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**『創発 2016』**  
**臨地キャンパス・成果発信報告書**

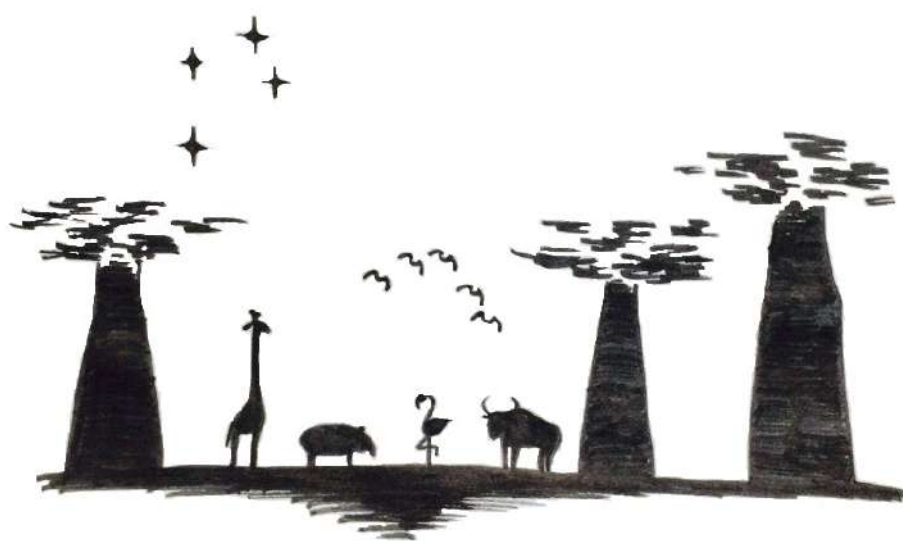
京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科

附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センター



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## 『創発 2016』刊行にあたって

本報告書は、京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センターが実施している「若手研究者国際ワークショップ」「臨地キャンパス」「国際研究発信力強化プログラムリサーチ C&M」の3つのプログラムの成果です。

「若手研究者国際ワークショップ」は、国内外の大学院生および若手研究者が京都に集まり、フィールドワークにもとづく研究成果を公表して討論をおこなうことにより、国際的な研究者の交流を促進し、次世代のフィールドワーカーを育成することを目指しています。

「臨地キャンパス」は、大学院生が自分の調査地とは異なる地域にでかけて、本研究科のパートナーである現地の教育研究機関の教員からその地域がかかえる現代的課題やそれに対する取り組みに関する講義をうけ、また、自分の研究を英語で発表して議論するものです。このことをとおして大学院生は、自分の調査地で起きている事象を他地域との比較のなかに位置づけ、グローバルな視座を習得することが可能になります。

「リサーチ C&M」では、専攻や講座、学年の枠を超えた複数名の大学院生が積極的に研究グループを組織し、分野や地域を横断する大きな研究テーマを設定します。そして、そのテーマに多角的・包括的に取り組むことにより、各自の研究課題をより大きな文脈のなかに位置づけ、比較の視点をもちながら研究を進展させることを目的としています。

いずれのプログラムも、複数の大学院生が自主的に協力し、ともにフィールドワークを実施したり、自由な議論を重ねることをとおして、高度な研究能力とコミュニケーション能力を彫琢することを目指しています。個々人の経験とちからが感応し、接合するプロセスによって予想外の研究成果が生み出される創発 **emergence** が、地域研究教育の現場では日々、創出されています。その一端をご覧いただければと思います。

なお、上記3つのプログラムの実施、および本報告書の刊行は、平成28年度 京都大学全学経費『フィールド・ステーション群を活用した「京都大学留学フェア2016」事業—戦略的人材交流の促進と次世代フィールドワーカーの育成』および、平成28年度 総長裁量経費『「臨地キャンパス」の実施および地域間比較研究・国際共同研究による高度グローバル人材育成の強化』の支援を受けて実現しました。記してお礼を申し上げます。

附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センター

センター長 太田 至

## **Young Scholars International Workshop on Transdisciplinary Approaches to Asian and African Area Studies 2017**

**Date:** 16<sup>th</sup> January 2017

**Venue:** AA447, 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Research Building No.2, ASAFAS

### **Presenter:**

- 1. Win Maung Aye** (Watershed Management Division, Forest Department)
- 2. Azeb Girmay** (LDC Watch International)
- 3. Mei Nakazawa** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 4. Miki Yoshizumi** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 5. Seera Georgina** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 6. Nur Hasanah** (Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Science, Hasanuddin University, Indonesia)
- 7. Nguyen Thi Le** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 8. Katrina S. Navallo** (Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University)
- 9. Kritdikorn Wongswangpanich** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 10. Sumito Mizusawa** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 11. Shehla Rashid Shora** (Centre for Law and Governance, Jawaharlal Nehru University, India)
- 12. Shingo Takamura** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 13. Valentin Noble** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 14. Boon Kia Meng** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 15. Prarthana Saikia** (Department of Humanities and Social Sciences, Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati, India)
- 16. Yuko Takamichi** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)
- 17. Zhang Yu Herbary** (Lingnan University, Hong Kong)
- 18. Sabine Choshen** (ASAFAS, Kyoto University)

# Restoration Opportunities of Mangrove Ecosystems in Abandoned Paddy Lands of Ayeyarwady Delta, Myanmar

Win Maung Aye<sup>1</sup>

**Key Words:** Restoration, Mangrove ecosystem, Abandoned paddy lands, Vegetation structure, Regeneration pattern, Micro-environmental condition, Ayeyarwady Delta

## Abstract

Mangroves provide numerous products and services for livelihoods of local communities in the Ayeyarwady Delta of Myanmar. However, Mangrove degradation by encroachment of paddy fields is very distinct in the Delta. The paddy cultivation in mangrove area is unsustainable due to high decrease in productivity after one or two decades of cultivation. Therefore farmers have abandoned the lands and the areas of abandoned lands are gradually increasing in the Delta. Therefore the research was conducted to find out the opportunities for mangrove ecosystem restoration on the abandoned paddy lands. The vegetation structures, regeneration patterns and micro-environmental conditions of three mangrove sites: mangrove forest, plantation and abandoned land were assessed in the study. Two commonly planted species, *Avicennia officinalis* (Ao) and *Bruguiera sexangula* (Bs) of three age classes (4 years, 8 years and over 10 years) of plantations; the managed forests of two different dominant species (Ao and Bs); and three age classes of abandoned paddy lands; were selected as study areas for the research. Among three different sites, the managed forests had the higher structural indices and complexity index. The micro-environmental conditions of managed forests were benign for the vegetation and regeneration. Natural recovery of mangroves on abandoned paddy land will take long period of time (i.e. more than decade) because no natural regeneration of mangroves had been observed up to age class over 10 years and the micro-environmental conditions of the lands were harsh for plant growth and establishment and survival of natural regeneration. Along the gradient of plantation age, the vegetation structures of mangrove plantations on abandoned paddy lands were developed. The plantations were still in mono-specific structures but the complexity index was increasing. The natural regeneration of mangroves had been growing on three age classes of plantations. Re-colonization of non planted mangroves on plantations had also observed. The establishment of mangrove plantations could improve the landscape conditions of abandoned lands during the course of recovery that also facilitate the recruitment and settlement of mangrove regeneration. Therefore, it can be approved that mangrove plantations are first step for restoration and human assisted mangrove restoration on abandoned paddy lands is effective within a short period of time.

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<sup>1</sup> Staff Officer, Watershed Management Division, Forest Department.

# Cost Effectiveness of Bio-Waste Management in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Azeb Girmai<sup>2</sup>

**Key Words:** Municipal solid waste, Organic waste recovery, Cost effectiveness analysis, Multi criteria analysis

## Abstract

Municipal solid waste is a major challenge for cities today in a world transforming with rapid economic growth and population<sup>3</sup> increase coupled with new global phenomena such as climate change calling for new approaches and systems. This paper presents an economic analysis for the waste management system (WMS) of Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia, in particular in the management of the bulk of household organic waste portion at a time that the city is moving in a new direction to modernize its WMS. This research therefore attempts to look into two organic waste and resource recovery alternatives compared to the existing WMS to see the best cost effective option that the city could consider opting for a sustainable WMS. The research therefore follows a Cost Effectiveness Analysis combined with a weighted Multi Criteria Analysis where the latter is used to analyze effectiveness of non monetary benefits of the alternative options taking the existing WMS as a base comparison. Based on the outcome of this research, results show that integrating organic waste recovery and recycling as part of the solid waste management system demonstrated the least Cost Effectiveness Ratio (CER) of 2.07 as a quotient of cost per unit over weighted average of non-monetary benefits even with a huge cost estimation, considering city-wide mobilization for sorting at source and composting options within the existing system. The base year which is the "without" the organic waste recovery and recycling scenario scored the highest CER of 4.63 however comparatively with the least cost per unit following the existing system of mixed waste dumping path. A third alternative that was calculated as a comparison following a primary collection of mixed waste but integrating organic waste recovery and recycling only at transfer stations demonstrated the least cost per unit and a CER of 2.07. A sensitivity test with a simple one way sensitivity analysis demonstrated robustness of the outcome with stable ranking of alternatives with cost variation of >2.5% and <25%.

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<sup>2</sup> Researcher, LDC Watch International.

# Farmland Acquisition and Economic Disparity among Female-headed Households in Banana Farming Area of Southwestern Uganda

Mei Nakazawa<sup>4</sup>

**Key Words:** Labour force, Poverty, Banana, Food self-sufficiency

## Abstract

Recent years, the number of female-headed households is increasing, and nearly one in four households in sub-Saharan Africa are classified for this category. In Uganda, female-headed households accounted for 30.1% of all households. The gender roles of husband and wife are dominant in the country. Married couples living in rural areas have secured their livelihoods on the basis of gender roles, while the female-headed households face various problems of food scarcity and poverty caused by labour shortage and discrimination from their community. The female-headed households have limitations of physical strength, times and social norms, and they are economically disadvantages to the married couples. This presentation aims to analyze the life history, the farmland acquisition and cultivated crops of female-headed households in order to clarify the economic disparity of female-headed households. In southwestern Uganda, banana is one of the most important staple foods. Ganda and Ankore people grant high social and cultural values to banana, and they utilize not only banana fruit for staple food and material of alcohol but also banana leaves and provisional stems for daily goods. Their livelihoods are closely related with banana. Through the field survey, banana farming was greatly influenced by economic conditions of the female-headed households. Banana is perennial plant, so it is prohibited to plant in the rented farmland. After a divorce or bereavement from spouse, some women could inherit or buy the farmland. These women plant banana inside farmland, and secure food supply. Banana is also helpful to increase the opportunities of cash income. At the same time, some women couldn't obtain farmland after separation from spouse. They endeavored food self-sufficiency by planting annual plants such as maize, beans and groundnuts in the rented farmland, but they suffered from vulnerable food production under the unstable rainfall. Banana has been contributed stable food supply and reduction of labour force, however, it is one factor to cause economic disparity among the female-headed households. Uganda faces the land shortage generated by the high population growth. The economic disparity will continue to expand among the female-headed households in the banana farming area of the country.

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# Lifestyles of Persons with Disabilities in Samburu County, Kenya

Miki Yoshizumi<sup>5</sup>

**Key Words:** Disabilities, Samburu, Kenya, Social relationship

## Abstract

The object of this paper is to map the relationship of persons with disabilities (PWDs) and non-PWDs in Samburu County, Kenya. I had conducted field research for about 5 months since 2014 to 2015 with a particular focus on how they are engaged in ritual ceremonies. Passing rites of passage for their life courses is emphasized in Samburu. For example, boys have to join trip to take tree resin (*naigurre*, pl. *naigurya*) on their foot. It is said that this trip requires body strength. Considering their body strength, boys with disabilities sometimes face to challenges. In that case, it is allowed for them to ask others to take tree resin instead of them. However, it is also reported that adults currently recommended for not only boys with disabilities but all boys to complete the trip by car because of security concerns [Nakamura 2011]. This alternative solution for completing ritual ceremonies is not specialized to PWDs in Samburu. In addition, it was observed that many PWDs work extensively in town building social relationship with many people, not only Samburu but also Kikuyu, Turukana people who live in town. PWDs in town made me impressed for learning and considering the relationship of PWDs and non-PWDs. Therefore, I started to conduct field research in an organization which supports PWDs at one town in Samburu in 2016. Neighbors, non-PWDs, often visit this place. For example, non-PWDs voluntarily teach acrobats and dancing to children including children with disabilities there. It was observed that the distance between PWDs and non-PWDs is closer. I would like to mention individual experiences which I learned through participatory observation and interview at this organization. The varieties of social relationships between PWDs and non-PWDs in Samburu will be discussed in this paper.

## Reference

Nakamura, K. 2011. *Collectiveness among the Youth and their Individualization: Recent Transformation of the Age System of the Samburu in Kenya*. Shokado: The Center for African Area Studies Kyoto University.

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# Obesity in Africa: Body Mass Index and Perceived Body Size Classification in Central Uganda

Seera Georgina<sup>6</sup>

**Key Words:** Obesity, Overweight, BMI (Body Mass Index), Women, Self-perception, Uganda

## Abstract

Dramatic increases have been observed in the prevalence of overweight – BMI > 24.99Kg/m<sup>2</sup> and obesity – BMI > 29.99Kg/m<sup>2</sup> worldwide, standing at 39% and 13% respectively in 2014. Africa has not been an exception to this trend and the prevalences rose from 30% to 33% and 10% to 11% respectively between 2010 and 2014. In Uganda, rates of obesity and overweight are highest among women living in urban areas and some parts of Central and Western Uganda. The prevalence has been found to be positively correlated with age, education, wealth, and rural/ urban location. The objective of this presentation is to demonstrate the differences between the local perceptions on body size to the international classification by BMI. It further highlights the local attitudes and beliefs that are responsible for the deviation of the local understanding of body size from the international classification. The presenter collected data on individual weight and height of 100 women ages 17 to 48 in order to calculate BMI. In addition, quality of life in relation to body size was examined through participant observation and perceptions on individual body size and that of others were determined using in-depth interviews. This was done during a 50 days fieldwork carried out in Mukono Uganda Central Region. The prevalence of obesity/overweight in the group was 45% - 25% of obesity and 20% of overweight, and showed an increasing trend with age. The women identified with 3 major body size categories namely 'just right'-43%, 'too small'-32% and 'too big'-25%. 60% of the women who were obese felt that they were 'too big'. 63% of those who were overweight felt that their size was 'just right' and nearly 50% of those who had a normal BMI felt that they were 'too small'. This was particularly true for the older women who were married or had children because a relatively big body size that characterizes an overweight BMI was associated with maturity and wealth. Excessive fatness was undesirable because of the reduced ability to work as well as the perceived increased risk of chronic disease. For younger women, it was mostly to be able to attract a spouse. Changes in body size were perceived as involuntary following marriage, pregnancy or lactation and the absence of stress – financial or otherwise. For this reason, no deliberate attempts to increase weight were reported. For older married women and those with children in Central Uganda, the body size characterized by an overweight BMI is more desirable than that of a normal BMI.

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# Astronomy Aspects of Buginese: Makassarese Culture

Nur Hasanah<sup>7</sup>

**Key Words:** Asterism, Buginese Makassarese, Lontaraq, Lunar period

## Abstract

Buginese and Makassarese are two ethnics in Indonesia that settled in south area of Sulawesi Island. They are said to have shared same traditions and culture, such as the old manuscript called *Lontaraq*. This manuscript contained a wide range of knowledge that governed Buginese - Makassarese social life, from agriculture to weather forecasting, and used some celestial objects in it. For example, *Lontaraq* used lunar period (eight years called *Sipariyama*) to write the date of events (based on Islamic calendar) and to characterize their annual local weather. Furthermore, it was also written on *Lontaraq* that seven stars/asterism had been used to determinate which day was considered to be auspicious. These seven stars/asterism, called The Name of Seven Guidance (N7G), were (a) *Oromporong* (Pleiades), (b) *Warawarae* (morning Venus), (c) *Tanratellue* (Delta, Epsilon, and Zeta Orionis), (d) *Manu'e*, (e) *Etapatae*, (f) *Empang*, and (g) *Walue* (Alpha and Beta Centauri). Actually, four of the N7G (a, b, c, and g) were mention by Gene Ammarel in his book "Bugis Navigation". Along with other stars/asterism, that four were used as signpost by Buginese sailor to sail from one island to another island. It is interesting that the story behind two of the asterism has similarity with Greek myth, even though the asterism is not same. We assume that it can be happen due to some trade activity between Buginese – Makassarese people with Europeans in the past. The trade was not only in the form of commodity but also transfer of knowledge. From historical aspect, it was also hypothesized that Karaeng Pattingaloang, Prime Ministry of Makassarese's Kingdom, studied about astronomy by bought a Galillean telescope in mid of 17<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, the remaining of the telescope could not been found anywhere in South Sulawesi. With all aspects that have been written above, we conclude that Buginese – Makassarese society have made use of astronomy since their early days. However, now the existence of *Lontaraq* and its knowledge are endangered because of the rareness. So it should become a consideration to have interdisciplinary approach to study *Lontaraq* overall.

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# Homebirth among Ethnic Minorities in Mountainous Regions in Vietnam: Discourses and Realities: A case study of one Hmong village in Dong van

Nguyen Thi Le<sup>8</sup>

**Key Words:** Homebirth, Mountainous regions, Ethnic minorities, Hmong

## Abstract

Reproductive health in general, and the health care of birthing mothers in particular, is an important issue in terms of developmental goals of Vietnam and the government has been promulgated dozens of strategies and policies to improve it. The attention has been especially paying on ethnic minorities living in mountainous regions due to the maternal mortality rate among them is calculated four times higher than Kinh (ethnic majority) populations. Homebirth phenomenon among these communities is generally understood the main reason for this and many studies have been carried out to explore why ethnic minorities women in mountainous regions choose to give birth at home instead of hospital setting despite of hard efforts of government in providing medicalized maternal health services to them. Education, income, geographical isolation, ethnicity, service quality of health care system are mentions as main factors with different attribution level in different studies. However, such studies and discourses mostly based on quantitative data or quick assessment and seem to give generally vague conclusions; view ethnic minorities people as a passive agencies in their knowledge about their situations and decisions from outsider perspective. My study is based on one year fieldtrip in a Hmong village in Dong van plateau, Hagiang province and uses both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand this situation in a certain place with a specific ethnic people. By carrying out 116 interviews with women who at least gave birth one time, observing and working with staffs of Commune Health Centers (CHC), as well as observing two delivery cases (both at home and at CHC), my study would raise some realties, (1) homebirth in most of cases is unavoidable in their contexts and it is not really risky as commonly perception; (2) Hmong people understand well their decisions and they have their own pragmatic calculation for such decisions; (3) Economic status in combining with perceptions on service quality of health care centers is the main factor would lead the Hmong people making their decision to give birth at home or hospital setting.

## Reference

WHO. 2005. *Maternal mortality in Vietnam 2000-2001. An in-depth analysis of causes and determinants*, Manila: Western Pacific Region Office, WHO.

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# **Exporting Care Labor, How Labor-Sending States Commodify Care: A Research Proposal on the Philippine Policy on the Export of Nurses and Care Workers in Japan and Germany**

Katrina S. Navallo<sup>9</sup>

**Key Words:** Transnational care, Migrant Filipino nurses and care workers, Global care chains, Commodification of care, Care labor export policy

## **Abstract**

The Philippine demography is predominantly young and replete with able bodies who can perform care for themselves and their families. Hence, the government has capitalized on the latent potential of its workforce by exporting manpower abroad since the 1970s. Initially done as a response to the growing economic insecurity caused by financial debts and unemployment, the production of OFWs or “overseas Filipino workers” has become a “global enterprise” of the Philippine government by acting as labor brokers to the world (Rodriguez 2010). This study focuses on Filipino migrant nurses and care workers, and proposes to look into how states, as migration actors such as the Philippines, construct care work and participate into the larger, global care chains looking from the supply side of human resource in the care industry. It aims to do so by analyzing the state-mediated migration pathway of Filipino nurses and caregivers through the existing Philippine trade and services agreements with Japan (through the JPEPA in 2004) and Germany (through the Tripe Win Agreement in 2013). Japan and Germany’s opening of its labor markets to migrant workers is an unprecedented decision, due to the inherent reluctance of both states to accept foreign workers in the past. The changes and the adjustments to accept migrant workers into their domestic labor markets would provide a significant background into how migration conservative states like Japan and Germany have accommodated their labor policy changes in response to the emerging demands for human resource brought about by an aging society. The study aims to understand (1) how care is transformed into a global commodity; (2) the state’s roles in the manufacturing of care as a commodity; and (3) the interplay of the migration actors at the macro (ie. state, international NGOs, regional organizations), meso (employers, national NGOs) and micro (individual migrants) levels in the migration (from recruitment to settlement) process. It also aims to contribute into the study of the global care chains by viewing the construction and production of human resources for care through the Philippine government’s experience of exporting nurses and care workers. The study will employ (1) profiling and interviews of the Filipino nurses and caregivers who migrate to Japan and Germany through JPEPA and Triple Win, respectively; (2) interviews of both state (trade, labor, and foreign affairs ministries) and non-state actors (employers, private recruitment agencies, NGOs, religious organizations, trade unions, etc.) involved in the state-mediated migration process (in the Philippines, Germany, and Japan); and (3) review and analysis of state policies on trade and service agreements, and labor migration in both the sending and receiving countries.

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<sup>9</sup> MEXT Research Student, Graduate School of Letters, Kyoto University.

# Origin of Terror: The Paradox of Human Condition in the Understanding of Self

Kritdikorn Wongswangpanich<sup>10</sup>

## Abstract

External factor such as terrorism, war, crime or any kind of violence is commonly seen as the root cause of terror. The word '*terrorism*' itself is almost like the crystallization of this idea as it inclines to describe the action or scheme which intends to terrify people. However, if one tries to locate the birth of this word into the political historiography, then the outcome may differ. The root cause of terror may not be such thing as external factor but rather the internal factor of the cognitive understanding of self as human being. This work aims to elaborate on the paradox of understanding of self among us, human beings, and investigate how the misunderstanding or misinterpreting of self, which also is the following function of the transcendence of human condition, plays its role in this mass dysfunctional knowledge of our own selves. As a member of modern state, this work argues, man has been forced, unknowingly, to believe that (s)he lives with a certain degree of freedom, human rights, democratic value and such with the state which plays its role as the protector of its member's life. Nevertheless, the argument here is that these understandings are all falsely understood and the cause of all these unseemly claims is on structural level. The misunderstanding of self and its political location in modern state structure lead to the confusion on the understanding of (origin of) terror at the very last stage. External factor, as firstly believed to be the true benefactor of terror, is at worst being misleadingly blamed. The internal paradox of what we misunderstand of self as human being or modern man is actually the true origin of terror.

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<sup>10</sup> Research Student, Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University.

# Historical Formation of Muslim Civil Society in British Punjab: A Case Study of *Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām Lāhaur* in the 1880s

Sumito Mizusawa<sup>11</sup>

**Key Words:** Civil society, Muslim association, Girl's education

## Abstract

This presentation aims to analyze the historical formation of Muslim Civil society by focusing on the activities of a Muslim association, *Anjuman-e-Himāyat-e-Islām Lāhaur* (AHI). Civil society is a quite controversial topic in the case of a non-Western society. On the one hand the term “civil society” is quite popular in the policy and developmental discourses, but on the other hand the scholars who take the definitions according to Western normative models have negative views about its formation in a non-Western society, particularly of a Muslim society where there is no secular state-citizen relationship in the words of Ernest Gellner. So, some scholars who are critical of the universalization of Western models propose the redefining of a civil society to reflect the particular historical paths in non-Western societies, but the tasks remain what the alternative model would be. To consider this question, I analyze the initial activities of AHI. In this subject, I tentatively define a ‘civil society’ to denote the institutions and organizations for collective action between the state and the individuals and use the term ‘Muslim civil society’ for the civil society which is constituted by Muslim and created for Muslim specific issues. AHI was established in 1884 in Lahore, the capital of British Punjab, and being supported by mainly middle class Muslim, which became the largest Muslim association in terms of membership in British Punjab. Although there were many factors which explained the establishment of AHI, the most important factor was to counter the ‘threat’ of the Christian missionary’s activities. Especially Muslim men shared the serious concerns about the girl’s education by Christian missionary. Muslim men responded to the Christian missionaries not only by negating the missionary’s assertions against Muslim, but also by starting their own schools which would promote both religious and secular education for Muslim girls. AHI’s Muslim men were ‘conservative’ in terms of supporting the traditional norm called *pardah* to regard the women’s role as being confined to the domestic works and restrict their appearance in public, but they were ‘progressive’ in terms of the strong supporters of girl’s education. This movement overturns the general image of a Muslim society of both stiffening against changes and opposing against girl’s education. AHI’s initial activities involved the different actors and agencies inside and outside “Muslim community”, which implies that Muslim civil society’s formation in British Punjab was the interactive processes among various communities in specific historical circumstances.

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# Should Ethics Drive Law?: Discussing Internet Governance in India

Shehla Rashid Shora<sup>12</sup>

**Key Words:** Internet, Ethics, Law and governance

## **Abstract**

It is now widely accepted that digital technologies often tend to be much ahead of the legal and ethical curve. People and governments, in other words, tend to catch up rather than be able to manage, restrain or contain the unintended social outcomes from technological choices and behaviours in the digital age of the internet and other ICT technologies. Innumerable examples of cyber crimes, cyber bullying, a host of privacy issues and even generalized surveillance by non-state actors now litter the communication landscape. On the other hand, predicting and putting in place legal safeguards are not entirely always successful. In part, given the fact that the internet and ICT technologies are also almost naturally open to creative and innovative possibilities. I, therefore, will use this short presentation to argue an ethics based legal framework for governing the internet in India rather than the current obsession with a property and harm based approach.

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# Reorganizing the Distribution System in Post-conflict Society: A Study on Orientale Province, the Democratic Republic of the Congo

Shingo Takamura<sup>13</sup>

**Key Words:** Post-conflict society, Distribution system, Indigenous development, Periodic market

## Abstract

In the Democratic Republic of the Congo, conflicts have devastated the distribution infrastructure such as roads and bridges, which has stymied the rural economy. The current state of urban-rural distribution processes must be determined to rehabilitate local communities. However, the perspective of such determinations is unclear. This presentation, therefore, describes and analyzes conflict impacts on urban-rural distribution, periodic market functioning, and indigenous distributional activities based on qualitative and GPS data collected from an extensive area survey. Observing 500 km of main roadways from rural villages to the capital of Orientale Province by motorbike, I present a study of urban-rural distribution. Today, a mass of rural residents travel to periodic markets through forests and engage in long-distance peddling to connect with the urban economy while petty traders advance their commercial activities. Using waterborne transportation, such as dugout canoes, traders sustain urban-rural commodity interexchange. The collapse of the pre-conflict distribution system has caused the periodic markets to become influential regional economic nodes. These observations indicate that local people reorganize alternative distribution systems utilizing indigenous knowledge and ecological environments.

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# One Village One Product Policy Transfer in Thailand

Valentin Noble<sup>14</sup>

**Key Words:** One village one product movement, OTOP, Policy transfer

## Abstract

From a town-scale movement initiated in 1961 to expand a local economy left out by a state-driven economic policy promoting rice production, OVOP ('One Village One Product') has turned into a prefecture-wide public policy in 1980 under the mandate of Japanese Oita Prefecture governor Hiramatsu Morihiko, a former bureaucrat from the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. The movement's concept is rather simple: each locality chooses one or more high added value products or cultural specificities as a way of branding, in order to improve the lifestyle and increase the pride of villagers. OVOP's carrier has known a fantastic rise in the early 2000's, when the movement was used as a base for crafting national policies in the Philippines ('One Town One Product') and Thailand ('One Tambon One Product', or 'OTOP'). The country, with its huge rural population, had started to officially cope with rural development and poverty alleviation through the economic development plans crafted from the 1980s. The OTOP program was fully incorporated into the set of economic policies called Thaksinomics, and its adoption led to a visit of Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra in Oita Prefecture in November 2001. Simultaneously, it seems that Japanese authorities discovered the interest of OVOP as a tool for international development, and have since made it one of their major cooperation policies. After a brief explanation of the original movement in Oita Prefecture the issue of the transfer of the program from Japan to Thailand will be focused. This will include an analysis of the "demand" side, that is to say the motivations to put emphasis on the program and include it within the Thaksinomics framework, as well as an analysis of the "offer" side, by studying how the Japanese local and national authorities, as well as JICA, responded to the Thai demands and changed their own attitude toward the OVOP concept. We see that the proactive promotion of the OVOP movement from Oita prefecture and its leader governor Hiramatsu Morihiko, as part of his concept of "local diplomacy", has had some impact on the process. In our study we use the policy movements and mutations approach as opposed to traditional policy transfer approaches, who are rooted in neoclassical economics and tend to emphasize the rationality of policy makers and to overlook the sociological and political embedment of policies. We show that the implementation of the OTOP policy in Thailand had been ushered in by various agencies and projects throughout the country.

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# **Moments of Articulation: Identities, Voices and Memories of Political Activism in Malaysia and the Events of Bersih 2.0 (2011-13)**

Boon Kia Meng<sup>15</sup>

**Key Words:** Articulation, Political identities, Social movements, Dialectical images, Subjectivities

## **Abstract**

This paper seeks to make the argument that given specific social changes and contradictions in Malaysia's urban society (specifically in Kuala Lumpur) since the transition from Mahathir Mohamad to Najib Razak (2002-2013), we can see the emergence of new political identities among urban Malays, within the social space empowered by a multi-ethnic social movement for electoral reform, known as Bersih 2.0 (Coalition for Free & Fair Elections, where the bahasa word, 'Bersih', means clean), which was formed in 2010 and remains the most successful civil society movement of its kind in Malaysia today. I trace these emergent subjectivities by looking at four Malay(sian) activists (problematizing the 'Malay' vs. 'Malaysian' subject positions/identities) that came into public prominence at the height of the Bersih social movement's third national rally in April 2012, possibly the biggest popular protest in Malaysia's history, before the 2013 General Elections which saw the ruling regime's sixty year continuous hold on power coming close to defeat. Much studies on political activism in Malaysia, specifically from the Reformasi period (1998) onwards, has been dominated by the framework of contentious politics and coalition networks for political change. Also, the tendency is to look at social actors at the level of political parties and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), seeing these coalitions or networks as decisive in bringing social and political change in the country. I intend to go beyond these categories by looking at specific moments of the events surrounding Bersih 2.0 in 2011 & 2012, constructing what Walter Benjamin has called 'dialectical images' surrounding the political activism of contemporary Malay activists, namely A. Samad Said (National Literary Laureate), Fahmi Reza (graphic designer/ Occupy activist), Adam Adli (student leader/Bersih activist) and Mislina Mustaffa (actress/ Occupy activist). Benjamin's methodology is adapted for the present study in order to put into question the dominant narrative of progress and modernization that has exercised a powerful hold on the collective imagination of Malaysian subjects, both in knowledge production and as national imaginary. In doing so, I would argue that another collective imaginary has increasingly emerged to challenge the traditionally hegemonic racial imaginary, one that rested on the twin legitimating forces of political and economic modernization.

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# Remembering 'Popular Protests': Rethinking History Writing in Contemporary Assam

Prarthana Saikia<sup>16</sup>

**Key Words:** Popular protests, Historians, Assam

## Abstract

The state of Assam in India, which straddles the Eastern Himalayas and is made up of the fertile plains of the Barak and Brahmaputra valleys, is marked by a culturally and religiously diverse population. Whilst much of Assam's history can be discussed for its periods of communal amity and syncretic religious traditions, the region has also been witness to some of the most startling ethnic and communal riots in recent decades. My effort, in this presentation, is aimed at briefly reviewing some of the significant studies by historians with regard to how Assam has experienced several popular protests in recent times over issues of identity, ethnicity and the very idea of Assam itself.

