

9. Africa

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9

Africa

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From Studies on Nationalism to Socioeconomic Research

Earnest attempts by Japanese scholars to study the African continent did not begin until after World War II. At that time the interest of these scholars tended to center around the question of African nationalism and the influence of imperialist forces and institutions.

The most representative work in this initial genre of research was Terutarō Nishino's *Kusari o tatsu Afurika* [Africa cuts its chain] published in 1954. As the colonial rule of Western imperialist forces began to show signs of decline following the war, nationalist movements in colonial Africa, like similar trends in Asia toward national sovereignty, displayed sufficient dynamism to anticipate the great changes that were to take place in the postwar world. These anticipated changes drew the attention of many scholars in Japan. Along with Nishino, others who took up the topic of African nationalism included Minosuke Momo, Masashi Suzuki, Hiroshi Shishido, and Hiromitsu Nakamura.* Some pioneers who investigated imperialism in Africa from an economic historian's perspective were Hideo Yamada, Shōhachirō Ichikawa, Katsutoshi Uchida, and Kazuo Umezu.

In 1960 the Institute of Developing Economies (IDE) commissioned Hiroshi Shishido, who was then active at Kyodo News Service (Kyōdō Tsūshinsha), to organize the IDE's first African studies committee. This committee produced two reports on the subject of African nationalism in response to the sudden growth of national independence movements

throughout the continent (Shishido 1962–63). At the same time the IDE commissioned a group of young cultural anthropologists under the tutelage of Seiichi Izumi at the University of Tokyo to study the topic of traditional social structures in sub-Saharan Africa (Izumi 1962). Therefore, while dealing with the questions of nationalism and the formation of independent polities in Africa, the IDE also became directly involved in the study of the everyday life and customs of the people who made up the social foundations of these new states. Building upon the fieldwork achievements of anthropologists in Europe and the United States, Japanese researchers undertook mainly tribal ethnographic surveys. This decision on the part of the IDE not only gave young Japanese anthropologists interested in Africa the opportunity to absorb and digest the findings of these precursors, but also stimulated interest among the IDE's own researchers in the value of anthropological analysis, thus setting up the foundations for a productive dialogue between development studies and the field of anthropology in Japan.

The IDE gradually turned its attention away from the area of nationalism to the study of Africa's social and economic foundations, though this did not mean that the IDE shifted its research focus to the field of cultural anthropology. Rather it chose as its frame of reference a socioeconomic perspective in analyzing newly formed states and their national policies. In this sense the study of politics, society, and the economy have always been treated by the IDE in an integrated, interdisciplinary fashion (Akira Hoshi* 1969). A very important aspect of what has become known as "area studies" is the emphasis on analyzing even the smallest geographic areas within the relationships they have to the larger surrounding areas, nation-states, and within the impact of the global environment. The IDE has always attempted to abide by such a view of area studies in all the research it has sponsored on the subject of Africa.

An Outline of the Issues

The study of Africa at the IDE can be classified into what could be called "clusters of issues" all interrelated at a certain broad level of research. In this sense we can identify as many as eight different "clusters of issues," ranging in scope from micro to macro topics, which have been dealt with in the books and articles on Africa published to date by the IDE. What follows is an overview of each of these clusters through a selection of representative studies taken from the large body of literature that the IDE has produced over the decades.

The eight "clusters of issues" that have been of concern to IDE researchers

in the past are: (1) the relationship between tribal nexus and nationalism, (2) the characteristic features of customary land tenure in a changing circumstances, (3) the structure of peasant production within the market economy, (4) urbanization and laborers, particularly migrant laborers, (5) industrialization and the providers of capital (i.e., the relative roles played by foreign and indigenous capital), (6) political and economic changes in southern Africa, (7) economic integration and interregional cooperation, and (8) political systems, especially issues surrounding African socialism, single party rule, democratization, and the characteristics of the state. The first three clusters may be termed "micro" in character, while the remaining five concern issues at the "macro" level.

