写真 4　MSM 主催の講演会

ヒューマニティーだよ．つまり私はヒューマニストだ.」「ヒンドゥーもムスリムも，1 割はとても善良な人たちでもう 1 割はとても邪な考えをもつ人たち．残りの 8 割の“普通の人たち”が悪い方に流されないよう，私たちは活動しなければならないんだよ.」

学食で一緒にチャイを飲みながら，彼はこのように言った．彼自身ムスリムでありながらこのような活動をしているために，同じムスリムからも敵対視されている，とも語っていたが，彼の目には強い決意が満ち溢れていた．

今回出会えた活動家のほとんどが，デオクマールのような新仏教徒やタンボリ氏のようなムスリムであった．そして彼らの多くが自らを特定の宗教にとらわれない，アンベードカリストやヒューマニストと名乗り，ヒンドゥー至上主義に抵抗するという共通の目的のため，宗教の違いを超え協力し合っていた．しかし一方で，多くの一般市民はヒンドゥーの伝統・文化に基づいて生活している．実際に，長年お世話になってきた先述のヒンドゥーの家族に聞いても，「ムスリムの友人もいないし，ムスリムのことってよくわからないな．そういう人がいるんだね」という反応だった．市井の人々と，声を上げる活動家との意識の差は大きい．タンボリ氏の言うように，このような「8 割の“普通の人たち”」にどのように宗教間融和に関心をもってもらうことができるか．活動の浸透には時間を要するが，それが今後の大きな課題なのではないだろうか．

暴動の記憶

宮　園　琢　也*

インドでの調査

2016 年 8 月 2 日から 9 月 20 日にかけて，ニューデリー，ウッタル・プラデーシュ州ムザッファルナガル，シャームリーにてフィールドワーク調査を行なった．インドでは宗教対立から生じる暴動が頻発している．その際

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にマスメディアはどのような役割を果たすのか．現代のインドにおけるマスメディアの状況と，2013 年にムザッファルナガルで起こった暴動に関するインタビュー調査を行なうためインドへと渡航した．

2013 年 8 月から 9 月にかけてムザッファルナガルでは暴動が発生した．その死者数は 52 人に上り，十万人以上のムスリムが居住地を追われたという．ムザッファルナガル暴動の発端として，あるヒンドゥー教徒の少女をからかったムスリムに対し，その少女の兄弟が報復として殺害したことや，ムスリムとヒンドゥー教徒同士のバイク事故が契機となった等の諸々の理由が挙げられている．暴動の始点は不明瞭であるが，イスラーム教とヒンドゥー教の両信徒の間に緊張関係が生まれ，結果として暴力的な対立に発展したのである．

ムザッファルナガルを訪れる前に，ニューデリーにおいて事前に情報を集めた．彼らは口々に，見るものはない，危険だからやめた方がいいと私に言った．実際にムザッファルナガルは犯罪率が高く，新聞に目を通すと女性に対する暴行や，バイク強盗の記事を度々目にすることがある．私は不安を抱えたままムザッファルナガルへと向かった．

ムザッファルナガル

ニューデリー発の列車に揺られて約 3 時間半，予定の所要時間を 1 時間以上も過ぎて，列車はムザッファルナガル駅に到着した．あたりはすでに薄暗く，人々の足取りもどこか家路を急いでいるようにみえた．ムザッファルナガルを訪れたのは 8 月 13 日で，ちょうどインド独立記念日の 2 日前であった．ムザッファルナガルに向けて出発する日の前日，ニューデリーの中心部であるコンノートプレイスでは，インド国旗や，国旗の配色をモチーフにした飾りつけ，各店舗のセールの広告などで街が彩られ，着々と記念日に向けた準備が進められていた．その一方で，記念日 2 日前のムザッファルナガルではニューデリーで見たような，記念日に向けた準備がされているようにはみえず，その雰囲気の違いに驚いた．ところが，いよいよ 8 月 15 日を迎えると，記念日を祝うパレードが催された．学生だと思われる人々が，太鼓を打ち鳴らしながら行進の列をつくり町を練り歩き，道路を埋め尽くした．道端でその列を眺めていた私が，彼らにカメラを向けると，こぶしを振り上げ手に持った国旗をパタパタと振ってこたえてくれた．その活況は，初め