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# Local Handicraft and Fairtrade: Transformation of Dhaka Weaving in Terhathum, Eastern Nepal

Yuko Takamichi<sup>17</sup>

**Key Words:** Handicraft, Fairtrade, Nepal, Development, Limbu

## Abstract

In recent years, we often come across “Fairtrade handicrafts”, which are produced by women in developing countries, sold in stores in Japan. These Fairtrade products are sold at a ‘fair’ price, while having ethical appeal for the consumer that their choice may improve the livelihood of vulnerable workers in the “Third world.” The purpose of this presentation is to explore the social consequences of Fairtrade intervention through a case study of Dhaka weaving in Terhathum, Eastern Nepal. In particular, by focusing on the qualitative transformation of the local handicraft and the empowerment process of the producers, this presentation aims at challenging the generally accepted definition on the “successful” Fairtrade intervention. Dhaka cloth, which is a cultural symbol of Nepal, comes in various colours and patterns, and is produced in various parts of Nepal and consumed both locally and abroad. It was in the 1980s when the United Kingdom initiated the Kosi Hills Development Programme in the Eastern Nepal, which is one of the production hubs of Dhaka cloth. As local women used to weave the cloth routinely, the supporters of the programme took actions to facilitate Dhaka cloth trade between Eastern Nepal and the overseas to generate income during the farmers’ low season. After a few years, weavers established Dhaka cloth factories in M town in Terhathum, including the first factory founded by a woman from Nepal. However in the 1990s, as the programme reached completion, factory owners in M town stopped exporting Dhaka cloth overseas and narrowed their target to the domestic market. Even now, these factories create income opportunities for thousands of local weavers living in the towns and villages around M town. This chronological analysis indicates that the producers of Dhaka cloth are kept empowered not by the continuation of Fairtrade, but through the functioning of local factories and interaction with the people in Nepal, even in the absence of such a scheme. This case study thus questions the widely accepted view that success of Fairtrade intervention rests solely upon the *continuation* of Fairtrade (producer-consumer) relationship beyond the national border. The findings may be useful in treating Fairtrade that are related to handicrafts in developing countries.

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# From Outsiders to In-Betweens: Identity Negotiation of Thai Female Migrants in Hong Kong

Zhang Yu, Herbary<sup>18</sup>

**Key Words:** Thai female, Hong Kong, Transnational migration, Intersectionality, Identity negotiation

## Abstract

The phenomenon of transnational migration between Hong Kong men and Southeast Asian women has become one of the most influential factors impacting the family and social structure in Hong Kong. The research presented in this document is intended to investigate the complicated identities of Thai female migrants in Hong Kong. The microsection of Thai female chosen are those who became the permanent resident of Hong Kong after got married to local Hong Kong Chinese husband and who are living in Hong Kong more than 7 years. According to identity theory, migration has a close link with identity and may affect one's identity. Therefore, Identity is transgressive, double, and even plural, through the negotiation process between the original and host identity. That is identity may be varied by the different migratory places, by time and space. This study, guided by identity, gender, and narrative perspectives, examines the subjective experiences of Thai female migrants through their journey of transnational migration to Hong Kong on intersectionality perspective. Therefore, with my research question, its central focus is 1). How do Thai female migrants living Hong Kong perceive their identity? 2). How does Hong Kong context shape Thai female migrants' identity negotiation? And 3). From Thai female migrants' perspective, how do they been portrayed in mainstream society, and the relationship among them, Hong Kong society and domestic worker? Using ethnographic research methodology, in-depth interviews will conduct with fifteen Thai female migrants with diversity background, and qualitative analysis will use to analyze the narratives to examine how they negotiate their gender and ethnic identities in the new socio-cultural environment. This study will contribute to the construction of a process model of Thai female transnational migration and enriches understanding of the dynamic nature of identity negotiation. A typology of female migrants emerges through the identification of meta-narratives in the dimensions of gender role orientation, social integration, and resilience. The study will illustrate the influence of cultures on female migrants' meaning making and accentuates the importance for social scientists to maintain a multicultural orientation to understand transnational migration nowadays.

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# Revival of the Vernacular Customs in Light of Heritage Preservation in Phuoc Tich Ancient Village in Vietnam

Sabine Choshen<sup>19</sup>

**Key Words:** Ancient Village, Heritage preservation, Tourism development, Vernacular customs, Traditions' reinvention

## Abstract

In the recent two decades, cultural and historical heritage's preservation in Vietnam became an important issue on the state's agenda. Heritage preservation is perceived as a significant factor in restructuring national identity and helping national government to straighten its authority. As of 2016, among numerous traditional villages that exist nowadays in Vietnam, only two villages were officially recognized as National Heritage sites with a new status of an 'Ancient Villages'. Duong Lam commune in Hanoi district was acknowledged in 2005, and Phuoc Tich village in central Vietnam in 2009. The recognition of the villages as National Heritage sites was decided by the national government, and followed with various regulations on heritage preservation and tourism development, which were enforced on the local residents. During my visits to the villages I strive to find out local residents' approaches to the changed status of their village and their initiations in heritage preservation and tourism development activities, such as activities related to the revival of the vernacular customs. In case of Phuoc Tich, which was a pottery village during the prosperous days of the Nguyen Dynasty in Hue Imperial capital, there is an attempt since 2000s to revitalize pottery tradition of the village, additionally to the culinary, ceremonial and boating activities. Nevertheless, since local ways of life in the villages were constantly changing due to Vietnam's complexed history, changing approaches of the state towards cultural issues, and rapid economic development since the *doi moi* reforms in the late 1980s, local customs and activities could not remain static throughout changing times. I aim to show that despite governmental and other developing organizations' (such as JICA) encouragements, vernacular customs cannot be brought back to life in their original and authentic form, because they have lost their functions in the modern times. However, when local population is interested in revitalization, and they can have a profound support from the governmental authorities, there is a possibility for the successful revival of the traditional customs, without excluding natural changes in the local practices, that occurred during the last century. Since cultural resources of the ancient village are mostly embodied in its' people's habits and activities, the reinvention of the local traditions, which are still meaningful for the local population and their young generations, can provide social and economic benefits for the local community and unique cultural tourism's experiences for the visitors.

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## ミャンマー臨地キャンパス

2017年1月5日～1月11日

### <スケジュール>

- 1月5日（木） ヤンゴン着 ヤンゴン→ネーピードー移動
- 1月6日（金） 国際ワークショップ「Myanmar Way of Agricultural and Rural Development (MWARD): Considering the approach of GNH」に参加・発表
- 1月7日（土） 国際ワークショップ「Myanmar Way of Agricultural and Rural Development (MWARD): Considering the approach of GNH」に参加、イエジン・ダム、イエジン農業大学内の農場を見学
- 1月8日（日） ミャンマー国立博物館の見学
- 1月9日（月） 林業大学にて「Young Scholars Workshop on Area Study Approaches to Natural Resources and Environmental Conservation 2017」に参加・発表
- 1月10日（火） ネーピードー→ヤンゴン移動
- 1月11日（水） 帰国

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- 京都大学東南アジア研究所

### <概要>

ミャンマーの首都ネーピードーで臨地キャンパスを開校しました。イエジン農業大学と林業大学の協力を得て国際ワークショップ「Myanmar Way of Agricultural and Rural Development (MWARD): Considering the approach of GNH Inauguration Ceremony」と「Young Scholars Workshop on Area Study Approaches to Natural Resources and Environment Conservation 2017」を共催し、口頭発表とポスター発表（英語）を行いました。ミャンマー側参加者の関心も高く、口頭発表での積極的な質疑応答の後、乾季の青空のもと、屋外に設置されたポスターを囲んで熱心な議論が続きました。またワークショップの「京都大学留学フェア」セッションでは、附属次世代型アジア・アフリカ教育研究センター長のビデオメッセージに続いて京都大学の研究教育に関する情報を提供しました。



写真. 林業大学にて参加者たちと [2017 年 1 月 9 日撮影]

# **The Conservation of Mammalian Species in Logged Tropical Forests in a Forest Stewardship Council Certified Forest Management Unit, Indonesia**

Agus Sudibyo Jati<sup>20</sup>  
Kanehiro Kitayama<sup>21</sup>  
Hiromitsu Samejima<sup>22</sup>

**Key Words:** Camera-traps, Redundancy analysis, GLM, Forest intactness

## **Abstract**

Mammals are key organisms within tropical forests. However their existence also depends on the forest condition itself as their habitat. Timber extraction has significantly contributed to the national income of tropical countries and greater demand for tropical wood increases the pressure on the sustainability of tropical forests. Activities related to logging undoubtedly have changed forest structure, which can threaten mammals. The conservation of mammalian species in harmony with sustainable use of forest resources is a pressing issue in tropical countries. We studied how well mammalian species are conserved in a Forest Stewardship Council (FSC)-certified, logged production forest in East Kalimantan, Indonesia, where reduced-impact logging is being implemented. We analyzed data derived from camera traps deployed between 2012 and 2014. Ten circular plots with diameter 1 km were established in the area and 10 to 18 camera trap points were distributed randomly on each plot. We also used maps of forest intactness and slope to represent forest condition. We found that this forest could preserve the existence of many protected and endangered species. At least 14 species of mammals were protected under Indonesian National Law, one species is currently listed as critically endangered according to the IUCN, another species is listed as endangered, and eight species as vulnerable. The existence of these protected and threatened species emphasized the importance of mammalian conservation in a logged tropical forest, which is not schemed for conservation purposes. We performed redundancy analysis to examine mammal response to the degree of forest intactness and slope for community level and generalized linear model for species level. Forest intactness affected mammal community. However, their responses to logging activities, which was represented by forest intactness in this study, were varied among species: some species benefited from disturbance, some preferred intact forests, whereas the others did not show a significant response. Understanding how mammals respond to habitat disturbance is needed to improve sustainable forest management.

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### **Experience and Achievements in Myanmar Onsite Campus and International Workshop**

Participating in the Myanmar onsite campus was not only about a brief excursion in Myanmar or attending workshops, but also expanding my network for a future professional career. In this program, I had opportunities to present my ongoing research. I also learned many things from other student presentations and seminars. I expanded my network because I met many people with different affiliations. As a bonus, I had the opportunity for sightseeing and enjoying Myanmar. For me giving a presentation is very challenging. I have to overcome nervousness to focus on my talk and stay on track. Giving a presentation to other people from different study areas is also not an easy task. I have to choose common words carefully to make people understand the material without reducing its substance. Giving such a presentation, even in my native language, is still very difficult, but even more so when it must be given in English. Having the opportunity to give a presentation in Myanmar was a valuable experience. It was a test in a real situation. I gained more self-confidence after this experience. Questions and discussion about my presentation also gave me ideas to improve my research. From other student presentations and some other seminars, I also gained many valuable lessons. It was true that I sometimes felt bored when the topics were very different from my study of interest, but in the end, I had widened my knowledge and perspective to include many different majors. I was also very delighted in this program because I made many new friends, whether from Kyoto University or Myanmar Universities. Today, they are friends, but because we are all studying different majors, they may also be potential colleagues in my future professional career. I met many professionals from various areas. By participating in this program, I have expanded my friendships and network, which is a valuable asset for future plans. Although it was not the main purpose, I had time to enjoy Myanmar and study the culture. I and other participants visited some interesting places, such as museum, local markets, stupa, and many other places during our trip. I heard many different stories about visiting Myanmar beforehand, especially because of the political history of this country. After visiting Myanmar, I have my own impression about this country: Myanmar is a lovely country filled with helpful friendly people. I personally express my appreciation to Kyoto University who gave us the opportunity to visit this beautiful country and to exchange knowledge with other students from different majors, whether from Japan or Myanmar.

# Demography and Culture Reconsidering the Decline of Traditional Water Reservoir Systems in Varanasi, India

Mahesh Madhav Gogate<sup>23</sup>

**Key Words:** Urban ecology, Urbanization, Water conservation, Waterbodies, Maps

## Abstract

In recent years the pace and quality of urbanization in contemporary Asia have been actively debated. In India, the world's second-most populous country, the last two decades of unprecedented urbanization have placed enormous pressure on urban centers and the environment. In such a context, understanding urban environments has become crucial to answering academic and policy questions. However, before responding to the big picture, I intend to explore as a case study the environmental transformations of the waterbodies of the city Varanasi, one of the oldest continuously inhabited cities in the world. Varanasi has been transformed dramatically by the steady decline of its once-vibrant stepped ponds (kunda), lakes, and wells, particularly over the past two centuries. By carefully mapping and documenting perceptible changes in the water management system, I will contrast and compare two frameworks: Was the age-old tank system destroyed by sheer demographic pressure and modernization, or did the rapid erosion of local rituals, cultures, and traditions built around stepped ponds cause the breakdown of the traditional reservoir system?

## Introduction

Urban ecology studies have so far mainly focused on urban ecology in cities, which is primarily based on a single discipline, small-scale in nature, and focused inside the city. Many researchers have stated that their research to date falls broadly within the sphere of ecology in cities, and these studies are usually focused only on areas confined to patches of vegetation or aquatic life.

However, researchers argue that that nurturing ecological studies (of an inter-disciplinary nature) on cities is essential in building a comprehensive knowledge of urban ecosystems [McDonnell 2011, Pickett *et al.* 2016]. Using this multidisciplinary approach, researchers are now studying the ecology of cities incorporating aspects covering both ecological and human dimensions [McDonnell 2011]. The main discussion point is how to understand our environment, which is influenced by human settlements, changing behavior, practices, and whether to consider these internal parts of the ecology of a city or minimize the scale. Grimm argues that humans live in cities, and to understand cities and how they work in an ecological dimension is essential to studying the features associated with behavioral, social, and economic sciences. He adds that cultural, economic, or political choices are primarily influenced by the

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views, preferences, and actions of humans, and the inclusion of the human component is essential to addressing solutions for ecological challenges.

### **About Varanasi**

About 31 percent of India's population lives in cities [Census of India 2011]. With rapid urbanization, the demand for potable water is increasing. Due to changes in rainfall patterns and other reasons, many parts of India are enduring a severe water crisis. People living in urban cities rely mainly on groundwater due to inadequate municipal water supplies [World Bank 2012]. This situation has caused significant decreases in ground water levels, and development in urban areas has impacted surface water bodies by size reduction and in some cases complete reclamation.

This study is an attempt to understand the changing relationship between water resources and communities, their practices, lifestyles, etc. I will consider adaptation to changes in the proportion of land and water, pollution, garbage disposal methods, and religious and cultural practices. I will also explore the changing discourse regarding the significance of water bodies and the environment when cities are dealing with floods or water shortage situations.

Varanasi is one of the most ancient continuously inhabited cities in India, located on the banks of the Ganga River. The Ganga is one of India's longest and most sacred rivers and there are other two streams flowing on the north and south respectively called as Varana and Asi [Singh Rana 2009]. It is said that the name and original territory of the city was defined by these two rivers. In my fieldwork, local interviewees told me that ponds and lakes are the ornaments of the city, and that these water bodies were older than the Ganga, which appeared later on the topography. Varanasi has famous pilgrimage circuits linking various temples, streams, and stepped ponds; its landscape and topography are interwoven with cultural traditions. The city receives more than 1 million devotees from all parts of India as a "floating" population throughout the year, which creates huge challenges and puts severe pressure on the basic infrastructure.

There are many temples in the city, most of which were built near the riverside or alongside ponds and lakes. Since ancient times, Indians have considered water to be sacred and the most essential element in daily rituals. Water is needed not only for daily life but also for religious purposes, and thus many stepped ponds were built inside or near temple complexes. Stepped ponds are man-made and were part of the temple complex. There are many different names for these stepped ponds, including kunda, tirtha, pushkarini, etc. Generally the shape of stepped ponds is rectangular or square, and most of the stepped ponds in Varanasi city have long histories. Stepped ponds not only have religious and ritual significance; they are also built to ensure easy and regular supply of water, and to conserve it. In the past, most of these water tanks were built by kings or rich people, and were essentially maintained by the people residing nearby or those who occasionally visited, mostly to take part in rituals. Stepped ponds are contact zones that reflect environmental and social transformations.

## **Historical Maps of the City**

In 1822, James Prinsep, an English scholar, surveyed and published a map of Varanasi. For this study I will examine some of the water tanks and ponds Prinsep included on his map. I will only be looking at the water bodies from the main city area; the Cantonment area, which is shown in the bottom part of the map, will be excluded. The water bodies to be covered include stepped ponds (kunda), ponds (talab), lakes (jhila), ditches (gaddha), water streams (nala), and rivers (nadi). Locals commonly believe that many of these tanks were connected to each other, but the introduction of modern infrastructure and urban planning such as sewage systems, public gardens, and roads damaged and cut off the connecting links. Prinsep has also mapped numerous wells in the city. After the detailed survey James Prinsep presumed that the population of the city at that time should be around 180,000 with around 30,000 households. Many of the ponds and lakes were later filled in and disappeared from the city; the famous water tanks and ponds became landmarks, and in some cases only their names survived as location titles.

A third important structure associated with water tanks and temples is the traditional training hall (akhara) used for exercise and wrestling. In the past these structures were part of daily life: Most men would go to the exercise hall early in the morning and then bathe in the water tanks. They would also spend some time cleaning the surroundings near these water tanks and then visit the temple. The three structures were interlinked, and witnessed the transformations happening within and around them. The introduction of modern equipment, changing lifestyles, disproportionate need for land, exploitation of resources, etc., has caused greater harm to all three parts of these complexes: disuse and misuse of one part has always affected the remaining two components.

This study will also rely on another map published in Indien: Handbuch Für Reisende (1914). The city map published in this book also shows the water bodies, but most of the ponds and lakes were listed under their original names, rather than the names given them under British rule, or were not named at all. Preliminary observation of the map revealed that names and shapes of many water tanks and ponds have changed, and some large ponds have since disappeared from the city altogether. In addition to these two published maps I will use satellite imagery obtained from Google Earth Pro to assess the condition of the city's water bodies.

## **Water Bodies in the City**

These temple tanks and ponds are facing various problems, such as encroachment, being used for garbage disposal, and untreated water flowing into them. Some of these ponds and lakes have been filled in and converted into real estate, thus making the surrounding areas more vulnerable: Without these natural sponges to soak up heavy rain, nearby lowlands are becoming water-logged, and in extreme cases floods pose a severe risk to human life and property. The catchment areas surrounding these existing water bodies are densely populated and sites of both old and new buildings; most of ponds and lakes are now vulnerable to encroachment and being used as garbage sites. Modernization at various levels, customs, festivals, infrastructure challenges, and local governance policies are some of the direct and indirect factors impacting the ecology of these water bodies.

Rivers, canals, lakes, ponds, and stepped water tanks offer space for nature in urban areas, which is an important element of the quality of urban life. They contribute to the appearance of a city, influence the microclimate of their surroundings, and provide habitats for aquatic plants and animals. The primary objective of this study is to compare historical maps with satellite imagery data to reveal the changes happening in and around these water bodies and surrounding areas.

### Concluding Remarks

These temple tanks and ponds are an integral part of the city's ecosystem, and there is a cause-and-effect relationship between them. This research is an attempt to understand the transformation of temple tanks and ponds using GIS methods and mapping existing sites to understand the periodical transformation of water bodies in urban cities. I will also discuss the role of traditional water conservation and contemporary usage of the water bodies in urban areas. In the face of growing pressure on ecosystems and urbanization, a more inclusive appreciation of the functions and opportunities offered by urban water bodies could play important role in ecological development.

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# Cross-border Labor Migration and its Effects on Agriculture Production: A Case Study of the China-Myanmar Border

Xiaobo Hua<sup>24</sup>

**Key Words:** Out-migration, In-migration, Cash crop diversification, Livelihood transition, Land use change

## Abstract

There has been rapid rural-urban migration in rural China, especially in the southwest mountainous region, which has resulted in the marginalization of cultivated land use due to labor shortages, such as declines in cultivated areas and land abandonment. Maintaining local grain production mainly depends on increasing production and labor-saving measures. However, on the China-Myanmar border, the expansion of cash crops such as commercial bananas and rubber is an increasingly common phenomenon in rural land use change. The main aim of this study is to examine the conditions for agricultural expansion in the context of labor shortages and an aging labor force, from the perspective of migration for sustainable development in mountainous regions. Using historical demographic census data and land contracts from 1982, participatory rural appraisals (PRAs), remotely sensed data, and quantitative analysis, this paper presents analyses of cross-border labor migration and its effects on agriculture production among 55 households in Makandi village, Mengxiu County, Ruili City, on the China-Myanmar border. The findings are as follows: (1) A majority of paddies have been converted to dry land subject to the expansion of sugarcane cultivation; (2) The increase of cheap labor from Myanmar, as substitution and supplementation, helps local farmers cultivate crops and determine smallholder land use; (3) With the unstable market prices of cash crops and substitution of labor, areas with relatively high-priced cash crops are predicted to decrease; and (4) Due to the in-migration of labor from Myanmar, local farmers are willing to maintain the traditional crop-livestock system and continue planting reasonably priced cash crops, which may delay the marginalization of cultivated land use.

## 1. Introduction

There has been rapid out-migration of labor in developing countries [Qin and Liao 2016], which is an especially important trend in mountainous areas [Jaquet *et al.* 2016]. Out-migration of labor significantly influences agricultural production, especially with regard to land use changes, which is a trend of growing concern [Rozelle *et al.* 1999; Yan *et al.* 2016]. Generally, there are two patterns of manifestation. The first is “disintensification” and “marginalization.” As labor shortages in rural areas increase due to labor out-migration, “disintensification” (e.g., the decrease of cultivated areas or cropping indexes) and

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“marginalization” (e.g., farmland abandonment) are gradually implemented in land use. In order to maintain agricultural production, farmers tend to use production-increasing or labor-saving inputs to substitute capital for labor. The second is “reproduction”: An obvious example of this is that remittances, as an intermediary device, link migration and agricultural production in the origin areas of migration [Gray 2009].

Following the increases in the opportunity cost of labor in China, many rural laborers are migrating to urban areas for job opportunities—a remarkable feature of current Chinese society, especially in Western China. Due to labor shortages and the aging labor force, cultivated land use has dropped off [Hua *et al.* 2013; Zhang *et al.* 2014]. Taking Sichuan province, Chongqing municipality, Guizhou Province, and Yunnan Province as examples in Western China (see Figures 1a and 1b), all of these regions except Yunnan Province (which borders Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam) have experienced significant decreases of rural employees in agriculture and repurposing of land once used for main crops, especially in the late 1990s.

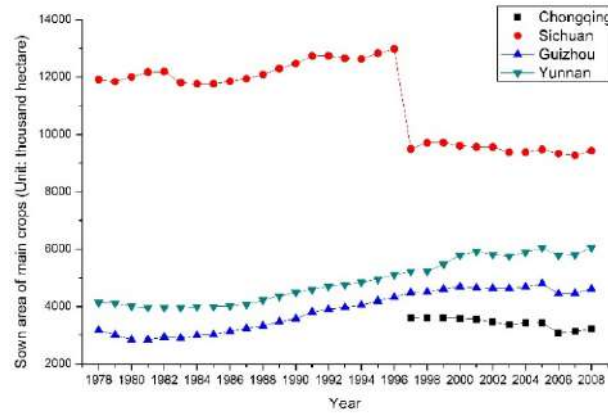
The exception to this, Yunnan Province, has experienced a decrease in its labor force while the amount of land devoted to main crops has increased (Figure 1c). For example, the expansion of cash crops, such as rubber plantations, is an increasingly common phenomenon in rural land use change in Yunnan [Zhang *et al.* 2015]. Therefore, more information is needed on how to maintain local agricultural production to counter the out-migration of labor.

According the Sixth National Population Census of the People’s Republic of China [2010], there were 39,776 people from Myanmar living in China, accounting for 6.70 percent of the total number of foreigners residing in China (they ranked fourth, following migrants from Korea, the United States, and Japan). Because of its position on the China-Myanmar frontier, Yunnan Province provides a specific place for cross-border integration. However, little is known about how cross-border labor migration influences agricultural production in such regions.

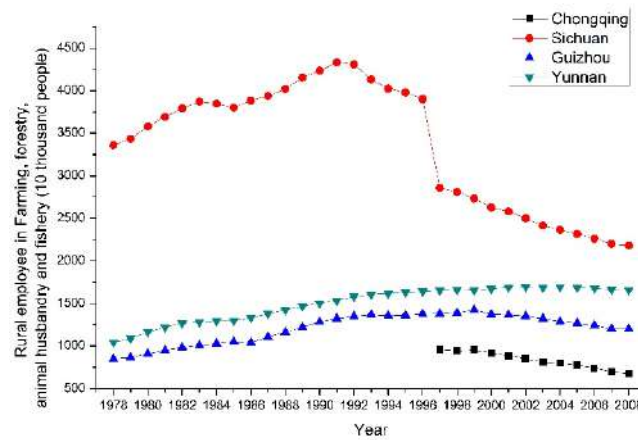
The purpose of this study is to identify the impacts of cross-border labor migration on agricultural production in mountainous areas in the context of labor shortages and an aging labor force, through in-depth fieldwork. To this end, a case study from the village of Makandi in Mengxiu County, Dehong Autonomous Prefecture, Yunnan Province, will be presented to illustrate why villagers tend to hire laborers from Myanmar and how cross-border labor affects local agricultural production. More specifically, we will address the following research questions:

- 1) How are farmers in certain parts of Yunnan, China increasing the amount of land used to cultivate major crops?
- 2) Compared to Sichuan, Chongqing, and Guizhou, why has Yunnan Province expanded its use of farmland rather than reduced it (e.g., land abandonment, decline of cultivated area, decline of land use intensity)?
- 3) Will land marginalization happen in parts in Yunnan Province in the future?

(a)



(b)



(c)

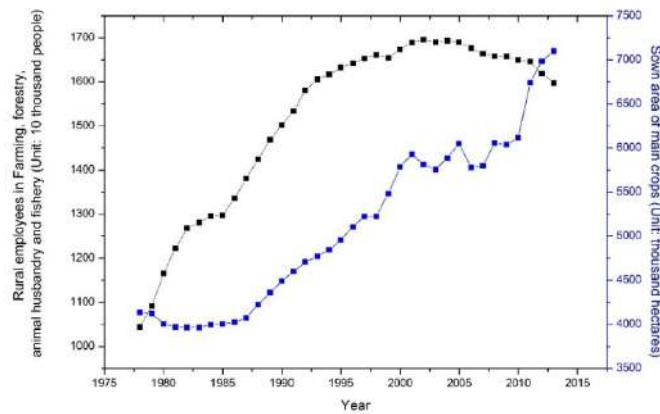


Figure 1. Changes in numbers of rural employees and cultivated areas of main crops in typical regions in Western China.

Sources: Agricultural Statistics Yearbooks (1949–2009) in China<sup>25</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> Major crops include grains and starches (rice, wheat, corn, beans, and tubers), oil-bearing crops (peanuts and rapeseed), sugarcane, tobacco, vegetables, melons, and other farm crops.

## **2. Materials and Methods**

### **2.1 Study area**

Dehong Autonomous Prefecture is located in the western part of Yunnan Province, China, and is situated on the southern Gaoligong Mountain at latitude 23°50′–25°20′ / longitude 97°31′–98°43′. It has an area of 11,526 km<sup>2</sup>: 122 km from east to west, and 170 km from north to south. It is 649 km from Kunming City, the capital of Yunnan Province. It includes three counties and two county-level cities. The prefectural government seat is Mang City. It has a mean elevation of 800–2,100 m (its highest point, 3,404.6 m, is situated on Daniang Mountain, in the northern part of Yingjiang County; its lowest point, 210 m, lies in Jieyang Valley in the western part of Yinjiang). The mean annual air temperature is between 18.8–20.9°C, and annual precipitation is between 1193.0–1556.7 mm. The population of Dehong in 2013 was nearly 1.25 million, of whom 51.92 percent were Han Chinese and 48.08 percent were national minorities, mostly Dai (28.83 percent) and Jingpo (11.06 percent).

### **2.2 Data collection**

The detailed data collection for the in-depth village study will be done using an internationally accepted, stratified, random sampling method and the widely used participatory rural appraisal (PRA) method. Totally, 55 households are randomly interviewed, accounting for more than 90 percent of total households in Makandi. Furthermore, with the help of high-resolution remote sensing images, pocket GPS receiver, and insiders, we will be able to take land plot surveys and explore the changing process of selected typical land plots, including their changing purposes, area, and intensity of use.

## **3. Results**

### **3.1 Crop diversification**

The most significant changes in land use type are disintensification in paddies and disintensification and marginalization in dry lands (Table 1). According to our survey, the majority of paddies have been converted to cash crops, such as sugarcane, lemon trees, and Dendrobium (orchids), especially since 2006. Some dry lands have also been used for planting trees. However, with regard to crop types, Table 1 shows the diversification of land use.

### **3.2 The agricultural activities of cross-border labor forces**

Based on our survey, 51.91 percent of sampled households employed laborers from Myanmar during harvests (e.g., sugarcane, maize). Rather than hiring laborers from their own or neighboring villages, the sampled households tended to hire laborers from Myanmar because it was cheaper, which could be a solution to the problem of labor shortages. However, for planting or harvesting different crop types, farmers' willingness to hire laborers from local villages or Myanmar is different because more skills and responsibilities are needed for certain crops. In Makandi, there is a coordinator who speaks Burmese (the official language of Myanmar) well and who connects local farmers and laborers from Myanmar. His work mainly includes translation, introducing laborers from Myanmar to Chinese farmers, negotiating wages, and assigning tasks to the hired laborers.

Table 1. Changes in land use type, 1982–2015

Land use type in 1982	Land use type in 2015	Major crops	Number of land plots (N=195)
Paddies	Paddies	Rice	9
Paddies	Dry land	Sugarcane, lemon trees, Dendrobium, maize	54
Paddies	Forest	<i>Betula alnoides</i> ( <i>Betula alnoides</i> Buch.-Ham. ex D. Don)	1
Paddies	Fishpond	NA	3
Dry land	Dry land	Sugarcane, lemon trees, Dendrobium, maize, forage grass, and alternating variety of crops	101
Dry land	Forest	<i>Betula alnoides</i> ( <i>Betula alnoides</i> Buch.-Ham. ex D. Don), <i>Alnus cremastogyne</i> ( <i>Alnus cremastogyne</i> Burk.), <i>Cunninghamia lanceolata</i> ( <i>Cunninghamia lanceolata</i> (Lamb.) Hook.), bamboo, and interplant of maize and trees	27

### 3. 3 Future trends in livelihood strategies

Due to the in-migration of laborers from Myanmar and out-migration of local villagers, most farmers would like to increase the scale of animal husbandry because of the relatively high price of cattle and pigs. They also want to rent more land to plant crops that have stable market prices, such as sugarcane.

Table 2. Adjustment of livelihood strategies of sampled households

Adjustments to livelihood strategies	Number of households (HHs) (N=55)	How to adjust
Cultivation	34	Most farmers do not want to plant Dendrobium because of unstable prices; they want instead to rent more land to plant sugarcane and lemon.
Animal husbandry	45	Most farmers want to increase the scale of animal husbandry to raise cattle and pigs.
Off-farm jobs	16	Eleven of the households surveyed want to increase their income through off-farm jobs.



Photo 1. Agricultural activities undertaken by laborers from Myanmar

#### 4. Conclusion

Using in-depth household surveys, this study analyzed changes in crop plantation and land use, and the impacts of cross-border labor migration on agricultural production in regions featuring typical border villages. The results showed the following. First, land use changed significantly between 1982 and 2015, and a majority of paddies have been converted to dry land in order to expand the planting of cash crops and forests. Second, the increase of cheap labor from Myanmar could solve the problem of labor shortages and aging local labor forces, and also contributes to smallholders' land use decisions. Third, with the unstable market prices of some cash crops and the shift from local labor to migrant labor, the amount of land devoted to cash crops with relatively high price risks will decrease. Finally, due to the in-migration of laborers from Myanmar, farmers are willing to maintain the traditional crop-livestock system and keep planting cash crops with reasonable prices, such as sugarcane. Planting trees such as *Taxodiaceae* is also a trend, especially in upland areas. The information revealed by this study will be important in building a better understanding of changing agricultural and employment trends in Asia.

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# Demethylation of Artificial Lignins (G/S and S-type dehydrogenation polymers) as a Basic Study of New Lignin Utilization

Tokimitsu Kobayashi<sup>26</sup>

**Key Words:** DHP, Demethylation, New lignin utilization

## Abstract

There is a strong demand to use plants as fuels and materials because petroleum fossil fuels will be exhausted in the future, and the emission of carbon dioxide derived from petroleum fossil fuels induces global warming. Lignin is one of the representative polyphenols in plants. But its polyphenol character like anti-oxidant ability is low, because most of phenolic-OH exists as ether bonds and methoxyl groups. As such, we propose the enhancement of the polyphenol character by converting aromatic methoxyl groups into phenolic-OH groups (demethylation). Demethylation of guaiacyl and syringyl-type dehydrogenation polymers (G/S-, S-DHP) as lignin model compounds was carried out. Demethylated G/S and S-DHP had higher anti-oxidant ability compared to those of G/S and S-DHP. This strategy is expected to be applied to real lignins for new lignin utilization.

## After Presentation in Myanmar

This was the first time I visited Myanmar. I conducted two oral presentations and two poster presentations. There are few opportunities for making presentations to other people in this field in English. So this experiment was precious for me.