1. Tribal Nexus and Nationalism

The first cluster has concerned itself with analyzing the tribe, Africa's traditional social entity, and its relationship to nationalism in the region. We have seen over the decades the appearance of many new independent states since Ghana gained independence in 1957, and in all these cases the force driving independence movements has been the momentum of nationalism. In order to understand the direction of nation building following independence, it is important to know the ideals and organizational features of African nationalism, as well as the people who promoted it. This is an area of study for a great many Third World countries that have overcome colonial rule and become independent. What makes Africa unique, however, is the aspect of the tribe. What exactly is a tribe, and how does it differ from something like nationality? These are questions that come up time and again for researchers of not only African politics, but also its economy, society, and history. Despite the importance of defining "tribe," the concept still remains unclear and ambiguous, with no one particular explanation or definition dominating the field. On the other hand, every African expert recognizes the importance in the study of the region of those things that are recognized as being "tribal." In Africa not just one portion of the population has tribal origins, like India's hill tribes; all of its people are affiliated with one tribe or another. Moreover, the tribe is not a fixed, static entity, but has changed significantly throughout Africa's history. Because tribal members and tribal boundaries are something not clearly defined, the size of tribes in terms of population can be estimated only in approximate numbers. Tribes vary widely in size from those with a population of less than a few thousand to huge ones that embrace tens of millions of members. The fact that African states are not established along tribal lines is explained by the governing policies of the colonial powers

which ignored such boundaries when dividing up the region among themselves. Because Africa's newly independent states adopted the boundaries marked out by their former colonial rulers, these polities came to include many different tribes. Moreover, independence movements were promoted by political parties that crossed over tribal lines, and the leaders of the newly independent nations were the strongest supporters of politics calling for "detrribalization."

Nevertheless, movements to form states based on geography have been greatly influenced by the tribal elements that existed within them. The more these states take on the form of mass democracies, the more the latent power of the tribe becomes manifest. Tribes are seen by Africa's political leaders as negative forces, as contradictions to ideologies of states based on fixed geographical borders, and African nationalists often resist mention of the word "tribe." For such reasons the researcher faces many difficulties when attempting to bring the subject of the tribe out into the open for objective analysis. All of the difficulties notwithstanding, the need for studying the tribe and its relationship to nationalism is no less important today than it has been.

The first study at the IDE that dealt with the tribal question was done by Seiichi Izumi (1962). It utilized the standards of African ethnography prevailing among Western anthropologists in the early 1960s. The research done at the IDE, however, differed from the work of anthropologists in that the former emphasized the connection of tribal issues to the problem of African nationalism. The aforementioned two volumes edited by Hiroshi Shishido (1962-63) are the best example of the IDE's approach. There is also the detailed study by Takehiko Haraguchi* (1975) of the tribal composition of Côte d'Ivoire, a former French colony. He studied the extent that the colonial administrative plan had actually influenced tribal boundaries. Meanwhile Akira Hoshi's* study of Zambia (1970) argued that there have been differences in patterns of participation among nationalistic political parties which seem to have been derived from the differences in tribal social structure. Hoshi pointed to cases where tribes with weak social ties attempted to strengthen these through political party participation and action.

2. Land Tenure System

The second cluster of issues had focused on the socioeconomic significance of sub-Saharan Africa's unique communal land tenure system and its influence on the agricultural and overall economic development of the region. This system has exerted its influence even on the cultural and psychological aspects

of society. The major regional differences in African land tenure systems seem to have originated from variations in colonial administrative practices. Because these differences have been inherited by the post-colonial independent states, a great deal of research has been done on the actual situation of colonial administration and its relationship to land tenure systems. Variations in the customary land tenure are also reflections of differing tribal social organizations, an aspect that has been studied by relying heavily on the available ethnographic studies produced by anthropologists. Policy decisions by national governments are bringing about great changes in land tenure systems, a situation in which the problem of inequality in landholding has become politicized. What this means is that our second cluster of issues is strongly related to clusters 1, 3, 4, 6, and 8.

