

Sugimura, Kazuhiko, Mr, Acad, Anthropology, Japan: *Community and Consumption – Individual and Collective in Africa* [P4]

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1. Introduction

An argument about an individual and a collective is always in one narrow path. There is the society where an individual establishes it, and freedom of a personal person is strongly insisted on for the whole. On the other hand, there is a society emphasizing total scrum even if I suppress this freedom more or less if solidarity of a group is important.

Somewhere of the tug of war, I confirm a position of self whether I put an important point in a group or to an individual and form one's stance for a social ideal method. If I declare personal freedom loudly and will take virtue of a group and a community, words critical immediately return when it is against modern mind.

However, a connection of saying modernity and personal establishment is not so an axiom. The society which had awfully strong gregariousness runs at the tip of modern times if I leave one step Europe society.

One of the things which world people paid attention to as such society will relate to relations between Japanese social system and modernity. During these around 50 years, what it has been told will be the follows in Japan which ran through high growth. It is not for the thing which supported Japanese economic growth to say establishment of modern times of Europe. Rather it means that it is Japanese tradition, the mind of Japanese family (Ie), Jananese Village (mura) that supported it. In other words there is an evaluation that it is Japanese groupism that supported the modernization to be outstanding in the world. In the spot of Japanese factory, the mind became one driving force to maximize physical production.

However, on the other hand, the society is not suitable in modernity if it is groupism. In a thick support of a collective, there is the society which they go astray, and can't seem to become independent in a reason. Africa where it has been used to call it to say "economy of affection" seemed to push a group for an individual comparing with Western World.

It was said that the modernization is blocked because of strength of the collective. It is not "a group" or "a personal" thing that is important if I look in this way. Rather it will be an important problem whether it is the relations of "a group" who had what kind of quality and the relations of "the individual" that had any kind of quality and what kind of places it is related again in.

By this report, I examine an ideal method of the place where an individual and a collective is related to there by the examples of Japan and Africa, Europe, Southeastern Asian. On that occasion, as the object, I examine mainly an ideal method on the relation between a personal and a community of a rural village as each social model. I reexamine an ideal method of an individual and a group in Africa in particular, from a viewpoint such as "community of consumption" in that.

2. Universality and Particularity in the Moral Economy of Peasantry

Despite the efforts made by local governments and aid agencies, as well as vibrant economic activities of individual entrepreneurs, serious economic stagnation has marked most African countries for decades. Regional disparities within The Third World are much larger today, compared with the time when Goran Hyden's influencing books *Beyond Ujamaa in Tanzania* (1980) and *No Shortcuts to Progress* (1983) were published (for the debate on Hyden's arguments, see Kasfir 1986, Cliffe 1987, Williams 1987, Hyden 1986,1987). The economic stagnation of African peasants provides a striking contrast with the situations of peasants in Southeast Asia (Hyden 1980, 1983). This may be connected to socio-economic and cultural systems unique to Africa, which appear in various domains of people's lives; in rural communities, urban communities, religious communities, and even in the governance of individual states. This paper presents an examination on the moral economy in African rural communities, with a special reference to Hyden's concept of "economy of affection" (Hyden 1980, 1983). I would like to delve into this notion, by using empirical data from anthropological studies, including my own. At the same time, some theoretical frameworks will be presented, to make cross-cultural comparisons and then to bring out the uniqueness of the African moral economy.

Involvement in the capitalist world does not immediately change a peasant into a *homo economicus* who seeks for the maximum profit through market transactions. It has been argued by a number of scholars that the peasant mode of livelihood is generally marked by its subsistence-oriented nature, in contrast to the profit-minded modern Western farmers. A. V. Chayanov (1976), for example, asserted that peasant families in pre-Revolutionary Russia did not utilize their labor fully, if the needs for family subsistence were met. In other words, exposure to the market economy does not necessarily cause an immediate change in the peasant mode of Production, in which family reproduction is given priority over profit maximization. Such a universal peasant image seems to be the starting-point of Hyden's argument. At the same time, he also acknowledged that the economy of African peasantry has its own uniqueness, which may be broadly defined as socio-economic networks based on reciprocal relationships that he called as "economy of affection" (Hyden 1980, 1983). By focusing on this peculiar type of economy, Hyden shed a new light on the relative autonomy of African peasants' economy from state and capitalism, while he also viewed it as the central cause of underdevelopment of the continent.