In my study, I chose DHPs as lignin model compounds because I wanted to carry out a basic academic study. However, there were several questions, “Why did you choose DHPs in various kind of lignins?”, “What is the beneficial point of DHPs compared with other types of lignins industrially?”. In my field, it is usual to use model compounds before studying natural compounds, because natural compounds are more complicated than model compounds. This situation looked like in all fields, I felt, while listening to presentations of people in other fields. After presentation, they also asked, “Why do you study bioeconomics in this area?” Of course, there is a reason. I felt that the usual thing in each division is the feature of the division. Divisions are segmented minutely. I must belong to one field. While studying only one field deeply, I tend to forget the features of our divisions.

On the other hand, during this workshop, I listened to so many presentations from other divisions of which I had never heard. Some studies were easy for me to understand, while others were difficult. In analyzing my ability to understand or not, I concluded that this depended on whether I knew the concepts included in the studies or not. That is to say, there are common concepts among fields, and by being exposed to other fields of study, the concepts of my field can be understood critically. If I can summarize the concept of my field, I can express my study easily to other people. Furthermore, if I know about various concepts, I can understand studies in other fields.

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# **The Roles of Mass Media in Religious Conflicts in India**

Takuya Miyazono<sup>27</sup>

**Key Words:** India, Mass media, Religious conflict, Politics

## **Abstract**

The aim of my research is to explain the role of mass media in religious conflicts in India. Many previous works relating to religious conflicts in India have focused on political, economic, and social aspects; however, it is quite difficult to explain such conflicts from a single perspective. In this presentation, I would like to focus on the process of religious conflicts, and especially on the role of the media in instigating and maintaining these conflicts. Although the media can be occasionally decisive at critical junctures in conflicts, it is still unclear how it impacts the people involved in the conflicts. I would like to examine the role of the media by discussing the cases of conflicts in the state of Uttar Pradesh in India.

## **1. The Political Process in India**

India gained independence from the Britain Empire in 1947. While the country was under British rule, a state government existed but universal suffrage was not present in each state; suffrage was limited to the wealthy. Despite the difficult situation this limitation on politics created for the Indian masses, independence from Britain was achieved nonetheless. After independence, India adopted a democratic political system and, in the succeeding decades, Indian politics maintained a stable structure, evidenced by the dominant party system enjoyed by the Indian National Congress party [Kothari 1964: 1162]. However, the Congress party's power began to decline during the late 1960s and, in the late 1980s, a plural-party system was created. As a result of this transformation, identity parties began to appear. Identity parties are parties that appeal to certain aspects of society, such as particular castes or religions. Since the 1990s, identity parties in India have been strongly appealing to Hindus.

## **2. Religious Riots in India**

Many religious riots have occurred in India since its independence, usually between Hindus and Muslims; for example, the Ayodhya Riots in 1993, the Gujarat Riots in 2002, and the Muzaffarnagar Riots in 2013. The number of fatalities differs for each riot, but instances of 1000 or more deaths are common, with Muslims constituting the majority of these fatalities. Scholars who study South Asia have attempted to better understand these religious riots; one such academic is Paul Brass. Brass states that there are two ways of analyzing religious riots: 1) why religious riots occur, and 2) how religious riots occur [Brass 2003: 13-23].

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## **2.1 Why do riots occur?**

The analysis method concerning the causes of riots is called “causing analysis” and most proponents of causing analysis, such as Atul Kohli, focus on political aspects. There are considered to be three contributing factors to India’s riots. First, Kohli argues that the decline of the Congress party’s dominant party system made the political situation in India unstable [Kohli 1990: 383]. He claims that the cause of this upheaval was that the governing power of the Congress party, a traditional party that had played a leading role in India’s independence movement from the late 1880s, had declined. Second, Christophe Jaffrelot [1996] explains that Hindu nationalism transformed as a result of various events such as elections. Third, Ashutosh Varshney, a researcher of civic associations, argues that the lack of an interethnic network and the presence of a weak intraethnic network fosters conflicts between Hindus and Muslims [Varshney 1998: 363, 391-392]. These causing analyses place a focus on “why” riots occur. In other words, they attempt to explain the causes of the riots. However, Paul Brass highlights that there are some inherent problems with causing analysis. He claims that by engaging in this form of analysis there is the risk of falling into an ecological fallacy, so we must be very careful when choosing the subjects. Furthermore, causing analyses cannot be separated from the values of the observer. Therefore, instances when the cause may be affected by the observer’s political position should be specified. Lastly, he states that riots have many causes, which means we can only explain riots by considering political, economical, and historical aspects. Riots are not linear phenomena but integral phenomena and religious riots can very rarely be traced to a single causing factor. This is why causing analysis is flawed. These difficulties led Brass to focus on the mechanisms of riots, or “how” riots occur.

## **2.2 How do riots occur?**

Brass changed his focus from “why” to “how” and applied causing analysis in an effort to explain the mechanisms behind riots. Gupta and Sharma stated that during the 1990s, at a time when identity parties were emerging, newspapers began to foster radical communalism [Gupta *et al.* 1996:5, 14]. Communalism is a situation where people are differentiated on the basis of narrow-minded perceptions of their identity, such as their caste or religion. Gupta and Sharma said that newspapers continually instigated communalism during this period, and this was one of the causes of the tensions between Hindu and Muslims. Robin Jeffery described the process of newspapers’ establishment and development, especially focusing on the localizing of vernacular newspapers [Jeffery 2000: 47-50], and Somnath Batabyal argued that the process of making news centered on interaction with the audience [Somnath 2010: 387-388]. Saifuddin Ahmed also criticized mass media for its role in creating ideologies and its responsibility in regard to stoking communal riots [Ahmed 2010: 109-110]. These works reveal the effects of Indian mass-media but few works have examined the role of mass media in the religious-riot process.

## **3. “Institutionalized Riots System”**

Brass advocated the existence of an “Institutionalized Riots System” in religious riots. He advanced a theory on how religious riots occur [Brass 2003: 15]. First, he stated that riots consist of three phases: preparation, activation, and explanation, and through these phases, riots

are born and die. He explains these phases by comparing them to the rehearsal, enactment, and interpretation phases of a drama. In the preparation phase, an atmosphere is created that causes antagonism among individuals and encourages them to commit violent actions. Next is the preparation phase, in which the tense relationship between the two sides transforms into collective violence that continues for a period of time. The standard duration of a riot is difficult to determine because of ambiguity in the causes and durations of the riots; therefore, the next phase has a pivotal effect on the perception of the riot. The explanation phase concerns attempts to explain why various people participated in the riot and why the riot occurred, along with the reason why people resorted to violence and, most importantly, who is responsible for the damage. Brass highlighted that these explanations are affected by observers' biases. In other words, he said that explanations of riots are part of a form of political process.

Additionally, Brass claimed that there are two roles that are essential for the effective development of these phases: a "conversion specialist" and a "fire tender." A conversion specialist's task is "to decide when a trivial, everyday incident will be exaggerated and placed into the communal system of talk, the communal discourse, and allowed to escalate into communal violence." In Indian religious riots, this role involves creating a deeper divide between Hindus and Muslims, and escalating the tension towards violence. The other role, the fire tender, involves "keeping the embers of communal animosities alive by bringing to the attention of the politicians and the authorities public situations that are known to be sensitive in the relations between Hindus and Muslims." A fire tender's role makes it possible to preserve the tensions between Hindus and Muslims [Brass 2003: 32-33]. The overall name Brass gives to these phases and roles is the "Institutionalized Riots System" and he highlights that this system is deeply related to riot production in India. As I referred to in the previous chapter, his theory does not focus on causing analysis but on functional analysis; however, his theory pays relatively little attention to mass media. The effect of mass media in regard to riot instigation became stronger during the 1990s, as Gupta and Sharma highlighted and, in modern situations, many kinds of mass media must be considered, for example SNS.

#### **4. Conclusion**

As I mentioned in these three chapters, considerable research has focused on Indian politics but this research is lacking in regard to the effect of mass media on Indian. There are some very rich works in the field of Indian politics, both qualitatively and quantitatively, but these are not merely relevant to just India itself, they are applicable to regions all over the world. This is because India is the most populous democratic country in the world and, concurrently, it has relatively recent colonial history. Given the historical achievement of Indian works, it may seem that there is no room for new research but, considering the current availability of information, there are sufficient reasons to conduct further research on India. Mass media is rapidly becoming prevalent around the world and it has become an essential part of people's lives. We can watch movies on cellphones, enjoy entertainment programs on TV, and gain people's attention by using mass media. To focus on mass media is essential in order to research Indian society.

The purpose of my research was explained during the presentation in Myanmar; specifically, the purpose is to contribute towards fill the gap in research on Indian politics and

riots. Considering the title of this workshop, “Myanmar Way of Agricultural and Rural Development (MWARD): Considering the approach of the GNH Inauguration Ceremony,” my research topic seems to be somewhat off topic, but I have broadened my interest to the surrounding environments of both India and Myanmar, and my topic of mass media is relevant to this workshop because mass media is prevalent in many ordinary people’s lives. In my research I will attempt to consider not only politics as an academic term but also politics as a life term, by which I mean not as an intangible object but a word with a concrete and substantive meaning.

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# **Diskarte of People Living Between the Market Economy and Traditional Relationships: A Case of a Coconut-Cultivating Village in Mindanao, the Philippines**

Fumiko Morota<sup>28</sup>

**Key Words:** Mindanao, Coconuts, Everyday life strategy

## **Abstract**

Coconut farmers continue to survive despite a situation of poverty that is not significantly improving. This study shows that people in a coconut-cultivating village are influenced by both the coconut industry, which is characterized by global and domestic market chains, and traditional values as seen in villages in the Philippines. Analyzing the diskarte (strategy) associated with their daily exchanges or gifting occasions and interdependent relationships, my aim is to comprehend the reality of life in a coconut village where people attempt to pursue a better way of life while preserving coconut cultivation as their main source of income and maintaining traditional rural relationships and norms. Compared to other coconut-cultivating areas, the research village located on the island of Mindanao has endured an economically harsher situation due to political issues, involving Islamic anti-government groups and communist rebels, which have caused conflict. However, despite difficulties such as political conflict, insufficient support from the government, and low coconut productivity, the people consider these conditions normal. Born and living there, they employ strategies every day to overcome these broader issues.

## **1. Introduction**

The Philippines is the largest coconut-exporting country in the world, accounting for 59% of all world exports with 26% of all cultivated land in Philippines being used for coconut farms [DA 2014: 29-30]. In Figure 1, which shows the top 10 agricultural export values from 2012 to 2014, it is clear that coconut-related products occupy a high export value. The coconut industry provides significant income and employment to the Filipino people and foreign exchange to the Philippine economy.

However, it is often said that the coconut farmer is the poorest of poor farmers in the Philippines [cf. Pabuayon *et al.* 2009]. There are an estimated 3.5 million coconut farmers in the country with 41% earning only 20,000 pesos a year [DA 2014: 29]. Prevailing issues include low productivity caused by small farm sizes, severe global market competition, low and highly fluctuating prices, a lack of replanting hybrid plant species, and the inability of local farmers to find favorable market outlets.

The situation on the island of Mindanao is more severe than on others. Due to political instability such as conflict with Islamic armed forces and communist rebels, the island remains undeveloped in various senses and government or nongovernment support cannot reach it.

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Mindanao is not only geographically but also economically and politically marginalized, making the lives of coconut farmers there more difficult.

Not only in statistical results but also in many villages all around the Philippines, the situation of poverty for coconut farmers has not improved for a long time, especially in Mindanao. In the context of poverty reduction discussions, this aspect is always emphasized, however, people in coconut farming villages live with their own *diskarte*, a strategy associated with their daily exchanging or gifting occasions and interdependent relationships. Analyzing the people's *diskarte* can shed light on the reality of life in coconut villages, where people try to search for better ways of living while continuing coconut cultivation and maintaining traditional rural relationships.

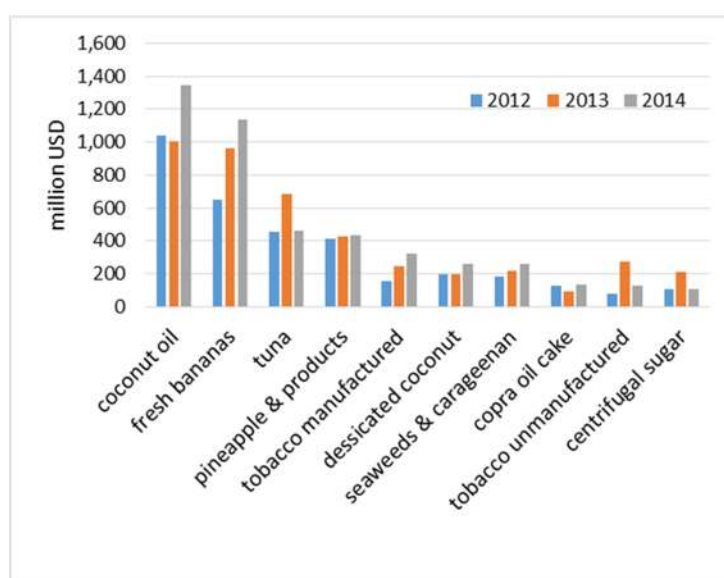


Figure 1. Agricultural exports, FOB value in millions (USD), Jan.-Dec. 2012-2014  
Source: PSA 2015: Table 3

## 2. Case of Village M in Mindanao

Village M is located far from Mindanao's capital city of Davao—about eight hours by car on a highway that is not yet asphalt. People's main livelihood is coconut cultivation and, according to my research, 90% of 39 households in Village M live under the food threshold, meaning they cannot have three complete meals a day.

Table 1 shows one case of coconut harvest. From harvesting copra and charcoal, this household could gain some income, but at the same time, they need to pay for labor wages, margins for traders, and repay debt to traders made pre-harvest. Thus, expense exceeded income from the harvest, and they lost more money than they made.

It is obvious that debt to traders is one of the burdens for coconut farmers. In many cases, people depend economically on traders in any occasion, such as borrowing money in emergencies. Such a relationship between a trader and farmer is called a *suki* relationship in the Philippines, referring to the system of patron and client business relationships in which, in

return for help from the patron, clients must obey the patron economically. However, this traditional patron-client relationship is sometimes challenged by farmers. See the case of Lolo, one villager in Village M.

**Table 1. Case of one household's harvest from 2015/8/22-25**

Headings	Income (Php)	Expense (Php)	Profit (Php)
Copra (61kg) (Php 21/kg)	1281.00		
Chacoal (1sacko) (Php 8 /kg)	104.00		
Labor cost		405.25	
Margin (11kg+sacko1kg)		252.00	
Payment of debt for trader		1029.00	
Total	1385.00	1686.25	-301.25

Source: Author's field notes

### **Case 1. Where to sell copra (2015/8/25)**

Lolo had a *suki* trader from whom he was borrowing money. In this harvest, Lolo tried to sell half of his copra to another trader to escape a payment of debt to the *suki*. He considered that if he sold all the copra to the *suki*, his cash income would offset the debt, but if he sold all copra to another trader, surely the *suki* would distrust him.

In this case, he sold half of it to the *suki* to maintain a good relationship between them without depending on the *suki* too much. These farmers are not only servants of tradition; they sometimes strategically challenge themselves to keep not only *suki* relationships as safety nets but also cash income.

While challenging traditional patron-client relationships, people search for alternative sources of cash income to supplement the low productivity of coconut farming. Figure 2 shows a case of one household's income over 15 days. To make up for the poor coconut harvest, people maintained various cash income sources and safety nets such as migration work for children or the husband, peddling fruits, support from the social security system, and the last way, debt to a *suki*.

In everyday interactions among villagers, one of the most significant *diskarte* is regarding possession of food or goods.

### **Case 2. Lanzones<sup>29</sup> as commodities, gifts, and for self-consumption (2015/8/12 and 8/22)**

Though lanzones were gifted to villagers who came by and chatted during harvesting, they were sold to relatives at 15 Php/3 kg. At first, Lolo tried to give them away for free, but the relatives preferred to pay to avoid complaints that they had received them for free. After they went home, Inday, one of Lolo's daughters, complained to him that he sold each kilogram for only five pesos.

<sup>29</sup> Lanzones is a fruit that people sometimes grow in house gardens and often sell by peddling. Lolo's family had a lanzones tree and sold its fruits by peddling.

While preparing for peddling, Inday offered me lanzones to eat, but I refused because they were for commodity, to which she insisted that they would only sell the rest of the lanzones, which we could eat till satisfied.

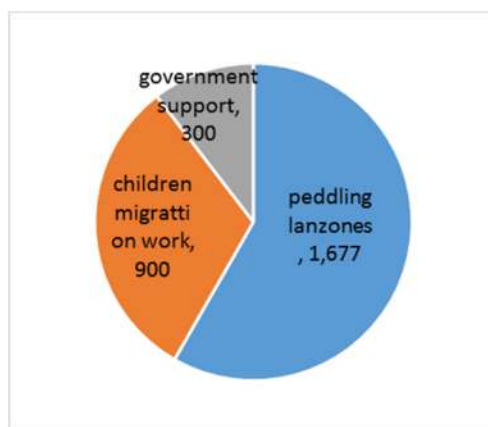


Figure 2. Case of one household's income over a 15-day period  
Source: Author's field notes

### Case 3. Moringa<sup>30</sup> as commodities, gifts, and for self-consumption (2015/8/12, 17)

After Danny, Inday's husband, and Bebet, Lolo's daughter, made a purchase at a friend's grocery store, they picked up some moringa in front of the store. On another day, Inday bought moringa for 5 pesos from a peddling child. On another day, Lolo climbed a mountain to pick moringa. Inday said nostalgically, "There used to be a lot of moringa growing around here and we could pick it freely; it was not something we needed to buy."

### Case 4. Sharing sweet potato leaves (2015/8/23)

An old woman dropped in on Danny after buying sweet potato leaves in a neighboring village. Looking at her bag filled with leaves, Inday and Bebet curiously said to her, "What is in this bag?," "Where did you buy this?," and "Only 5 pesos? So cheap!" She replied, "I will give you some because these are too much." At first Inday acted as if she was refusing it, but she shared in them. Usually, they did not talk much to the old lady, but at that time, they spoke to her in a lively manner.

In Case 2, lanzones are sometimes recognized as a commodity to make money, sometimes gifted for free, and sometimes self-consumed. Similarly, in Case 3, people receive moringa by gifting, purchasing, or by picking them in the mountains, and such a shift is recent according to Inday's narrative. On the other hand, in Case 4, by strategically talking such as Inday and Bebet did, leaves were shared and gifted to them. They engaged with the old lady and succeeded in being given shared food for free. In those three cases of dealing with foods such as *lanzones*, moringa, and potato leaves, people strategically negotiate to transform food as both

<sup>30</sup> Moringa is an edible vegetable leaf.



“gift” and “commodity,” which is done according to the context of “people,” “places,” and “goods.”

From selling lanzones in the village to receiving moringa free from friends to sharing potato leaves, all kinds of food exchanges can only exist within good personal relationships in the village that people also have the *diskarte* to maintain.

### **Case 5. Not invited to death anniversary party (2015/8/24-25)**

There was a death anniversary party of Lolo’s relatives in Village M, which Lolo’s family knew that but were not officially invited to by a host. They complained that the relatives were unwilling to share dishes although they were wealthy.

The next day, Inday accidentally encountered the host, who asked, “Why did you not come to the party? We were waiting for you.” Inday answered, “I really wanted to go, but this Japanese (pointing to the author) was so shy that she hesitated to join.” Inday hid her true feelings by giving this reason, even though the author never hesitated to go.

If she criticized the host, their relationship would be broken, and sharing, exchanging or selling something in the village would become difficult for them both. Not to be so, people hardly complain or criticize other people in front of them and always trying to adjust each other and keep a good, smooth interpersonal relationship in the village. This is how and why people maintain good relationships in everyday practices in rural villages, where people cannot live without strong interdependency.

### **3. Conclusion**

First, despite the low productivity, people still make a living from coconut cultivation. To make up for the difficulty of coconut cultivation, people now try to challenge or overcome a traditional economic patron-client system and seek various kinds of cash income sources to live each day. By depending on those alternative sources, people also strategically and rationally negotiate their benefits in their ordinal village life. Even though earning money from coconut cultivation is difficult, people can live with their “economy” embedded in the society where they make use of their own strategies toward transforming sharing or possession of wealth and keeping or overcoming traditional relationship in everyday life.

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# Carbon and Nitrogen Stable Isotope Analysis of Food Web Structure in Batan Estuary, the Philippines

Yuya Ogawa<sup>31</sup>

**Key Words:** Mangrove, Stable isotope, Food web

## Abstract

Currently, the conservation of ecosystems, including their ecosystem services, is essential to maintaining human life. Numerous data from scientific and social investigations are necessary for sustainable use of natural resources. Well-known studies have calculated U.S. dollar equivalents for ecosystem services (Costanza 1997, 2014). According to these sources, coastal areas provide the highest ecosystem service values among ecosystems. However, coastal areas need conservation and management, and at least 35% of global mangrove areas have been lost. Furthermore, mangrove forests are still disappearing at a rate of 12% annually (FAO 2007). A major cause of mangrove loss is its conversion to aquaculture ponds which began in the 1980s. The main product of aquaculture ponds in the Southeastern Area is shrimp (*Penaeus monodon*) for Japan. People use these areas for food, but do not recognize the environmental destruction.

Recently, technical methods and protocols for research have been developed. Moreover, previous studies support the existence of more realistic solutions for maintaining sustainable land use. In this respect, our study used a stable isotope analysis to reveal material cycles in the field, and to determine food web structure in tropical coastal mangrove areas in the Philippines.

Stable isotope ratios of carbon and nitrogen ( $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) are widely used as natural tracers to elucidate organic matter cycles in ecosystems. We analyzed  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  in plants, phytoplankton, microalgae, benthos, and sediments from Batan Estuary, where the mangrove forest has been extensively converted to aquaculture ponds, beginning in the 1980s, creating a complex habitat structure. An Isoscape model was used to explain the spatial distribution of stable isotopes ratios. Food sources were estimated using a mixing model of stable isotopes. And isotope map (scatter plot between  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ ) illustrate the food web structure in each ecosystems. The results showed that the  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  and  $\delta^{15}\text{N}$  patterns in our samples were consistent with predictions from the previous studies of food web structure.

The Isoscape model showed increasing of  $\delta^{13}\text{C}$  values in sediment organic matter from the land to the sea ( $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -29\text{‰}$ — $-25\text{‰}$ ) in whole study area. This reflected the shifting of source in sediment organic matter from terrestrial plants to marine phytoplankton. This shifting pattern was confirmed also in a small scale (0-100 m) from mangrove stand to open water area.

From the isotope map, we confirmed different ranges of stable isotope values in benthos in mangroves, tidelands, artificial mangrove stands and abandoned aquaculture ponds. This is indicate that different ecosystem have different food web structure and food source. Especially, this study suggest that an anthropogenic ecosystems create a new food web

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structures for example abandoned fishpond contribute as a habitat for some species of fiddler crab and snail. In summary of this study, the anthropogenic complex habitat structure in Batan Estuary supported a variety tyoe of food web structures.

This study work and field tour in Myanmar gave me a new perceptions. I got an opportunity to think about an ecological change in a country which has a large potential for economic growth in that it has many natural resources. Myanmar has more than 2,000 km of coastline along the Bay of Bengal, and one area contains large mangrove forest. According to the FAO report, Myanmar has about 3% of mangrove area in world (507,000 ha). However, mangrove area had been lost around 10% from 1980 to 2005, almost entirely through conversion to agriculture and development of shrimp aquaculture pond. Extensive mangrove forests still remain, although even these have been widely degraded by overharvesting for timber and fuelwood. There are a growing number of community-based efforts to establish mangrove plantations by Department of Forestry.

Almost all Southeast Asian countries had been converted to anthropogenic land uses for a long time. We hope our research will contribute to ecosystem conservation and provide feedback for people who live and produce aquaculture, as well as study ecology in the area. This feedback system is important to continued research in the area. Integrating scientific and social information makes discussions more creative.

# Hindu-Muslim Relationships and Interreligious Marriage in Contemporary India: The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Maharashtra

Seiko Tsuruta<sup>32</sup>

**Key Words:** Hindu, Muslim, Co-existence, Communal harmony

## Abstract

This is a report on the presentations and fieldwork I conducted during January 5–11 in Myanmar. I gave an oral presentation about how we can ensure communal harmony between Hindu and Muslim communities through interreligious marriage in contemporary India on January 6, and poster presentations on the same topic twice on January 6 and 9. This topic was especially focused on the role of voluntary organizations in Maharashtra State, India. There were approximately 20 participants on January 6 and approximately 70 on January 9. I was able to discuss the issue with some of the participants and it was a very fruitful experience. Aside from my presentations, I learned about a lot of things during my fieldwork there, for example, the religious atmosphere and agriculture. First, I will explain the outline of my presentation and what I learned from the feedback I received on it. Second, I will reflect on how I conducted my presentation. Finally, I will relate what I learned from my fieldwork in Myanmar.

## 1. Oral Presentation and Poster Presentation

### 1.1 The outline of the presentations

We arrived at Naypyidaw on January 5, and the next day I gave my oral presentation and first poster presentation at the Amara Hotel. My presentation topic was how to resolve Hindu-Muslim conflicts in contemporary India, and the title was *Hindu-Muslim Relationships and Interreligious Marriage in Contemporary India: The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Maharashtra*. It was the first time I had given a presentation.

The aim of this presentation was to consider possible ways to overcome religious conflicts through social activities that support interreligious marriage in the state of Maharashtra, India. Hindu-Muslim conflicts surfaced in modern times in India and they persist today. Muslims occupy a peculiar position under Hindu Nationalism. Maharashtra in particular is one of the states in India that often experiences religious conflicts. Regarding violence in India, Varshney says that the rate of incidence is higher in urban areas and cities. It is important to construct intercommunal civic networks that allow Hindus and Muslims to mix with one another [Varshney 2001]. Today it is considerably important to construct such a network and to make communal harmony. Yui reports that when riots have prevented community activities, community-led policing has proven effective in some areas; however, the results have not been as good in area where external police have intervened, and the result is good in the area where

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residents do it [Yui 2016]. I have therefore focused on activities that were undertaken by residents, not police.

In such a situation, some voluntary social organizations offer support to couples from different faiths who have intermarried, and in this way attempt to ensure communal harmony. In India, interreligious/-caste marriages can easily create trouble, so these organizations attempt to resolve these problems, aiming to achieve a peaceful society.

In this presentation, I first examined the historical process of Hindu and Muslim division in Maharashtra. Second, I confirmed the importance of marriage in Indian society, and evaluated an approach focusing on interreligious marriages between Hindus and Muslims in this context. Finally, I examined the activities of social organizations, illustrating the possibility of religious harmony not only in India, but also throughout the world.

## **1.2 Discussion**

I received some useful questions from participants and discussed the issues with them. I will now explain what I learned from these discussions.

The first question I was asked was “why did you choose to research religious conflicts in India?” In Myanmar, the most popular religion is Buddhism. If we focus on religious conflicts in Myanmar, there are few religious conflicts. There are of course some problems, like persecution of Rohingya people who are Muslims by majority Burmese Buddhist, but not so big issue compared to them in India. The Burmese are interested in this topic because India is a neighbor to Myanmar, although their respective situations are totally different. I felt that the people I spoke with do not think the situation in India is “someone else’s business,” and that they want to learn about it.

The second question I was asked was “why is interreligious marriage possible in India?” The student who asked the question was from Indonesia. According to him, they have similar problems regarding this kind of marriage in Indonesia, and there are also Muslim-Christian couples there. In Indonesia, if two people from different faiths want to intermarry, they must go abroad, for instance to Australia or the United States. This was an interesting question for me. In India, there are two kinds of laws—religious law and secular law. The same is true in many Muslim countries: If we check Muslim religious law in India (which is known as the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, Muslim men may marry Muslim, Jewish, or Christian females, while Muslim women may only marry Muslim men. If a couple does not meet these conditions, one of the partners must convert to the other’s faith. However, if we check secular law, couples do not have to convert, even if they adhere to different religions, and interreligious marriage is accepted legally. Despite the existence of this secular law, interreligious couples are of course often harassed by nationalists and their families. When such problems occur, there are voluntary organizations that help these couples. That’s why the role of them is very important in order to protect secular law and prove that marriages are legitimate. If they did not exist, interreligious marriage would be even more difficult.

The third question I was asked was “what type of person marries someone from another religion? How can couples live together without the same religion and beliefs?” I responded: “For many of them, religion is not so important, and they believe in secularism.” One student, a Buddhist, asked: “What is your religion? If you do not believe in any god, what

do you believe in? For you, should religion disappear in the world? Does secularism make this world better?" I must consider this question carefully. Religion is not the cause of communal violence, but people who commit such violence attempt to use religion to justify themselves. It is important not to lose one's religious beliefs but to see the truth of what is happening in the world.

### **1.3 My reflections on the style of presentation**

There are several points I wish to examine and review. First, I must improve my PPT presentation documents. My PPT featured a lot of text, which made it difficult for the participants to understand because of the lack of images and tables. Next time, I will use shorter sentences and include a few tables that the audience can understand easily at a glance. I will also consult some of my fellow students, whose PPT presentations included effective animations and colorful images.

Second, I will memorize what I want to tell my audience and give a presentation that inspires them. I did not practice enough, and I looked at my documents and the PPT slides throughout the presentation. These habits detracted from the appeal of my presentation. Next time, I will remind myself not to do these two things, and I am confident that my presentation will be better for it.

## **2. Field Work**

We visited several places for fieldwork during this workshop. First, teachers from the Yezin Agriculture University (APU) invited us on a small tour of the university building, where our workshop was held on January 9. It was a huge place, and several schools are located there. After we looked around the site, we reached at the main feature of the university, which is a dam. We were surprised that such big dam was inside the university building. It was huge, and some students were also there. We reached the top of it by climbing a flight of steps. Seeing the dam made me consider how important water is to the people living here. Near the dam, there was a small Buddhist temple. Unlike Japanese Buddhist temples, which are made of wood, it was painted gold and very flamboyant. A boy in the temple had *nunchaku* (two linked fighting sticks) and gave us a demonstration on how to use them. I feel that temples in Myanmar are places where people can gather any time, and are very welcoming to children as well. Our short university visit took place on a sunny and windy day, so we could enjoy and learn a bit about Myanmar's atmosphere and agriculture system.

We also visited the biggest pagoda in Naypyidaw. We arrived at night, just before it closed for the day, and I heard something that sounded like prayer. Despite the darkness, there were prayers being said inside the pagoda. I was also surprised to learn that there were many monks living in this Pagoda. There are many Burmese who are very pious Buddhists, and they base their lives on their faith.

Finally, I will tell you about the Burmese. My previous image of Myanmar was dominated by the military regime and what I knew of Aung San Suu Kyi, who has spent decades denouncing the regime, so I wondered if the country's situation was bad. However, all the people I met smiled softly at me and were very kind. The whole experience, not only my

presentations but also the field trip, gave me many impressions. I would like to make good use of my experiences during my fieldwork in India.

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# **Can Bonobos (*Pan paniscus*) Survive? : Comparison of Local Perceptions on Bonobos among Bongando young generations in two regions**

Aya Yokotsuka<sup>33</sup>

**Key words:** Bonobo, Local perception, Bushmeat, Conservation

## **Abstract**

Bushmeat hunting is the biggest threat to great apes in Central Africa. The Bongando ethnic group in the Democratic Republic of Congo traditionally has a taboo against eating bonobo (*Pan paniscus*). The Luo Scientific Reserve is located in Bongando territory, and Bongando in Wamba have a tradition of protecting bonobos. They re-evaluate their local perceptions of bonobos and receive benefits from using these cultural resources. However, in another village, the situation regarding bonobos is dramatically different, especially among individuals between 20 and 40 years of age. This study aims to examine how local perceptions towards bonobos are different within and beyond the reserve for young generations. I interviewed residents between ages 20 and 40 in village Y, which is 90km away from Wamba. Residents were asked about the relationship between bonobos and humans. According to my research, 65% of respondents have eaten bonobo. Though older people criticize their children for eating it, young generations do not listen to these complaints. What is more, if hunters kill bonobos, police will not arrest them, even though the bonobo is a protected animal in the Congo. This study concludes that the biggest threat to bonobos in rural areas may be the disappearing taboo against consuming bonobo meat.

## **1. Introduction**

### **1.1 The bonobo and their status**

The bonobo (*Pan paniscus*) is one of Africa's great apes and endemic to the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) [World Atlas of Great Apes and their Conservation 2005]. They only live in equatorial forests south of the Congo River. The species is now severely threatened, particularly by poaching and the commercial bushmeat trade, even though the killing or capturing of bonobos for any purpose is against national and international laws [IUCN and ICCN 2012]. Though some ethnic groups avoid eating bonobo meat [Lingomo and Kimura 2009; Thompson *et al.* 2008], these traditions are disintegrating due to changing cultural values and population movements. The bonobo has been categorized as endangered by the RED LIST assessment since 1996 [IUCN RED LIST 2016].