Turning to the research done at the IDE on this problem, Hiroshi Akabane's work (1970) offered a pessimistic view of land reform. He reasoned that even if reforms were implemented, communal landholding institutions would not be easily destroyed if the tribal community itself remained unchanged. This pessimism was countered by Masao Yoshida* (1975) and others who argued that (1) the basic landholding unit in Africa is not the tribe, but smaller groups like the lineage or village, (2) due to a relative surplus of land, communal restrictions are fairly loose, and (3) since the tribal community has in fact experienced significant historical change, landholding institutions can by no means be viewed as fixed or static in nature. Later, Jun Ikeno* (1988) carried out a detailed survey of traditional land tenure systems among the Kamba in Kenya. He also studied landholding and lending relationships following the implementation of land reform measures. He criticized Akabane's thesis by pointing out that tribal communities have been undergoing rapid changes as exemplified by a combination of land resettlement, increased land purchasing and renting, and a widening inequality among the various agrarian social strata. From a slightly different angle, Yoshida (1973b) analyzed the state's policies on land tenure systems and demonstrated that in Tanzania not only the colonial regime but also the post-independence state implemented the land policy which actually tended to reinforce communal land tenure.

3. Peasant Production Structure within the Market Economy

The third cluster of issues has been concerned with Africa's agricultural production structure which is dominated by small-scale peasant family units. It has delved into the relationship of this structure to the market economy, particularly the penetration of the market into peasant family production.

While basically maintaining its traditional communal land tenure systems, Africa is also deeply tied to an agricultural commodity market economy. One explanation for this situation lies in the characteristics of colonial policies implemented in the region. Colonization in the form of plantations and European settlers was not widely found in Africa, and for the most part colonial governments did not significantly alter the African landholding institutions. They were more concerned with promoting agricultural export production among the peasantry in colonial areas through commercial means (Katsu Yanaihara 1967). The peasantry was urged by the pressures of the market economy to produce beyond the maintenance of an autonomous and subsistence level of food cultivation.

With the coming of the 1980s, there was a growth in interest at the IDE in such concerns as the technological aspect of peasant cultivation, the scale of landholding, income stratification, and the distribution of food for domestic and foreign consumption. This increased interest arose with the reconfirmation of the important role played by agriculture in the economies of Africa and global realization of the outbreak of famine on the continent.

Among the researchers who have sought to analyze the structure of African peasant production, Shin'ya Hosomi* (1978) focused on the relationship between the production of foodstuffs and cash crops (mainly for export), showing that cocoa growers in Ghana were also cultivating yams, cassava, and plantain bananas for subsistence and for sale on the local market. At the same time, Shūhei Shimada* (1978) discovered that there was specialization in Nigeria's cocoa belt between cocoa growers and cultivators of food crops, thus showing a production pattern different from that of Ghana.

Concerning the increased stratification among Africa's agrarian population, recent research has tended to support the phenomenon of peasants becoming more and more involved in non-agrarian occupations as the major cause for income disparity rather than any factors internal to the agrarian community. The works of Jun Ikeno* (1988, 1989) and Shirō Kodamaya* (1984) contain analyses of Kenyan agriculture and the role of part-time farmers. The results of their research show how upper strata part-time cultivators use the income they receive from such employment as wage laborers, civil servants, and teachers in the urban formal sector to invest in their farms, thus yielding more output and raising profits that go to purchasing more land. On the other hand, small-scale full-time farmers find it more difficult to obtain production inputs and raise their productivity. Eventually the poorer smallholders become part-time agrarian wage laborers working on someone else's land.

In the area of agricultural technology, Ichirō Inukai (1981) carried out a macroeconomic analysis of the use of such agricultural inputs as fertilizer

and insecticides in Kenya and Tanzania. Out of a large amount of research that had been done on the marketing of agricultural products by Masao Yoshida* (e.g., 1973a), his book (1984) was produced as a culmination of the researches which analyzed how governments intervened in the marketing structures during the colonial period in East Africa, and how such structures persisted during the post-independence period. Another area of his work was to ascertain the bearers of the marketing structures in the early colonial period, and produced a study (1976) on the activities and role of merchants and trading companies in Africa's agricultural marketing development.

The relationship between African states and their peasantry was dealt with in a joint project organized by the IDE to study the economic crisis in Africa, the results of which appeared in a volume edited by Masao Yoshida* (1987). This project concluded that while African peasants have indeed become caught up in the market economy, they remain independent of direct government control, indicating that in rural society, where the majority of the population still resides, people feel little apprehension about the macroeconomic crisis which the state has to deal with.