However, as Williams (1987) has pointed out, the "economy of affection" itself is not unique to Africa, and does not necessarily become an obstacle to economic development either. For instance, it is widely known that Japan's traditional *ie* system (*ie*, literally "household" or "family", is the elementary social unit in Japan¹) is also an important principle in forming any types of social organizations, ranging from peasant families to, most notably, modern corporate giants. A number of scholars have emphasized structural and ideological similarities between the *ie* and modern Japanese companies, regarding the latter as an extension of the former in two important respects.

First, the employment pattern unique to modern Japanese companies is closely related to the traditional way of managing *ie*. Second, social roles once played by *ie* in pre-modern Japan are now played by private companies. Big companies like Toyota, Matsushita and Sony are established on the basis of the *ie* model (Kuwayama 2001:13). For example, in his widely read book "Made in Japan", the late Akio Morita, a co-founder of Sony, remarked as follows in a chapter titled "On Management. It's All in the Family" (Morita 1988): "The most important mission for a Japanese manager is to develop a healthy relationship with his employees, to create a family like feeling within the corporation, a feeling that employees and managers share the same fate" (p.130). "There has to be mutual respect and a sense that the company is the property of the employees and not of a few top people. But those people at the top of the company have a responsibility to lead that family faithfully and to be concerned about the members. We have a policy that wherever we are in the world we deal with our employees as members of the Sony family, as valued colleagues" (p.143).

Such a family like management-labor relationship unique to modern Japanese companies has been studied by comparisons with the traditional *ie* management, and this approach has proved to be useful particularly for the analysis of companies established on kin-based networks called "*dozoku*". *Dozoku* is ordinarily understood as a federation of *ies* based on a hierarchical relationship between a single *honke* (the main *ie*) and its *bunke* (the branch *ies*). This hierarchical *dozoku* relationship is widely observed in present-day Japanese society. For instance, the *iemoto* system² in the world of Japanese traditional arts and the system of land inheritance in rural Japan are still based on this relationship. It is generally considered that the emergence of *dozoku* was deeply related to the establishment of feudalism in Japan. What is important here, however, is not to define the historical root of *dozoku*, but to provide a broader perspective on the process of how the *ie* principle has survived to the present, in spite that Japanese society has undergone a number of dynamic transformations economically and politically.

In this context, as Kuwayama (2001) has noted, the most ambitious attempt ever made is a work titled *Bunmei to shite no Ie Shakai (Ie Society as a pattern of Civilization)* written by Yasusuke Murakami, Shunpei Kumon and Seizaburo Sato (1979)³. In this book, the authors concluded that the principle of the traditional *ie* system

¹ The Japanese word "*ie*" means not an independent, closed household but a certain kind of extended family. In this respect, Japanese *ie* overlaps with the dominant type of family in rural Africa.

² *Iemoto* means the head family of a school of Japanese traditional arts such as *ikebana* (flower arrangement) and *noh* (a kind of traditional dancing). The *iemoto* system is a system of succeeding the headship of such schools.

³ This book was summarized in English by Murakami under the title "*Ie Society as a Pattern of Civilization*" (Murakami 1984).

was highly relevant to Japan's rapid industrialization. Murakami, one of the authors, summarized the characteristics of the *ie* principle in four points: (1)"kin-tract "ship; (2) stem linearity; (3) functional hierarchy; and (4) near-independence or autonomy (Murakami 1984).

"Kin-tract", a word coined from "kinship" and "contract" by Francis Hsu (1975), refers to "the fact that the criteria for recruitment to the *iemoto* are more flexible than to the kinship group but that once the relationship is entered into it becomes as binding as in kinship"(Hsu 1975:237). As Kwayama pointed out, "Stem linearity" refers to the principle of the "stem succession line," which guarantees the subsistence of *ie* members and their descendants.

In addition, the adoption system unique to Japanese society can be pointed out as another important factor in securing the stable continuance of *ie* organizations. In Japan, while the headship of *ie*, together with its property, is normally succeeded from father to his eldest son according to the rule of primogeniture, various substitutive measures have been also developed. Adoption is one of such measures. Adoption can be practiced not only by *ie* without a biological son, but also by *ie* with a biological son. Japanese merchants' families, for example, have a tradition of regarding their employees as family members and accepting the most able male employee for adoption. Because of such a flexible adoption system along with the rule of primogeniture, Japanese traditional *ie* has succeeded in keeping its property from breaking into small pieces. This is clearly contrasted to the situations in most African societies, where equal dividing of family property among sons is the dominant rule of inheritance. I view the *ie* principle outlined above as the fountainhead of the moral economy or the "economy of affection" in Japan. It is this Japanese form of moral economy that has been supporting Japan's rapid economic development, by enabling Japanese companies to succeed their capital from generation to generation.