I conducted research in a Wamba village in 2014 and 2015 in order to better understand local perceptions about bonobos. The study found that Bongando people in Wamba still have a taboo against eating bonobo meat and now they protect the species. As a result, they have profited from over 40 years of research activities (e.g. employment, building a hospital and

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elementary school, medicine, school supplies and university scholarships, among others). Bonobo research helps to preserve ethnic traditions regarding bonobos and now people in Wamba view their culture as beneficial.

After this research, I understood the Wamba as one successful case of bonobo conservation. Then, one question hit my mind: What happens in the places where no researchers and no NGOs have explored? I imagined that almost of all wild bonobo habitats are not protected areas, and determined that it was important to examine how local people in non-protected areas perceive bonobos.

This study aims to discuss how local perceptions about bonobos differ among young generations inside the reserve and non-protected area. I studied young generations, between ages 20 and 40, because the gap of recognition to bonobo meat was dramatically different between them and older generations.

## 2. Methods

### 2.1. Study area

The study was conducted in two regions in the DRC, both in Thuapa Province (Fig.1). One study site, Wamba, is located at  $0^{\circ}11'08''\text{N}, 22^{\circ}37'58''$ , 80km south of Djolu, which is the center of the region. The village is in the north sector ( $147\text{km}^2$ ) of Luo Scientific Reserve ( $481\text{km}^2$ ) [Idani *et al.* 2008]. Since Japanese primatologist Takayoshi Kano started wild bonobo research in Wamba 1974, the study has continued for over 40 years [Furuichi *et al.* 1998]. Another site, Village Y, is 90km west from Wamba. Once the site of a European company managing a large oil palm plantation, it was corrupted by political disorder in the 2000s. Since the oil palm company withdrew from the region, no foreigners have settled down. These two study sites constitute the residential area of the Bongando people, shown below.

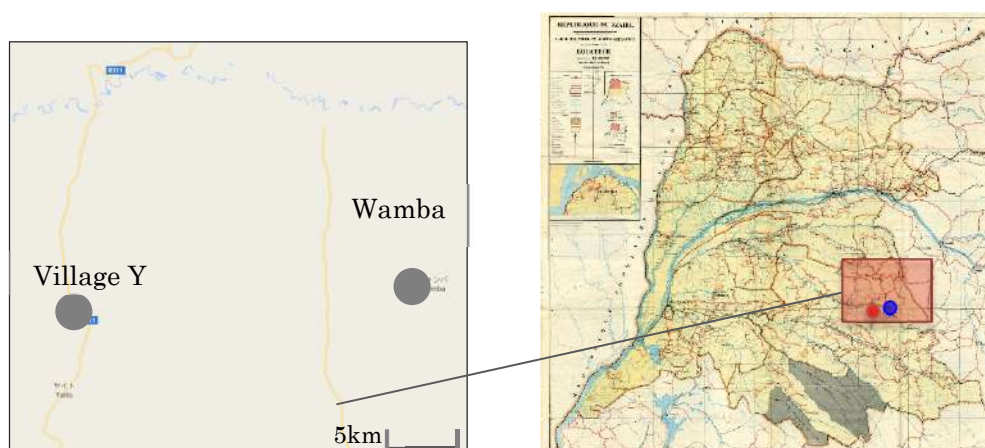


Figure. 1. The villages of Wamba and Village Y

Right: REPUBLIQUE DE ZAIRE CARTE ROUTIERE ET ADMINISTRATIVE EQUATEUR

Left: Cited by Enlarged view; Google map; <https://www.google.co.jp/maps/@0.470505,22.3351517,12z>

## 2.2. Bongando people

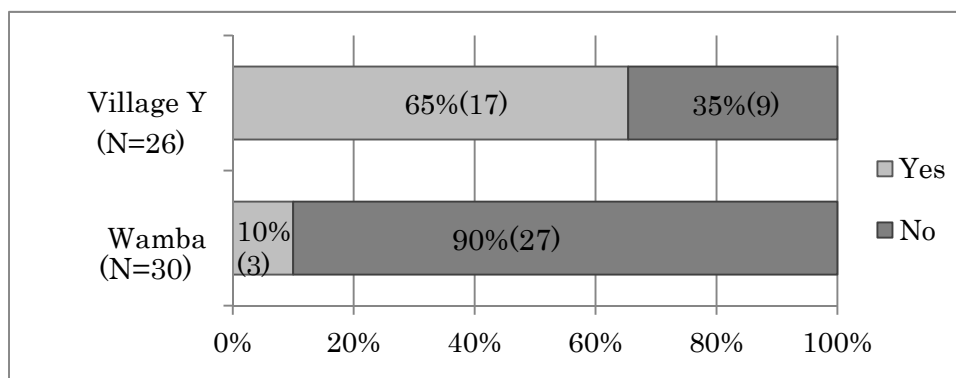
The Bongando people are an ethnic group of the Mongo cluster [Hulstaert 1961; 1972]. Their population is estimated around 450,000 to 500,000 in all of the Congo [Kimura 1992]. Some ethnic groups that live adjacent to Bongando territory do not have taboos against eating bonobo meat. Only the Bongando avoid eating bonobo. Bonobo is categorized as a human in Bongando's animal perception because of the bonobo's physical resemblance to humans. The Bongando regard the bonobo as a species that has "missed" becoming human. The Bongando believe that man and the bonobo are from the same parents, that the bonobo is the elder brother and man is the younger brother. In their folklore, man and bonobo once lived together, but they live apart because of some conflicts between them. [Lingomo and Kimura 2009].

## 2.3. Data Collection and analysis

To compare regional differences in attitude towards bonobos among young generations, I selected people between the ages of 20 and 40 (N= 30 in Wamba, N=26 in Village Y). Women believe bonobo meat is for men, so they do not eat it, and therefore, I only collected data for men, using questionnaires and unstructured interviews. This study was conducted between December 2014 and February 2015 in Wamba and in July 2016 in Village Y. The questionnaires employed open-ended questions: Q1: Have you ever eaten bonobo meat? Q2: Do your parents eat bonobo meat? (Respondents only from village Y) Q3: Do you know legends between man and bonobo? Fisher's exact probability test and Pearson's chi-square test were used to compare differences in responses from the two regions. Significance was set at  $P < 0.05$ . I used software R (version R 3.3.2) for all data analysis.

## 3. Results

*Q1: Have you ever eaten bonobo meat?*



Graph 1. Comparison percentage of experience of bonobo meat between Village Y and Wamba 65% (N=17) of informants in Village Y answered yes to having eaten bonobo meat, whereas in Wamba 10% (N=3) participants answered yes ( $df = 1$ ,  $p < 0.05$ ) (Graph1).

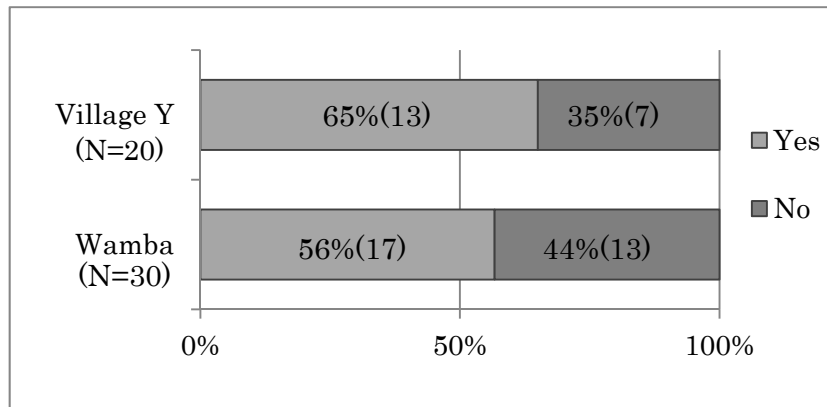
*Q2: Do your parents eat bonobo meat?*

		Informants		Total
		Eat	Do not eat	
Parents	Eat	4	0	4
	Do not eat	13	9	22
		17	9	26

Table 1. Relation between parent's food custom and respondent's bonobo eating

I assumed that the reason why informants in village Y had more experience of eating bonobo meat is food customs inherited from their parents. To test this, I asked the question only to respondents in village Y who had eaten bonobo meat before. The results indicate that participants eat bonobo meat even if their parents do not (N=13) (Table1). Therefore, the phenomenon that young people eat bonobo meat does not appear to be influenced by their parents' food customs.

*Q3: Do you know legends between man and bonobo?*



Graph 2. Comparison recognition of legends between man and bonobo in Village Y and Wamba

The bonobo is considered human by the Bongando, who believe that bonobo and man were once siblings. Do these beliefs and legends affect tendency to eat bonobo meat? To compare the results between the two study regions, I asked respondents if they knew of these legends. The results found that there is no significant difference between the two villages about recognition of legends ( $X^2=0.087$  df=1,  $p>0.05$  n.s) (Graph 2).

#### 4. Discussion

This study focuses on local perceptions on bonobos in non-protected areas. My previous study examined the Luo Scientific Reserve in 2014, where I found that local people in Wamba understand the importance of bonobos well through interaction with researchers. However, there has been little research on how local people recognize bonobos in areas with no presence from NGOs and researchers. This study confirmed that young generations, especially

people between that ages of 20 and 40, have started eating bonobo meat in non-protected areas. Some people and hunters told me that they hunt bonobos and sell the meat in the village twice or three times in a year. According to my interviews, 82% (N=14) of respondents in Village Y that had eaten the meat had eaten it in Village Y, though in Wamba all of the residents that had eaten it (N=3) did so outside of Wamba. The bonobo is an animal protected by the DRC government, so if hunters kill bonobos, they will be fined or imprisoned. However, it was found that if hunters in village Y give bonobo head or femur to the village mayors, they would not be arrested. It is therefore very easy for young people in village Y to get bonobo meat. Some young people said the taste of bonobo is better than pork. It may be a familiar taste for them.

Though younger generations in Village Y tend to eat bonobo meat, it seems that elders still have a taboo against it. According to the results of Q2, only 4 parents (N=26) eat bonobo meat. Even though 22 parents do not eat it, 13 respondents eat bonobo meat. I heard from elder people that they dislike that their children eat bonobo; however even if fathers chastise children for eating bonobo, their children refuse to listen to them. A young informant told me his father hits him if he eats bonobo meat, so he eats it at his friend's house. His parents hate if their son cooks bonobo with the house pot; they do not want to cook it anymore.

Do not young people in Village Y come by the tradition of the relationship between man and bonobo honestly? I guessed young generations in Village Y are less familiar with legends about man and bonobo than the Wamba people are, but the results showed that there was no significant difference about the recognition of legends in the two villages. It looks like the legends do not significantly affect the likelihood of eating bonobo meat.

The palm oil plantation in Village Y has been closed following two conflicts in the area, and it is assumed that the plantation had little impact on bonobos living around it. Of the bonobo habitat, 98% is suitable for palm oil cultivation [GRASP, 2015]. It will be huge detriment to the bonobo population if the palm oil industry in the DRC expands again. However, one of biggest problem for surviving bonobos at the present is the weakening taboo against eating bonobo meat that is becoming common among young generations. One day one of my respondents said to me, "When my father was a child, they didn't feel hungry. Because they could hunt animals and fish in our forests. So they didn't go to big cities to get work. Ancestors were upset if my father went to school. But now, parents are upset if their children don't go to school. We need money to our children go to school. So we have to go to big cities to get salary." Even after this research, I am unable to provide a conclusive explanation for why young people started eating bonobo meat. However, it is clear that human mobility is more active than before. So many different ethnic groups are in big cities. Through interacting with other ethnic groups, young people may gradually change their identity as Bongando or other members of other ethnic groups. Looking forward, I plan to study the life histories of young generations and to examine why the taboo against bonobo meat is disappearing. This will be the subject of my PhD thesis.

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#### **Online Documents:**

- GRASP Palm oil Paradox Sustainable solutions to save the great apes (2015)  
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B905EWfGAuQVeWtBOFZ3MGIZQ0k/view>
- IUCN Red list 2016-3 <http://www.iucnredlist.org/>

#### **Questions from students in University of Forestry, Yezin**

##### **Q1. How do local people perceive the relationship between Ebola disease and bonobo meat?**

A. I do not think people believe they will get Ebola disease if they eat bonobo. This is particularly true for people in Wamba, because they do not eat bonobo meat. However, there is some suspicion that bushmeat, especially monkey, may contain the risk of acquiring an Ebola infection.

##### **Q2. What is traditional value in Wamba?**

A. People in Wamba protect bonobos even though other villagers have started eating bonobo meat. For the taboo against eating bonobo meat, researchers come to Wamba and people in Wamba get profit from them.



## タンザニア臨地キャンパス

2017年2月14日～2月20日

### <スケジュール>

- 2月14日（月） ウングジャ島の海浜地帯で生態調査、ストーンタウンの街並みとスワヒリ建築の観察（ザンジバル）
- 2月15日（火） 村落博物館でタンザニア各民族の家屋に関する情報収集、根本利通氏によるタンザニアの歴史と文化に関する講義（ダルエスサラーム）
- 2月16日（水） ダルエスサラームからドドマへ移動
- 2月17日（木） ASAFAS 卒業生・長谷川さんの食品加工会社の訪問、契約農家の農地見学、NPO「地球緑地の会」の椿さんの事務所訪問（ドドマ）
- 2月18日（金） タケの半栽培の観察（ルワハ）
- 2月19日（土） アカシア林帯とミオンボ林帯の生態観察（イリンガ）
- 2月20日（日） イリンガからダルエスサラームへ移動

### <概要>

タンザニア臨地キャンパスには、アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科の大学院生9名が参加しました。本臨地キャンパスでは、島嶼部のザンジバルにはじまり、内陸の乾燥地ドドマ、ミオンボ林の広がる高原地帯まで多様な地域を訪れ、タンザニアの人々の暮らしと環境や文化について演習をおこないました。フィールド調査の基本的な手法について学ぶとともに、地域社会を総合的な視点で捉えることの重要性を理解することを目的としました。参加した大学院生は、各自のフィールドと比較することで、農業、宗教、企業活動、建築などに関して新たな視座を得ることができました。

### <謝辞>

本臨地キャンパスの開催においては、多くの方々にお世話になりました。JATA toursの根本利通さん、金山麻美さん、幾山未有さん、NPO「地球緑地の会」の椿延子さん、Matoborwa 代表の長谷川竜夫さん、在タンザニア日本大使館の松隈俊佑さん、イリンガの村びとをはじめとする方々に多くのことを教えていただきました。ここに記して感謝いたします。

JATA tours の根本さんには本臨地キャンパスの計画から実施にいたるまで本当にお世話になりましたが、悲しいことに臨地キャンパス直後の2月24日に急逝されました。根本さんはタンザニアで研究する院生や研究者をいつも激励してくださいました。心よりご冥福をお祈りいたします。（山本佳奈）



写真. ザンジバル空港にて [2017年2月13日撮影]



# タンザニアの人々の学びの場

## —イスラームと農業に注目して—

井上 満衣<sup>34</sup>

キーワード：学び、子ども、若者、イスラーム

### Abstract

“Swahili” is a word created in the Arabic language in a Bantu style. Zanzibar is a typical Swahili city. The city name “Zanzibar” means “stone town”; in it there are Islamic-style stone houses, mosques, and madrasas. There is a space around the edges of a stone house called a baraza, which is a gathering place for people. In addition to these places, one farmer in Dodoma tried to turn his farm into a communication spot for people engaged in agriculture. The purpose is to exchange agricultural knowledge and information. There are communication places for people, and they are learning in them. These places are necessary because a place for learning involves interactions among people. In Tanzania, people are learning from interactions with each other.

### 1. 「スワヒリ」とバラザ

「スワヒリ」とは、岸边や縁を意味するアラビア語がバントゥー語風に訛ってできた言葉であり、東アフリカ沿岸部を中心とした地域を指す。スワヒリ地域の特徴として、イスラームを受容していることが挙げられる。代表的なスワヒリ都市であるザンジバルの中心地ストーンタウンには、モスクやマドラサだけでなくイスラーム様式の石造りの建物が所狭しと並んでいる<sup>35</sup>。石造りの家の前には、バラザと呼ばれる縁側のような空間があり、人々が集まって話をしている。たまたまバラザを通りかかった人も自然に会話入っていく。イスラームでは家の中にいる女性がひと目につくことは望ましくない。家の外に作られたバラザは、家の女性と遭遇してしまうのを避けつつ、コミュニティーの人々が気軽に交流する場となっている。

バラザを利用するのは大人だけでない。子どもたちが親に付き添って腰かけたり、小学生くらいになると友人たち同士で集まっていた。幼いころから大人の行動をみて、バラザで友人と会うことを模倣しているのであろう。

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<sup>35</sup> かつて奴隷貿易の時代に、タンザニアでは、イスラームが沿岸部だけでなく内陸部まで広がっていった。奴隷貿易に使われた通り沿いには、今もなおモスクやマドラサを数多く目にすることができる。

## 2. 情報交換の場としての農場

### 2.1 ドドマの R 氏

タンザニアでは、昨年から続く雨不足のため、畑の作物が枯れていた。タンザニアの内陸部に位置するドドマ州は、平年でも水の確保が問題となることがしばしばあるが、今年は特に水不足が深刻であった。

ドドマ州の農村部で暮らす 35 歳男性の R 氏は、両親と弟の 4 人家族である。雨不足により彼の農作物もほとんど育っていなかった。彼の農地は、灌漑用パイプから約 750m も離れたところに位置するため、水の確保が難しく灌漑パイプの使用料も高くつく。この状況をなんとか改善しようと、R 氏は井戸掘りを進めている。この地域では水を得るために地下 20m の深さまで掘る必要があるが、井戸掘りは 2 人の職人により素手で行われる。1m につき、4 万タンザニア・シリング（以下、シリング）、20m だと 80 万シリング（日本円で約 4 万円）の費用がかかる。一方、灌漑パイプを使って農地全体に水をやろうとすると、1 週間で 7 万シリング、約 3,500 円の水道代がかかるため、井戸を掘れば 3 ヶ月でもとがとれるのである。

次に注目したい点は、彼が次々に新たな技術に挑戦している点である。それまで都市のダルエスサラームで、オフィスワークをしていた R 氏は、2014 年から実家のドドマ州に戻って農業を始めた。ソコイネ農業大学の卒業生によって構成される農業団体のプロジェクトへの参加や、銀行からのローンによって彼自身で資金を調達している。

その資金をもとに点滴灌漑やグリーンハウスをはじめ、養殖、養鶏や干しレンガ造りまで様々な活動を試みている。日本人が経営する食品加工会社 M 社との契約栽培もその一つである。R 氏は「儲かることなら何でも挑戦する」と言っていた。

### 2.2. 周りを巻き込む力

私は R 氏の上記の言葉には何か違和感を抱いた。ドドマ州で農業を営むよりも、ダルエスサラームのオフィスで働いていた方が良いのではないか。しかし、R 氏はドドマ州のこの土地で新たなことに挑戦して、利益を生み出すことに意義があると言う。

1) 農業に向いていないと考えられる乾燥地で農業を営むこと、2) 1 人で導入することは困難だと思われる新しい技術にあえて挑戦することは、コミュニティーの人々に、ドドマ州での農業の可能性を伝えたい、実践してみせたいという志の表れである。R 氏が井戸掘りに投資するのは、ドドマ州でも水さえ確保できれば農業が容易に行えることを人々に示したいからであろう。彼ひとりで儲けるのではなく、コミュニティー全体の向上を目指している。彼の畑を知識交換の場にしたいと語っていた。

R 氏は、SNS を用いて、タンザニア全土の若者へ農業の可能性を発信している。タンザニアの初代大統領ニエレレが、タンザニアは農業によって成り立つ国であると言っていたように、彼もタンザニアの国の発展には農業分野の発展が欠かせないと説いていた。

### 3. まとめ

イスラーム様式の家にあるバラザは、大人だけでなく、子どもたちのコミュニケーションの場にもなっている。マドラサは先生と子どもたちだけだが、バラザは子どもたちがコミュニティーの人々との相互作用で学ぶ場になっていると考えられる。

同様のコミュニケーションの場としての可能性は、R氏の農場にもみいだせた。R氏は農場を農業の知識交換の場にしようとしており、一人で学ぶだけでなく、コミュニティー人との相互作用によって向上することを重視していた。

タンザニアでは、スワヒリ文化を背景としたバラザのようにコミュニティーの人々と相互に学べる場があり、一方で、R氏の農場のように、人々の日々の営為のなかで新たな学びの場も作り出されようとしている。タンザニアの学びの場には、共通して人との関わりが重要になる。

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写真 1. バラザ

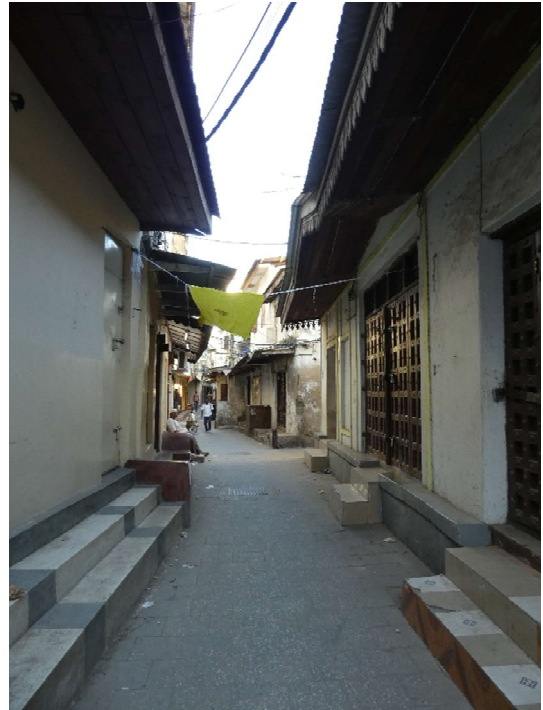


写真 2. ストーンタウンの街並み



写真 3. 建設中の井戸



写真 4. 農地を案内してくれた R 氏

# タンザニアにおけるイスラーム諸派の共存

## —アイデンティティとタブーの観点から—

岩倉 洸<sup>36</sup>

キーワード：イスラーム、宗派宥和、ウングジャ島、アイデンティティ、タブー

### Abstract

My research area is Islam in Azerbaijan. But there are many things in common with Tanzania. So, this report reports on what I learned about Harmonization between sects of Islam on my Tanzanian clinical campus. Tanzania is Muslims country, there has over 40% Muslims and there has Sunni, Shiite and Ibadi denominations. Characteristics of Islam in Tanzania is that Muslim have a put cofia (it is Muslim hat), Islamic rule is not strict, Muslima's worshipping is done at home and so on. Particularly, importance point is that Tanzania d'ont happen conflict about denominations. This phenomenon is case of combination of ethnic and localities in Tanzania is strongly leading to identity and denominations and religious incite is taboo in Tanzania. This time, limit due to various constraints. but I would like to research Tanzanian Islam.

### 1. はじめに

臨地キャンパスは2月12日から20日までタンザニアで行われ、ザンジバル（13～14日）、ダルエスサラーム（15、21日）、ドドマ（16～17日）、イリンガ（18～20日）の各地域を訪れつつ農業、自然生態、宗教、民族、歴史などの研修を行った。

私は普段アゼルバイジャンという地域を研究対象としており、アフリカ大陸それもサハラ以南の地域については一見かなり遠い研究領域である。しかし、タンザニアにはアゼルバイジャンと同じく社会主義の時代があり、少なくない12イマーム派のシーア派系住民が居住しており、歴史的にイランの影響も受けているという点では共通点も見られる。また、私はアゼルバイジャンにおいて宗派宥和について研究しているが、タンザニアはイスラーム世界の中でも有数の宗派宥和がなされている地域とタンザニアの研究者から聞いた。そこで、私はこの臨地キャンパスの経験から、タンザニアにおけるイスラーム各宗派の共存について報告したい。

### 2. タンザニアにおけるイスラーム

タンザニアにおいて公的に宗派ごとの統計が取られているわけではないため、実体として、どれほどのムスリムが存在するのか確定するのは難しいが、約4割がムスリムとされている。その多くはザンジバル諸島を始めとするインド洋に面する海岸地

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域、それに加えてかつてドイツの植民地領時代に建設されたタンザニア鉄道の沿線上に居住している。

歴史的には現在のイエメン、オマーン、イランといった地域から来たムスリム商人およびスーフィーによってイスラームは広まったとされており、宗派としては、スンナ派のシャーフイー法学派が多いとされている。もっとも、臨地キャンパス中少なくとも私は、スンナ派の他派（ハナフィー法学派、マーリク法学派）、12 イマーム派、イスマイール派、イバード派のモスクやマドラサあるいは礼拝を捧げている場面を見かけた。

### 3. 臨地キャンパス中のイスラーム

臨地キャンパスでは、ザンジバル、ダルエスサラーム、ドドマ、イリンガといった地域を訪れた。この内比較的にムスリムが多いのはザンジバルとダルエスサラームであり、残る二つはキリスト諸派が多い地域である。しかし、臨地キャンパス中いずれの地域でもモスクは必ず1つは設置されており、朝5時ごろには礼拝を呼びかけるアザーンを聞くことが出来る。

タンザニアのイスラームの特徴としては、まず男性の多くはコフィアと呼ばれる帽子をかぶっている事（女性はヒジャーブをかぶっている）、豚や酒などのイスラームの規定について比較的緩やかであること、女性の礼拝はモスクではなく自宅で行われることなどが挙げられる。しかし、もっとも大きな特徴はスンナ派、12 イマーム派、イスマイール派、イバード派などのイスラームの諸派が多く存在していること並びにそれだけの宗派がありながらも、宗派を原因とする争いがそれほど見られないことである。

これについて、臨地キャンパス中、移動のドライバーを務めていた12 イマーム派ムスリムの方は「宗派よりも出身地域や民族のといった要素の方により帰属意識が強い」と述べていた。また、礼拝に来ていたイバード派のムスリムの方によれば「タンザニアにおいては宗教の違いを強調するような発言はタブー視されている」とのことであった。

### 4. 最後に

以上のように、タンザニアにおけるイスラームは多くの宗派が存在しているにも関わらず、人々からの話を総合すると、対立は目立っては起きておらず共存しているように見える。これは以下の2つの点がある程度関係しているように見える。

1つはタンザニアにおいてアイデンティティを左右するのは宗教というよりは、民族や出身地域が大きく影響されているということである。これを証明するかのようタンザニアの人々はしばしば「○○地域の人々は」「○○民族の人々は」という出身地域や民族表現を使っていることが多く見受けられた。タンザニアには130以上の民族が存在しており、さらに同じような民族内でも、ザンジバル島の人々とペンバ島の人々の言葉に差があるように、出身地域はアイデンティティを構成するうえで重要な要素となっている。

もう1つはタンザニアにおいて、宗教を自身のプロフィールとして以上に語ることがタブー視されているからである。これは、タンザニアのムスリムは比較的多数とは

いえ、同数程度のキリスト教徒が存在しておりムスリム内においても多くの宗派が跋扈している状態であることが原因である。つまり、タンザニア国内において支配的あるいは多数派とも言うべき宗教（宗派）は存在しないことが、宗派間あるいは宗教間の対立をするのを難しくさせている。この2つの要因が組み合わさって宗派宥和的な状態をタンザニアに作り出していると考えられるのだ。

今回の報告はあくまで、タンザニアのイスラームに関することであるが、キリスト諸派などタンザニアの他宗教にも当てはまると思われる。今回の臨地キャンパスでは語学力や期間の問題から実際の信仰儀礼や国家の政策に触れることができなかったが、今後機会があれば十分な期間による調査も行いたい。

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写真1. ザンジバルのハナフィー  
法学派の神学校（マドラサ）



写真2. ザンジバルの12イマ  
ーム派のモスク



写真3. ザンジバルの市場。写真中央部  
の男性が被っている帽子がコフィア。



写真4. イリンガの豚肉料理。タンザニ  
アでは（ザンジバル諸島を除けば）豚は  
比較的容易に見つけることが出来る。



写真5. ドドマ近郊のガソリンスタンド  
のモスク



# タンザニア臨地キャンパス報告書

## —家畜と人、自然と人のかかわりに着目して—

土井 保真利<sup>37</sup>

キーワード：家畜、荷車、農業、野生動物、人びと、自然

### Abstract

I have conducted research in this field campus in Tanzania, focusing on the relationships between domestic animals, humans, and nature. We visited some cities such as Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Dodoma, and Iringa, and learned about the nature, cultures, and societies that constitute these areas. Through this activity, I observed some characteristics of the cart that is used to carry things and the types of domestic animals used for drawing the cart. I would like to compare these findings to those from my research in Alaba Kulito, Alaba Woreda, Southern Nations, Nationalities, and Peoples' Region (SNNPR), Ethiopia.

### 1. はじめに

交通手段や運搬手段の発達していない地域では、家畜を利用した荷車での人の移動や農作物の運搬がおこなわれている [Michael and Abiya 1989]。東アフリカの牧畜地域では、人びとにとって家畜は財産であり、貴重な存在である。一方で、野生動物による襲撃や、気候変動の影響による飼料不足によって、人びとが家畜を失うことも事実である。家畜のおかれている社会・生態環境を理解することは、人びとの生計を分析することに直結する重要な課題であるといえる。

著者はエチオピア南部諸民族州アラバ・ウォレダとアラバ・クリトにおいて、家畜と人びとの関係性について研究している。本報告書では、家畜と人の関係、自然と人とのかかわりに注目しつつ、タンザニア臨地キャンパスで得た知見について報告する。

### 2. 各都市での活動に基づく著者の見解

#### 2.1 ザンジバル海浜地帯での生態調査

ザンジバル諸島は、人口は130万人、総面積が2,461km<sup>2</sup>と沖縄よりも少し大きい。家主に飼われている家畜はウシで、荷車を牽いている様子が観察された。

この海域では、紅藻類のカラギナンが養殖されている（写真2）。カラギナンは、食料品から化粧品、医薬品まで幅広く利用されており、ザンジバルにおいて海藻は輸

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出額においてクローブにつぐ第2位の地位を占める重要な外貨獲得手段である〔和田2015〕。

## 2.2 ダルエスサラーム村落博物館と街並み

村落博物館に並ぶタンザニアの伝統的な家屋は、窓や隙間がなく、部屋の中に入る光の量が少ないため、薄暗い印象を受ける構造が多かった（写真3、4）。家畜の寝床が併設されており、野生動物から家畜を守る工夫を確認することができた。

ダルエスサラームの街中には、人力で運ぶ荷車が多く並んでいた。タイヤはゴム製、2輪、荷台は鉄製や木製と様々であった（写真5）。

## 2.3 乾燥地ドドマでの人びとの努力

ドドマでは2年連続で旱魃だと嘆く声が聞こえた。ボールペンの長さ程しか育っていないトウモロコシも見られた。気候に大きく左右される農業はどここの国でも一筋縄ではいかないといえる。

食品加工企業を経営する長谷川さんのもとを訪れ、企業の概要説明を受け、工場と契約農家の耕地を見学させていただいた（写真6、7）。乾燥に強く、人びとの食糧として重要なサツマイモの加工製品を開発し、2年という短い間に商売を軌道にのせていた。現在は、干しいものみではなく、ドライフルーツの製造も忙しいという。難しいビジネスを一歩ずつ確実に成功させている姿に一同感銘を受けた。

NPO 地球緑化の会として、活動されている椿さんは、現在70歳とは思えないほど、明るくタフな方だった。植物の種子などを利用して商品開発をされていた（写真8）。バオバブから採れる油は、魔法のオイルとも呼ばれ、我々が体内で生成できない脂肪酸やビタミン群を含んでおり、肌への美容効果が注目されている。この油を搾り出したあとの油粕を、家畜の飼料へ利用している。油粕は、牛の乳房炎を予防し、乳質の改善につながるほか、牛の毛並が良くなるといった効果がみられるという。

## 2.4 イリンガにおける竹酒

イリンガには、中に空洞がない特殊なタケが生えており、人びとはこのタケからウランジと呼ばれる酒を採取する。タケノコの先端を切除すると滲み出してくる樹液は、ハチやアリ、ハチドリなどがもたらす酵母によって自然に発酵して酒になる。ウランジは比較的簡単な作業で搾取できる地酒で、とれたてから時間が経過するにしたがって発酵が進み、酸味の効いた味への変化を遂げる（写真9、10）。イリンガでは、ウランジを瓶につめ、商品化している工場もあるが、とれたてよりも味が劣るといふ。今後の商品開発次第ではこの地域の経済活性化につながると考えられた。

## 2.5. アカシア林帯とミオンボ林帯での生態観察

コミフォラ属 (Commiphora) の樹木はアカシア帯とミオンボ帯との植生変化の指標になる。乾燥地から比較的湿潤な地域へと移動するあいだに、アカシアが点在する草原、アカシア・コミフォラの混合林 (写真 11)、ミオンボ林 (写真 12) と植生が変化した。

ミオンボ林帯には、野生のサルが多く生息していた。私たちの車を運転してくれていたドライバーによると、サルは農作物を荒らすということで大変毛嫌いされている存在であった。貴重な農作物を野生動物に荒らされないために何かしらの工夫をしなければならぬというのは、世界共通の課題であることを確認した。

## 3. 最後に

今回のタンザニア臨地キャンパスは期間も短く、訪れた地域も限られていたため、家畜の飼育に関して詳しく調査することができなかった。しかし、荷車の構造や牽引動物の種類の違いなど、エチオピアの調査地との相違点がいくつか明らかになった。気候に大きく左右される農業や、野生動物による作物被害、家畜被害など、自然と密接にかかわる生活ならではの課題は、タンザニアだけではなく日本でも同様に存在する。今後の研究を通して、こうした課題の解決にも貢献したい。

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写真 1. 沖から望むザンジバル海岸



写真 2. カラギナンの養殖風景



写真 3. 家屋の外観



写真 4. 家屋の内観



写真 5. 荷車の並ぶ歩道



写真 6. 工場横のサツマイモの畑



写真 7. 長谷川さんがデザインしたいもけんぴのパッケージ





写真 8. 商品開発に使われる植物の種子



写真 9. タケの栽培



写真 10. ウランジの採集



写真 11. コミフォラ



写真 12. ミオンボ林

# タンザニアにおける人びとの生計活動と現金稼得活動

## —タンザニア島嶼部、乾燥地、高原地帯を事例に—

中澤 芽衣<sup>38</sup>

キーワード：女性世帯、食料安全、現金稼得活動、農村、ウガンダ共和国

### Abstract

In sub-Saharan Africa, food security is one of the most pressing problems. People, especially smallholders, face food shortages due to climate change, overpopulation, and crop failure. My research topic involves the livelihood strategy and economic differentiation of female-headed households in a rural area of southwestern Uganda. This paper aims to clarify food security and cash-generating activities in various areas in Tanzania. Through the Tanzania field campus, it was clear that people dealt with matters according to the situation. In the Zanzibar islands, people can gain cash income from tourism, the fishing industry, and trade. Those living in the plateau region can sell alcohol made with bamboo. Recently, people have become eager to earn more money to ensure a stable life. As a result, they try to expand farming areas and cut down trees to make charcoal. On a short-term basis, people can cover their daily expenses with these activities. However, long-term they risk causing soil degradation, ecological destruction, and natural disaster. A way to reduce the burden on the natural environment should be sought. In Uganda, female-headed households tend to fall into poverty and suffer from food shortages. A field survey is needed to consider how to support vulnerable women in the lowest socioeconomic position in African society.