4. Urbanization and Migrant Laborers

The fourth cluster of issues revolves around the subject of migrant laborers who exist in an intermediate position between cultivators and the resident wage laborers. One question dealt with in this subject is the relationship of migrant laborers to the rural and urban sectors and the extent of their proletarianization. When we speak of labor migration we usually think of a shift of the labor force from the countryside to the city; however, a village-to-village migration pattern has also been identified. The main points occupying the researches of the scholars in this area have been the quantification of migrant laborers, migratory patterns, and the study of cases where government policy has aimed directly at transforming this stratum into the resident wage laborers.

In a comparison with the situation in Asia, Katsu Yanaihara (1982a) characterized rural-to-urban labor migration in Africa as "migration in the midst of land surplus." Yanaihara stressed the importance of economic factors among the reasons for motivating migration. He pointed out that the sudden influx of population from rural to urban Africa has resulted in the creation of two urban sectors: one formal, the other informal (Yanaihara 1982b). There has also been a good deal of research directed at explaining the causes of labor migration under institutional pressure from colonial governments. Migratory laborers in Africa's two most urbanized countries, Côte d'Ivoire

and Zambia, were analyzed by Takehiko Haraguchi* and Mitsuo Ogura. Haraguchi (1988) took up the Burkina Faso people, over a million of whom have migrated to Côte d'Ivoire. Haraguchi attributed such a large international migration of labor to the high economic growth, due in large part to growing exports of cocoa and coffee, that Côte d'Ivoire experienced since achieving independence in 1960. In his quantitative analysis of the relationship between urbanization and labor migration in Zambia, Ogura (1986) examined the creation of a squatter population in the process of urbanization and its accompanying food supply problems. Ogura (1988) then carried out an interview survey of urban residents and found that in general they maintained strong ties with the villages where they were born. Also, Masao Yoshida* (1990) took up the organized wage laborers as a subject of research and clarified changes in the relationship between organized laborers and the state labor policy in Tanzania, while Yoshio Muroi (1990) investigated the living conditions of workers in Nigeria's urban informal sector. Hiromitsu Nakamura* (1983) developed a method to classify urbanization in the countries of West Africa into types.

In addition to such issues, a new theme has been taken up as the problems appeared in the recent African phenomenon of "urbanization without development," i.e., the spread of the urban informal sector (Gen Ueda 1991). Also recently a fresh look at the wage policy has begun to be undertaken which assumed the urbanized and settled nature of the working class (Sakura Kojima 1990).

5. Industrialization and Providers of Capital

The fifth cluster of issues has analyzed the roles played by foreign and indigenous capital in Africa's industrialization process. For capital that flowed in from the West during colonial times to be regarded today as "foreign capital," we would first have to clarify its historical process and confirm who controls that capital at the present time. Another important problem needing to be examined is the degree to which indigenous capital has evolved and to what extent state capital and the "Africanization" of capital management have progressed since independence. One characteristic feature of the development of capitalism in Africa is the existence of capital not only from Western investors, but also from Indian and Pakistani entrepreneurs. Also state capital formation has progressed through the organization of public corporations (Kōji Hayashi* 1979a). Studying indigenous capital, on the other hand, is a complex task because we are dealing not only with the private capital of Africans, but also with that of merchants and settlers who immigrated

from other continents. A debate over the development of African capitalism, which includes all of these elements, has been carried out among the political science and economic history specialists in Europe and the United States, and has focused particularly on the case of Kenya. Recently a high degree of interest in research from an economic and social history standpoint has also been directed at Zimbabwe where capitalistic development has advanced more than it has in Kenya (Katsuhiko Kitagawa 1991). It is a well-known fact that in Zimbabwe since the colonial period there has been a phenomenal growth in European and American capital as well as the settler capital.

There are other elements that have to be added to this cluster of issues, however. They include corporate history or the history of the formation of enterprise groups, an analysis of informal sector enterprises, and such topics in the field of technology as technological transfer and appropriate technology.