"Functional hierarchy" leads to the "vertical organization" of the *ie*, as Nakane pointed out. The hierarchy of the society tends to support the efficiency of the communication from the top to the bottom like the military system. But unlike "status hierarchy" in the Indian caste system, it fosters solidarity and homogeneity within the group(kwayama). Finally, "near-independence or autonomy" refers to the fact that some *ie* organizations possessed the material basis for self-sufficiency (e.g. *Tokugawa daimyo*⁴)from the historical point of view and the society as a whole tended to be decentalized(Murakami) Therefore they were able to function as autonomous groups within certain limits.

The moral economy of Africa has obstructed the development of capitalism, while the moral economy of Japan has taken the lead in promoting it. This suggests that there is some crucial difference in the form of moral economy between the two regions. It is necessary, therefore, to examine carefully what the cultural particularity of the African peasant economy is and how it is functioning in daily life⁵. My discussion which follows is centered on two comparisons: (1) inter-regional comparisons between Africa and Asia; (2) intra-regional comparisons within Africa.

Inter-regional comparisons between Asia and Africa are necessary, since the economic gap between the two regions is rapidly widening today. It is especially useful to contrast Africa with Southeast Asia, for the latter recently shows robust economic growth in spite that in the 1960s the two regions were considered to have the

⁴ *Tokugawa daimyo* means large-scale feudal lords (*daimyo*) during the era of *Tokugawa* regime (1603-1867).

⁵ Clifford Geertz(1973) viewed culture as an ordered system of meaning and of symbols which, lying behind social structure, directed society's members to behave in the same pattern. He defined it as "a certain distinctive set of dispositions (tendencies, capacities, propensities, skills, habits, liabilities, pronenesses) which lend a chronic character to the flow of his activity and the quality of his experience"(Geertz1973:95). Thus culture defined by Geertz can be regarded as a certain source from which new institutions will be generated.

Pierre Bourdieu(1977) also turned his attention to "practices" (habitual behavior) of human beings, especially to their constitutive character. He then tried to capture the process of how "practices" were produced in a given society or class or group, by using his own concept of "habitus", instead of using the more ambiguous concept of "culture". "Habitus" was defined by Bourdieu as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures"(Bourdieu 1977:72).

The concept of *ie* as the basic principle of Japanese social organizations appears to have theoretical similarities with Bourdieu's concept of "habitus", as well as with Hyden's concept of "economy of affection". What is required for us here, therefore, is to make clear the reasons why the "economy of affection" of Africa has been consistently unfitted for the logic of the modern industrialized world, while the *ie* principle of Japan has been well fitted for it, from the premise that these two concepts include similar approaches to practices (habitual behavior) of human beings.

common fate as the Third World. In order to figure out the reasons for this gap, it seems useful for us to refer to J.F. Embree's grouping of societies into two types: loosely structured societies and tightly structured societies. Embree, a cultural anthropologist famous for his study on a Japanese peasant society, described that rural communities in Southeast Asia appeared very loosely structured in contrast to Japanese tightly structured communities (Embree 1969; see also 1939 for his study on a Japanese village society).

The difference between "tight" societies and "loose" societies probably arises from the mobility of a given society. In densely populated areas like Japan, ownership of farmland within the territory of a community is viewed as a necessary condition for obtaining community membership. As a result, these areas have developed closed communities, in which community membership is fixed in the long term. Particularly in rural Japan, there are a lot of irrigation and communal land owned and managed not by individual households but by communities as a whole. In communities of this type, every important matter is normally decided at the community level.

On the contrary, scarcely populated areas like Africa and pre-modern Southeast Asia have developed agriculture with a high mobility such as shifting cultivation. Such areas have developed relatively open communities based on flexible personal networks, in which community membership is not fixed but temporal and fluid. In contrast to Japanese society, a typical "tight" society, where rigid institutions such as *ie* or *mura* (literally, a village community) based on fixed social relations have developed, Southeast Asian societies, including relatively densely populated Java, have not developed a landlord system to a remarkable degree. In this respect, Southeast Asia and Africa seem common in their loose relationship between man and land.