### 1. はじめに

サブサハラ・アフリカにおいて、食料確保は重要な課題の一つである。気候変動による農作物の不作、食料価格の高騰、国内における人口増加と様々な問題が存在している [Kijima *et al.* 2010]。筆者は、東アフリカのウガンダ共和国の農村で、女性世帯の食料確保や現金稼得活動について調査している。タンザニア臨地キャンパスでは、島嶼部における人びとの暮らし、乾燥地における人びとの食料確保と現金稼得活動、タンザニア南部のタケを利用した地酒造りについて観察し、現代のアフリカにおける人びとの食料確保や生計維持活動について考察を深めた。

### 2. タンザニアの人びとの暮らし

#### 2.1 アフリカとアラブの文化が混ざる地域における人びとの暮らし

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ザンジバルはタンザニア本土から約 30km 離れたインド洋に浮かぶ島嶼部である。19 世紀、オマーン帝国を中心としたアラブ商人との貿易によって栄えた場所であり、アフリカとアラブを結ぶ中継拠点としての役割を果たしてきた。現在もなお、島内ではイスラームを信仰する人びとが大半であり、3 階建て以上の石造建築物が密集しながら連なるなど、アラブの雰囲気を醸し出している（写真 1）。ストーンタウンは世界遺産として認定されており、タンザニアの主要な観光地の 1 つである。ザンジバルに居住する人びとは観光業や漁業、交易によって生計を維持している。

ストーンタウン内の建築物を観察すると、入り口の扉に木彫りの装飾がなされていた（写真 2）。この装飾はアラブ形式とインド形式にわかれている。アラブ形式は扉の外側に花柄が描かれている。この花柄には、「ようこそ」という意味が含まれている。インド形式は、扉の上部にアーチ状の装飾がなされており、扉はスクエア型に彫られている（写真 3）。ザンジバルは、アフリカとアラブとの交易中継点であり、アラブから多くの人びとが移住してきたことが建築様式に反映されていた。日中、男性が会話できるように軒下にバラザ（*baraza*）というベンチが設置されている。このバラザでは、男性がいつも入れ替わり立ちわり腰をかけて会話を楽しんでいる。先述したように、ザンジバルに居住する人びとの多くはイスラームを信仰している。そのため、女性は外出する際はヒジャブを着用し、肌の露出を控える。彼女たちがヒジャブを外し、男性の目を気にすることなく、料理の準備やお喋りをする場が家の裏口に備え付けられている。イスラームの規範が建築様式に反映されていた。

## 2.2 乾燥地域における人びとの食料確保と現金稼得

ASAFAS 卒業生の長谷川さんは、乾燥地のドドマで干しいもやいもけんぴ、ドライフルーツの商品を製造する会社を経営している（写真 4）。企業名のマトボルワ（*matoborwa*）は、スクマ語で干しいもを意味する。農牧民のスクマはタンザニア最大の民族グループで、ウシの放牧地を求めて絶えず移動しており、干しいもは重要な携帯食であった。人びとは屋根の上にサツマイモを並べて天日干しにしていたという。

この企業では、サツマイモの加工品だけでなく、無糖・低糖のドライフルーツを生産し、都市部の居住者をターゲットに販売している（写真 5）。世界的に生活習慣病の患者数は増加傾向にあり、アフリカにおいても都市生活者を中心に、食生活の見直しやエクササイズなど生活習慣の改善に対する意識が高まっている。ドライフルーツはこうしたニーズを見込んだ商品である。

日本国内の干しいも生産は需要に追い付かず、不足分を中国からの輸入でまかなっている。タンザニアは世界第 2 位の生産量を誇り、サツマイモの原料調達において競合相手が存在しない。長谷川さんはタンザニアで日本の品種を栽培し、日本への輸出を試みていた。ドドマ周辺部に居住する農家の人たちにサツマイモの栽培を委託している。そして、品質の良いサツマイモを育てた農家には、高額で取引するなどの工夫を取り入れ、双方のメリットになるように心がけていた。

工場見学を通じて、アフリカ支援のありかたについて考えさせられた。1990年代以降、世界では経済のグローバル化が勢いを増し、アフリカ諸国も経済の自由化が推し進められてきた。近年、外資系企業の積極的な進出が見受けられる。ビジネスパートナーとしてどちらかに利益が偏るのではなく、双方にとって利益になる方法を模索していかなければならない。その際、相手を知ることはもちろん、その地域の文化や社会について理解する必要がある。長期で地域に滞在することによってみえてくる、人びとが抱える問題について解明し、現地の人たちとともに解決策を探していきたい。

### 2.3 タンザニア南部におけるタケを利用した酒造り

アフリカにおいて、女性世帯の生計手段〔成澤 2011〕や労働の対価として〔杉山 2011: 235〕、地酒は多くの役割を果たしてきた。調査地のガンダ社会でも、バナナからつくったトントという地酒が存在する。近年、工場で生産されたパック詰めの安価な酒が出回っているが、トントは婚資の支払いに含まれるなど文化的に価値が高い酒である。

臨地キャンパスでは、タンザニア南部高原のイリンガ州で、タケノコから樹液を採集し、発酵させた酒（ウランジ）について調査した。この地域のタケは中が空洞ではないという特徴をもつ（写真 6）。人びとはタケノコの先端を切り、切り口から滲み出た樹液を別種の空洞のあるタケを使って採集している〔伊谷 1995〕。切り口から滲み出た樹液の匂いに誘われたミツバチが酵母を媒介する役割を果たし、糖の発酵が進んでいく。

採集して間もないウランジは、大変甘くてアルコール度は低い。採集者は朝夕の 2 回、樹液を採集し、発酵が進んだウランジとまだ発酵が進んでおらずアルコール度が低いウランジを混ぜ合わせ、風味とアルコール度を兼ね備えた酒を造っていた。聞き取りによると、多いときには 1 回につき 300ml のウランジを採集できるそうだ。人びとは採取したウランジを近郊の町へ販売し、現金収入を得ていた。

ウランジ造りでは、別種のタケを樹液を採集する筒に利用したり、タケの葉を使って雨風をしのぐなど（写真 7）、自然資源の興味深い利用法がみられた。今後もアフリカの地酒造りの文化・社会的価値について調査していきたい。

### 3. おわりに

タンザニア臨地キャンパスに参加し、調査国ウガンダとの共通点や相違点について学ぶことができた。気候変動や人口増加による影響を受けて、アフリカ農村に居住する人びとの生活は不安定である。人びとは安定的な生活を求め、耕作地を広げたり、製炭や材木を売却するために森林を伐り開きつづけている。しかし森林が消失すると、土壌の劣化や生態系の破壊、自然災害の増加を引き起こすことにつながり、長期的にはむしろ人びとの生活は不安定化してしまう。目の食料確保や現金稼得のために自然環境に多大な負荷をかけてしまうことを避けて、長期的な視点で安定的に食料



確保と現金獲得できる方法を模索しなくてはならない。タンザニア臨地キャンパスに参加することで、人びとの自然環境に対する考え方や利用法について多くを学んだ。

調査国のウガンダにおいて、女性世帯は土地を所有することが困難である。また、男性が優位な社会であるため、配偶者と離婚もしくは死別した女性は社会・経済的に困窮する傾向にあり、安定的に食料を確保することは難しい [Chant 1997]。ウガンダ農村における女性世帯の安定的かつ持続的な食料確保について今後も考えていきたい。

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写真1. ストーンタウン  
[2017年2月14日撮影]



写真2. アラブ形式の扉  
[2017年2月14日撮影]



写真3. インド形式の扉  
[2017年2月14日撮影]



写真4. 工場見学 [2017年2月17日撮影]



写真5. 無糖・添加物不使用のドライ  
フルーツ [2017年2月17日撮影]



写真6. 切り口から樹液がしみ出る  
様子 [2017年2月19日撮影]



写真7. タケの筒でウランジを採集する。  
[2017年2月19日撮影]

# アフリカビジネスの現状と課題

## —Matoborwa のケーススタディを通して—

平野 亮<sup>39</sup>

キーワード：アフリカビジネス、農業、干しいも

### Abstract

In Dodoma City (the capital of the Dodoma Region), Tatsuo Hasegawa, a graduate of ASAFAS, founded a dried sweet potato processing industry, Matoborwa Co. Ltd., in 2014, and achieved monthly profits within two years. This study gathers information regarding Matoborwa Co. Ltd. and the issues facing local businesses. Matoborwa contracts with local farmers to source materials, and produces and sells dried sweet potatoes, as well as other dried fruits (by applying the dried sweet potatoes manufacturing technology). The company deals directly with farmers because it cannot purchase high-quality sweet potatoes from the existing distribution system. In exchange for potatoes, the company provides appropriate strains and cultivation techniques to the farmers. By valuing high-quality potatoes, and also purchasing low-quality potatoes for other products, the company motivates the farmers and builds trust between them. This study suggests that local business face the following problems:

1. Few regulations or laws are in place, entailing long legal procedures.
2. The human resources are lacking, and some local people cannot integrate themselves with Japanese corporate cultures. It is thus necessary to train talents “from the ground up.”
3. As African business entails large risks, it is difficult to collect funds.
4. The high fluidity of local markets necessitates quick decision making following the collection of information by business members on site.
5. It is vital for business members on site to gain their family’s understanding.

### 1. はじめに

近年、アフリカ市場へ進出する日本企業が増加している。しかし、不安定な治安、未熟なインフラ、文化の相違などの理由により事業が失敗に終わるケースが後を絶たない。そんな中、ASAFAS 卒業生の長谷川竜生さんはドドマ州ドドマ市にて、干しいも生産加工会社 “Matoborwa<sup>40</sup>” を立ち上げ、創業から 2 年で単月黒字化に成功している。以下、現地工場にて見聞きした情報をまとめ、現地ビジネスの課題について考察する。

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<sup>40</sup> スクマ語で“干しいも”を意味する。スクマはタンザニアで最大の人口を誇る農牧民である。

## 2. Matoborwa の概要

### 2.1 企業概要

日本国内では干しいもの供給が慢性的に不足している。長谷川さんは、茨城県の干しいも製造業者からタンザニアでの干しいも専用品種の生産と日本への輸出を打診され、2014 年に製造業者からの出資を受けて会社を設立した。

現地の農家と契約してサツマイモを栽培してもらい、干しいもといもけんぴを製造するほか、最近ではドライフルーツの生産にも着手している。

### 2.2 商品

#### ①干しいも（輸出用）

貯蔵して糖化させたサツマイモを蒸し、皮をむき、スライスし、乾燥させて作る。サツマイモ 100%の自然な甘みが特徴である。日本の干しいも専用品種を、無農薬・無化学肥料で栽培し、加工に適したサイズのみを加工する。販売価格は 1 キログラム 500~600 円<sup>41</sup>である。

#### ②いもけんぴ “Vitamu”<sup>42</sup>

サツマイモを短冊状に切って植物油で揚げ、砂糖を絡めて作ったスナック系の和菓子である。糖化させると揚げたときに黒く焦げてしまうため、収穫後 4 日以内に揚げることが重要である。特に適した品種があるわけではなく、干しいもに加工できないサツマイモを活用できる。販売価格は 30 グラムが 500 タンザニア・シリング（以下、シリング）<sup>43</sup>、90 グラムが 1,600 シリング、185 グラムが 3,000 シリングである。

#### ③ドライフルーツ

干しいも製造技術を応用して砂糖不使用/低糖ドライフルーツの生産を開始した。天日干しでの大量生産は難しく、国内には他に製造業者が存在しないほか、輸入品には低価格商品や無糖・低糖の商品がないので高い需要がみこめる。マンゴー（無糖・低糖）、パイナップル、バナナ、干しいもの 5 種類があり、100 グラムを 5,000 シリング程度で販売している。

### 2.3 事業コンセプト

- ① 茨城県の干しいも業者が監督して、品質の良い干しいもをタンザニアで生産し、日本に輸出して適正価格で提供する。
- ② タンザニアで安価に調達できるマンゴー・パイナップル・バナナなどを、日本の技術で高級ドライフルーツに加工して国内および国外で販売する。

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<sup>41</sup> 日本産の干しいもは 1 キログラム 1,200~1,800 円、中国産は 300~600 円である。

<sup>42</sup> *vitamu* とはスワヒリ語で甘いという意味である。*viaji vitamu* で、サツマイモを指す。*viaji* はイモを意味する。

<sup>43</sup> 2017 年 2 月 27 日現在、1 シリング=19.9 円。

## 2.4 事業ドメイン

日本市場では、この10年で中国からの輸入干しいもが1万トンから4,000トンに減少している。需要はあるものの、国内でも農家の高齢化や機械化できない製造工程などの理由により生産が伸びず、慢性的な供給不足に陥っている。

タンザニア国内でも、干しいもは中所得者から高所得者向けの健康志向のおやつとして、また、いもけんぴは低所得層向けのおやつとして幅広い需要がある。また、ドライフルーツは世界的に需要が高まっている。その中でも、無糖・低糖ドライフルーツの市場は競争が比較的少ない。

## 2.5 事業ビジョン

- ① タンザニアから日本に年間4,000トンの干しいもを輸出する。
- ② タンザニアを南アフリカと並ぶドライフルーツ産地に育てる。

## 2.6 ビジネスモデル

干しいも・いもけんぴは共に原料となるイモの質が商品の質を決める。特に、干しいもは専用品種であること、いもけんぴは新鮮であることが必要である。しかし、現地のサツマイモ流通業者はイモを集荷しているだけであり、選果場や品種別の流通網が存在しないため、干しいも・いもけんぴに適したイモだけを既存の流通網から得ることは不可能である。その為、Matoborwaでは、農家と契約栽培を通して直接取引を行っている。

また、日本独自の高い技術を持った干しいも加工設備を応用し、無糖・低糖ドライフルーツを生産している。

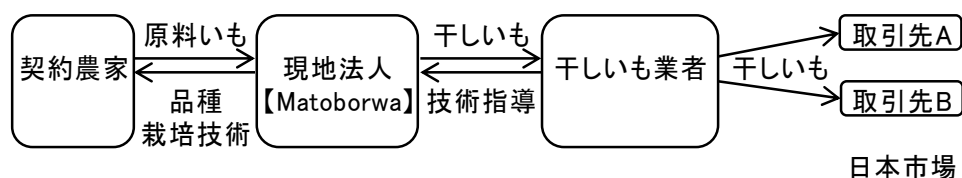


図1. Matoborwa のビジネスモデル

## 3. 現地農家への裨益効果

- ・適正品種や栽培技術を伝えることで、農家は付加価値の高いイモを生産できる。
- ・品質の高いイモを評価する価格体系を作り、農家のモチベーションを高める。
- ・干しいもに適さないイモでも、いもけんぴの原料として買い取ることで、農家の生計維持に貢献する。

#### 4. 現地ビジネスの課題

- 法的な手続きに時間がかかったり、そもそも規制や法令が未整備であったりする。しかし、それを解決するために特定の政治家・権力の傘下に入ってしまうと、利益を吸い取られてしまう。
- 日本の企業文化をすぐに理解できるタンザニア人はほとんどいないので、一から時間をかけて人材を育成しなければならない。
- アフリカビジネスはリスクが高く資金調達が困難なことが多い。Matoborwa の場合、比較的自由的な意思決定が行える中小企業のオーナーからの出資を受けている。
- 現地の市場は変化が速いので、現地で情報を収集して素早く意思決定を行える人材や企業構造が不可欠である。また、リスクを分散させるために事業を多角化させることも必要である。
- 現地で事業を行う場合、同伴家族の理解を得られるかが生命線となる。



写真 1. 工場横にある干しいも専用品種の苗床



写真 2. Matoborwa の商品



写真 3. フィールドワークの様子

# ザンジバル島の建築様式・居住様式と相互行為

松井 梓<sup>44</sup>

キーワード：ザンジバル、モザンビーク島、建築様式、居住様式、相互行為

## Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to propose two aspects to be examined in the author's subsequent research, drawing on the relation between architecture, habitation patterns, and interactions among inhabitants, as examined in a field study conducted in Stone Town in Zanzibar, Tanzania, in February 2017. First, because of residential density characterized by both horizontal and vertical patterns, mutual interactions between houses as well as among the extended family members within a house may get strengthened. Second, even though the said mutual interactions may get strengthened, they can differ greatly between men and women. These points will be taken into consideration when the author undertakes fieldwork in Mozambique Island in northern Mozambique, which shares a similar historical and religious background with Zanzibar Island.

## 1. はじめに

筆者は、2017年2月12日から2月20日までタンザニア臨地キャンパスに参加し、ザンジバル島、ダルエスサラーム、ドドマ、ルアハ、イリンガの各地域を訪問した。これら各地域で学んだ事項のうち、筆者の研究テーマに最も関わりのある、ザンジバル島ストーンタウンの建築様式・居住様式とそこにおいて想定される相互行為の関係について考察し、得られた知見を今後自らの調査においてどのように活用するかについて記述する。なお、ザンジバル島のストーンタウンには2月13日の午後に訪問した。

## 2. 研究テーマおよび調査対象地

筆者は、モザンビーク北部の中心的な町ナンプラへ周辺農村から移動労働を行う人々を対象とし、彼らの都市における社会ネットワークを明らかにすることを目的とした研究を行っている。ナンプラ州ナンプラ市から西へ160km離れたリバウエ郡の一農村、および東へ170km離れたモザンビーク島市モザンビーク島からナンプラ市へ流入する移動労働者を対象としているが、これら出身地域のうちのひとつであるモザンビーク島はザンジバル島と多くの共通点や歴史的な連関を持つ。モザンビーク北部の沿岸部に位置するモザンビーク島はポルトガル人の到着以前からアラブ人商人が頻繁に行き来する海洋交易の拠点であり、かつてはザンジバル島のスルタンに従属してい

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た。ポルトガル人の入植以降はモザンビークの首都として位置づけられ、奴隷貿易を中心とした海洋交易の拠点として重要な役割を果たした。現在でもスワヒリ文化が色濃く残り、ムスリム人口が大半を占める。

### 3. 臨地キャンパスにおいて得られた知見

まずストーンタウンの景観で特徴的であったのは、高度に密集した建築物とその階層構造の高さである。上田ら〔2012〕によれば、ストーンタウンの建築は大半が1〜4階建てである。この高層の建築はイスラム式建築の特徴が持ち込まれたものである。カルファンと小倉〔2009〕によればストーンタウンの建築で最も顕著なのはオマーン・アラブ式の建築であり、これらの建築は中庭を持つ2〜3階建ての構造で、一階は使用人、上階は世代をまたいだ大家族が居住するという。また、水平方向にも垂直方向にも建築物が高度に密集した景観は、オマーン王都の遷都により急激に移住者が増加したことにより短期間に多くの建物が建設された結果であるが〔Khlfan and Ogura 2009〕、同時に藤井ら〔1997〕によればこのような高密度な居住空間は、周囲に高い壁を備えた堅固で閉鎖的な形態を持つアラビア半島を中心としたイスラム圏の伝統的な集落に見られる特徴でもある。

このようにストーンタウンにおいては、高密度な集住を習慣としてきたイスラム圏の人々の居住様式・生活様式と、建物の高層化を可能にしたイスラム圏からの建設様式の流入により、密集した居住空間が築かれてきた。このような居住空間の中では、各住居の住人間の相互行為、ならびに住居内での世代間の相互行為が緊密に行われることが推測される。

次に見られた建築の特徴は、そのプライバシーに配慮した構造であるが、これは特に住居内にいる女性のプライバシーに配慮した構造である。各住居は重厚な木製のドアによって閉ざされており、また一階部分の窓には外から内部が見えづらいよう覆いが付されている。加えて戸外にはバラザと呼ばれる石製のベンチが設えられ、ここは男性のおしゃべりやお茶の場所となるが、これは住居内にいる女性が客人から見えないよう戸外で客を迎えるためのものである。これらのことから、上述のように密集した居住空間内において密に行われていると考えられる相互行為の様式は男女間で大きく異なると考えられる。

### 4. 今後の調査の展望

上記を踏まえ、今後実施するモザンビーク島における調査において、以下の点を検討したい。第一に、モザンビーク島においても住居の高度な密集が見られるが、この要因にイスラム圏の居住様式が影響しているのか否か、またモザンビークの他の非ムスリム地域の都市部密集地域の居住様式と差異があるか否かを明らかにする。第二に、一点目を踏まえ、住居の密集した居住様式が人々の間の相互行為、特に島内での相互扶助的な行為や都市への移動の決定に関わる情報のやり取りを緊密にしているのか否かを明らかにする。第三に、二点目とも関わる点であるが、モザンビーク島内の相互扶助的な行為、移動に際する情報交換、移動後の都市での相互扶助行為における男女差を把握し、男女どちらに着目すべきかを検討する。



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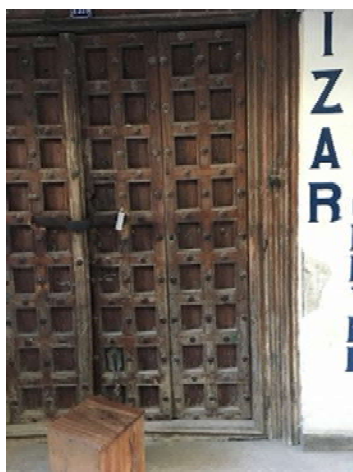


写真1. インド式のザンジバルドア

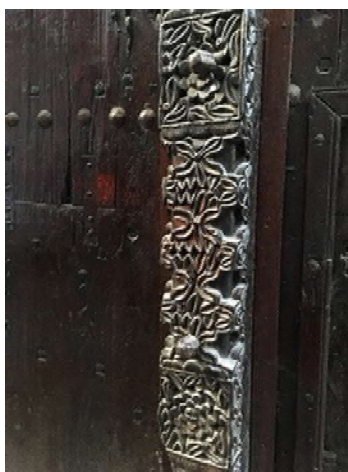


写真2. ドア枠に施された花模様の彫刻。花は“ウェルカム”の意味を持つ。



写真3. 家屋の前のバラザ

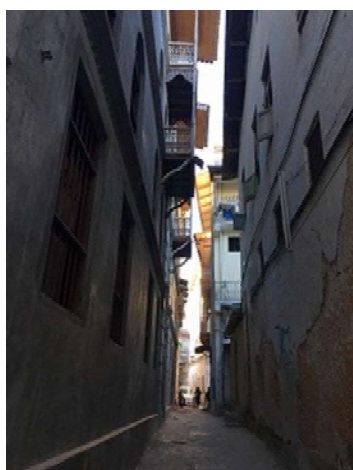


写真4. 高層の建築が密集したストーンタウンの狭く薄暗い路地



写真5. 密集地に建つ三階建ての小学校

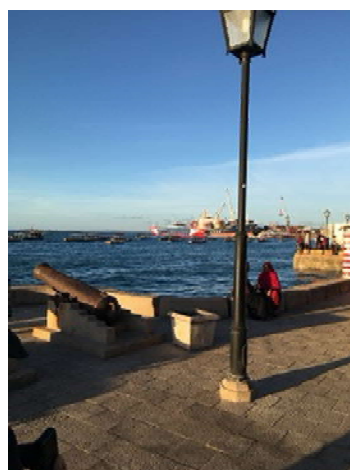


写真6. 海に面した砲台（手前）コンテナ船も入港するザンジバル島の港湾（奥）

# タンザニア臨地キャンパス報告書

## —Matoborwa から人材育成を考える—

松原 加奈<sup>45</sup>

キーワード：人材育成、多能化、流通

### Abstract

According to the IMF, the real GDP growth rate in Tanzania was 7.2% in 2016, which exceeds the average of 1.5% in sub-Saharan African countries. Furthermore, in the past ten years, the real GDP growth rate remained between 5%–8%, except in 2006, when the rate was 4.2%. However, according to JETRO (2016), there are 12 Japanese companies in Tanzania, the fifth highest in sub-Saharan African countries, following South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, and Mozambique. In studying the economic growth progress of Tanzania, I consider the following: How do companies promote their employee's human resource development? Is there a difference between Tanzania and Ethiopia? While studying on-site in Tanzania, I encountered a company, Matoborwa Co. Ltd., that made dried sweet potatoes, sweet potato fries, and dried fruit that they sell in the local market. The company's president is Japanese, but the employees are Tanzanian. Investigating the company, I focused on the following two points: First, multi-skilled education allows unoccupied employees to assist other employees with their tasks. Second, the company gains a mutual advantage by contracting raw materials (sweet potatoes) directly from farmhouses and buying stock through direct trade. Comparing these points and the issues surrounding them to the Ethiopian leather industry is my goal for future research.

### 1. はじめに

タンザニアの 2016 年実質 GDP 成長率は 7.2%であり、サブサハラ・アフリカ諸国の平均 1.5%を上回っている。さらに、タンザニアの実質 GDP 成長率はここ 10 年間で 2006 年の 4.2%を除いて、5%～8%台といった経済成長率を維持している。また、JETRO [2016] によると、在アフリカ進出日系企業はサブサハラ・アフリカ諸国では、南アフリカ・ナイジェリア・ケニア・モザンビークに続き、12 社と 5 番目に日系企業が多い。経済成長が進むタンザニアにおいて、企業がどのように人材育成を行うのか、自分の調査地であるエチオピアと何か異なる点はあるのか、を本臨地キャンパスで比較したいと考えた。

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## 2. Matoborwa の人材育成と原料の流通

本臨地キャンパスでは、ASAFAS の卒業生が経営する企業、Matoborwa Co. Ltd.を訪問した。この企業の工場では、干しいも・いもけんぴ・ドライフルーツを製造し、現地に販売している。経営者は日本人だが、現場で働く人びとはタンザニア人である。この工場訪問で私が着目したのは、下記の2点である。

### 2.1 Matoborwa 工場で働く人々の育成

1 点目に着目したのは、工場で働く人びとが雑談をすることなく、作業を継続的に続け、仕事に励んでいる姿であった。作業工程は野菜のカット・いもけんぴを揚げる等々に分かれており、各工程で1人ないし2人が作業を行っていた。経営者の方に話を伺うと、従業員がある仕事をひと段落させたときに他の従業員の作業を手伝うようにさせて、様々な工程に携わらせるよう教育していることがわかった。これにより全行程に従事可能な従業員も存在するという。多能化教育をすることにより、他工程を行う従業員に対し、暇になった従業員が一時的な補助を可能にする点は、大変興味深いと感じた。

私はエチオピアで皮革産業の最終製品製造企業の人材育成について調査をおこなっている。エチオピアで現地工場を構える日系企業においても、タンザニアで訪問した企業と同様の人材育成のあり方が見られた。本企業でも一工程のみに一従業員に従事させるのではなく、多能的に仕事を研修やOJTを通して教育していた。

タンザニアとエチオピアでの企業訪問より、日本人が経営する製造分野の企業では、人材育成の過程で多能的技術を身につけるよう教育している特徴を見出すことができた。

### 2.2 いもで結ばれた相互のメリット

2 点目に着目したのは、農家と契約し、原料のイモを直接仕入れている点である。本企業の製品の一つであるいもけんぴは、収穫して4日以内の新鮮なサツマイモを加工して製造されている。また、干しいもには、専用品種で傷がないもののうち、加工に適したサイズのみを使用する。なぜならば、原料のサツマイモの品質が商品の品質を決めるからだ。しかしながら、現地のサツマイモの流通が未発達で既存のルートでは4日以内に原料イモを調達することは難しかったため、直接農家から仕入れるようになったという。農家の栽培技術を高めるため、契約農家の人びとに適性品種や技術を普及させ、サツマイモの品質を評価させる価格体系を導入した。また、この価格体系でB級となるイモは、干しいもの加工には使えないが、いもけんぴ用に買い取ることで農家の生計維持に貢献できる。このように、企業と農家の互いのメリットを考え、流通経路の確立のみならず、品質向上に取り組んでいた。

この相互関係は製品の品質を考える上で、大変興味深い。エチオピアの皮革産業でも最終製品工場が安定した品質の革を得るため、中間業者を介さず糺し企業から直接

仕入れることもある。しかしながら、この企業のように互いが品質向上に取り組んでいるかは不明である。この点に関しては、今後調査を進めて比較していきたい。

### 3. まとめ

タンザニアの日本人経営企業 Matoborwa では、現地従業員の人材育成として多能化をおこない、契約農家との直接取引においては、相互にメリットを生み出そうとする姿がみられた。この2点をエチオピアの皮革産業と比較することにより、今後の調査に対する課題が見つかった。臨地キャンパスで得られた知見と課題を今後のエチオピアでの調査に生かしていきたい。

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写真 1. Matoborwa の商品



写真 2. 工場横にある苗床



写真 3. 契約農家の畑

# **Fieldwork Report: A Preliminary Survey of the Current Situation of Agricultural Sector in Tanzania**

Suttipong Anghong<sup>46</sup>

**Key Words:** Smallholder farmer, Agriculture, Agribusiness, Tanzania

## **Abstract**

Agriculture plays a critical role in the economy of Tanzania. It contributes heavily to the GDP, accounts for about 25% of GDP and supports Tanzanians of more than two thirds of the labor forces. This report reviews the current situation of agricultural sector in Tanzania through four case studies in three regions, namely Dodoma, Iringa, and Morogoro. The study shows that the smallholder farmers suffer from the deficiencies in agricultural water supply systems, which result in reduced agricultural productivity. In addition, they lack post-harvest technology for improving the quality of local production. In the case of the sisal plantation, the world price volatility, weak marketing systems, and a lack of research and development are the major factors influencing the decline in its production in Tanzania. Moreover, the agribusiness investors in Tanzania face difficulties in foreign investment laws, public regulations, and human resources.