Two-volume books, edited by Hideo Yamada (1975–76), examined the actual British and French foreign investment in Africa during the colonial period. Noteworthy here is the section written by Yasuo Gonjō (1975) containing a detailed analysis of the French investment. In 1979 Moto Saeki published a paper giving an indepth analysis of the huge European mining capital that controls the economies of southern Africa. Saeki's research, which centers on several large-scale mining concerns in the Republic of South Africa, showed that these enterprises continue to maintain strong mutual ties through cross investment and the exchange of personnel. Another piece of research on foreign capital in Africa has been done by Yoshio Muroi (1980) in a detailed analysis of the United Africa Company, which has become deeply involved in the economy of Nigeria, a country that has developed on the strength of its agricultural exports.

The problem of localization which is another aspect of industrialization in the post-independence states of Africa was analyzed by Takehiko Haraguchi* (1973), while Kōzō Furusawa (1985) took up one of the hotly debated issues in African industrialization, "appropriate technology." Furusawa focused on the textile industry in Tanzania in an investigation of technology selection. The subject of "intermediate technologies," which is an attempt to devise improved forms of traditional technology, was covered by Masao Yoshida* (1986). Jun Ikeno* (1990) offered an analysis reviewing the process of European capital formation in Africa in which he examined the role played by European-managed plantations in Kenya. In a similar vein, Shin'ichi Takeuchi* (1990) studied the European-controlled palm oil industry of the Belgian Congo.

6. Political and Economic Changes in Southern Africa

The sixth cluster of issues has endeavored to analyze the subjects of the political economy of racism, namely, the Republic of South Africa's policy of racial segregation, and liberation movements in southern Africa. The Republic of South Africa represents an exceptional case in sub-Saharan Africa in the extent it has gone in developing its industry. Industrialization there was realized in conjunction with an extremely complex system of racial segregation known as apartheid. The character of apartheid has been the subject of debate between scholars of the liberal tradition and those of the Marxian school, leading to arguments of whether the promotion of capitalism in South Africa would lead to the abolition of the apartheid system. In addition, the countries neighboring South Africa have begun to form a network of cooperation to build an economic structure that can fend off the RSA's attempts to turn them into economic dependencies. This process has been carefully monitored by researchers at the IDE.

Leading the researches that have been done at the IDE on this cluster of issues, Hideo Oda (1981) analyzed the political response of the National Party, the major promoter of apartheid, which was forced by international pressure to implement a detente policy and measures creating black homelands. The eventual failure of both policy moves made the great transformation inevitable, which took place in the National Party's apartheid policy during the 1980s. Oda (1984) also examined the changes in the international political stances concerning South Africa which greatly influenced the foreign policies of the countries neighboring South Africa. Concerning the nature of apartheid policy, Kōji Hayashi* (1982), in an article examining the debate in the United Kingdom during the 1970s, endeavored to show how a series of economic measures to secure a sufficient supply of African labor for South Africa's industries affected the strength of apartheid.

The recent abolition of the apartheid laws in South Africa has been quickened by the pace of developments in the democratization movements in the whole southern African region. This fact has not only made the internal struggle that the RSA has experienced an important research topic, but also made it important to study movements in the former Portuguese territories of Angola and Mozambique, as well as in Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and Namibia. Undoubtedly independence struggle in these countries contributed greatly to the abolition of apartheid.

In the 1990s, the Republic of South Africa has abolished series of its apartheid laws, but this does not mean that problems of discrimination have

suddenly been eliminated. Therefore there has been a good deal of interest given over to themes concerned with democratization process such as issues of how policies to correct extreme economic differences between races are to be implemented, and social issues of finding policies to overcome ethnic confrontation (Kōji Hayashi* 1993; Kazuyoshi Aoki 1993). Problems of economic and political change in southern Africa will continue to be major subjects of research.

