

博士学位論文審査要旨

2020年1月12日

論文題目：RESTRUCTURING AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES IN THE STATE-MARKET VORTEX: The Cases of Zimbabwe and Japan (国家と市場に翻弄される農業協同組合の再建—ジンバブエと日本の事例)

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要 旨：

ムチェット・ランガリライ・ギャヴィン氏による本論文は、ジンバブエと日本における農業問題および農業協同組合の役割を比較するものである。アフリカ人留学生が日本で滞在型のフィールドワークを展開し、日本とアフリカの農業問題を比較するという試みは、きわめて斬新である。ジンバブエでは21世紀入ってから本格的な土地改革が行われ、多数の小規模自作農が生まれ出された。それは日本の戦後農地改革と多くの点で並行する社会改革である。ジンバブエ農業の未来を考えるにあたって日本の経験が参考になるというのは、この類似性による。

本論文は、導入部である第1章、データの収集と分析の手法を説明した第2章、共同体・市場・国家の理論的な関係を論じた第3章、日本の農業協同組合の概要を紹介した第4章、ジンバブエの農業協同組合の概要を紹介した第5章、日本の農業協同組合をめぐるフィールドワークの結果を分析した第6章、ジンバブエの農業協同組合運動をめぐるフィールドワークの結果を分析した第7章、結論としてジンバブエの協同組合の未来を論じた第8章で構成される。400ページに近い重厚な論文である。

ジンバブエと日本の農業協同組合を比較する場合、様々な制約が存在する。公開審査の質疑応答で指摘された通り、それぞれの国で政府が果たす役割は大きく違う。また、前者では貧困削減、後者では巨大化した農協機構の民主化が課題になってきた。ジンバブエと日本では利用可能なデータの種類も違う。前者では公式統計が整備されていないが、ムチェットウ氏にとってはフィールドワークが容易である。後者では公式統計は整備されているが、日本の農村でアフリカ人留学生がフィールドワークを掘り下げることが必ずしも容易ではない。

ムチェットウ氏は、これらの制約をかなりの程度乗り越えることができた。まず、ロシアの農業研究者アレクサンドル・チャヤノフの協同組合理論を導きの糸とし、小農型の農村発展を規範とする姿勢を貫くことで、論文全体の理論的な統一性を確保することができた。また、ジンバブエと日本での農村フィールドワークの質問を連関させるとともに、日本では注意深くラポールを形成しながらインタビューを行うことで、協同組合の組織マネジメントを比較することができた。執筆者は、日本の農村におけるフィールドワークを素材として独立した形で日本の教訓を引き出し、それを念頭に置きながらジンバブエの協同組合について論じていく形をとったが、この構成も成功しているように思われる。

日本の教訓を踏まえ、中庸のイデオロギー、インフラの提供、中農の育成、意思決定の分散化、

および独立採算をジンバブエの協同組合に提言する結論には説得力がある。オリジナルな一次資料にもとづく実証研究として、アフリカとアジアの農村研究、地域研究に対する貢献はきわめて大きい。

以上より、審査委員全員は、本論文は博士（グローバル社会研究）（同志社大学）の学位論文にふさわしいものであると認めた。

総合試験結果の要旨

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要 旨：

2020年1月9日（木）午後5時から6時30分まで、論文内容について多角的に質問し、申請者の学力を測る総合試験を行った。本学位論文は主として農業経済学、アフリカ地域研究、日本研究の分野で評価されるべきものであるが、申請者がそれぞれの学問分野の方法論をしっかり身につけており、定性および定量データの収集と分析についても十分な力を備えていることが、45分間のプレゼンテーションで証明された。また、それらの学力が十分な応用力とフィールドワーク経験に裏打ちされていることが、プレゼンテーションの後の45分間の質疑応答で証明された。申請者の出身国ジンバブエの公用語、教育言語は英語であり、申請者のコミュニケーション能力と文献読解能力にはまったく問題がないこともわかった。今回の総合試験の質疑応答はすべて英語で実施されたが、論文のテーマおよび関連する学術分野に関する申請者の知見を証明する応答がなされた。

よって、審査委員全員は、総合試験の結果は合格であると認めた。

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合の再建—ジンバブエと日本の事例)

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要旨：

Chapter One introduces the background, context and objectives of this study. The main objective of this thesis is to examine the potential of cooperatives in dealing with agricultural challenges in Zimbabwe. The focus is on the post-land reform marketing system and how cooperatives can help amplify farmer's voices in agricultural value chains. The study has achieved this by learning from the experiences of Japan's post-land reform agriculture in which the Japan Agricultural Cooperative (JA) played a key role. The central problem addressed in this thesis is, therefore, the contemporary agrarian question which includes among other things increased input and output market volatility, unfair trade practices, climate change, gender, low access to land and finance. Thus, the study looks at how cooperatives can improve farmer's negotiation spaces with the state and market players in pursuit of resolving the mentioned problems. Development outcomes are achievable through a series of coherent policies that address the agrarian question, whose resolution has always been polarised. While some scholars advocated for the industrialisation path, others advocated for the peasant path. Some literature focuses on the political enclaves while others emphasise on socio-economic development as the panacea.