## **1. Background**

Agriculture plays a dominant role in the economy of Tanzania, which accounts for 25% of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and accounts for 50 % of the employed workforce. Agriculture is a major source of foreign exchange earnings. In 2012, cotton was the most important export crop on the Tanzania mainland (158,000 tons), followed by cashew nuts (99,000 tons), tea (40,000 tons), and sisal (35,000 tons). In the case of food crops, maize was the largest food crop in the Tanzania mainland (6 million tons), followed by cassava (4.6 million tons), and bananas (2.2 million tons) [National Bureau of Statistics 2015].

The majority of Tanzanians rely on agriculture for their livelihoods and their family's sustenance [Economic and Social Research Foundation 2015]. However, the agricultural sector faces various challenges such as a lack of agricultural technology, droughts, and problems in accessing credit [UNESCO 2017]. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to understand the current situation of Tanzania's agricultural sector through four case studies in three regions, namely Dodoma, Iringa, and Morogoro.

## **2. Survey Results**

### **2.1 Case study one: smallholder farmer in Dodoma region**

Mr. Ray is a smallholder farmer in Dodoma region. He established his own farm in 2014. The major crops in his farm were tomato and maize. His crops heavily depended on rain,

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although there was a tap water. In recent years, he faced water scarcity for cultivating his crops because there was no rain. This situation resulted in the decrease of farm production. In an attempt to solve the water problem, he established a drip irrigation system to his farm. This technology was introduced by local university. The drip irrigation system can conserve water and reduce distribution costs. Moreover, at the time of the survey, he was constructing a tube well (about 20 meters deep) which could be an alternative water source in the future. In term of capital for agriculture investment, he could get loan from government banks (with 17 % interest rate). In addition, owing to the demand for bricks in Dodoma city, he established a brick business<sup>47</sup> to serve the construction businesses in the city. The bricks business could contribute to alternative income sources for him during drought periods.

## **2.2 Case study two: Bamboo semi-domestication in Iringa region**

In Iringa region, smallholder farmers planted bamboo (*Oxytenanthera abyssinica*) to produce traditional alcoholic beverages of Tanzania “*ulanzi*.” The *ulanzi* is fermented bamboo sap. Smallholder farmers obtained the *ulanzi* by cutting young bamboo shoots about 3 mm. Farmers used bamboo tubes (which is called “*mbeta*”), which were left hanging on the bamboo trees, as containers to collect the *ulanzi* from the bamboo shoots as shown in Photo 1. The sweet *ulanzi* was fermented by yeasts to produce an alcohol. This process was done for 8-12 hours. In Iringa region, the *ulanzi* was sold at around 700 TZS per liter. In addition, if the *ulanzi* can be transported to sell in Dar es Salaam city, it will be around 3,000 TZS per liter. However, the limitation of the *ulanzi* is that it has a short shelf life of 1 day before going bad and have to be kept at low temperatures at all times. Therefore, most of the *ulanzi* productions were sold only in Iringa region.

## **2.3 Case study three: Sisal plantation in Morogoro region**

In this survey, we observed sisal plantations in Morogoro region as shown in Photo 2. Sisal (*Agave sisalana*) is native in Mexico. Sisal was introduced to Tanzania by the German company in the late nineteenth century [Tenga 2008]. Sisal fibers were produced a wide variety of products, including ropes, carpets, mats, sacks, and yarn. During the colonial periods under German and Britain, sisal fibers were mainly used for the production of cordage and carpets. In 1961, Tanzania was the biggest sisal producer in the world, with 200,000 tons of sisal fibers [IYNF Coordinating Unit 2017]. However, a few years after the independence of Tanzania in 1961, the sisal fiber production sharply declined by 86% from 216,618 tons in 1967, to 30,151 tons 1986. Some of the major factors affecting the decline in production were 1) the drop in world market prices, 2) inadequate research and development, 3) nationalization of sisal estates, and 4) poor marketing systems [Kimaro *et al.* 1994].

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<sup>47</sup> He bought a brick making machine for 7,000,000 TZS or about 3,141 USD.



#### 2.4 Case study four: Agribusiness in Dodoma region

Matoborwa Co. Ltd., located in Dodoma, was established in 2014 as a Japanese dried fruits company. The company produced four kinds of dried fruits, namely sweet potatoes, bananas, mangos, and pine apples as shown in Photo 3. All products were sold in domestic market. Dried fruits were well-known among parents in Tanzania as healthy foods for their children. It was especially the urban middle and higher income parents who can expand the range of products consumed. Therefore, the major consumers of dry fruits were students in international schools.

In term of business management, there are 1 Japanese manager and 13 local workers. The workers were paid 1,000 TZS per hour for work during the time period from 9 am to 5 pm. According to the owner of the company, he established the company in Dodoma because of two major reasons, namely good water systems, and three-phase electricity. However, in Tanzania, there were some challenges for investors, such as foreign investment laws, public regulations, and human resources.



Photo 1. The bamboo container “mbeta”



Photo 2. The sisal plantation



Photo 3. The dried fruits

### 3. Conclusions

The current situation of the agricultural sector in Tanzania contains a several problems although it has sustained a steady growth rate of over 3% per annum in recent years [United Republic of Tanzania 2001]. The smallholder farmers suffer from agricultural water supply and distribution systems, which result in the decrease of agricultural production. In addition, for the smallholder farmers in Iringa Region, they lack technology to develop local production, especially post-harvest technology and processing in order to improve the market opportunity of ulanzi.

In term of sisal plantation, there are four major factors affecting the decline in production, namely the world price volatility of sisal, a lack of research and development, nationalization of sisal estates, and weak marketing systems. The agribusinesses in Tanzania are also facing a series of serious problem such as foreign investment laws, public regulations, and human resources.

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## 水俣臨地キャンパスの概要

2017 年 2 月 23 日～3 月 1 日

### ＜スケジュール＞

- 2 月 23 日（水）水俣市立水俣病資料館
- 2 月 24 日（木）相思社・水俣病考証館、チッソ（現 JNC）工場の見学
- 2 月 25 日（金）御所浦島
- 2 月 26 日（土）山下善寛さん（元チッソ第一組合）と共に水俣を歩き、水俣を学ぶ
- 2 月 27 日（日）水俣病支援団体「遠見の家」訪問、水俣市役所・社会福祉協議会訪問
- 2 月 28 日（月）茂道にて、漁業と農業のフィールドワーク
- 3 月 1 日（火）熊本学園大学水俣学現地研究センターにて報告会

### ＜目的＞

水俣臨地キャンパスでは、徹底した現場主義から立ち上がった「水俣学」の手法に学びながら、学問領域や専門家／市民の枠をこえた研究活動のあり方について、改めて考えることを目的とした。とくに、アジア・アフリカ地域における自身の「現場」で起きている事象を、日本というもう一つの身近な「現場」に照らし合わせて思考し、理解を深め、発信していくことを目指す。

### ＜背景＞

水俣病は、戦後日本の高度経済成長のただなかでおきた、チッソ水俣工場から無処理で流された排水による環境汚染、汚染された魚介類を喫食した（食物連鎖）ことによる世界で初めての有機水銀中毒である。公式発見から 60 年経った今も、胎児性・小児性水俣病患者による訴訟はつづき、不知火海周辺では地域共同体の分断や再生が課題となっている。生態環境と社会文化、政治経済とが複雑に絡み合っただけで起きたこの事態は、東京電力福島第一原発事故にまでつづく、（人）災害の構造を先取りした事例とも言われている。

本臨地キャンパスでは、そうした水俣病事件の全貌を理解すると同時に、水俣の「今」を知ることをモットーに、①漁村の人びとの暮らしと生業、②不知火海周辺の生態環境、③市民団体と社会運動、④水俣病をめぐる法・行政のとりくみなどを取り上げ、集中的な臨地調査を行う。その際、インタビューの方法や記録のとり方など、具体的な調査手法に関する情報交換を行うことも視野に入れる。

### ＜現地からの報告＞

水俣病患者さんへの聞き取りだけではなく、多様な考え方や立場を取る支援団体の方々や行政の方からもお話を伺うことができた。参加した院生の学問的関心や研究地域

も多岐にわたり、毎晩熱心に議論する姿があった。また、その日のプログラム終了後に、自主的に町歩きをおこない、水俣に住む様々な人から積極的に話を聞く院生の姿が見受けられた。

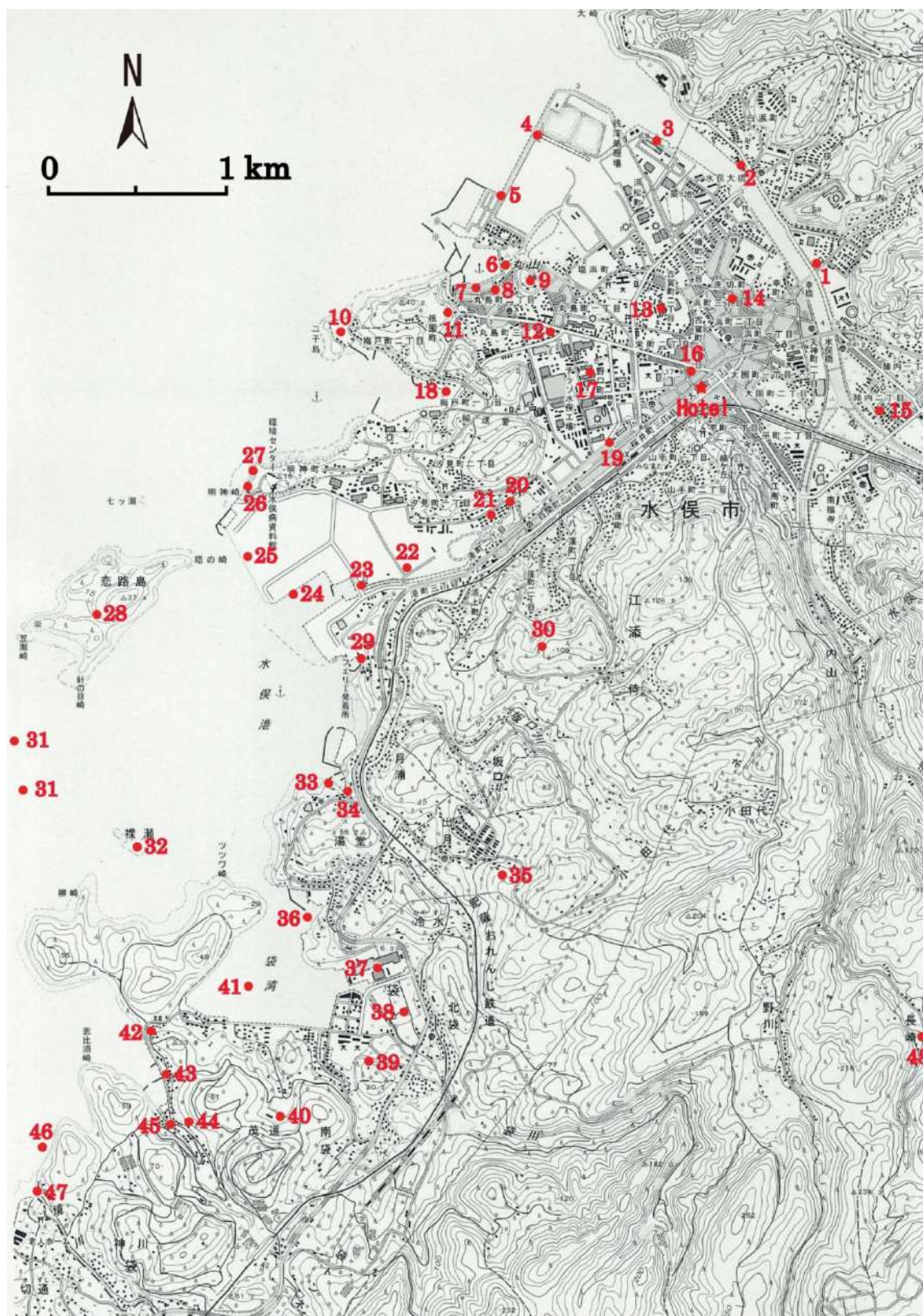
3月1日(水)におこなわれた熊本学園大学水俣学現地研究センターでの報告会では、様々な意見や議論が飛び交った。水俣臨地キャンパスから得た気づきをもとに、各自のフィールドワークに生かしていく事が目指される。

本臨地キャンパスの開催にあたっては、熊本学園大学水俣学現地研究センターの花田昌宣先生、田尻雅美先生のご協力により可能となった。また、貴重な時間を縫ってお話を聞かせてくださった水俣の皆様と御所浦の皆様に、心より御礼申し上げます。(飯田玲子)



写真. 熊本学園大学水俣学現地研究センター前にて、山下善寛さん（前列左から4人目）と、田尻雅美さん（後列右から1人目）および参加者  
[2017年2月26日 撮影]

## ASAFAS 水俣臨地キャンパス地図



## 水俣臨地キャンパス地図説明

小坂 康之<sup>48</sup>

飯田 玲子<sup>49</sup>

1. 水俣市総合もやい直しセンター。水俣市社会福祉協議会の窓口がある。
2. 昔、伝染病患者を収容する避病院があった。現在、水俣市高齢者福祉センター。
3. 水俣川河口左岸。水俣市環境クリーンセンター（ごみ焼却・リサイクル場）脇。水俣市は環境モデル都市のため、ゴミを 21 種に分別している。センターの敷地はカーバイド残渣をかさ上げして埋め立てしてあり、石灰を含む水が染み出している。
4. 八幡残渣プールの排水路。複数の隠し排水口が見つかる。
5. 水俣川河口左岸の埋め立て地の岸壁。埋め立て前は海水浴場で、アサリ、ハマグリ、海藻類がよく採れた。水俣市が埋め立て工事をするとき、市と漁業組合との話し合いで、丸島新港をつくり、海藻類が生育しやすいように石を岸边に並べることで合意した。現在、岸壁に亀裂が入り、埋め立てられたカーバイド残渣の流出が懸念される。
6. 丸島の排水路。以前、百間の排水路よりも高い有機水銀値が検出された。底にヘドロ（ドベ）がたまり、ウナギが生息していた。そのウナギを食べた人が、水俣病になった。
7. 丸島漁港。昔は魚市場が 2 つあったが、水俣病の発生以降、漁獲量が減り、今は 1 つのみである。熊本県の補助で立派な栈橋ができたが、あまり利用されていない。水俣市内に消費者が少ないので、魚の価格が安い。昔はここでクジラがとれたこともある。
8. 竜宮神社（竜宮さん）。恵比寿様を祀る。
9. 「亀の首（がめのくび）」という地名。丸山が亀の甲羅にあたる。山下善寛さんは子供のころ（埋め立ての前）ここでよく海水浴をした。
10. 海の幸を祀る祠がある。
11. 丸島神社（祇園さん）。漁師の三大祭りの一つが行われる。

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<sup>49</sup> 京都大学大学院アジア・アフリカ地域研究研究科 特任助教



12. 丸島町。チッソ工場の裏門に面する。昔は工場の煙突から排出されるガスにより、屋根の上に粉塵が積もっていた。ぜんそくの公害が起きた四日市市より亜硫酸ガス濃度が高かった時期もある。

13. チッソ旧工場。旧水俣川の河口に作られた最初の工場で、日本の化学工業の発祥地。昭和 40 年代に、現在の位置（現・水俣駅の向かい）に移された。今はレンガ壁を残すのみである。2012 年頃に解体する案が出されたが、歴史的建造物として保存するため、運動家が購入した。当時の工場労働者は、炭で真黒だったため「炭素すずめ」と呼ばれた。労働者の多くが農家の二男三男だった。水俣には農林業や漁業はあったが、工場労働者はいなかったため差別された。

14. 熊本学園大学水俣学現地研究センター。水俣学に関する多数の文献資料とともに、デジタルアーカイブ「水俣今昔」を提供する。

URL: <http://www3.kumagaku.ac.jp/minamata/marchives/konjyaku>

15. 陣内。チッソの幹部の居住地区。山下善寛さんの家もある。水俣川の水面より低い  
ため、洪水被害もあった。

16. 水光社。以前はチッソの社員生活協同組合だった。現在は地域の生活協同組合。

17. 野口町。チッソの創業者、野口遵の名にちなむ。現 JNC の工場がある。江戸時代から 19 世紀末まで、この辺りの塩田で行われる塩づくりが主要産業だった。しかし 1905 年に塩の専売制度が始まり、失業者が増えた。その対策としてチッソを誘致した。

18. 梅戸港。チッソの専用港。石炭と石灰石を運び込んだ。石灰石は天草・姫戸から運ばれた。港には石炭を燃料とする火力発電所があった。工場では、石炭と石灰石を原料に、電気炉でカーバイドがつくられ、さらにアセチレン、アセトアルデヒドを経て酢酸が作られた。アセチレンから塩化ビニールがつくられた。アセチレンと水からアセトアルデヒドを作る過程で、水銀が触媒とされ、その際にメチル水銀が生成された。

19. 現 JNC 工場の正門。チッソの工場ができたあと、すぐ向かいに鹿児島本線（現肥薩おれんじ鉄道線）水俣駅がつけられた。チッソ工場は堀状の排水溝で囲まれている。昔は排水溝に人の背丈以上のヘドロが溜まっていた。

20. 百間排水口と百間港の跡。昔はここからメチル水銀を含む排水が流された。百間港に船をつないでおくと船底にフジツボやフナムシがつかないため、漁師がよく船を持ってきた（フジツボやフナムシは船の速度が落ちる原因となる）。国と県は、ここから海側までの約 58 万 m<sup>2</sup>を囲い、高濃度の水銀を含む汚泥で埋め立て、シートとシラスで表

面処理し、山土で覆土した。すぐ脇に新潟から送られたお地蔵さんが祀られ、水俣病巡礼の一番札所となっている。最近ダイオキシンが検出された。

**21.** チッソの旧社宅を熊本学園大学の花田昌宣先生が買い取り、活動拠点「汐見の家」とした。

**22.** 道の駅水俣。駅内の「みなまた観光物産館まっぼっくり」では、山下善寛さんが代表を務める「エコネットみなまた」製の石けんやジュースも販売する。

**23.** 百間港の埋め立て後の排水溝と船だまり。2006 年頃に悪臭がするので検査したところダイオキシンが検出された。1932 年からのカリ肥料の製造の際、カリ鉱石の加工でダイオキシンが発生した。ダイオキシンを含む汚泥は、無毒化せずに、明神崎のヘリポート跡に埋め、コンクリートで封じ込めた。埋めた場所では、現在も半年に 1 回、ダイオキシンの漏出がないか検査している。ダイオキシンを無毒化する技術はあるが、費用がかかる。

**24.** 水俣港の大型タンカー接岸場所。バヌアツ、パナマ（パナマ運河を通過した船）やロシア船などが入港する。ロシア船は、日本で廃船となった古い船が再利用され、木材を積載して入港する。水俣港は大型船が入港するので漁業は禁止されている。釣りは可能。港の周囲は水深約 20m、沖合は約 30m、天草方面は約 60m。

**25.** 水俣病慰霊の碑。熊本県が建設した。毎年 5 月 1 日に慰霊祭が行われる。

**26.** 明神さま。水俣東部宝川内吉川部落の江口氏神さまのご神体が、1690 年の洪水で流され、その後、ここに祀られた。

**27.** 明神崎の岩場には、ヤブツバキ、ヤブニッケイ、サンゴジュ、ヒメユズリハ、ヒサカキ、ハクサンボクなどの照葉樹が繁る。潮のあたる岩には、カキやアオサが生育している。

**28.** 恋路島。戦後、昭和 34 年まで、戦災孤児の収容施設やキャンプ場があった。しかし管理人が水俣病で亡くなったため、現在は使用されていない。島から 1-1.5km 沖合まで漁業（網など漁具を用いる漁）が許可される。それより沖合は公海のため漁業は不可。杉本実さんの場合、県の漁業規則により、北側は湯の児、南側は境川河口付近まで漁業が許可される。漁具を用いない釣りはどこで行ってもよい。

**29.** 天草・御所浦行きの船乗り場。以前は定期船が運航していた。現在、ここから御所浦まで海上タクシー（約 15 人乗りの個人所有船）で片道 1 人 1000 円。船所有者の収入

源のため、運賃を上げてほしい、という人もいる。

30. 昔、アカマツやタケを切って、韓国や中国に輸出した。

31. かつて仕切り網が設置されていた時の漁船の出入り口の両端。湾内で水銀濃度の高かった区域（仕切り網の内側）を「マテガタ」と呼んだ。今でもカサゴとササノハベラの水銀値を年1回計測している。

32. 浅瀬の上に仕切り網のアンカーが投棄されている。熊本県は「漁師の船が浅瀬に乗り上げると危険だから」と説明する。しかし杉本実さんのお話では、漁師は浅瀬の位置をよく知っているので目印は不要。

33. 遠見の家。昔、薩摩と肥後の境界（切り通し）にあり、番所があったことから、「遠見」と呼ばれる。2011年に水俣病患者の交流の場として作られた。

34. 坪段という地名。

35. 水俣病センター相思社と水俣病歴史考証館。相思社は1974年に、第1次訴訟を契機に設立された。現在では、日本各地の患者の相談と支援のほか、大学の合宿研修も行われる。考証館は相思社の運営で、各種文献・写真資料のほか、漁具、チッソの製品、実験猫の檻、怨旗などが保存されている。

36. 袋湾内の湧水。山のカシ林は保水力が高く、降雨は地下に浸透し、海に湧出する。

37. 新栄合板工業株式会社。生産された合板は輸出される。以前はチッソの子会社で、今は独立経営。

38. 袋の埋め立て地に拓かれた水田と畑。袋は、農地を持たない近隣の漁村より裕福だった。袋の住民は「米を食べているから漁民とはちがう」という自負があり、患者認定申請をしない人が多かった。実際には、患者を奥座敷に隠していた家もあった。2月28日現在、タマネギが作付けされている。

39. 袋小中学校裏の八幡神社。11月3日に秋祭り開催。立派な相撲の土俵と観客席があり、小学生の相撲大会が行われる。

40. 昔、茂道から市街へは「水俣へ行く」と言った。陸路は薄暗い山道しかなく大変だった。

41. 大潮の日の干潮時（夜中の 12-1 時）に、潮の引いた湾内でタコや貝などを拾い集める、「よぶり」と呼ばれる漁撈を行う。潮の干満を知るために、漁師は旧暦を考えて仕事する。昔、天草の漁師は、潮の流れが速い旧暦の 1 日と 15 日に仕事を休んだ。今は船外機付きの船に、改良された漁具を用いるので、年中仕事ができる。
42. 杉本実さんの作業場。チリメンジャコ、シラス、イリコが製造される。港で水揚げしてすぐに加工すると味が良い。
43. 港に祀られる恵比寿様。
44. 大山神社、旧暦 9 月 15 日に祭り。佐藤家の先祖が建立した。
45. 佐藤英樹さんご夫妻。佐藤家は江戸時代に細川藩の役人で、袋の山林管理と海の関所番を務めていた。英樹さんは 6 代目（分家）。佐藤家は明治以降、百姓と漁師を兼業していた。魚やカキを天秤棒で担いで袋駅まで山道を歩き、汽車で水俣や出水に売りに行った。米と交換したり、現金を得た。昔は周囲の丘陵に段々畑を拓き、ムギやカライモを栽培していた。畑を持つ家は少なかった。1960 年代初めに、水俣病発生のため魚が売れなくなった。またチッソがつぶれるかもしれず、ほかの収入源を探す必要があった。当時、熊本県で甘夏栽培が流行っていたこともあり、1960 年代に国有林払下げの土地を買い、1.5ha の甘夏園を拓いた。今は無農薬で栽培している。
46. 鹿児島県側と異なり、護岸工事をしていない。また岸壁の陰になるため魚が多い。鹿児島大学の調査で、オオヘビガイの仲間など、貴重な生物も確認された。
47. 境川の河口と、内陸側の山の重なる線が、熊本県と鹿児島県の海上の境界。
48. 長崎。坂本さんの実家がある。漁師は長崎に魚を持っていき、米と物々交換した。



## Map Description of Minamata Field Campus

Yasuyuki Kosaka<sup>50</sup>  
Reiko Iida<sup>51</sup>

1. The Minamata Council of the Moyainaoshi Centre and the Minamata Council of Social Welfare are also available.
2. There used to be an isolation hospital for patients in the past. Currently, the elderly welfare centre of Minamata city serves this purpose.
3. Left bank of the Minamata River. Municipal Waste Management Centre of Minamata City. Minamata city has identified 21 categories into which rubbish can be separated. Because of this, Minamata city is an Environmental model city. The ground of the Waste Management Centre has been reclaimed with residuum of carbide, and lime-content water leak into the river and sea.
4. Drainage canal of Hachiman residual pool. Several hidden sloughs of the Chisso factory were found there.
5. Reclaimed wharf on the left bank of the Minamata River. It was previously a beach. Seaweed, hard clams, and little neck clams were harvested here. When reclamation work was initiated by Minamata city, the fishermen's union negotiated with the administration of Minamata city about the building of a new Marushima port and about the setting up of stones in the waterfront to encourage the growth of marine algae. Currently, people are afraid that carbide residuum outflow is leaking through the quay, which developed a crack, to the sea.
6. The Drainage canal of Marushima. Previously, a higher level of organic mercury was detected here than in the drainage canal of Hyakken. Mercury slime accumulates in the bottom of this canal. Eels live here, and people who eat them contract Minamata disease.
7. Marushima fishing port. Previously, there were two fish markets in Minamata. However, only one fish market remains, because fishing is declining after occurrences of Minamata disease. Currently, there is a fine pier built with a subsidy from Kumamoto prefecture. However, it is less likely to be used by local people. Fish prices are low because there are less consumers here than in other fish ports of the Kyushu area. People have sometimes caught whales here in the past as well.
8. *Ryugu* shrine (local people call this *Ryugu-san*). It is for the worship of the god *Ebisu*.

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9. Gamenokubi (neck of the turtle). Equivalent to the shell of a turtle located in Maruyama. When Mr. Yoshihiro Yamashita was a child, he was frequently bathing in this sea.

10. There is a shrine to worship the fruits of the sea.

11. Marushima shrine (local people call this *Gion-san*). One of the three biggest fishermen's festivals in Minamata is at the Marushima shrine.

12. Marushima-cho. Facing the back gate of the Chisso factory. Previously, dust would fall from the factory chimney to the roof of the adjacent house. During this period, this area had a higher concentration of sulphurous acid gas than Yokkaichi city (which is even famous for the environmental pollution disease called *Yokkaichi asthma*).

13. Former Chisso factory. This factory was the birthplace of the chemical industry in Japan and was located at the mouth of the old Minamata River. At that time, the factory workers were called *Tanso suzume* (Carbon sparrow) because they became dirty with carbon. Many of them were second and third sons of farmers' families. The factory workers' social standing was lower than that of farmers, foresters, and fishermen. 1940s: The Chisso factory was relocated to its present site (in front of Minamata station). Only a brick wall remains. In 2012, Minamata city put forward a plan to dismantle the old factory, but a social activist bought the building due to its historical importance.

14. Open Research Centre for Minamata Studies, Kumamoto Gakuen University. There is a large number of archives regarding Minamata Studies, and a digital archive about '*Minamata Konjaku*' (The visual collection of Minamata from times now past), in this library and website.

Link: <http://www3.kumagaku.ac.jp/minamata/marchives/konjyaku>

15. Jinnai area. The executives of Chisso's quarter. Mr. Yoshihiro Yamashita's home is also located there. The Jinnai area was damaged by the flood because the elevation of the land is lower than that of the Minamata River.

16. *Suikousya*. Former cooperative society for Chisso company workers. Presently, it is a cooperative society for local people.

17. Noguchi-cho. The name of this area is derived from the name of Chisso founder Mr. Shitagau Noguchi. The present factory (JNC: Japan New Chisso) is located there. From the Edo period until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this area's major industry was salt production. However, the government has monopolized the salt industry since 1905. Many salt farmers lost their jobs. Therefore, as a countermeasure taken to promote job creation, a prominent person made efforts to establish the Chisso-Minamata Factory.

18. Umedo port. Chisso's industrial port. Chisso lifted coal and limestone from this port. The

limestone is from Himedo, in the Amakusa area. A coal-fired steam power plant is also in the port. In the factory, carbide is made from carbon and limestone by an electric furnace. Moreover, acetic acid is made from acetylene and acetaldehyde, vinyl chloride is made from acetylene, and methylmercury is made from acetylene and water, with mercury serving as a catalyst, in the process of manufacturing acetaldehyde.

**19.** The main entrance of Japan New Chisso (JNC). The JNR Kagoshima Line (presently Hisatsu Orange Line) at Minamata Station was built after the completion of the Chisso factory, in front of the main entrance. This factory is surrounded by a drainage canal. In the past, this canal contained a pile of slime that was taller than the height of a human.

**20.** Hyakken drainage canal and a mark of Hyakken port. At the time, the industrial waste water containing methylmercury originated from this point. The fishermen brought their own ships to Hyakken port to remove barnacles and shipworms (those creatures that cause a decrease in ships' speed). The Japanese government, Kumamoto prefectural government and Chisso had been engaged in reclamation from high-mercury slime from this point to the sea, an area that measured 580,000 m<sup>2</sup>. However, deposits of volcanic ash and sand have been placed over this area and covered with mountain soil. Currently, *Ojizo-san* is enshrined in the side of Hyakken drainage canal. This *Ojizo-san* was sent from Nigata prefecture. It is the first temple of the Minamata Disease Pilgrimage. Lately, dioxin has been detected here.

**21.** *Shiominioie*. The houses were originally company houses of Chisso. Professor Masanori Hanada (Kumamoto Gakuen University) bought the house for research activities.

**22.** Roadside station, Minamata. Handmade soap and fruit juices are sold at the Minamata Bussankan Matsubokkuri, at this road side station. These products are made by 'Eco-net Minamata'. Mr. Yoshihiro Yamashita acts as the head of this NPO.

**23.** A berth and drain gutter after the Hyakken port. Dioxins were detected giving off a bad scent in this area in 2006. Since 1932, Chisso has made a potash fertilizer, and the process of manufacturing potash ore into potash fertilizer creates dioxin. The dioxin slime has not been detoxified, but has instead been buried in concrete in the mark of the Myojinzaki heliport. Mr. Yoshihiro Yamashita and his colleague are inspecting this area once every six months. The technologies of detoxification are available, but they are very costly.

**24.** A quay alongside the port is for very large crude carriers (VLCC) at Minamata port. Vanuatuan, Panamanian (or those that pass through the Panama Canal) and Russian carriers enter the port. Russian carriers recycle old Japanese ships and bring lumber aboard at Minamata port. Minamata port has a prohibition on fisheries due the entry of VLCCs into port. However, angling has been approved at Minamata port. The water around Minamata port is 20 m deep, the water off shore is about 30 m deep, and the water of the Amakusa area is about 60 m deep.

**25.** Memorial monument for Minamata disease patients that was built by Kumamoto prefecture.

A memorial service is held on 1<sup>st</sup> May every year.

**26. *Myojin-sama*.** The flood washed the local tutelary deity of *Eguchi* from Yoshikawa hamlet, Hogawachi, at the eastern part of the Minamata River, from this point in 1690. Since then, this tutelary deity is enshrined here.

**27. *Yabutsubaki*, *Yabu-nikkei*, *Sangojyu*, *Himeyuzuriha*, *Hisakaki*, and *Hakusanboku*** glowing on the rocky area of Myojinzaki. Oysters and sea lettuce are growing on the seaside rock.

**28. Koiiji Island.** An institution to care for war orphans and a camp site were there until 1959. Currently, these are not in use because a manager died of Minamata disease. Fishing (using a fishing net and fishing gear) is allowed between 1 km and 1.5 km from Koiiji Island. Fishing is not allowed past 1.5 km: There is a high sea. Mr. Minoru Sugimoto allowed fishing from the Yunoko area to around the mouth of Sakai River in accordance with the fishing rules of Kumamoto prefecture. However, angling without fishing gear is allowed everywhere.

**29. Ferry port with service to Amakusa and Goshoura Island.** An ocean liner was operated from Minamata to those islands. Recently, marine taxis operate from this port. The fare of a marine taxi from Minamata to Goshoura Island is 1,000 yen one way, per person. Ship owners request to raise the fare, as it is their important income source.

**30. *Akamatsu*** and bamboo were exported from this location to Korea and China in the past.

**31. Both ends** provided a gateway for fishing boats when they used to have partition nets. It is called *Mategata* (the inside of a partition net), and it represents a high concentration of mercury in the bay. Samples (*Kasago* and *Sasanohabera*) from this point are analysed for mercury once a year, even today.

**32. A sign of partition nets in the shallows.** Kumamoto prefecture explains that this sign is for fishermen's safety, to prevent them from running the ship aground. However, Mr. Minoru Sugimoto said that 'It is unnecessary because the location of the shallows in the sea is very well known to fishermen'.