7. Economic Integration and Interregional Cooperation

The seventh cluster of issues has focused on the movements to promote economic integration among the countries of Africa for the purpose of realizing economy of scale and regional self-reliance. These movements have been ongoing since the time of national independence, and research on them need to take into consideration both the ideals of these movements and the actual function of economic integration as practiced today. The ideals of economic integration have their basis in the concept of “pan-Africanism” which exerted great influence on the formation of African nationalism and which has always been one of the goals of economic integration movements. However, since these movements have lately tended to stress economic rather than political goals, this cluster has become closely related to the previous issues dealing with industrialization. In order to develop modern, large-scale industry in Africa, it has become necessary for a number of countries to unite and form a single market area for the purpose of enjoying economies of scale, since each country alone is insufficient in size in terms of both population and personal income. One example of such a move is the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which was formed by the countries bordering the Republic of South Africa in order to resist the RSA’s attempts to control their economies. Similar regional groupings, some of which overlap, exist throughout Africa. The study of the actual organization of these regional associations is becoming a field of research in itself. Moreover, the European Union has concluded agreements with the African, Caribbean, and Pacific (ACP) countries and has through the Lomé Convention granted them certain commercial privileges, and provided for economic aid to be shared among the member countries. The work of evaluating the institutions and operations of such communities is one of the important efforts in the study of this cluster of issues.

During the 1980s the IDE undertook a project to study the problem of African regional integration in relation with the economic integration of Western Europe. The volume edited by Kōji Hayashi* (1988) contains part

of the results from this project. In this volume, Katsuya Mochizuki* (1988) analyzed large gaps between the planned schedule of integration in one such economic community (Economic Community of West African States: ECOWAS) and its actual implementation, which is a problem common to all these regional associations.

8. *Political Systems*

The eighth and final cluster of issues has dealt with the various political systems that exist in Africa and thus overlaps somewhat with cluster one which dealt with the importance of “tribe.” However, the cluster eight has focused on the character and the policies of “the state,” and analyzed how its citizens are politically integrated and what political forces dominate it. It has often been remarked that the sub-Saharan countries are “states with no citizens.” Historically speaking, the building of a country that was to be granted one vote in the United Nations as a “nation-state” was a very big task for independent Africa. In this connection, Kenneth Kaunda, former president of Zambia, aptly said that the task of a newly independent African state was to create a nation out of an unseemly product left over by the colonial regime. One common characteristic of African countries was that they all had to create nation-states rather in a hurried manner. Here one-party systems have reigned supreme and a number of countries aimed at establishing socialist regimes. The latter stressed an ideology called “African socialism,” which has been described as indigenous in character. The former has often been carried out by military dictatorships following the many coup d’etats that have occurred in the region since the late 1960s (Kazuaki Inoue 1982).

Despite the various nuances in the idea of “African socialism,” one common character of such an ideology is a revival of traditional African values within contemporary life. In Tanzania the Swahili term used for socialism, *ujamaa*, means family, signifying the strong traditional tone of socialist ideas there. The realization of *ujamaa* was thought to lie in the concentrated effort to establish clustered settlements out of traditionally scattered residential units and the creation of communal farms. The issue of these “*ujamaa* villages,” which has given rise to a lively debate within Tanzania, has been summarized and analyzed by Masao Yoshida* (1982). He described the *ujamaa* village program as a movement planned by Tanzania’s political leaders to mobilize the majority of the country’s peasants into organizing local-level administrative units for the purpose of rural economic development. Later, during the latter half of the 1980s, while the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund were strengthening their crisis management systems for

Africa, a lot of research interest was drawn to the “nature of the state” and “the relationship between the state and society.” One example was the volume edited by Kōji Hayashi* (1989) which focused on the relations between the state and rural society in the countries of Africa.

The scholars who took up the study of this cluster of issues on political systems in Africa previously approached the topics from: (1) the internal demands imposed on post-independence political leaders faced with the need to achieve national integration and carry out government-guided economic development, and (2) the international aspect of the whole region’s tendency toward non-alignment during the period of the cold war. However, thirty years have now passed since most African countries gained independence, and the cold war has ended. There has now arisen in Africa today a widespread movement demanding change in the system of politics, and along with this movement the problems that interest researchers have also changed. The one-party system has been abolished in many countries, and they have moved to multi-party systems. A number of countries have carried out democratic general elections and dictatorship has been dismantled. These political processes have now become the interests of research.

In dealing with these issues of political process, many researchers in recent analysis emphasized that there is a uniquely African structure in the relationship between the state and the ruling class, and between the state and society (Shirō Kodamaya* 1989, 1993; Shin’ichi Takeuchi* 1991; Miwa Tsuda* 1991; Takehiko Haraguchi* 1993; Masao Yoshida* 1989, 1993).