Chapter Two reveals the methodological approaches utilised in data collection. A case study design was used to collect primary qualitative and quantitative data from three villages in Japan (in Osaka, Chiba and Shiga prefectures) and three villages in Zimbabwe (in Mashonaland East province) using an interview guide and a structured questionnaire respectively. The researchers administered a total of 36 structured interviews, 3 Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) and 200 questionnaires. In addition to this, secondary data came from various sources, including online sources and government ministry and departments. Qualitative data was entered into NVIVO software while SPSS handled quantitative data. Following on the theory of peasant cooperatives by Chayanov, the data analysis presented throughout Chapters Six, Seven and Eight involved a mixture of descriptive statistics, custom pivot-table analysis, factor analysis, cluster analysis (both in SPSS and NVIVO), Nvivo-template, Nvivo-query, Nvivo-maps and Nvivo-diagram analysis.

The polarised approaches to rural development are also reflected in various cooperative theories as thoroughly explored in Chapter Three. After contrasting market-oriented theories of cooperative model to Marxist theories and finding out the different advantages and disadvantages in their application in a contemporary globalised world, the thesis employed a third-way-approach – Alexander Chayanov's theory of cooperatives – to collect and analyse research data. Chayanov's theory is more practical and specific to agriculture than market-oriented and Marxist theories. This made Chayanov more appealing for this study.

Chapter Four provides a concise reading of literature of Japanese agriculture. After the post-war land reform, Japan adopted an industrialisation path, but their agricultural sector remained predominantly small-scale with top-down agricultural cooperatives at the helm of rural development. Japanese agricultural cooperatives helped to resolve post-land reform agrarian questions (related to agricultural marketing, access to finance and extension) through balancing the power relations within the state-market-community framework. Although the contribution of agriculture to the national output is below 3% in today's Japan, it remains a vital basis for rural reproduction (food sovereignty), national environmental preservation and cultural symbolism. In this respect, cooperatives remain as pillars of rural society and institutions.

On the other hand, the nature of the contemporary agrarian question is more complicated for Zimbabwe, which reconfigured the agrarian markets in its 2000 land-reform. Markets do not operate in a vacuum and can only function efficiently if the players (state, private sector and community) play fairly and obey the game's rules. Historically, corporations and governments never played fairly. Compromised states, a dishonourable private sector and a weak/unorganised community characterised underdevelopment in African rural areas. Efforts to 'include' the peasants in historic community development projects has often viewed communities as the '*subject of*', not as '*a stakeholder*' in, community development. This dissertation adds to this literature by providing empirical evidence of three decades of agricultural reform in Zimbabwe. This is discussed in Chapter Five.

From the Japanese data presented in Chapter Six, we find that the role of the government in the state-market-community framework, coupled with the philosophy of the cooperative, contributes significantly to the sustainability of the cooperative system. However, we also learn that a stronger cooperative ideology may produce too strong societies that over-question and second-guess the government's policy, programs and authority in the rural areas. This means optimum ideological intensity is vital. On the one hand, it should not transcend the authority of the government and institutions that make laws; while on the other it should not present the movement as a weak and philosophically ungrounded. There needs to be a correct balance of ideology and practicability. Thus, I conclude that robust agricultural cooperatives in the post-land reform areas of Zimbabwe should develop optimum levels of ideology that unites the members; and they should detach themselves away from the government control. The state needs to play its regulatory role only.

I dedicated Chapter Seven to the discussion of data from the Zimbabwe survey. The results from the factor and cluster analysis confirm five of Chayanov's classes of the peasantry. Using the five classes to analyse the data further, I illustrate significant differences in their behaviour, which had severe implications for their participation in a Chayanovian cooperative. These differences include access to input, finance, labour (especially casual labour) and differences in their sources of income. Women in cooperative set-up performed well across the five different peasant clusters and dominated the 'middle' cluster. The largest proportions of both male and female farmers were found in the 'middle' cluster. There appears to exist significant differences between the CA cooperative movement and the new movement in the resettled areas.

Although both are getting various forms of assistance from the government, the former appears to depend a lot more on external actors (the government and the NGOs) for sustainability while the latter appear to be finding its way (while loathing the state's presence in their internal affairs). Thus, I conclude that there is a new wave of cooperatives on the rise in post-land reform rural Zimbabwe where, in the absence of state support, or traditional authority, the farmers have formulated their own organisational spaces. These cooperatives are dissimilar to the British-Indian type which are controlled by a hubris government or NGOs, but they take a bottom-up form and have the highest potential competing with local companies and other intermediaries on the open market.

Quantitative data results show that the cooperative movement has and is still heavily monitored by the state. The government interacted with the cooperative model through a top-to-bottom channel approach and regarded peasants as uneducated and unable to resolve their contradictions. Although the government maintains this firm grip, it lacks the financial capacity to support an expanded peasantry. At the same time, the development of the peasantry is unprofitable for the private sector unless they charge usury. Data shows that the group approach, which is what cooperatives are, is being utilised in many instances in the rural areas, for example, in extension provision as well as in micro-financing arrangements.

Lastly, Chapter Eight provides summary, conclusions and recommendations for a new cooperative model in Zimbabwe. After listing ten significant lessons that learnt from Japan's experiences, the chapter provides the assumptions, pre-requisites, policy environment and specificities that must obtain in the rural areas before and during the development of an alternative cooperative movement development path.