**33. *Tōminoie*.** The name of the place, called *Tomi*, derives from the act of looking into the far distance, because this point was located in the guard station for the edge of the *Satsuma* Domain and the *Higo* Domain in the past. *Tōminoie* was dedicated by the company of a Minamata disease patient in 2011.

**34. Tsubodan area.**

**35. *Sōshisha*** (the Supporting Centre for Minamata Disease) and Minamata Disease Museum. *Sōshisha* was established in 1974 after the first lawsuit regarding Minamata disease. Nowadays, *Sōshisha* has functions in support of Minamata disease patients, not only Minamata city but also

in the whole of Japan. *Sōshisha* also provides training to university students. Archives and photos about Minamata disease, fishing gear, products of the Chisso company, the cage of a test cat, and *Onbata* (symbolic flags of a hatred for Chisso) are on permanent display in Minamata Disease Museum.

**36.** Springwater in Fukuro bay. Oaks in the mountains retain water, so rainwater seeping underground and groundwater discharge to the bay.

**37.** Shin-ei Plywood Company, Ltd. Product of plywood export to foreign countries. Formerly an affiliated company of Chisso, it is now a self-supporting company.

**38.** A paddy field and cultivation on the reclamation site in Fukuro area. Fukuro was richer than neighbouring fishing villages. Fukuro residents thought, ‘We are different from fishing village residents because we are eating rice’. Consequently, many Fukuro residents did not consider being certified for Minamata disease. A Fukuro resident was hiding a Minamata disease patient in the inner room. As of 28<sup>th</sup> February 2017, onions are cultivated in the Fukuro area.

**39.** *Hachiman* shrine, located behind Fukuro Elementary School. An autumn festival is held on 3<sup>rd</sup> November every year. Kids’ sumo wrestling takes place at the *Hachiman* shrine.

**40.** In the old days, from Modou area to the centre of the city, people said ‘Going to Minamata’. It was a very difficult way because it was a gloomy mountain route.

**41.** At the time of the spring tide, local people would fish for octopus and shellfish, etc., on the beach at low tide (usually 12 pm to 1 am). This event is called *Yoburi*. Fishermen are always thinking about the lunar calendar in order to understand the rise and fall of the tide. In the old days, the fishermen of Amakusa stopped fishing on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> (lunar calendar) of every month to avoid the strong current of the tide. Nowadays, fisherman can work every day thanks to developments in fishing gear and the outboard motor.

**42.** Mr. Minoru Sugimoto’s work area. *Chirimenjyako*, *shirasu*, and *iriko* are made in this work area. After fish are bought on land for processing, this is the best way to make tasty fish products.

**43.** *Ebisu-sama* has been enshrined in the port.

**44.** *Ohyama* shrine. The festival is held on 15 September, using the lunar calendar. This shrine was built by an ancestor of Mr. Sato.

**45.** With Mr. Hideki Sato and his wife. Mr. Sato’s ancestor was an administrator of *Hosokawa* Domain. He conducted mountain forest management and was a keeper of a guard station. Mr. Hideki Sato is sixth generation (cadency). The Sato family were farmers and fishermen from the Meiji period. First, they carried fish and oysters on a wall through a mountain path to Fukuro railway station. After that, they exchanged rice and had a cash income in Minamata and Izumi.

The Sato family broke land into terraced fields and grew wheat and sweet potatoes. In the early 1960s, fish were unsellable due to the emergence of Minamata disease. Furthermore, people thought that Chisso was going to go bankrupt. Therefore, there was a need to look for other forms of income. Then, the Sato family bought forest that was disposed of by the government in the 1960s and broke up the land into 1.5 ha *Amanatsu* (sweet form of Chinese citron) orchards. Currently, Mr. Hideki Sato and his family try to farm without agriculture chemicals.

**46.** There is no construction of shore protection, unlike in the Kagoshima prefecture. Many fish live in the shadow of a wharf, and endangered creatures (e.g., scaly worm shell) are also researched by Kagoshima University.

**47.** This point is a boundary line in the sea between Kumamoto prefecture and Kagoshima prefecture.

**48.** Nagasaki area. The hometown of Ms. Shizue Sakamoto. Long ago, fishermen bartered fish for rice with Nagasaki.











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## 二度目の水俣を訪問して —日常を生きる水俣の人々をどのように捉えていくか—

高道 由子<sup>52</sup>

キーワード: 日常、つながり、移住

### 1. 二度目の水俣を訪れて

水俣を訪れるのは今回で二度目だった。一度目はまだ学部生だった頃で、携わっていた NGO のプロジェクトで、エコパーク水俣で行われた植樹祭の準備のボランティアとして 2 週間滞在した。当時、私は水俣病のことは教科書の知識ぐらいしか持ち合わせておらず、滞在期間に水俣病資料館も訪問したものの、あまりその記憶はない。それよりも普段都会で暮らす自分にとって、水俣ののどかな自然の美しさや、近所の人からもらった野菜や作ってもらった食事がおいしかったこと、そんな些細なことばかりが思い出された。そんな中でも、水俣病について近所の人がこぼした言葉が、ひとつだけとても印象に残っている。「エコ」に力をいれた水俣の町はごみの分別がものすごく多く<sup>53</sup>、ボランティアだけでは細かい種別に分別できずに近所の方に手伝ってもらっていたのだが、そのおうちの方がふとしたときに「水俣病のことは、みんな語らない」とおっしゃった。私はどういうことなのか詳しく訊いてみたかったが、何となくそうはできない雰囲気があり、次の言葉を紡げなかった。今回、再度水俣を訪れることが決まったときにその言葉を思い出し、語らない人のことをどのように知ることができるのか、難しく思った。

### 2. 多様な立場

水俣臨地キャンパスで最も驚いたことは、水俣病という出来事に対する人々の立場が、かなり多様であることだ。居住地や職業、年齢、性別といった何らかのカテゴリーで説明できるようなものでは決してない。個人にまで焦点を当てなければ、水俣病に対するひとり一人の立場は見えてこず、知れば知るほどその多様な立場に混乱した。その背景には、水俣病が起こる前から地域に階層があったこと、チッソの内部にいたか外部にいたか、水俣病が起きた後の訴訟などの対応や認定の有無など、様々な背景要因が考えられ、それらが複雑に絡まりあい、現在まで地域を分断したり、あるいは繋いでいるともいえる。

### 3. 日常的な付き合い

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<sup>53</sup> 現在は 21 種類。



「水俣病がいかに地域を分断したのか」は訪問前の講義でも話され、実際に訪問して自分が感じた大きなことのひとつだった。しかしその一方で、水俣という地域ではごく当たり前の日常生活が営まれて、「地域の付き合い」が存在していることも印象的だった。例えば、甘夏みかん農家さんの、魚釣りをして多く釣れば近所に配るという話。社会福祉協議会の職員へのインタビューでは、学生からの質問が水俣病に関することに集中するのに対して、「(相談に来られる方が) 水俣病かどうかは把握していない」「(水俣病であるかないかに関わらず) すべての水俣市民に対して・・・」と、あえて水俣病から離れた回答をし、どこの地域にもある地域をつなげる取組みである「いきいきサロン」などの説明などに力を入れていた。また、臨地キャンパスの終了後に会った水俣に住む友人夫婦は、「スイーツめぐり<sup>54</sup>をする方がよっぽど水俣のことがわかる」と言い、日常の水俣を見せようと、いつも利用するショッピングセンターに連れて行ってくれた。そこでの滞在はほんの 20 分ほどだったが、彼らの知り合いに数名出会い、立ち話に花を咲かせていた。

#### 4. 水俣臨地キャンパスを終えて

「水俣病がいかに地域を分断したのか」は紛れもない事実であると考えられるし、その視点で水俣を見ることは重要だと思う。しかしその一方で、語ることもできない共通のかなしい出来事を抱えながらも、地域の日常は続き、何らかのつながりが存在している。水俣病とは別の視点からも地域を調査することで、より水俣病がもたらした変化とそこに生きる日常の人々が見えてくるのかも知れない。筆者個人としては今後、水俣という地域に移り住んだ人々の移り変わりを追っていきたい。

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<sup>54</sup> 水俣は、「スイーツのまち水俣」として観光客の呼び込みに力を入れている。水俣の人口の割に洋菓子店や美容室が多い理由は、チッソで働く夫を持つ女性の利用者が多かったためだと、友人は説明した。

## 地域に生きる人々 —水俣病をとりまく「立場」の難しさ—

中野 真備<sup>55</sup>

キーワード：水俣病、地域研究、水俣学

### 1. はじめに

2017年2月23日～3月1日に、熊本県水俣市において、水俣臨地キャンパスが開催された。日本の経済成長を今日までも支えてきたチッソ（現 JNC 株式会社）が、環境を蔑ろにし、経済発展を優先した結果、四大公害病として知られた水俣病を引き起こし、未だに症状に苦しむ患者たちがいる—正直に言えば、私はその程度の認識しか持っていなかった。しかし実際には、加害者-被害者や企業-市民などと単純に区切って批判することのできない、非常に入り組んだ構造があった。はじめに述べておくが、どれだけ耳を傾け、考え、議論し、また考えても、ではどうしたらいいのか、ついに私はわからなかった。そしてしばらく経った現在も、ずっと考え続けている。

### 2. 水俣という地域

水俣病は、水俣市野口町にあるチッソ水俣工場から排出したメチル水銀を、大量に取り込んだ魚を多食したことが原因である。水銀は、百間排水溝から排出されて水俣湾へひろがった。最も被害を受けたのは、水俣湾で獲れる魚を主食としていた漁師たちであった。

水俣病発生以前から、この町には住み分けがあった。川上の陣内には旧士族や大地主、チッソの高給社員の住宅が立ち並び、その下の浜町や栄町には町衆が住んでいた。当時、チッソで働くことは人々の羨望の的であった。丸島や船津まで下ると漁民の集落が増える。鹿児島県にほど近い、袋湾をかこむ湯堂や茂道は、典型的な漁民の集落といわれている。彼らは、魚（うお）湧く海とよばれるほど豊かな八代の海を求めて、この土地に移住してきたのだという。八代の海を渡ると、やはり漁師たちの住む御所浦島がある。これらの漁民集落こそが、水俣病患者の最も多かった地域である。移民であったうえに、とても貧しい地域だったため、水俣病の症状があらわれた当初も、水俣市中心部の市民たちは大して気に留めていなかったという。水俣市内のある人は、「もし水俣病がまず中心部であらわれていたら、きつともっと早く対処されて、問題になったでしょう」と語る。

### 3. 水俣病をとりまく人々

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以上に述べたように、そもそも水俣病発生以前から、水俣という地域社会での生活は、同一ではなく、これは水俣病の発生によってさらに複雑になっていった。例えば加害者企業とされるチッソは加害者ではあるが、同時に、確かに水俣の発展を、ひいては日本の発展を支えてきた企業であり、チッソなしには水俣の町は成り立たなかった。それを誰よりもよくわかっているのは、水俣市民である。だからこそ彼らの一部は、これだけの被害があった今でも、チッソに対して補償金を求めたり批判したりすることをよく思っていない。チッソの恩恵を承知したうえで、補償金や認定を求めて裁判を起こし、活動続ける人々もいれば、支援を必要としていても、人に知られたくなくて何もしない人もいる。いつまでも裁判を続けなくてくれという人もいる。水俣の人々はみな、それぞれに複雑な思いを抱え、人前では口をつぐんでいるようだった。

人々の立場を複雑にしているものは様々あるが、水俣病認定患者手帳等をめぐる立場は今も揺れ動いている。水俣病にかかわる様々な手帳には、水俣病と認定されないが給付される手帳や、認定された患者の手帳などいくつかが存在し、それぞれに一時金や年金、医療手当の補償が付与される。先述のように、人々はそれぞれに思いが異なり、それを申請して補償金を得るのか否かなど、あらゆるところで立場が分かれている。患者たちのなかでさえも、またチッソや市役所の人々にも、社会的立場以前に水俣に生きる1人の人間としてそれぞれの立場があり、互いに複雑な感情を持っている。明確な加害者を責めることは容易いが、誰が完全な加害者で、誰が被害者だと明確に区切ることはできない水俣の難しさがある。また、チッソと患者だけではなく、水俣病をとりまく全ての人々が当事者なのである。チッソの液晶でできたPCやスマートフォンに依存してきた我々もまた、当事者といえるのだろう。



写真 1. チッソ所有の梅戸港（左端）  
を囲む梅戸集落



写真 2. 御所浦港の眺望



## 水俣の暮らしのなかの水俣病 —現地でのフィールドワークを通じて—

長岡 慶<sup>56</sup>

キーワード：有機農業、労働争議、学生運動、認定、救済

### 1. はじめに

私は、水俣でのフィールドワークを通じて、「患者」対「企業」、あるいは「患者」対「国」という単純化した二項対立ではかたづけることのできない、水俣に住む人々の様々な人間関係の変化が水俣病を契機に生じたことを知った。水俣病をめぐる現地の人々の語りを聴き、記憶の場を実際に訪ねることを通じて多くの学びや気づきを得た。

### 2. 豊かな水俣の土地

不知火海周辺はリアス式海岸で美しい海が広がり、タチウオやカキ、ハマチなど海の幸の豊かな場所となっている。海産物のほかにも、水俣では温暖な気候に適したアマナツやデコポンなどの柑橘類の果物や茶が多く栽培されている。特に、アマナツ生産をめぐる経緯はとても興味深いものであった。1970年代、新たに普及した有機農業によるアマナツ栽培は水俣病患者の生活を支えただけでなく、患者と全国の支援者をつなぐ重要な社会的役割を担ったからである。茂道地域のミカン農家の方やちりめん漁を営む漁師の方から、自身や家族が経験した水俣病の話のほか農業や漁業についても話を伺い、水俣という土地の豊かさやその土地に根差して暮らす人々の努力を知ることができた。

### 3. 労働争議や学生運動との関わり

支援団体や社会運動に関わった方々の話から、水俣病患者の人々が企業や国、県を相手に訴訟や自主交渉を通じて闘っていたとき、水俣の内外の労働組合の人々や学生運動をしていた大学生たちも応援したということを知った。水俣の安賃闘争でチッソに反発した第一組合の労働者たちが水俣病患者の運動に加わり、三池炭鉱の労働者たちも勤務終わりに鉄道に乗って水俣へかけつけ闘争のやり方を教えたという。当時、護身用に使われていたという大きな木の棒には「斗魂」という赤い文字が刻まれ、穴があけられていた。運動に関わった方によれば、それは警官に逮捕されないための工夫であり、警官に武器かと聞かれた場合に（煙草を吸うための）パイプだと答えるよう教えられたとのことであった。

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#### 4. 認定制度＝救済となりにくい現実

水俣病の認定制度や水俣病被害者手帳（医療手帳、保健手帳）の制度<sup>57</sup>は、水俣病患者を救済するために設けられたものであるが、実際には新たな争いを生むきっかけにもなっているように思えた。水俣病の症状には個人差があり、年齢を重ねてから症状が現れてくる人もいて、水俣病かそうでないかの明確な境界線を引くことは難しい。同じ地域や一緒に生活する家族のなかでも患者認定された人と認定が棄却された人が出るという状況が生まれ、認定で棄却された人たちが救済を求めて訴訟を起こし、認定基準が見直されても、またその認定基準で棄却された人が新たに訴訟で救済を求めるという認定と訴訟のループが続いている。被害者手帳においても、実際には人目を気にして（水俣病であることを周りに知られたくないために）病院で使用されることのないままであることもあるときいた。患者や支援者、企業、行政、市民それぞれに、60年たった今も水俣病の理解や救済をめぐる様々なすれ違いがある。今回のフィールドワークを通じて、短期間ではあったが、病いの症状や医療の語りだけを聴くのではなく、現地の生活や人々の社会に対する取り組み、土地の記憶など様々な語りを聴くことで、水俣の暮らしに位置づけて水俣病をとらえなおすことができ、多角的な視点からフィールドワークを行うことの重要性を実感した。

水俣でお話をきかせていただいた皆様にこの場を借りて御礼申し上げます。



写真 1. 御所浦の鳥峠山頂からの景色



写真 2. 茂道のえびす像

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<sup>57</sup> 水俣病に認定されていなくても特定の感覚障害や神経症がある場合に交付され、症状に応じて療養費が支給される。

## 水俣と社会運動 —水俣臨地キャンパスでの聞き取り調査報告—

細田 隆史<sup>58</sup>

キーワード： 労働組合、公害、新しい社会運動

本フィールドワークにおける聞き取り調査を通じて、昭和期の社会運動の系譜を確認できるような代表性を水俣の歴史は有していると考えた。水俣では、労働問題・差別・公害が重なったような状況で抗議活動が行われていたためである。

まず六十年代の前半に、水俣・新日本窒素（以下、チッソ）内部では賃金制度をめぐり、激しい労働争議が繰り広げられた。ストライキの権利の放棄と引き換えに賃上げを約束するというチッソ経営陣の提案をきっかけとして、組合と経営陣の対立に加え、経営陣に対して批判的な組合（「第一組合」）と経営陣に融和的な組合（「第二組合」）という分裂した労組の対立を軸としてその争議はなされた。賃金争議における分裂はそのまま町の分裂につながった。元々交流があり親しかった人々の間であっても、加盟労組の違いは仲たがいの原因となってしまったのである。そして争議終了後第一労組の人々は 1968 年の「恥宣言」を経て、水俣病の抗議活動を行っていた漁民たちと以前よりもより積極的な関わりを持つようになる [大石 2011: 15, 27]。また相思社・水俣病歴史考証館展示によれば、当時の日本でどこにでも見られたように、水俣では近世のころ身分による明確な住み分けがなされていた。武士、町民、漁民、そして定住して月日の比較的浅いことによる低い身分の漁民という区分によって住居地区が分かれていたのである。その身分に基づく住居地区の格差は後世にも引き継がれ、昭和のころ発生した水俣病は、水俣の中心部からは周縁とみなされていた地域に多く発症したことも一因となり、市民やチッソ従業者たちの水俣病への無関心や誤解を産んだ。くわえて水俣が東京から遠く離れていたことがなお、行政・チッソの解決への意欲を鈍らせた。だが、水俣病が当該地域以外の住民にも発症していったこと、第一労組が「恥宣言」を發表したことで、第一労組及び第一労組に加わっていたチッソ従業員は漁民と以前よりも連帯していった [大石 2011: 2, 15]。そして、公害運動（そして住民運動）という性質を明確に形成したのである。ただし、水俣病に関する社会運動は完璧な勝利を収めたわけではなかった。たとえば、運動にかかわっていた人々が不利益を被る場合もあったという。山下氏の聞き取りでは、第一労組に所属していたという理由でチッソ内部において冷遇されることなどもあった、という証言をうかがうことができた。

以上のように、あるテーマの社会運動・組織が他のテーマの社会運動・組織を大きくすることは 3.11 以降の日本の社会運動でも見受けられることである。たとえばヘイトスピーチを伴うデモや演説への抗議活動は、脱原発運動主催者による呼びかけを契機に大規模化し、安保法案への抗議活動には脱原発運動やヘイトスピーチへの抗議活動の参

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加者たちも積極的に参加し、運動を支援するような場面もあった〔笠井・野間 2016: 33-56〕。脱原発・反差別・反安保法案をテーマにした運動が相互作用することで運動の規模が拡大していったことと、労働運動と公害問題抗議の運動が相互作用の関係を積極的に結んでいったことで水俣病の抗議運動が広がっていったという点に関して一定の類似が見られると考えられる。

インタビューの設定や宿の予約など諸事に渡って手配してくださいましたこと、水俣臨地キャンパスで一緒させていただいた ASAFAS の皆様にお礼申し上げます。そして、インタビューを快くお受けくださいましたこと、水俣、天草の方々にお礼申し上げます。誠にありがとうございました。



写真 1. 天草・御所ヶ浦島船着場にて撮影

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## 交錯しない信念 —水俣病をめぐる社会の今日—

師田 史子<sup>59</sup>

キーワード： 水俣病、水俣市、認定義務付け訴訟、コミュニティ、信念

「今でもね、チッソに爆弾を投げ入れたい気分だよ。」2017年某日。熊本地裁に向かう車中にて、水俣病認定義務付け訴訟の原告や支援者が各々思いの丈を吐露し、怒りの感情を再確認し合い、闘志を燃やす。権力に対して戦うことを放棄しない彼らの、国や県、旧日室に募る恨みや憤りは、不知火海の底に潜む水銀と同様に消えてなくなることはない。発生から60年が過ぎた今日においても、彼らにとって水俣病は終わることのない病である。

一方、水俣市に暮らすとある市民はこう言う。「八代から水俣に越してきて15年になるけれど、水俣病患者に会ったことはまだない。」おそらく、大多数の水俣市民にとり、水俣病は歴史的事実あるいは忌まわしき過去として記憶されており、それは同時に水俣病が終わったものであると認識されていることをも意味する。

今という時代に、日々同じ空間に生き、同じ街並みを見ながら、その景色の中に水俣の人々は全く異なる思いを抱く。水俣湾を埋め立てたエコパーク水俣を、水銀が流出するやもしれぬ恐れと怒りの感情越しに監視する人もいれば、税金が浪費されている無為の場として蔑視する人もいる。水俣の人々にとって、程度の多少はあれども、水俣病とは生活の何処かでその存在を意識・無意識的に認識せざるをえないシニフィアンであるが、そこから同心円状に構成される人々の日常世界は、まるで交錯することの許されない、パラレルワールドのようである。

水俣のこの様相は、往々にして「分断した社会」として析出されてきた。水俣病の法的定義づけが遅延され続ける中、水俣病をめぐる多くの異なる信念が人々の間に構築され、その信念の対立構造は長らく静止しているように映る。コミュニティとは不断に続く再構成の過程であり、動態であると位置づけるのならば、水俣の地の奇妙さはここに生じている。時がいくら過ぎ去り、街の景観がいかに変わり、住民がいくら入れ替わっても、ある人にとっては永遠に闘うべき対象として、ある人にとっては永遠に無関係な事件として、水俣病は水俣に存在し続ける。権利のために闘う人々は闘い、「ニセ水俣病患者」を非難する人々は非難し続ける。彼らは時空を共有しても交わることはなく、水俣の社会空間と水俣病は運命共同体のごとき静態である。

信念は自ずと交錯せずに静態を保っているのではなく、人々によって交錯しないように企図されているとすれば、異なる信念を持つ人々は日常的に幾多にも発生するコンタクト・ゾーンにおいて、衝突や格闘を巧妙に回避しているといえるであろう。彼らは、

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日常において隠蔽と暴露を企てながら接触し合い、交錯しない信念を維持しながら一つの社会空間として水俣を構築している。

「分断した社会」であるで一蹴してしまうことも、あるいは、患者や行政、旧日室、市民等、各々の視座から水俣病を語ること、水俣の今を知るには物足りなく思われて仕方がない。分断の中にありながら、水俣として社会空間が構成されているという事実を紐解くには、水俣の地において水俣病をめぐる信念が人々の中で確立していく様を追い、異なる信念が交錯しうる接触面においての、人々の日常的実践の動態と、交錯しない信念の静態が絡み合っている現実近づくことが求められているのではないだろうか。



写真 1. 水俣病認定義務付け訴訟  
門前集会に集う原告と支援者



写真 2. エコパーク水俣（埋立地）  
に掲げられた看板

# Onsite Campus of Minamata City, Kumamoto: Development and Happiness of Minamata and the Cambodian People

Te Monyrotha<sup>60</sup>

**Key Words:** Minamata disease, Development, Happiness, Minamata city, Cambodia

## 1. Minamata Disease

At first, I was very curious how the Japanese government supported and cared for Minamata patients because in Cambodia there is a limited knowledge related to disabled persons, including in training and treatment. However, after I joined this program, I learned about the relevant stories that complicate our understanding of the situation between Minamata patients and Chisso, the company that polluted the sea and caused the Minamata disease. In this report, I would like to focus on development and happiness by comparing Minamata City and the Cambodian situation.

## 2. Development and Happiness

The Chisso factory provided the development including job opportunities, economic growth, and so on, which met the needs of the local people and supported the Japan economy since the 1900s. However, the company also polluted the seawater with mercury, which meant the local people became Minamata patients; this was especially true for the fishermen who were eating fish as their main meal during the 1930s. The local Minamata patients and their relatives, who are suffering and being discriminated against, even won a court case at the end of the 1960s, although the compensation cannot support the patients socio-economics and many patients claims were not recognized since they claimed after the required period. As a result, the patients are still pursuing the company for better compensation and the acceptance of Minamata patients in order to get treatment.

Even in developed countries like Japan, some people still suffer from development projects; in this section I would like to provide an overview of how Cambodian people have suffered from development projects. Since the 2000s, Cambodian land prices have been rising, which has caused land conflicts between local people, powerful persons in the city, and tourist areas. In addition to the land prices, the government started implementing the economic land concession project which lent land to foreign investors; this caused land conflicts between investors and local people, including ethnic minority groups. Until today, land conflicts are one of the topical issues in Cambodia. The government did not find a proper solution and the victims still protest, especially in the city, in order to meet the prime minister, who is known as “a strong man.”

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Photo 1. Fukuro, Minamata City, Kumamoto Prefecture, 2017

Minamata disease makes us think more about development and the people's happiness!



## Reflections on Minamata Onsite Campus: Minamata, Bukit Merah & the Crisis of Developmentalism

Boon Kia Meng<sup>61</sup>

**Key Words:** Minamata studies, Bukit Merah, Developmentalism, Environmental justice, Place

The opportunity to participate in the Minamata Onsite Campus has stirred many feelings, images and thoughts in me. To help me focus my thoughts, I will organize my short reflections around two unforgettable images that stayed with me. Firstly, it's the image of "fences".

The fences of restricted areas related to Chisso (JNC Corporation) represents in extreme clarity the kind of modernization that Japan has pursued in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, which has been emulated to a certain degree by Malaysia, especially since the 1980s under the leadership of former Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad. Modernity and its Weberian "iron cage", driven fundamentally by the intimate nexus between state power and economic corporations, determine to a very large extent the forms of life and imagination that is possible for human beings today, perhaps universally, since no being (all life forms, the story of dying cats in Minamata, a case in point) can exist outside of global capitalist development, "the time of capital" [Chatterjee 2006]. Malaysia's late colonial and postcolonial milieu bears strong resemblance to Minamata's mode of development, the case of radioactive contamination in Bukit Merah being a poignant example. In the words of Sakamoto san, the mother of Shinobu san, "Chisso is the perpetrator, but it is so powerful!" The victims of Bukit Merah did not manage to get any compensation at all from the alleged perpetrators, a joint-venture company between Mitsubishi Kasei and Malaysia's Tabung Haji.

The second unforgettable image from Minamata is the sea, when we sailed in Sugimoto san's fishing boat. Sato san mentioned that "the sea calms me". The contagious joyfulness of life, in spite of the damaging effects of disease, seen in the lives of Sato san and wife reminds me that no matter how constraining tragedy and political economic forces can be, human beings fight daily, refusing to give in to man-made disasters.

Just as the sea is an absolutely essential part of Minamata's *fudo*, the unbreakable relations between place, people, body, nature and society, I am moved by the simple truth that living is not about major turning points or moments, but the slow accumulation and attention to daily needs and activities, from oranges, fish, how we prepare our food and how we listen to each other, especially those that may seem different to us, disabilities being 'inconveniences' that modernity's time have little place for.

To conclude, the Minamata experience helped me to make sense of many disparate thoughts and feelings that existed in my own research project, but I couldn't quite connect the dots until I set foot in Minamata. Beyond academic or intellectual concerns, listening to people like Ikoma san, Yamashita san and Tani san, amongst others, rekindled the fundamental question,

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“What is the purpose of my doctoral studies?” This question cannot be resolved in purely academic terms or dissertation writing, for Minamata challenges us to consider how deeply, as individuals and members of society, we are implicated in a culture of “modernization” and “consumption”, where power is often not in the hands of the many or the vulnerable. I carry inside me the simple word, *danketsu* (solidarity), as I face each new challenge, every single day, living each moment, figuring out how I can make connections with people around me, with the place I currently reside in, and the ‘home’ that we long for, even if it has been deeply scarred by human hands, our Minamata, our Bukit Merah.

## References

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Photo 1. Drainage canal of Hachiman residual pool



Photo 2. Fukuro Bay

# Before the Twilight: The Final Struggles of the Minamata Disease Patients

Katrina S. Navallo<sup>62</sup>

**Key Words:** Political economy of environment, Environment and disease, Minamata disease, Access to justice, Post-war Japan

## 1. Introduction

Going to Minamata for the onsite clinic organized by ASAFAS, my inquiry was largely influenced by the politics of care, state-society relations involved in the performance and delivery of care, and welfare services at the national and individual levels. The questions I wished to explore include the state's acknowledgment of its responsibility to care for its constituents, and in doing so, how were care services provided, in what form, and how accessible and available were these services for recipients? Moreover, what factors influenced the government's response, given the role played by the Chisso Corporation in the economic stability of Kumamoto, and how has social pressure shaped the discourse on Minamata disease?

## 2. Development, Legitimacy, and Power in Post-war Japan

The story of the Minamata incident illustrates a critical point in the history of Japan's development into a modern, industrialized nation. The role of the Chisso Corporation, as a semi-*zaibatsu* institution that led technological innovations in agriculture and chemical production in post-war Japan, led to the creation of client patronage with the local government of Kumamoto. One cannot under-estimate the influence of the company in the economic growth of Minamata, which led to its being called a "Chisso castle town." The nature of Chisso's relationship with the local government and the people created a kind of power dependency that legitimized the ruling power of Chisso in Minamata and Kumamoto—so much so that the social stratification in Minamata was largely based on where the elites of Chisso resided (Jinnai was occupied by most of the company's top officers, while Yudo and Modo were occupied by the fishermen families who were most affected by the disease). This social stratification based on geographical proximity and isolation to and from the center of power is an important factor in how Minamata disease and its victims were perceived by the local and national public.

## 3. The Politics of Power and Disease

When I went to the Soshisha Museum of Minamata Disease, I was particularly struck by one of the anecdotes depicting the (condescending and negative) labels used for patients who at the time were attempting to be certified as Minamata disease victims. At some point, the disease was deemed to be a disease of poverty, because most of the patients were fishermen who ate mostly fish and shellfish and could afford to eat anything else. The identification of poverty as the root of the disease at a time when environmental exploitation was yet to be conceived as a

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potential source of the problem reflects the simplified thinking that a strange disease can be attributed to one's economic circumstances and unhygienic surroundings, while the rich can have "immunity" from it. The idea of the disease itself as *only* afflicting the poor was perpetuated by the strong social stratification that divided the society of Minamata at that time.

However, as the disease was eventually attributed to the exploitative actions of Chisso in 1968, the diverging responses of the local people reflected the conflict between their desire for justice and their need to survive. Those affected by the disease depended on Chisso for their employment and livelihoods, so making Chisso pay for their guilt in causing the disease created divisions among local people, and even the patients themselves. The creation of factions within patient groups, labor unions, and the Minamata community reflected the conflicting motivations of the aggrieved individuals, and made it harder to pursue the case against Chisso. While the struggle emphasized the issue of certifying and compensating the patients, a larger underlying social issue was brewing: the exploitation and marginalization of the less powerful in a rapidly developing nation. How was Japan set to respond to such injustice when its own national growth and development was at stake? How could it legitimize its power within society and rebuild itself after the defeat and damages of World War II? Furthermore, the exploitation of the environment and the spread of a disease caused by human exploitation was unprecedented in Japan, and the country faced a struggle to address both environmental and social issues at the time.

Assessing the extent of the damage caused by such unprecedented environmental pollution proved difficult. The effects of the mercury poisoning continue to become apparent to the children of the first generation of Minamata patients even today. This gave rise to the issue of certification: the date of initial exposure was moved forward from 1953 to 1968, thereby denying the existence of the disease in those who experienced late onset. The reparations paid by Chisso for the damage it has wrought continue to be inadequate in the minds of the victims. However, financial reparations for the victims and the establishment of institutions for environmental advocacy in Minamata cannot fully compensate for the lives lost in the incident.

At present, patients who continue to press forward with litigation against Chisso remind me of a kind of resistance, both on an individual and national scale. It cannot be denied that the locals' dependence on Chisso for their livelihood and use of its products for daily living, as well as Chisso being the main culprit for the spread of disease through its gross violation of environmental stability, have created a significant conflict that continues to divide the residents of Minamata. The recognition of the need for justice while maintaining the constant struggle for survival, seems to have become an either/or decision point for many, instead of both being central points of resistance. While this remains the struggle for many, some people are starting to reflect that instead of choosing one or the other, it is possible to accept both ordeals and negotiate between the two in one's daily life. While starting my inquiry with a view of the issues surrounding care, I cannot help but feel how much the power dynamic continues to affect the current struggle for justice for the second generation of Minamata patients.