A number of scholars once argued that economic development of each Asian country greatly depended on its social structure ("loose" or "tight"), and they expected that, while Japan would develop due to its tight social structure, Southeast Asian countries would not develop due to their loose social structures. Contrary to this expectation, however, many countries in Southeast Asia have been experiencing rapid industrialization. Judged by their social structures, most African societies can be categorized into loosely structured societies as those in Southeast Asia. Yet, industrialization in Africa still remains at a very primordial stage. From where does this striking contrast between the two regions arise?

For answering this question, intra-regional comparisons within Africa are needed, since rural residents in Africa have many variations in their modes of production, including hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, and peasants. Although the last forms the bulk of the population, their system of living, in many cases, contains elements of pastoralists or hunter-gatherers to some extent.

It is this diversity and multiplicity of livelihoods that make African peasant societies very unique. Yet this does not mean that, in African peasant societies, agriculture is the primary mode of production and other modes like hunter-gathering or pastoralism are substitutive, just added to agriculture. Instead, as Kakeya (1998) has pointed out, the peasant mode of production in Africa is marked by its strong tendency to avoid specialization of their production in agriculture, by using nature in various ways. Thus, when dealing with today's economic stagnation in rural Africa, we must view it, not as the stagnation of agriculture itself, but as that of peasants' total livelihood including agriculture as its part. In order to figure out the common "African" characteristics across different life styles, it is important to take this diversity and multiplicity of livelihood into account.

3. The "Economy of Affection" and Its Contemporary Development

(1) The "Economy of Affection" in Economic Anthropological Perspective

As Hyden has emphasized in his argument on the "economy of affection", the main difficulty in dealing with peasant problems in Africa lies in the fact that the customary economic behavior of African peasants is very unique and thus difficult to understand within the framework of conventional development economics. The uniqueness of African peasants was pointed out also in economic anthropological studies carried out during the 1960s. Those previous studies, including Hyden's works, have designated the following two points as the most distinguished characteristics of African peasants: (1) African peasants have a strong tendency to "share" things with each other; (2) kinship rather than land provides the primary basis of their economies, meaning that for African peasants, marriage is one of the best opportunities to extend their social networks and thus to expand the scale of their economies. The following part of this section will focus on these distinguished characteristics of African peasants.

(2) *The Economy of Sharing*

First, it has been widely argued that African peasants are unique in that they have a strong tendency to “share” things with each other. Here, let us take up Kumu society in DR Congo (formerly known as Zaire) where I conducted intensive fieldwork, as an example of the African peasant societies in which the “economy of sharing” is predominant. The Kumu are an agrarian people who inhabit the deep tropical rain forest of eastern DR Congo. They live mainly by slash-and-burn farming and, as I will note below, their mode of living appears very traditional.

Even today, the Kumu enjoy a great degree of equality in food consumption, by retaining their traditional custom of group eating in which twice-a-day meals are eaten in small groups made up of five to ten households. In their society, since food is considered the kind of thing that should be equally shared among people, the rich are under strong moral obligation to share their food with the poor. This kind of food sharing, namely, one-way food giving from the rich to the poor, may be considered a form of what is called “pure gift-giving”.

Sahlins has termed this type of reciprocity “generalized reciprocity”, contrasting it with what he calls “balanced reciprocity”, in which it is imperative for the receiver of goods or services to return to the giver equivalent goods or services within a very narrow period. In short, “balanced reciprocity” is the principle of “give and take”, a basic axiom of the modern world. In addition, at the opposite end of the spectrum from “generalized reciprocity”, Sahlins has placed “negative reciprocity”, in which each one tries to maximize his/her own profits at the expense of others.

Many previous studies have so far stressed that hunter-gatherer societies in Africa are “egalitarian” societies or, to borrow a term from Sahlins, societies where “generalized reciprocity” is the predominant norm. However, recent anthropological studies have revealed that the predominance of “generalized reciprocity” is a marked feature of not only hunter-gatherer but also peasant and pastoralist societies in Africa. In this respect, peasant societies in Africa present a clear contrast to peasant societies in Southeast Asia, in which Scott has discovered the predominance of “balanced reciprocity” over “generalized reciprocity”. Moreover, it should be noted that there is another significant difference between African and Southeast Asian peasant societies: in the former societies, as is clear in the case of Kumu society where the traditional custom of communal eating is well preserved, the norm of reciprocity operates most strongly in the domains of “consumption” and “reproduction”, whereas in the latter societies it operates most strongly in the domain of “production”.