In the above discussion, we have tried to summarize from the research done to date on Africa at the IDE eight different focuses of interest, which we have called clusters of issues, and discussed some of the problems and research topics that have developed within them. It is also believed that these eight clusters will continue to be effective in presenting to area specialists the important issues and problems affecting the region. We should mention, however, that there are other issues that were not included in these eight clusters and may form, like the question of education in Africa, additional clusters of their own (cf. Yasuko Tanno* 1990).

Coexistence of Different Modes of Production

In present-day Africa, indigenous “subsistence activities” continue to regulate people’s lives and remain the socioeconomic foundation for African societies. Usually the adjective “traditional” is used when discussing these subsistence activities, and the analysis of the present state of these activities and the

process of their transformation have become the research subject for the previously-mentioned micro-level themes. The most important of these subsistence activities is agricultural production carried on by small-scale peasant families. The basis of these agricultural production rests on the communal land tenure system, and for this reason problems connected with land tenure are fundamental to any analysis of the social conditions related to subsistence activities in Africa. When studying this micro-level theme, researchers must observe and analyze from as close a range as possible the sorts of changes these traditional indigenous subsistence activities are undergoing as they are engulfed by the political changes sweeping over Africa and by the advance of the market economy brought about by the penetration of capitalism.

There are also macro-level research themes. The relationship between macro-level themes and micro-level "subsistence activities" is that the subjects of study for the former focus on the degree that the exogenous capitalistic economy has penetrated into Africa and what the conditions of this economy are, and examine the kinds of political systems under which the capitalist economy is functioning and how it is coming to subsume the subsistence activities. This exogenous capitalistic economy has now taken the form of structural adjustment policy, especially since the latter half of the 1980s. Under the guidance of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and continues to exert an intense force working to internalize capitalism into Africa (Takehiko Haraguchi* 1995; Akira Satō* 1995; Tsutomu Takane* 1995).

Seen in this way, it is evident that macro-level themes have to be placed within the ongoing developments of international relations while at the same time they have to be analyzed in relationship with traditional "subsistence activities." This means that the penetration of capitalism often come to operate against the communities of people involved in subsistence activities; these people react against its effects, and the result is contention and antagonism between the two, necessitating a dynamic analysis of the two forces. It needs to be pointed out, however, that oftentimes there is a nondisruptive relationship of compromise and coexistence between the capitalist mode of production and that of subsistence activities, and through this coexistence political discord can be avoided and capitalists find it possible to pursue a degree of profit.

This coexistence of multiple modes of production is the outstanding feature of present-day Africa. There is a difference of opinion among scholars on whether to call this a dual economic structure or an articulation of modes of production, but pertinent to both cases is that the "point of contact" between both sectors in the dual-economic-structure argument, or the "state of

conversion” in the modes-of-production argument, is in an extremely fluid condition in Africa today. It cannot be said that the expansion of one mode proceeds unabated with the contraction of the other; rather there is a swinging and shifting in both directions as conditions pass from one occasion to another.

At research organizations in Japan other than the IDE, the majority of the researchers on Africa are made up of cultural anthropologists, and for this reason there has been a large amount of research done on micro-level themes. In contrast to this, the notable feature of the IDE’s research on Africa has been its pursuit of research on macro-level themes as well. This research has not been limited to economic affairs but has also encompassed political and social matters, and these research efforts have been continuing for more than thirty years. However, it is not that the IDE is less serious about micro-level analysis on Africa. There is no doubt that Africa is endowed with various unique features that can best be grasped when viewed at a micro level, and there has been a considerable amount of research done at the IDE on micro-level themes as we have seen. The noteworthy feature of micro-level theme research at the IDE is that it is normally pursued in relationship to its connection with broader analyses of macro issues. It is unfortunate, however, that the research and academic dialogue with cultural anthropologists that took place at the beginning of the African studies at the IDE has declined with the passage of time. The IDE needs to have more research exchange in the future with outside scholars specializing in such fields as religion, culture, and social behavior, if it were to strengthen its pursuit of multifaceted, macro- and micro-level research on African societies.

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