supply the resources for people’s self representation. This paper also aims at submitting new perspective and new methodology to the ethnicity theory which has considered the relation between ethnic groups and a state, and the problem of an identity.

The purpose and subject of this paper are discussed in part I.

The conventional ethnicity theory has two major postulates. One considers the ethnic identity as "continuity" since pre-modern time. The other presumes it to be "divided" by modernization such as emergence of nation-states. Both discussions performed analysis from the "self-representation" submitted all by ethnic group themselves. But this paper will not consider "continuity" and "division" as alternatives. It stands on the point that we can not discuss about the continuity without the existence of divisions.

Study of Smith (1999 (1986) ) on Nationalism shares the similar perspective with this paper. He, from an archeological perspective, supposes "ethnie" which lies in the depth underneath the present nations. To describe the possible continuity between nation and ethane, Smith set ethnie as divided from the nation. However this approach assumes ethnie as axiom though it is a past which cannot be figured out clearly.
In this paper, dipping up the possibility of an argument of Smith, in order to avoid his mistake, synchronic multi-phase analysis is proposed. It draws "division" of the society which Smith showed, not as a historical layer but a synchronic phase. It also tries to read the continuity between ethnicity and nation as structure than historical "continuation".

Yanai (1995) discussed about cultural generation among Mapuche in Chile. He divides the life of people in Mapuche into 3 phases, Mapuche-like, Chile-like and in between. He explores the possibility of cultural generation by reading "continuation" between them. But, it has the problem that the "division" is determined by Yanai as a thing obvious.

In this paper, aiming at extracting the phases of life based on representation which people themselves perform, four representation to a certain foreigner (=author) is observed. They are Cinglang (cannibal demon), Cor (thief), Sar (teacher), and Duhkhi (person in trouble).

In part II, the symbol world of Cinglang, i.e., the phase of a family line and a match, is analyzed. Although Cinglang appears in a myth or a tale, "meat" surely appears there. Then, in what scene of life "meat" appears and is mentioned are clarified and are examined how meat is connected with "division/connection" and "inclusion / exclusion".

In this way, the relation between an animal and a man and the human relations in connection with distribution of meat, the relation between human being and supernatural existence is summarized. Finally it is proved that Cinglang carries on the exterior of the man who does mutual exchange and they are the symmetrical existence of the pig which is human's livestock. Moreover, a self-image called the man who is positioned in those centers, and who performs mutual exchange in equalitarianism is extracted.

In part III, the phase in connection with a state and the symbol world of, Cor, Sar, and Duhkhi is analyzed. Cor is a thief, and it is told in connection with the memory when the government being capsized and being in anarchy. Here, I present the authoritarian characteristics of the national government and people had relation with the government through the tax collector assigned to the village.

And it is shown that as the symmetrical existence of Nepal-Hindu superpower, existence of uncivilized, which is called Kusunda, is eliminated. Thus, in the world of Cor, it has a relation with authoritarian state and eliminates more uncivilized existence. And the image of people who are orientated in "forests" and are positioned in the exterior of a state or Hindu society is extracted.

The world of Sar is further described. Sar is the title which can be translated as teacher. It is mainly used to the teacher of a school, the staff of development projects, a politician, etc. Here, the situation of school establishment will be clarified first. Subsequently, change brought by the development project of the circumference area which started around 1960 and people's experience in which they became the object of development is analyzed. In the development process, people became trapped in the situation which lapses into 2 clause confrontation; Lato (stupid) but Sojo (pure) selves versus Batho (wise) but Chuco (impudent) Sar. The self-image of
people loses a place to go.

And the symbol world of Duhkhi is analyzed. Duhkhi indicates the person in trouble or suffering and the person who bears pain. The writer was accepted in the field of research by being given this representation. To understand Duhkhi, the writer focus on a man who gave the writer representation called Duhkhi. By examining the man's everyday orientation and everyday occurrences, the writer proves that there is a double bind-situation which constitutes his everyday orientation and which is shared by the ethnic group. Reaching out a hand to such Duhkhi has led to stepping toward a leg at realism from the double bind situation. Furthermore, it is shown that such perception is shared by many people.

By the combination of analysis of people's foreigner representations, and multi-phase analysis, this paper extended the new perspective which acquires the bunch of different ethnic self-images. Furthermore, the state of connection of the external existence drawn neither by Smith's nationalism theory nor the cultural theory of generation of Yanai was also clarified. Moreover, the relation between the inside elements and exterior elements which twined intricately is also described.