写真 1　ニューデリー駅構内

写真 2　独立記念日の行進

てムザッファルナガル駅に降り立った時に感じた薄暗さ，停滞感を拭い去ってくれるようであり，太鼓や鳴り物を鳴らしながら賑々しく歩くさまは，ニューデリーの人が口を酸っぱくして私に幾度も説いたような忠告や説得とはまるで正反対であった．その土地で，3 年前に凄惨な暴動が起こったとは思えなかった．しかし，数日をムザッファルナガルで過ごすうちに気づいたことがある．それは，その暴動の傷跡がいまだに残っているということである．

ムザッファルナガル再訪

その傷跡の存在は，2 度目のムザッファルナガルでの調査の際にはっきりと感じられたのであった．

ムザッファルナガルを 2 度目に訪れた際は，ヒンディー語通訳者として，ジャワハールラルー・ネルー大学（JNU）の学生 2 名に同行してもらった．この訪問では，ムザッファルナガルに加えシャームリーの調査を予定していた．シャームリーでは 2013 年の暴動により居住地を追われた人々が，政府の用意した避難民キャンプに暮らしている．調査期間は 5 日間で，ムザッファルナガルにて 4 日間にわたり新聞各社にインタビュー調査を行ない，その後シャームリーに移動して避難民にインタビュー調査をするというものであった．

ムザッファルナガルで行なったインタビュー調査では，現地の新聞社に勤めている編集者に，記事の編集方針について話を聞くことができた．「新聞を作り始めた頃は，中立な立場で記事を出していた．しかし他の新聞社との競合の中で，読者を煽るセンセーショナルな記事を掲載することを重要視するようになった.」つまり，ジャーナリストとしての中立な立場から，現在では新聞社の生き残りのために注目度の高い記事を優先して新聞に載せているという．

インタビューの帰途，ある洋服店の前に人だかりができていた．その中心にはバイクにまたがる一組の男女がおり，女性の方はヴェールで顔を覆っている．少し様子をうかがっているうちに，その店の店主ともめている模様であることが分かった．店主は声を荒げながらその男女に詰め寄り，周囲の人はそれをなだめている．次第に，取り囲む人の中からバイクに乗ったふたりに手を出し始めるものが出てきた．男性は慌ててバイクのエンジンをかけ，クラックションを鳴らしながらその場を半ば強引に立ち去っていった．なぜ彼らが口論していたのかは分からない．なぜふたりを取り囲んでいたのかも分からない．好奇心からか，それとも擁護するためか，はたまた何かしらの悪意をもっていたのか．傍

から観察していた私に分かることは，バイクにまたがる男性とヴェールを被った女性に対し人々が詰め寄っていた，というただその事実のみである．ふと衆人の注目の的となっている彼らから視線を外し，私の同行者や成り行きを見守る人々の顔に目をやると，彼らの顔に浮かんだ緊張の徴をはっきりと認めることができた．このような出来事を，さっきまで私がインタビューをしていた記者や編集者はどのように記事を書き報じるのかと思うと，脳裏に不安がよぎったことは忘れられない．

次に，陸路で 4 時間かけてシャームリーへと向かう．そこで行なった避難民へのインタビュー調査ではメディアに対する彼らの不信感を感じ取ることができた．「あいつらはマネーイーティングメディアだ．金をもらえばウソでも何でも書く」と，イスラームの宗教学校であるマドラサで避難生活を送るムスリムは言っていた．彼の言葉，身振りからはメディアに対する不信感，怒りがにじみ出ていた．

ムザッファルナガルでの出来事や，怒気をはらんだ避難民の応答は，いまだに残る暴動の傷跡のように私には思われる．それはいつか癒えるのだろうか．それとも度重なる暴力によって，その傷跡はえぐり続けられるのだろうか．