(3) *Reproduction of Human Beings: the Viewpoint of Marxist Economic Anthropology*

Another distinguished feature of African peasants is that not land but kinship provides the primary basis of their economy. For African peasants, therefore, marriage is one of the best opportunities to extend their social networks and thus to expand the scale of their economies. In this connection, it may be worth noting how greatly valued goats are in Kumu society in spite of their smallness in body size. Even among the Kumu who live egalitarian lives based on the economy of sharing, there surely exist two distinctive categories of people, namely, the rich and the poor. Then, when I asked Kumu peasants what kinds of persons they regarded as rich and what kinds of persons they regarded as poor, most of them replied that whether having or not having goats was one of their important criteria for distinguishing between the rich and the poor. Indeed, goats are extremely highly valued by the Kumu as bridewealth, although they play almost no role in the peasants' production activities.

Numerous studies have pointed out that it is common for pastoral peoples in savannah Africa to view large-sized domestic animals, like cattle, as “social wealth” to be spent for the purpose of human and social reproduction. The same is also true for agrarian peoples in the tropical rain forests of Africa, including the Kumu, who do not raise cattle and keep only small-sized animals such as goats and sheep. In these agrarian societies, these small-sized animals play the same role as that played by large-sized animals in pastoralist societies: they are highly valued as “social wealth” and thus widely used as bridewealth. In sum, peasant societies and pastoralist societies in Africa are common in that they attach much value to livestock. In other words, there exists cultural continuity between the two types of society.

As argued above, African peasants primarily pursue better human relations rather than a better material life. In other words, their primary aim is not to increase “material wealth”, but to increase “social wealth”. The world of

African peasants is a world in which reproduction of human beings, not production of material goods, is the first priority and in which, as economic anthropological studies have emphasized, "human-human" relations take precedence over "human-land" relations.

(4) The "Economy of Affection" and the "Community of Consumption"

The organizing principle of African peasant economy, which Hyden has referred to as "the economy of affection", greatly differs from that of peasant economy in other regions. Here let us examine the difference between the organizing principle of Kumu peasant economy and that of Japanese peasant economy. In Japanese peasant communities where land is a scarce resource and membership in a community is very restrictive, social organization is based primarily on land ownership. By contrast, in Kumu peasant communities where the main livelihood is slash-and-burn agriculture, the relationship between social organization and land ownership is very weak. In Kumu society, what guarantees a peasant full membership in a community, including the right to use land, is some close "human-human" relationship, such as the "eating together" relationship, that he/she maintains with other members of the community.

While peasant communities in Japan may be called "communities of production" or, more specifically, "communities of rice production", peasant communities in Africa, by contrast, may be called "communities of consumption", where a sense of communality is formed among people through consumption activities rather than production activities. In the world of African peasants, the level of a person's wealth greatly depends on the range and strength of the "eating together" network he/she has built. It is for this reason that African peasants spend much of their time visiting friends

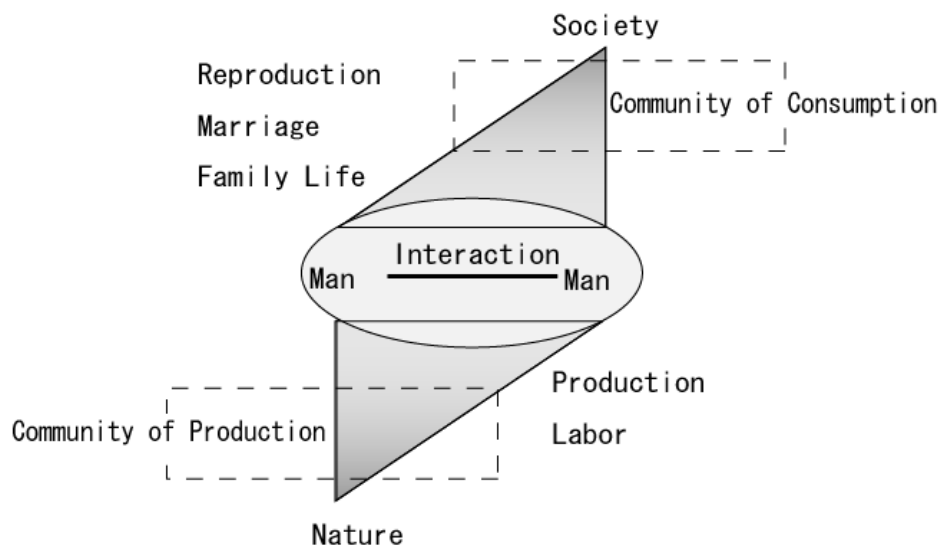


Fig.1 Human Life and Community of Consumption

and relatives and cultivating an "eating together" relationship with them. There, the act of "eating together" plays a central role in connecting people and producing a strong sense of communality among them. This unique character of communality among African peasants can be seen in Figure 1 below, which illustrates the mode of interaction between nature and human and society.

