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研究成果概要（日本文（全角）の場合は3,000字（A4、2ページ）程度）

Street Anthropology is a 21st century attempt to reinstate the original purpose of 20th century anthropology: to provide a critical standpoint against the hegemony of modern Western thought through cultural relativism.

Today, anthropology's position as a discipline of cultural critique is under threat from a prevalent form of hegemonic thought derived from neo-liberalism, that is, audit culture. Audit culture preferences the output of quantification and efficiency, the results of which are ultimately superficial. The most significant characteristics of anthropology, a discipline that deals in subtlety and sometimes in those aspects of unspoken meaning, are becoming devalued and, at worst, dismissed by audit culture. This unwelcome tendency has been institutionalised by an insistence that anthropologists should engage in 'practical' or 'public' anthropology. Here, anthropological works are evaluated using a criterion that forces anthropologists to show how their research theme will be useful for the public or to society. This trend causes discouragement among scholars, many of whom now tend to choose to avoid investigating fundamentally significant themes that require time for thought, because the pressure to produce something of 'practical' value is strong. This pressure is dangerous and threatens to deprive anthropology of its true force and purpose, which is ultimately to use a subtle approach to social investigation in order to provide depth in our social critiques. The project of Street Anthropology is a direct response to this pernicious trend.

Nowadays, it seems that researching and teaching are regarded as commodities; the public buy research and students buy teaching. I do not accept that my students are simply consumers. Street anthropology is a response to this corrosive tendency in research and education and is an attempt to redefine a true and proper practical anthropological contribution to the public people.

I have considered and reconsidered the idea of Street Anthropology throughout my fieldwork in India and in the UK and I hope to explain, in this lecture, the process and product of that thought. In India, I studied how people constructed homes around 'pavement temples' built on the footpath of broad street, and in the UK I observed the activities of temple constructions to recreate locality among South Asian migrants. In my definition, this can be regarded in a broader sense as street phenomena, whereby 'threshold (*schwellen*)' as *passage* in Walter Benjamin's sense can be found. This threshold is the locus of 'abduction', that is, it is where space and time combine for the emergence of creative and artistic performance. In fact, theoretically, threshold can be found everywhere because threshold refers to the moment of experience of a subject in relation to its context.

What is important is a method to find a threshold (street edge, in my terminology). For beginners of Street Anthropology, the South Indian mega city of Chennai holds a rather unique city landscape filled with plenty of pavement temples and provides an explicit paragon of the street edge phenomena I am referring to. In fact, I started Street Anthropology from the pavements of Chennai. It was there that I witnessed the struggle for survival of socially excluded people.

Here, I must point out that an objective use of the term 'exclusion' is problematic when trying to locate thresholds because the difference between the objective, top-down, viewpoint and the subjective sense of exclusion are not apparent through the mainstream use of the term. The reality is that the term 'exclusion' can be opened up to multiple meanings defined by subjective contexts. Therefore, exclusion can be found everywhere according to subjective viewpoints.

My method was to start from the easily observable, explicit Chennai cases, in which the difference between objective and subjective viewpoints was minimal and therefore easily observable. Later, I began to study the UK case, where the situation was complex and more implicit boundaries emerged. The street edge phenomena in the UK case are not readily apparent through a simple observation of the marginalized situation of migrants; of course, it is in some aspects such as religion and population size but their economic position is no longer one of marginalisation. This means that, in contemporary UK society, migrant thresholds are more implicit. So first you must pay strong attention to the context of your subject in order to locate thresholds, then you will be able to observe what is happening and going on around the threshold. The UK case has provided a welcome challenge for deepening Street Anthropology.

After confirming that threshold (street-edge) and exclusion are relational conceptions, it is possible to say again that Street Anthropology

is characterized by focusing upon the locus where the socially 'excluded' people are living in order to discover their thresholds. By observing their activities at these thresholds, we can learn plenty of lessons in how not only to survive, but to acquire a life worth living in harsh conditions. This is because such loci provoke the thought that your life is also developing around a threshold in which you realize that your self-power is limited. In time, you come to understand that the only way to survive, to truly move forward, is through collaboration with others. This is the magical threshold point of realisation, the turning point where you start to transform yourself by going from the forward path to the backward path.

This is the semiotic process in Charles Sanders Peirce's sense of 'synechism', that is, the process of abduction or creation of life. Deleuze's concept of 'becoming the minor' also confronts the same matter. It is this process at the threshold which includes a change of viewpoints from self-oriented to the other-oriented, opens the black-box of *bricolage*, and discloses the secret of how to acquire an artistic life worth living. The most important point in this process is 'time-ness' or 'semiotic time'. This nuanced time quality is an essential component in Street Anthropology thinking. Here a key distinction becomes apparent between a modern linear notion of time, which is prevalent in modern Western thought, and 'time-ness', which is a different dimensional notion of time, one that can be understood as a process of folding back at the turning point from the forward path to the backward path by passing through a threshold.

Street phenomena, then, is where the street-edge or threshold can be found, and it is here that we can observe showcases of street art as life or life as street art. Exclusion, threshold or street-edge is your key resource for reconstructing your original and artistic life. It is here that a sort of semiotic process will inevitably lead to collaboration with others and it is this collaborative state of living that I define as 'heterotopia design'. This, I believe, may provide us with an ethnographically informed theory to better conceptualise the 'spatial turn' in the social sciences.