独立記念日に街を包み込んだ活況と，いまだ漂う緊張感がそこには存在していた．暴動が発生し収束してから 3 年がたつが，ムザッファルナガルやその周辺で起こる事件は絶えず今でも新聞で報道されている．2017 年はウッタル・プラデーシュ州で州議会選挙が行なわれる年にあたり，激しい政治的競合によってこれらの状況がどのように変容していくのか，その動向に注視する必要があるだろう．

マスメディアの現況

英領期インドの独立運動は大衆と，彼らを牽引する指導者との相互作用の中，大きなうねりとなって独立という形に結実した．その際に活躍したのがマスメディアである．独立運動期においてはイギリス植民地政府から反政府的な言説が弾圧されたが，独立運動の火を灯し，かつ燃やし続けたのは知識人の言論空間であった新聞でありラジオであった．新聞は英字新聞に加え各地方言語によるものが発行され，ラジオに関しては 1920 年代初頭に，アマチュアの人々により試験的に放送された．それは，後のインド放送会社（Indian Broadcasting Company）の設立への弾みとなった．それらのマスメディアのもつ影響力は計り知れず，世論を活性化させ，生活の質の向上に資するという面もあれば，利益を引き込む手段として使われ，プロパガンダへと向かっていくという面も兼ね備えている．例として，独立運動の精神的支柱となったマハートマ・ガーンディーは，南アフリカにおけるインド人への差別反対運動において週刊紙により自身の主張を唱えたことや，対してインド放送会社は植民地政府の管理下に置かれ，そのプロパガンダ機関になってしまったことが挙げられる．

2016 年夏インド，携帯電話やインターネットの爆発的な普及のおかげで，ニューデリーではスマートフォン片手におしゃべりに興ずる人々がいたるところにいる．一方で，

写真 3　赤信号待ちの車やリキシャーの運転手に新聞を売り歩く女性

ひとつの新聞を数人で回し読みする習慣もニューデリーには残っている．このように，マスメディアの状況は，ひとつが現れればひとつが消えるのではなく，さまざまな在り方で存在し，影響力を及ぼし続けているのである．新聞やテレビ，SNS の発する玉石混交の情報の中で人々は日々生きている．その情報の濁流の中で，流れに身を任せるのか．それとも，流れに逆らいながら自らの歩みを決めるのか．いずれにせよ，彼ら自身の在り方を決めるのは彼ら自身なのである．

インドについて考える際，必ず宗教対立というものがつきまとう．それは近年になって姿を現わしたのではなく，連綿と続く歴史の中で少しずつ形成されてきたものである．その中で新しく要素として加わったものは，その流れを取り囲む環境，つまり現代のマスメディアが生み出す環境なのだ．そして，宗教対立が暴力の形をとり現れた宗教暴動という流れに，マスメディアは大きく飲み込まれてしまう．2002 年のグジャラートで起こった暴動の際には，偽の情報を報じ，復讐心を掻き立てる報道を行なった地元新聞を当時の州首相であったナレーンドラ・モーディー（現在のインド中央政府首相）が称賛した．マスメディアと宗教暴動の関係は，現在のマスメディアの多様性，多量性の観点からみてもインドを考える際に重要な部分を成しているだろう．

‘Moderate’ Fatness is Desirable: Beliefs Related to Body Size in Mukono, Central Uganda

Seera Georgina *

A male acquaintance introduced me to his wife, who does not work outside their home; additionally, they have no space to dig a garden. They live in a rented room with their

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three children. They live in village N and had moved here a few weeks earlier from village K. Both are Bakiga people from southwestern Uganda, and moved to central Uganda to find work.

This is a common situation in Mukono, since it is only about 21 km from the centre of Kampala, the capital city. Mukono is very urbanized and its population includes many people who have moved here to find work. As it takes time to save enough money to buy land and build their own houses, people often live in rented one- or two-room houses. Consequently, they have only enough space to live and nowhere to carry out agriculture. Mobility is high and people readily move from place to place to change jobs, find less expensive accommodation, or because they do not get along with their neighbours.