As shown in this figure, some part of the "human-human" interaction takes place in the domain of "labor-production". For example, communal labor for the maintenance of irrigation facilities, which is widely practiced in traditional Japanese villages, often produces among the workers a close "human-human" relationship based on mutual trust, and this intimate "human-human" relationship in turn often raises the work efficiency of the workers. This is the reason why office workers in modern companies are also required to establish such a close "human-human" relationship among them.

However, another part of the "human-human" interaction takes place in the domain of "consumption-reproduction", as shown in. This part of the "human-human" interaction includes various kinds of human activities aimed at maintaining the family as the basic unit of human reproduction and maintaining the community as the basic unit of social reproduction. Humans visit each other, eat together, and exchange gifts. They interact with each other in order to confirm and strengthen mutual trust between them, which is indispensable for the stable reproduction of family and community. One aspect of the uniqueness of African peasants is that they have invented institutionalized (and often large-scale) systems of "human-human" interaction, not within the domain of "labor-production"(or "material wealth"), but within the domain of "consumption-reproduction"(or "social wealth"). Their marriage systems using livestock as bridewealth can be seen as one of such inventions. And what must be remembered is that any "human-human" interaction taking place in African peasant communities is deeply affected by the norm of "generalized reciprocity" which requires, for example, that food be equally shared among people.

Due to the persistence of the "economy of affection", the basic character of African peasant communities as "communities of consumption" remains unchanged even after they have become deeply involved in the money economy. The "economy of affection" now requires the rich to give cash assistance to anyone who is faced with a financial "hardship", such as being unable to pay the cost of organizing ceremonies or of receiving medical treatment. In this respect, we may say that the "economy of affection" still effectively functions in rural Africa as the basis of "human security" at the community level.

3. African Peasants and their Distance to Modernity

(1) The Unique Position of African Peasants in the History of Civilization

There is a wide gap between the paradigm of modernity that dominates the study of African peasants as well and the realities of African peasants. However, in the study of African peasants, there is also a growing trend towards bridging the gap. In this section, in line with this trend, I will examine the uniqueness of African peasants from the standpoint of the history of human civilization.

Traditionally, the problem of underdevelopment in rural Africa has been understood in the context of the dichotomy between "tradition" and "modernity". In other words, the problem has been attributed to the backwardness of the Third World as a whole, rather than to the uniqueness of Africa; it has been regarded as a matter of differences in the stages of economic development.

Recently, however, the unsuccessful results of the past 30 years of development efforts in Africa have made us realize that the dichotomy between "tradition" and "modernity" is not useful for understanding the problem of underdevelopment in Africa. We are now required to recognize that there exist many qualitatively different "traditions" and that they are related to "modernity" in each different way (see Figure 2).

As to the historical uniqueness of African peasants, Hyden himself has stated as follows: "Economic history is largely the story of how to capture the peasants. Nowhere in the world have other social classes risen to power without making the many small and independent rural producers subordinate to their demands. The road to modern society has been completed at the expense of the peasantry. The many small have been forced to give in and give way to the few large. In the industrialized world, as Barrington Moor shows, the history of the peasantry is already a closed chapter. Although there are remnants of peasant society, for example, in Poland, as a social class the peasantry is virtually extinct in Europe and North America. In Asia and Latin America peasants still form a sizable percentage of the total population, but their freedom has been effectively curtailed by other social classes. With anything between one-third and a half of the population in these countries being landless or almost landless, peasants are truly "marginalized" and "proletarianized". They are at the mercy of other social classes. The latter determine the conditions under which the peasants must live and work. ...Africa is the only continent where the peasants have not yet captured by other social classes. By being owners of their own means of production, the many smallholder peasants in Africa have enjoyed a degree of independence from other social classes large enough to make them influence the course of events on the continent (Hyden 1980: 9)".

Ueyama (1966) also clearly points out the historical uniqueness of African peasants in his theory of the three stages of human history. He divides the whole history of humanity into three stages: (1) the first stage covers the

pre-civilization period before BC 4000, when the four great ancient civilizations of the world (Mesopotamian, Indus, Chinese, and Egyptian) came into being; (2) the second stage covers the period between the birth of the great civilizations and the start of the Industrial Revolution; (3) the third stage covers the post-Industrial Revolution period.

