論 文 の 英 文 要 旨

論文題目	衝突する未来――ポスト社会主義期におけるモンゴル国ヘンティー県ムルン郡の牧畜社会を事例として
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This thesis is an ethnography of change in the Mongolian pastoral society under the post-socialism period. Especially, in this ethnography I will draw "presents-becoming-futures" of the Mongolian pastoral society, paying attention to the time cognition of the pastoralists. The notion of presents-becoming-futures is featured by two metanarratives as homogenization and emergence, or loss and invention, suggested by James Clifford to criticize ethnographies to sketch the cycle of year as one of the contours of an "ethnographic present". However, it is insufficient to draw the present of post-socialism Mongolia as liner change as homogenization and emergence, or loss and invention, and it is needed to draw the presents-becoming-futures of the post-socialist Mongolia where circular time and liner time intermingled.

The ethnographies based on the fieldwork in the former Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Mongolia under the post-socialism period have focused on the disorders after the collapse of the socialistic system. However the disorders under the post-socialism period were not the ends of change from socialism but the beginning of the process to institutional change. Neoliberalistic policies such as the dissolution of the collectives, price liberalization, and privatization of property were drastically introduced to these states by the advice of Jeffrey Sachs and IMF. These reforms, so-called "shock therapy",

failed to economic crisis, such as inflation and short of goods. Mongolian pastoralists have experienced the beginning of the post-socialism period as process of drastic change caused by the collapse of the system of socialism in Mongolia.

From the Eastern European studies, Burawoy and Verdery conceived of institutional change under the post-socialism period as "second great transformation". They grasped these processes as "uncertain transition" which has multiple trajectories of institutional change. This thesis as an ethnography illustrates the micro processes through which this second great transformation take place.

For the former Soviet Union, the countries of Eastern Europe, and Mongolia, change from socialism to capitalism, especially neoliberalism was from the collapse of the socialistic entire system to the reform in the legal system based on neoliberalistic policy. However, the process of the second great transformation does not end with change of these formal rules. In understanding the process of second great transformation under the post-socialism period, we need to pay attention to not only formal rules but also informal ones. I will adopt theory of new institutional economics to describe this case study. New institutional economics deals with process of institutional change considering formal and informal rules. If we follow North, two forces shaping the path of institutional change are increasing returns and imperfect markets characterized by significant transaction costs, and the subjective model of actors modified both by very imperfect feedback and by ideology will shape the path. So it is imperfect, the subjective model can lead actors to various futures.

To illustrate presents-becoming-futures as the process of the second great transformation in Mongolia by describing the Mongolian pastoral society, focused on the intentions to direct the futures of the pastoralists, I will deal with circle of pastoralism, productivity of pastoralism, market transaction, and sedentarisation and reproduction of pastoral society paying attention to conscience for future directing present to.

It is well known that Mongolian pastoralists move the camps for four seasons (spring, summer, autumn, and winter) and use the seasonal pastures by climatic and topological features. Especially, sites for winter and spring have some special features and equipments and the numbers of appropriate sites in the sum are limited. The formal rule about land that heads of households possessed the site for winter camp and spring one was decided by the sum under post-socialism period, and it seems to be consistent with solidity of relation between particular sites and households of pastoralists. But this formal rule didn't have great influence on pastoral society.

The pastoralists decided the route and timing of movement between camps

considering the conditions like carrying capacity to herd size, proper climate, and hands of herdsmen with flexible adjustments, and hot-ails (basic unit of social organization of production constituted by households of pastoralist in Mongolia) were dissolved and reorganized if they needed. Thus hot-ails have had mobility and flexibility still.

In recent years the pastoralists have faced extraordinary weather in the pastoral area and it aroused their suspicion against cyclic time about seasons or ecological context and was regarded not as temporary fluctuation but as environmental change. Pastoral society in Mongolia buffered environmental change by flexibility, and their flexibility was not exterminated by changing formal rules on land for winter and spring camps.

Productivity of pastoralism had often been set a low valuation on, but its ability has high potential. Pastoralists can get meat, milk, wool and cashmere. They can sell a portion of these products and get money through exchanging them at markets. I will examine the possibility of increasing returns on pastoralism in Mongolia under post-socialism period.

Pastoralists in Mörön sum went to markets in or around Ulaanbaatar city to sell their products and buy daily necessaries. Transaction at the markets is not everyday routine for them. Markets are not situated near to them, and they can't do transaction there safely. They need large transaction costs to transport products, bargain with merchants, sell their products, and come back with commodities successfully. In this situation, they tried to reduce the transaction costs on this trade to select trading partners, to construct face-to-face relations, and to repeat the trades with them.

By productivity of pastoralism and reducing transaction costs Mongolian pastoral society had prepared for economic conditions to institutional change, and under the conditions pastoralists could plan their own future.

In Mongolia the sedentarisation of the pastoralists is processing under the post-socialism period. In many cases, it is understood that the sedentarisation was caused because pastoralists lost their livestock under the bad conditions of pastures damaged by drought or cold weather. In Mörön sum the herd owners have tended to migrate to urban areas, but this migration was not caused by loosing their livestock. They decided the migration for another reasons, for example, for their children who went to school, and for keeping away from drying temperature on grass land. They designed their future by increasing livestock numbers and producing and buying meat, dairy products, wool, and, especially, cashmere as they were still herd owners. To realize their future, they needed hands and abilities of young herdsmen.

Meanwhile, the capability of livestock and market of cashmere enabled young herdsmen to imagine another future. After the collapse of the system of

socialism, social mobility between rural and urban area was very high, but not one way to urban area. Young herdsmen came to pastoral society in this period and they were fostered there. They intended to get married and independence, which was realized by possessing livestock for living enough. So all of them couldn't inherit livestock from their parents, they got livestock by inheriting from wives' parents, or preparing by themselves. Some of them got livestock and were increasing its number enough to live and get married as they became herd owners by means of wage earning and reproduction of livestock, and planned to sell products, especially cashmere, at markets for increasing their own livestock more. Thus, they directed the future as they became herd owners and got married.

However, marriage and independence of herdsmen meant that herd owners lost herdsmen to manage and work on camps, and it was difficult for them to employ other high potential herdsmen. As a result the futures of the herd owners and young herdsmen becoming herd owners were inconsistent with each other and collided in Mongolian pastoral society under the second great transformation.