After introducing myself, and the nature of my research, my acquaintance's wife agreed to introduce me to her neighbours in village N and to her friends in village K (Photo 1). I hoped to use this opportunity as a starting point to find more women in the area who would be willing to participate in my study. I started off by measuring her height and body composition and then those of her neighbours and friends.

Her immediate neighbour was a primary school teacher who had also moved to Mukono only recently. She weighed 59.3 kg, but believed that she was too small, although her BMI[1)] classified her as normal. She attributed this to the fact that she was growing old. She was 41 years old when I met her and wanted to weigh about 79 kg.

From other interviews, I found that a weight of 50-60 kg was considered too low for a mature person based on comments such as: "*I have ever weighed 50 kg even when I am an adult*" and "*How can Alifons, a big man, weigh only 50 kg?*"

This teacher was not the only person who felt that her recent weight change was due to natural reasons beyond her control.

Another neighbour, Ms. MJ, spoke about how she gained weight continuously during her last pregnancy although she had no appetite and barely ate anything: "*I did not*

Photo 1. Typical living quarters in Mukono; rented rooms built side by side

eat much during that pregnancy, but I gained weight rapidly and I felt weak. The nurses even advised me to stop eating so much. That is why people sometimes disagree with nurses because they always say you are fat because you eat too much, but it's not always the case."

Although she was obese based on her BMI, she reported that she had recently lost weight. In December, she weighed 84 kg despite the fact that she was gardening and doing a lot of work. Recently, she has been sitting at home and not doing much work, but has still lost weight. She said she had been using family planning (by injection) until October and thought that this might have caused the weight gain.

As another woman who was also overweight said, "*We get fat these days because of contraception and family planning.*"

Ms. MJ's husband was a 'boda boda' [2] driver (Photo 2), and was relatively fat.

It was not uncommon to find that when a woman had a partner who was fat, she was also fat or at least desired to be. For example Maama[3] Mwe, who had a normal BMI, felt that she was too small because: "*My husband is fat, so people wonder why I am small.*" This could be because fatness is equated to maturity.

In the words of one woman, "*Don't you see that I look like a child, yet I am a mother of five?*"

Another woman who wanted to be fatter because her husband was fat stated: "*We don't eat and do the same things. I stay here and dig, while he goes to the big boss.*"

A fat couple would also be considered affluent and so a spouse who was smaller than her husband could cause a lot of confusion and discussion in the village. In the words of one older woman who had tried and failed to gain weight, "*People think that fat people have money so when you are small people look down on you.*"

In addition, a woman considered herself beautiful when she had a more substantial

Photo 2. A 'boda boda' driver waiting for customers in village K; this is a common occupation for men in Mukono

1) The international classification of body size using the Body Mass Index (BMI) classifies individuals as underweight (<18.5 kg/m^2), normal (18.5-24.99 kg/m^2), overweight (25-29.99 kg/m^2), or obese (≥30 kg/m^2) based on the formula BMI=weight (kg)/height (m^2).
2) Motor cycles used as a means of public transportation.
3) In Uganda, Maama is the local term for mother and it precedes her child's name. This form of address is used more commonly than the woman's own name.

body, as reflected in the words of Ms. AF: "*Before having children, I was fat. I was a beautiful woman. I had a size although I was not very big.*" Her comment clearly shows the idea held by many women that it was desirable to be a bit fat, but not too fat.

One of the major reasons why excessive fatness was not desirable was because it reduced the ability to work. In the words of Maama J, "*I do not want to be so fat that if someone asked me to stand up and do something, I couldn't do it.*"

Ms. MJ described both of her parents as small, but said that her sisters are even fatter than she is. She said all of the girls in her family had been small as children and only her brother was big but now, as adults, her brother is small while the girls are big. This has already been described as a manifestation of the double burden of malnutrition across the life course of an individual or group of individuals in the same family, in which people who were underweight as children become overweight as adults and vice versa.

Ms. MJ worked in a salon from about 9 am until 10 pm. She walked to work in the morning but came home on a boda boda at night. Many other women who were found to be fat were involved in similar casual labour. For instance, Maama ER, who was also obese, went to the town centre every day to work on a tailoring machine.