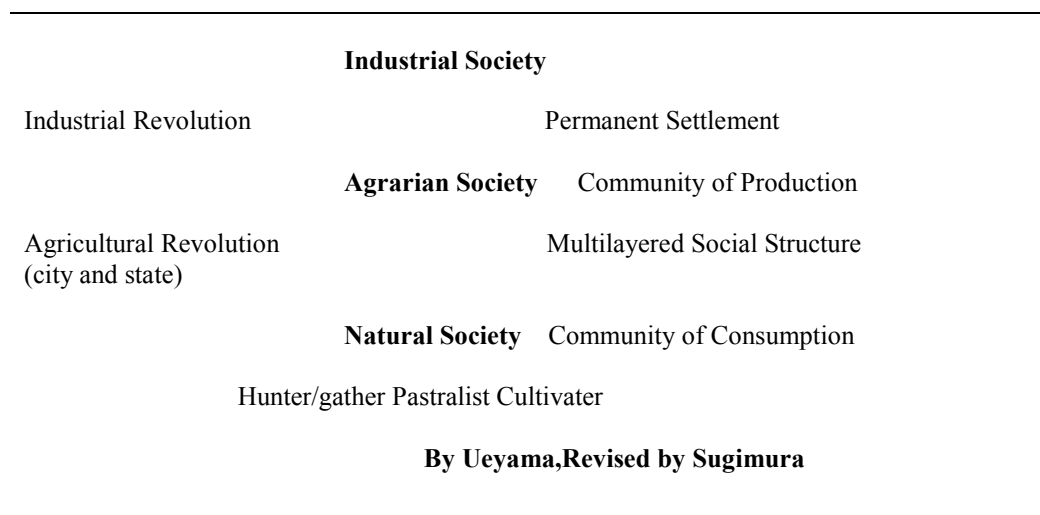


Fig.2 Development Stage of Social Organization

According to Ueyama, the pre-civilization world is characterized by the absence of stratified societies. He refers to non-stratified societies staying at the first stage of human history as “natural societies”. As shown in Figure 2, the category of “natural society” includes the societies of hunter-gatherers, pastoralists, and agriculturalists. Then, the post-civilization period started with the emergence of stratified societies. In contrast to non-stratified societies that are fluid and based on blood relationships, stratified societies are characterized by a multilayered social structure (family-local community-state) and permanent settlement. Generally, agrarian societies emerging after the "Agricultural Revolution" have two characteristics: as "settled societies", they have some mechanism of wealth accumulation; as "stratified societies", they have a strong orientation towards state formation. However, most of the societies of slash-and-burn cultivators in Africa lack these characteristics; they bear many characteristics of "non-settled" and "non-stratified" society.

The paradigm of modernity in which modern agricultural sciences are embedded is not rooted in traditional societies in general, but it is rooted in stratified state societies. Of course, "communities of production" are diverse in nature, depending on their geographical and historical backgrounds. But today, when the Modern World System has spread to every corner of the world while subsuming local systems, most societies of the "communities of production" type have already "taken off", although retaining their respective particularities in some degree. On the other hand, most societies of the "communities of consumption" type, especially African peasant societies, remains saved from being totally subsumed into the Modern World System, because of their "economy of sharing" and highly subsistence-oriented agriculture.

(2) Endogenous Development and Value Norms for Development

Originally, Hyden used the concept of "economy of affection" to demonstrate how obstructive the customary behavior of African peasants are to the development of Africa. It may be said that his initial argument on the "economy of affection" was based on the rigid dichotomy between tradition and modernity. However, in the course of the past twenty years and more, this concept has become used in many different contexts, including the context of the reconsideration of the idea of "development" itself.

□ The "Economy of Affection" and Endogenous Development Theory

Today, deep doubts about the effectiveness of Western development theories are widespread among aid workers and researchers working in Africa. They are increasingly interested in ideas like "alternative development", "sustainable development", or "endogenous development". Interest in such new perspectives was also found among researchers who attended the previous two conferences on African moral economy that I, together with

Hyden and other scholars, organized. At the conferences, African researchers, among others, displayed a strong interest in setting up a bridge between these new perspectives and African traditional values. In addition, Hyden himself gave presentations in which he tried to develop his original concept of the "economy of affection" in line with the growing interest in those new perspectives on development. We are now entering a period in which the possibility that the world of African peasants might have relevance to new perspectives seeking to overcome the predicament of modernity is discussed seriously. Furthermore, we may even insist that the moral economy of African peasants has the potential to be reassessed as a value system that will form the core of "endogenous development".