#### **4. The Twilight Years of Minamata?**

As the Minamata incident grows ever more distant in the memory of the present generation, I wonder whether the struggle will also experience the same fate as those who passed

away without receiving the recognition and justice they deserved. More than sixty years have passed since the incident, will the struggle for justice continue in the hearts of the present generation, or will it wither as a historical memory of the past left to be memorialized in museums and history books? There is much to be learned, and I hope that social action will begin to take root in the minds of the present generation who are left with the responsibility of rectifying the mistakes and lessons of the past.

## Reference

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Photo 1. Second-generation disease patients continue their struggle for justice during a hearing at Kumamoto District Court, February 24, 2017.



## **International Workshop on New Waves of Political, Economic and Social Movements in Middle East and Asia**

**Date and Time:** 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2016 (13:00-17:00) and 4<sup>th</sup> August 2016 (13:30-17:30)

**Venue:** Durham University (United Kingdom)

**Participants:** Mehmet Asutay, Shinsuke Nagaoka, Rahmatina A. Kasri, Omer Tekdemir, Alija Avdukic, Tareq Hesham Moqbel, Shin Yasuda, Emiko Sunaga, Yushi Chiba, Nur Izzati Binti Mohamad Norzilan, Fukiko Ikehata, Midori Kiriara, Hiroyuki Shiomi

### **Conference Overview:**

This international workshop aimed to deepen understanding for the dynamic development of its politics, economy, society and culture, and present the results of a case study in various Islamic countries from Southeast Asia to the Middle East, seeking to promote the networking required in field work and research. The Japanese participants could get the chance for training of presentation and get many feedbacks from the teachers and students of Durham University through this conference. Many kinds of discussion from different standpoints have done actively for each presentation.

### **Program:**

3rd Aug. 2016

13:00-13:15 Opening Remarks by Fukiko Ikehata (Kyoto University)

13:30-15:00 Session 1

**Mehmet Asutay** (Durham University)

Assessing the Role of Islamic Finance in Expanding Financial Inclusion: Critical Perspectives

**Fukiko Ikehata** (Kyoto University)

Jordan as the Guardian of Islamic and Christian Heritages: A Case Study of Religious Coexisting Policy

**Nur Izzati Binti Mohamad Norzilan** (Kyoto University)

Revitalization of *Waqf* in the Modern Economy: A Case of Malaysia

15:30-17:00 Session 2

**Yushi Chiba** (Kyoto University)

Media, State and Politics in the Contemporary Middle East: The Case of Al-Jazeera

**Midori Kiriara** (Kyoto University)

Afghanistan Diaspora Intellectual and Islamic Cosmopolitanism: With Special Reference to the Case of Dr. Hashim Kamali

**Hiroyuki Shiomi** (Kyoto University)

Iran-Iraq Relations in Khamenei Era: With Special Attention to Iran's "Ummah Politics"

4th Aug. 2016

13:30-15:00 Session 3

**Rahmatina A. Kasri** (Durham University)

Contribution of Zakah Institutions in Poverty Alleviation in Indonesia

**Omer Tekdemir** (Durham University)

Karl Polanyi on Moral and Embedded Economy: The Political Economy and (Non)Great Transmogrification of Kurds in the Fin-de-Siecle:

**Alija Avdukic** (Durham University)

Analytical Explorations and Assessment of the Social Risks Faced by Islamic Banks and Financial Institutions: Credibility, Legitimacy, Shari'ah, Trust and Sustainability Risks

15:30-17:00 Session 4

**Tareq Hesham Moqbel** (Durham University)

An Integrated Approach to the Measurement of the Intrinsic Value of Maqasid al-Shariah: Theory, Methodology and Applications

**Emiko Sunaga** (Kyoto University)

The Doctrines of Economic Ethics of Abu al-A'la Maududi in the Early Jurnal Tarjuman al-Qur'an

**Shin Yasuda** (Teikyo University)

Halal as 'Community of Practice': Managing Muslim Tourists in Japan

17:00-17:30 Closing Remarks by Prof. Mehmet Asutay (Durham University)





## Jordan as the Guardian of Islamic and Christian Heritages

Fukiko Ikehata<sup>63</sup>

This presentation aims to show the uniqueness and the advantages of Jordan's religious rapprochement policy. In this presentation, I use the phrase "religious rapprochement policy" to mean the policy by which a country or a group implements initiatives in the context of interfaith dialogue or harmonizing religious sects. Such a policy has the effect of showing the country or group's religious power, or the power to attract the Islamic world. Jordan's religious rapprochement policy is represented by "A Common Word Initiative." This initiative asserts that Islam is a very peaceful religion, and that there is some commonality in core aspects of Islam and Christianity. The commonality is the love of God and the love of one's neighbor. The characteristic is that this commonality was authenticated by both the Bible and the Quran. It insists on the need for interfaith dialogue and the need for the coexistence of religions, particularly emphasizing the relationship between Islam and Christianity. This religious rapprochement policy is based on the high holiness of Jordan's royal family. They are included in Al al-Bayt, which means the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Jordan has taken the initiative in religious rapprochement policy, a policy based on its religious legitimacy. Jordan's role as a guardian of holy places guarantees its religious legitimacy. Jordan's policy also serves to protect Christian heritage sites. Inside Jordan, there are several sites that are of strong religious significance to Christians, including Madaba and al-Maghtas (the Baptism site). Jordan is also devoted to Christian heritage sites in Jerusalem; an example is the restoring of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, which had almost totally collapsed.

My presentation concludes that Jordan's religious legitimacy is constructed on three elements: a religious rapprochement policy, its role as guardian of Islamic and Christian heritage, and the holy lineage of its royal family as Al al-Bayt; each of these elements mutually guarantee the others and enhances Jordan's religious legitimacy. For example, the holy lineage of Jordan's royal family guarantees the correctness of its religious rapprochement policy and its authority to act as a guardian. In addition, its religious rapprochement policy and its role as a guardian guarantees the correctness of its holy lineage. Mutually guaranteed, these three elements serve to enhance Jordan's religious legitimacy. Jordan, taking advantage of being the "birthplace of Christianity" and having a population of Christians, takes a strong stance in interfaith dialogue as a representative of both Islam and Christianity. To act as a guardian of Islamic and Christian heritage serves three purposes: (1) to guarantee the correctness of Jordan's religious rapprochement policy, (2) to show Jordan's material practice of rapprochement, and (3) to support Jordan's religious power.

From the floor, I received some questions and comments. One important comment was from the viewpoint of economics; Jordan's political strategy can be also grasped as an economic strategy to encourage the sightseeing businesses on which Jordan depends. This comment made

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me think about how to discriminate between the varied intentions of Jordan's policies. Jordan's constitution of legitimacy also needs the approval of the Jordanians. The nation's economy is also an important factor to consider in its legitimacy. Thinking about Jordan's structure of legitimacy, including this aspect, is my task from this point forward.

## **The Afghan Diaspora Intellectual and Islamic Cosmopolitanism: With Special Reference to Case of Dr. Hashim Kamali**

Midori Kiriara<sup>64</sup>

In this presentation, the discussion centers on the Afghan Diaspora Intellectual and, in particular, the Islamic theory and strategies to consolidate the human sphere that have been established by Mohammad Hashim Kamali. He belongs to the intellectuals of the Afghan Diaspora who have an international influence.

Currently, as background to this paper, issues related to refugee and immigration issues are once again dominating the headlines. Therefore, how the Afghanistan diaspora develops and maintains a foundation for life in a foreign country is an important issue. A significant number of people became part of the diaspora, leaving Afghanistan because of continuing warfare in their home country. Long-term warfare in Afghanistan has resulted in two major waves of people flowing out of the country. The first wave was because of civil wars after the withdrawal of Soviet troops, while the second was caused by warfare after the events of September 11. These people have two choices when they flee their home country. First, they could head to an Islamic country, such as Pakistan, Iran, the UAE, or Malaysia. Second, they could choose a non-Islamic country, especially in Western Europe or North America. Islam is among the most important bonds for the Afghanistan diaspora and, when they live in a Muslim country, it is also a common bond between the diaspora community and their Muslim host society.

The focus of my research is to survey the Islamic function of connecting the Muslim diaspora community with their host Muslim country. In this context, this paper studies the thought of an Islamic intellectual. In this paper I have introduced the term “Islamic cosmopolitanism,” where “cosmopolitan” refers to a citizen of the world, to further understand some of Hashim Kamali’s literary work, ideas, and thoughts, and his wide-ranging vision of this rapidly changing global world.

### **Questions or Comments for My Presentation**

There were two questions regarding my presentation. The first was “Is Kamali’s ‘sustainable humanosphere’ widely applicable? That is, whether is it applicable to all intellectuals of the Afghan diaspora?” The second was a request to “Please explain Islamic cosmopolitanism in detail.” Regarding the first question, all Afghan diaspora intellectual is established by Islamic thought. However, there is originality in Kamali’s thought, which is grounded in his worldwide background; his thought has diaspora characteristics. Regarding the second question, “cosmopolitanism” refers to a citizen of the world. On the other hand, to further understand some of Kamali’s literary work, ideas, thoughts, and wide-ranging vision in this rapidly changing global context, I introduce the term “Islamic cosmopolitanism” to understand the just balance between the communities of Islamic and non-Islamic countries. I elaborate on

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this from an Islamic perspective.

**C&M Program for Your Own Research**

Based on these questions, I thought that it will be an issue in the future. In future, I would like to explain the expansion of Islamic cosmopolitanism. I sincerely felt that this discussion was very productive and will help me in my future research.

## **Ayatollah Khomeini's Ideals and "Ummah Politics": The Success of the "Export of Revolution" Strategy in Iraq.**

Hiroyuki Shiomi<sup>65</sup>

In this program, I gave a presentation about the expansion of Iran's original Islamic politics "Ummah politics." So, this paper relates to the presentation. It was a good chance for me to rethink Iranian politics. Iran's international politics are based on Ayatollah Khomeini's ideas. He proclaimed the importance of the unity of Islam, and the Islamic community or "Ummah." His thoughts on the Ummah were applied to Iran's political movement. I have defined it as Iran's "Ummah politics." Iran has been trying to achieve the unity of Islamic countries with its "export of revolution" strategy; accordingly, this strategy plays a big role in Ummah politics. This paper investigates the expansion of Iran's Ummah politics with special attention to Iran-Iraq relations.

First, this paper looks back to Khomeini's ideals. He proclaimed the "Velayat-e faqih," and he declared that correct Islamic governance had to be carried out by Islamic jurists. This "Velayat-e faqih" became the foundation of the Islamic Republic of Iran after the revolution. After the revolution, Khomeini became the first Iranian supreme leader, and introduced the Islamic governance that he had earlier proclaimed. After that, using the so-called "export of revolution" strategy, he encouraged the spread of correct Islamic governance to other countries. Regarding the export of revolution, Ayatollah Khomeini said, "We export our revolution to the whole world. Because our revolution is Islam itself." Iran had experienced U.S. intervention and an era in which correct Islamic governance was absent, and was able to overcome the effects. Thus, Ayatollah Khomeini thought that Iran was very mainstream and could expand correct Islamic governance. He defined Iran as "the biggest and the strongest base in [the] Islamic World." We can find his claim concerning Iran's leadership in the Islamic world. Khomeini's thoughts on the Ummah or Islamic community, were also deeply embedded in these ideas. He believed that there was a need for a powerful Islamic bloc in order to counteract the superpowers. Thus he expanded Iran's international politics on the basis of Ummah thoughts. This paper uniquely defines Iran's own international political management, which has been developed on the basis of his ideas, and emphasizes the unity of Islam and the Ummah, as Ummah politics. The "export of revolution" strategy has played an especially important role in this international political deployment. These political deployments by Iran had a major impact on Iraq.

The Islamic revolution stimulated Iraq's Shi'ite movements. During the Iran-Iraq war, Iran accepted and assisted the Islamic Dawa Party and the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SCIRI). On June 3, 1989, Ayatollah Khomeini passed away. Subsequently, on June 4, 1989, Ayatollah Khamenei became Iran's second supreme leader. Iran had entered the Khamenei era. Iran-Iraq relations also entered a new phase in this era. In 1990, the two countries restored diplomatic relations. Further, on August 15, the Saddam regime concluded a peace treaty with Iran. Iraq acceded to Iran's request and withdrew its forces from the occupied territories in

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Iran. Iran also carried out certain policies vis-à-vis Iraq. In this way, we can understand Iran's political stance, which carefully worked toward building relations with Iraq. From 1993 to 2005, Iran followed an integrationist and non-confrontational foreign policy, and built relations with Islamic countries and organizations in the region under these policies. This stance was applied in the relationship with Iraq, and Islamic international relations were developed by expanding Ummah politics. Iran developed the relations with a non-confrontational attitude and the use of the word "Islamic 'brother'." On March 20, 2003, the Iraq war finally broke out. As a result, the Saddam regime collapsed, and security in Iraq started to gradually deteriorate. Iran did not miss the opportunity provided by the Iraq war, and continued to build an Islamic relationship with Iraq. Then, in the constituent assembly elections of January 2005, the Shia social union, (which includes the SCIRI and the Dawa Party), won a great victory. Through the first Iraqi national assembly election in December of the same year, Mr. Maliki was nominated as Iraq's prime minister, and a pro-Iranian Shi'ite-based regime was established. It can be said that this was the moment that the "export of revolution" strategy of Iran succeeded in Iraq. Even now, the friendship between Iran and Iraq continues, and remains one of the great success stories of the Middle East. Concerning my research, I was able to exchange views with Durham university members. In particular, I have received very meaningful advice from Prof. Mehmet Asutay. This research deals with the positive influences of Ummah politics for Iran, so he noted that I have to deal with its other influences as well. Through this program, I have been able to obtain many different perceptions of my research. It was a great time for me—thank you.

## **New Trend in Revitalization Of *Waqf* : Potential and Challenges of *Waqf* Based Microfinance in Malaysia**

Nur Izzati Binti Mohamad Norzilan<sup>66</sup>

During the C&M program to Durham University, I made a presentation on *waqf* which the title of my presentation was the New Trend In Revitalization Of *Waqf*: Potential & Challenges Of *Waqf* Based Microfinance In Malaysia. *Waqf* have an important role in integrating with Islamic economy and society. It is a form of charitable fund which was prevalent throughout the majority of the Islamic world in the pre-modern era. My presentation were discussing on the history, transformation and the revitalization of *waqf* practices in Malaysia which including the practices of cash *waqf*. The main discussion of my presentation was regarding the *waqf* based microfinance and challenges of *waqf* based microfinance to be applied in the Islamic economic and finance.

In Malaysia, *waqf* have being implemented for many years through the Islamic institution and the history of *waqf* in Malaysia were believe has been started since 800 years ago and through the modern economy, there is an existence in defining the new form of *waqf* and was been adopted accordingly to the respected of *waqf* which is to benefit the society. The practice of contemporary *waqf* are seem as the appropriated practical in today society. The emergence of *waqf* practices have encourage on the increasing study of cash *waqf* for the financing and human capital development. Some researcher believe that *waqf* has a potential for the becoming additional resource for the Islamic economic through Islamic microfinance which were believe could help in providing services without the interest which is to be utilize for financing for enterprises particularly micro enterprises. I conclude my presentation with remarks that there is no doubt that the growing of the *waqf* have become common to the Muslim society all over the world in the name of *maṣlaḥa* since it is stipulated to the changing of the surrounding, circumstances, custom and need. Even though, there is constrain in developing and innovating in term of to preserve the religious purity of the institution, the revitalization of *waqf* practice in Malaysia is to adapt with the current global of economic practices in the modern economic. I was receiving few question regarding from the audience mostly regarding the *waqf* based microfinance model, the audience wanted to know more on the suggested model for the contact that want to be apply in the *waqf* based microfinance. Other than that, the question were also regarding the area of *waqf* land in Malaysia.

### **The Impact of C&M Program**

I have gain a lot of benefit through the C&M program both for my research and individual practical skill. The program allowed me to gain an experience and engage me with other research on the same field. In addition, this program help to sharpen the knowledge and learning new ideas on others research which then help in conducting my research. For a student, it is important to

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gain feedback from the expert individual, through this program I was be able to meet with the academic expert form Durham University which then allowed me to underpin the value of my research and help me to describe more on my research interest with the guide from my supervisor. Other than that, it also given me an opportunity to be close with fellow members of the program which help me to improve my communication skills with the members and other researcher at the workshop.

### **Implications for Future Research**

Overall, this C&M program have gave me the opportunity to refine my understanding and the research question for my research. I also be able to gain a wider perspectives on *waqf* which need me to conduct more precise and detail information. It is necessary for me to do a lot more investigation on order to gain much clear idea to conducting my research. This program have gave me the opportunity to do more on the analysis for future research and debate so that I will be able to demonstrate the important of my research.



## **Grassroots Organizations, Religious Activities, and Social Movement: Community Engagement towards Sustainable Coexistence**

**Date and Time:** 17<sup>th</sup> November, 2016, 10:00-14:45

**Venue:** Seminar Room, 1st floor, Faculty of Forestry Main Building, Hasanuddin University

**Participants:**

Sanae Ito (Kyoto University), Yui Masuki (Kyoto University), Mari Adachi (Kyoto University), Naoki Yamamoto (Kyoto University), Yusriani (Hasanuddin University), Fairus Prihatin Idris (Hasanuddin University), Andi Ahmad Yani (Hasanuddin University), and Agussalim Burhanuddin (Hasanuddin University)

**Conference Overview:**

At the International Conference, we succeeded in gathering over 70 audience members. Eight contributors presented examples and prospects of civil society in Southeast Asia, South Asia, and the Middle East. There was a vigorous debate during the question-and-answer session that followed the presentation, and presenters as well as participants were able to reconfirm the active movements and possibilities for civil society beyond the top-down political framework.



## **Institutionalization of Zakat and Its Impact on Grassroots Organizations: A Case Study of Malang, Indonesia**

Mari Adachi<sup>67</sup>

### **Abstract**

Paying Zakat is one of the most important duties for Muslims. This pillar of Islam re-distributes wealth and emphasizes socioeconomic development among Muslim communities. Home to the largest Muslim population in the world, Indonesia has been practicing Zakat as a financial form of worship since approximately six centuries ago. In early Indonesian history, the Islamic leaders (*Ulamā* or *Kiai*, *Kyai* on Java Island) in mosques and Islamic educational institutions (*madrasa*) or boarding schools (*pondok pesantren*) collected and managed Zakat funds. When Javanese Muslims paid Zakat, the most notable utilization of the funds was the construction of mosques and *madrasa*. According to the research results of Beik, Indonesia's large Muslim population reveals an incredibly high potential for Zakat wealth, estimated at 270 trillion dollars. However, instead of achieving its high potential, Indonesian Zakat has traditionally been privately practiced until Zakat Management Law No. 38/1999 was passed during President Habibie's administration, and *Badan Amil Zakat Nasional* (BAZNAS), a national board of Zakat agencies, was established in 2001. Does this institutionalized practice of Zakat work effectively? In order to test the hypothesis of the current study and examine the main questions raised, the following methodology was employed. Based on a previous research survey and qualitative research through participant observation, structured interviews and document analysis were conducted with Zakat institutions in Malang, East Java. There are around 15 Zakat institutions in Malang City. In this research held in 2014, the following six institutions were chosen as samples: YASA, LMI, Yatim Mandiri, RZ, Nurul Hayat, and BAZNAS Malang. The results of the survey revealed that small-scale institutions have around 1,000 Zakat payers (*muzakky*) who rely on collectors who go directly to the payers' houses, and around 80 percent of Zakat funds were directly collected by Zakat collectors via ATM or internet banking in Malang. Moreover, the survey revealed the intimate relationship or connection between collectors and *muzakky* in grassroots Zakat organizations. Depending on the school of Islamic law (*mazhab*) or scholars, there are many perspectives regarding whether or not *muzakky* should have to pay Zakat directly. In Indonesia, it may be said that traditionally, Zakat has been practiced individually and continues to be to this day. However, since the first Zakat management law was published in 1998, the government continuously persists its attempts to institutionalize Zakat. Further, this movement affects not only state-based organizations or BAZNAS but also many private grassroots organizations (*Lembaga Amil Zakat*; LAZ). This movement has inspired the productive utilization of Zakat to empower people. Specifically, institutions tend to utilize Zakat for what may be considered the more productive sectors through providing assets or charity funds to Zakat recipients who do not spend the funds but

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rather utilize them to develop and assist their businesses. In this way, business owners may fulfill their daily needs continuously [Asnaini 2008: 64]. After *muzakky* pay the Zakat funds to the Zakat institution, the institution then allocates it toward the micro- and small-scale entrepreneurs who are in need of the funds. Financing is given on the basis of *qard hasan* (a type of loan in Islamic banking that does not include any interest) [Nurzaman 2012: 8]. In addition, the Indonesian Ulamā Council (MUI) has issued forth a *fatwa* stating that Zakat funds provided for the needy and poor may be in the productive forms, while partial funds due to *Fisabilillah* (one of the categories of Zakat recipients) may be distributed for *maslahah 'ammah* (public interest). Further, the Islamic Fiqh Academy [1986] allows the use of surplus funds of Zakat on income-generating investments. This type of fund is eventually owned by those who are entitled to the Zakat, once the basic and urgent needs of *mustahiq* are fulfilled and the sufficient guarantees against losses have been ensured. Productive Zakat is permitted and even recommended by law in Indonesia. The Indonesian Zakat Act clearly stipulates that Zakat may be used for productive activities in order to handle poverty and to improve the quality of life, but only after fulfilling the basic needs of the Zakat recipient (Art.27.1-2). In no other country do laws deal with the issue of prioritization in Zakat distribution [Islamic Social Finance Report, 2014], which implies that *fiqh* views on the coverage of Zakat should be reviewed for achieving socioeconomic justice by utilizing Zakat funds toward the more productive sectors. Indonesia still faces many problems regarding issues related to Zakat, such as the low level of Zakat collections. However, especially in Malang City, many community-based institutions are present, and it may be asserted that *muzakky* have good relationships with these institutions. Historically, Zakat institutionalization made many *ijtihad* in the Islamic jurisprudent arena, and it has also had numerous inspirational and positive effects not only on BAZNAS, but on grassroots organizations as well.

## **Beyond Government-led Waste Management: The Case of a Community-based Organization in Nepal**

Sanae Ito<sup>68</sup>

### **Abstract**

This paper contains a discussion of possible alternatives to a government-led waste management system; the focus is the case of a community-based organization in Kathmandu Valley, Nepal. Governmental regulations and controls are considered essential for managing waste in modern cities (e.g., Iijima, *et al* 2001). Some anthropologists, though, have pointed out the difficulties associated with governmental waste management systems and have focused on uncontrolled waste markets (e.g., Reno 2016; Alexander, *et al* 2012). On one hand, they have observed the “possibility and creativity” of informal waste markets [Norris 2012]. On the other hand, they have exposed discrimination toward workers who are working for waste management (e.g., Kuppinger 2013). Some anthropologists have critiqued the concepts of “community participatory waste management” in development projects (e.g., Fredericks 2012). Waste management by communities has not been studied sufficiently. In this paper, the author has attempted to describe the actual waste management system in Nepal by focusing on a community-based organization and its role. In Nepal, the governmental waste management system has not been controlled faultlessly in recent decades. On one hand, Kathmandu Valley has faced rapid urbanization, population growth, and new lifestyles. Caused by this changes, the composition and amount of waste have changed drastically. On the other hand, there was an armed struggle among the Nepali government and Maoists from 1996 until 2006. The struggle caused severe political turbulence. Through the waste management system, the government frequently intervened, and waste was scattered around the city. Tuladhar [1996] referred to situations as “garbage crises.” Varied actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs), community-based organizations, and the private sector started getting involved in waste management. Practically, a waste management system has not been government-led in Nepal. Another set of actors involving waste includes international donor agencies. Many waste management projects were launched in the past few decades. The responsibilities of local governments and the roles of people have been outlined in considerable detail in development projects of international donor agencies. However, the system envisioned in these waste management projects did not achieve the designated goals fully. Instead of the designated systems of the projects, some waste management practices have emerged from among the people. A community-based organization in Panga, Kathmandu Valley, undertook waste management practices. In Panga, many waste management projects by the government and international donor agencies were taking place. Projects introduced systems for segregation of waste and household composting as modern, sanitary, and “good” technologies. Local government officials promised monthly plastics collection and distribution of compost bins to

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participants. Unfortunately, both promises were not fulfilled. Consequently, people in Panga had to depend on the services of private waste collectors whose processes did not meet the “sanitary and modern waste management” that they had learned about in the awareness programs. Panga villagers started their own waste management business by themselves from 2014. They have collected waste from households, segregated and made compost fertilizers. The organization is not ideal one. There are many conflicts within and without. Thus, their projects cannot be regarded as “ideal spontaneous community-based activities.” Still, their practices have emerged from people’s ideas and ordinary feelings emerged through their everyday lives. The law of Nepal specifies that local governments have the responsibility to manage waste and waste management projects. International donor agencies designed waste management projects on this assumption. In Nepal, though, the government-led waste management system has not been fully achieved its objectives. Instead, there are more practical systems constructed by various actors. Waste management is not managed by one specific actor but by all actors, including community-based organizations, private sectors, and local governments. Waste is managed through continuous negotiations and conflicts among these actors. This practical system is beyond the scope of governments and international agencies. The situation may be unstable, but it is also practical and resilient.

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## **Changing the Socioeconomic Status of Dalits in a Contemporary Indian Local Community: With a Special Reference to the Sweeper Caste in Rajasthan**

Yui Masuki<sup>69</sup>

### **Abstract**

This paper briefly elucidates the changing socioeconomic status and occupational mobility of Dalits (formerly referred to as “untouchables”) in a local community in contemporary India. In India, where one can find rapid economic growth and the world’s largest democratic population, the Dalits’ liberation from their oppressed social position in the Hindu caste community has been attempted by government authorities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and international organizations since independence. Although these attempts have had some effects on the Dalits’ living standards and social status to some extent, Dalit liberation continues to be one of the most important themes for contemporary Indian society. In this paper, I focus on Dalit groups of the sweeper caste who had engaged in cleaning dry toilets of local households manually—a task that is thought to have made their social status lower even among other Dalits. The research field was a vocational training center located in a small town in Rajasthan: it was established by an Indian NGO in 2008 to liberate manual scavengers and provide them with alternative jobs. Data are based on a household survey designed to clarify the socio-economic levels of members of the sweeper caste and other residents: it was conducted from September 2015 to March 2016. Regarding the socio-economic status of the sweeper caste, a previous study referred to a report in Gujarat that was published in 1956 that indicated an improvement in income and economic status for those who engage in municipal sweeping jobs. In fact, the report suggested their improved status was almost the same as those from other working groups (Shinoda 1995: 279-281). Because there have been few empirical studies with a microscopic focus on the socioeconomic status of the sweeper caste, I conducted a household survey about durable consumer goods, such as TVs and refrigerators. It targeted for total 81 liberated sweeper caste members in the vocational training center, 53 sweeper caste members who did not join the NGO program, and 65 ex-employers of the sweeper caste from other caste communities and religions. The resulting data indicated percentages of consumer durables, especially TVs and mobile and evaporative coolers in each sweeper caste household in the vocational center has been gradually reaching 90–100% since 2008 (when the NGO opened the vocational training center). Compared to the sweeper caste households that did not join the vocational training center and ex-employers’ households that had hired members of the sweeper caste to clean their dry toilets and collect human wastes manually, the increase in the percentage was not slow. However, regarding facilities with pour flush toilets, the percentage is still too low compared to those of ex-employers and even sweeper caste households who did not join the training program. Therefore, the NGO began constructing toilets for the liberated sweeper castes in the vocational training center. Regarding occupational mobility

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of these liberated individuals, it has been pointed out that there is less diversity of occupation among sweeper caste groups, especially in urban areas such as in Delhi and Ahmedabad (Shinoda 1995; Suzuki 2015). The survey of sweeper caste households conducted in Delhi revealed that 43% of respondents were from families engaged in sweeping-related jobs for two generations, and 30% were from families engaged in the same for one generation. In fact, 81% of all respondents stated that they were from households whose members were working in sweeping jobs (Suzuki 2015). Compared to the studies conducted in urban areas, this study has focused on the sweeper caste in a smaller local community, which may result in a clearer understanding regarding the general condition of members of the sweeper caste, as seen in many local communities in India. I surveyed 153 workers—liberated members of sweeper caste families—at the vocational training center. Findings indicated that 40% were engaged in sweeping-related jobs, and 42% of other workers were engaged in daily labor or temporary employment. Moreover, there was the possibility that many in this latter group of workers had previously engaged in sweeping jobs as temporary workers, though this likelihood needs further detailed investigation. The findings show that occupational mobility of the sweeper caste is still not great as previous studies argue. However, there has been a gradual progression of people beginning to work in a different sector not related to sweeping, especially among young educated members. This finding suggests that the way is being paved to broaden the scope of occupational mobility in the future. Further development of the socioeconomic status and occupational mobility of the sweeper caste requires a training program to provide alternative occupations for those individuals who are not educated and engage in temporary sweeping jobs. Moreover, as mentioned by members of the sweeper caste, special training or capacity-building programs are necessary, especially for young members of the sweeper caste who are educated but face difficulties in finding jobs because of their caste. Their aspirations are to start their own businesses or gain knowledge and skills for acquiring better employment situations.

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## **Towards Open Science and Society: A Case Study of the Islamic Educational Institute “ISAR-EDEP” in Turkey**

Naoki Yamamoto<sup>70</sup>

### **Abstract**

After the dissolution of the cosmopolitan Ottoman Empire and establishment of the Republic of Turkey, traditional Islamic schools were banned and religious education fully controlled in the name of Turkish secularism (laiklik). Since the official closure of Madrasa, public has the slim chance to receive traditional Islamic education because authoritarian state pushes citizens to accept secularism and nationalism in order to create one nation. Amidst the attempt for national integration, Turkish nationalism seems to struggle in managing national integration. Over the past few decades, many Islamic NGOs have been established in Turkey to create grassroots network based on Islamic values. During the rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) that has been ongoing since 2002, which is the pro-Islam political party in Turkey, many Islamic activities have been allowed in the public sphere. In the case of Turkey, many of the Islamic NGOs are operated by Sufi groups called Naqshbandis. Traditional religious Turkish NGOs have focused exclusively on social activities and charitable movements, but in recent years, similar organizations like the Naqshbandis, start to offer Islamic education in response to the strict attitude of the Turkish government in keeping Islamic education in private space. This paper focuses on how Turkish Islamic educational NGOs can contribute to the creation of an “open” civil society through education. In addition to library research, data were gathered through observation and interview during fieldworks in Istanbul. Previous research mainly focused on Islamic NGOs in the field of humanitarian assistance; their contribution to higher education has not yet been adequately studied. This paper also discusses the challenge ISAR-EDEP face as they rethink the values of Islamic NGOs to create a civil society. In this paper, we consider the background and activities of an educational NGO called ISAR-EDEP. ISAR (İstanbul Araştırma ve Eğitim Vakfı or Istanbul Foundation for Research & Education) is an educational NGO that was established with the help of an Islamic organization called the Erenköy Group. The Erenköy Group is one of the most influential Naqshbandi branches in modern Turkey and has been active in the field of charity and community services. EDEP (Eğitime Destek Programları Merkezi or Center for Excellence in Education). is a sister program to ISAR. ISAR-EDEP are higher educational NGOs in Istanbul that aim to restore the Ottoman education system and thereby contribute to the creation of a cosmopolitan society. A distinctive feature of both NGOs is that they hire teachers with various ethnic, educational, and language backgrounds and try to form a diverse network between teachers and students. Not only ISAR-EDEP hire Turkish citizens as teachers, Syrian refugees are also invited to teach. Syria is commonly known among the Arab countries for having maintained traditional Islamic education. ISAR-EDEP show a contemporary

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phenomenon in which Syrian refugee students fill in the blanks regarding traditional Islamic education in Turkey. Another feature is that Kurdish Islamic scholars are responsible for traditional Islamic education in ISAR-EDEP. Traditional Islamic education was forbidden for a long time in big cities such as Ankara and Istanbul, but it survived as an underground activity in eastern Turkish cities such as Diyarbakir, where Kurdish people live as the majority. In their curriculum, Arabic is used to teach traditional classic Islamic knowledge taught in the Ottoman era, and English is used when teaching modern social sciences. This method is implemented to grow students with a perspective in which Islamic traditional values and modern science coexist and thereby to create an “open” civil society that accepts a multiplicity of people without top-down integration. All in all, this paper concludes that an open attitude towards knowledge and the source of knowledge is the strength of ISAR-EDEP.



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