From village N, we travelled to village K, where Ms. AF had originally lived. Village K is close to a university campus, so it has many hostels and other student-related businesses.

We visited a woman at her kiosk, which is located next to a student hostel (Photo 3). She has a neighbour who runs a restaurant selling whole foods during the day and fast foods in the evening. Another neighbour sells fried snacks, such as samosas, in the morning for people to eat with their tea or porridge for breakfast. When I told her about my research, she was very enthusiastic and explained that she would be willing to commit to my research over an extended period, especially if I could help her to reduce her size!

Although she had the highest BMI among all of the women I had measured to that point, it was still surprising to hear that she wanted to lose weight because there were several other women in the village who

Photo 3. Maama J, an obese woman who feels that she is too fat

wanted to become bigger or were comfortable with their weight.

She explained that she does not wake up at a specific time and sometimes fails to go to work when she does not feel motivated. Recently, however, her husband had lost his job, so she now has no choice, and has to work. This reminded me of Maama J's comment about being too fat and being less mobile and less able to work.

She described a typical day as follows: "*When I arrive at work, I open the kiosk, clean up, and sit down. This takes me about 10 minutes because I do it slowly—sometimes I even use my legs! I ask someone to fetch me water. At home, I watch TV; here I miss my TV. Some nights, like last night, I stay up until midnight watching TV. I watch the news and then the soaps immediately after the news.*"

She spent more than 2 hours a day watching television, which has already been shown to be a key factor in the prevalence of obesity.

"*Mother is big; father is big; and my brothers all gained weight when they finished school. My children are smaller.*"

This might suggest that obesity was inherited in her family. However, it also points to the double burden of malnutrition between her and her children, *i.e.*, when fat parents have thin children.

The first time that I saw her, she weighed 102.4 kg and her BMI was 40 kg/m^2. The next time we weighed her, she said, "*I hope I have lost some weight, but I think I have gained weight because I have been eating a lot of pork.*" She was right; that day, she weighed 104 kg. Pork and other food items are associated with increases in body size and rightly so.

Some outstanding features in this case are that others recognize her as 'too fat' and she is aware that she is too big and wants to lose weight. She believes that the biggest contributors to her weight gain were marriage, pregnancy, and lactation. She might also have a genetic disposition to being overweight. She spends nearly her entire day seated and at least 2 hours a day watching TV. She feels that she is too heavy to do daily chores, such as mopping her house.

Another woman, Maama B, is a 25-year-old woman living in the same village. She weighed 62.1 kg and her BMI was 27.8 kg/m^2. Based on her BMI, she was overweight although she felt that her weight was just right. She attended primary school for 5 years. Her husband is a boda boda driver. She rents a single room and lives with her three children and a relative's child. She recently obtained a short contract to cook food for builders at a nearby construction site. They do not own a television set or a radio.

"*My current body size is good. When I was young, about the size that my children are now, I was extremely small. I grew a bit fat*

Photo 4. Left: Maama B, an overweight woman who feels that her size is just right. Right: Maama A, a normal weight woman who feels that she is too small.

when I was a girl, but I really got fat during my marriage. Now I have grown thin" —she said.

Maama A, on the right in Photo 4, is also 25 years old. She weighed 60.1 kg and her BMI was 23.5 kg/m^2, which is normal, although she feels that she is too small. She completed primary school and attended 2 years of secondary school. Her husband is also a boda boda driver. They rent a double room that costs about 20USD a month, including electricity. She has three children: a girl and two younger boys.

"*I would like to really gain a lot of weight because I feel that I am too small when I conceive and deliver; I lose a lot of weight while I am lactating*" —she said.

For a long time, severe thinness as a result of hunger has been the symbol of malnutrition in Africa. In Uganda, however, fatness is also emerging as a problem despite the prevailing under-nutrition. In this study, the subjects considered obesity as excessive fatness and being overweight was more desirable than having a normal weight due to beliefs attributing being overweight to a good quality of life. In addition, the changes in body size were understood as being involuntary. Many of the overweight women seem to be victims of the double burden of malnutrition over the course of their lives.