(3) A Paradigm Shift in Development Thinking

Those new perspectives on development do not only raise the question whether the main actor of development should be sought inside or outside local communities, but they also urge a paradigm shift in development thinking. Once "development" was synonymous with "economic development". And, after countless development projects that were aimed solely at increasing "material production" ended in failure, the idea of "social development" became widespread. Then, today, the idea of "human development", which lays special emphasis on the potential of human beings to develop themselves in many different ways, is widely advocated.

Here, it is worth noting that Amartya Sen, Nobel Prize winner for economics, has severely criticized mainstream economics, which is premised on the idea of "*homo economicus*", for its inability to solve development problems, by using the word "rational fools" (Sen 1982). In addition, his idea of "human security" seems to have something in common with the morality of African peasants living in "communities of consumption" where "sharing" is absolutely necessary for "surviving". The moral economy of African peasants rejected the "Green Revolution", although various supporters of the idea of "*homo economicus*" strongly advocated it as an effective measure for agricultural modernization. And this is the very reason why the moral economy of African peasants has been repeatedly pointed out as a "problem" or "difficulty" for the development of Africa. But today, since we are free from the constraints of the traditional, narrow idea of development, it is possible for us to explore various possibilities of the moral economy of African peasants, including a possibility that it might conduce to the realization of "Another Green Revolution" that can bring a symbiotic relationship between nature and human beings.

5. Conclusion

"A community of production" has peculiar character every area, as an area created geographically and historically. And it goes without saying that relations with such local personality and the local modernization are important.

For example, Japan which had a feudal characteristic in traditional society, adapted itself to a social change extremely quickly in the same way as Europe. In contrast, in agriculture society as the same "community of production", such a thing was seen in a situation to wake up maladjustment in undeveloped society of feudalism.

A difference for it with the modernization has been told in Southeastern Asian comparison as the society which was Japan as tight society, Ruth in same Asia. This is to be connected to such a matter for the present. However, it takes off from "a community of production" while modern world system opens today in world University, and subsumption does each local system while including a difference of an area of an economic change while a background and the society which did it are filled with various area differences.

There is comparison to show the difference of the society which is Japan as tight society, loose in Southeastern Asian in Asia. A difference of correspondence with the modernization has been told in that. However, modern world system spreads through world today and does subsumption of each local system. There is a regional difference in an economic change in that, but takes off from the society which assumed "a community of production" as a background entirely.

In this way, there is a peculiar way in each area, but there is the characteristic that, however, was common to. Modern world system regards < community of production > as blood relationship. It came from sense of values < a community of the production > deeply and did development of commodity for < production-labor >. That is why originally there is a base accepting a thing to find of such a modern times in each area supported by <community of production >. Adaptability to bring up a series of step to the industrialization rises in <community of production > under such a background.

While "the community of consumption" is shaken in the joining with the world system that had perpendicular structure, it creates the situation that is not caught. While cash economy seeped deeply, it was still toughness of "economy of affection" that has been seen in the cumulative process that continued making the situation that seemed not to be articulated as Hyden said. It has been supported in "a community of consumption" which wrapped up such a small farming in an African rural village

The relationship between modern times and traditional are not unitary, and we can see that there may be modernity of Africa and modernity of Japan today. It may be necessary to try to consider European value as freedom, equality, and fraternity that have been considered to mark world history related with tradition of Europe and French farm village in particular, as a superior study of Todd shows if it rises in such a premise. In the first place, freedom, equality, and fraternity may have been shown in there with few cases when a collective restricted an individual, compared a French farm village with Japanese farm villages. However, judging from structure of an African community, it has been laid not a thing connected in "a community of consumption" which I watched here, to the last by community of production.

A course of the projects of Pekea will be the thing which is going to reconsider a myth the limit of production located in root of the world of an active voice to support modernity and globalization once again. It hunts it out to the place that was what with form and quality of the place as the source supporting a group with an individual, and there must be it with a thing sounding out a premise and the place itself where it is it of an individual and the group which can support value itself in modern times. Therefore it is necessary to hunt it out to the place that was what with form and quality of the place as the source supporting an individual and a collective. An ideal method of an individual and collective supported in a community of the consumption and a community of reproduction in African that is assumed to be late till now, seems to appear as possibility of one straw mat toward 21st century and the 22nd century.

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