

INTRODUCTION TO THE SUPPLEMENTARY ISSUE “RECONSTRUCTING THE PARADIGM OF AFRICAN AREA STUDIES IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD”

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AFRICAN AREA STUDIES IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

Numerous challenging issues, such as destruction of the environment and loss of biodiversity, the increased incidence of natural disasters, threats posed by infectious diseases, food and energy shortages, radical terrorism, and the spread of conflict are now being discussed through various media. Indeed, the geopolitical balance of the world order is expected to change dramatically as a result of these challenges, and the situation in Africa, in particular, is attracting widespread attention. The political, economic, and social conditions of Africa are changing drastically, and the pace of transformation is accelerating. The world's population will reach 9.8 billion by 2050, and it is expected that more than half of the anticipated growth between now and 2050 will occur in Africa. It has been estimated that the population of Africa will account for approximately 26% of the total world population in 2050 (United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2017). Thus, the direction of our future will be substantially affected by how Africa deals with the aforementioned issues.

In response to the rapid pace of change in Africa, the Center for African Area Studies (hereafter, the CAAS) and the Division of African Area Studies at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies (hereafter, the Africa Division at ASAFAS) sponsored the research project “Network formation for reconstructing the paradigm of African Area Studies in a globalizing world” from AY2015 to AY2017 under the aegis of the “JSPS Program for Advancing Strategic International Networks to Accelerate the Circulation of Talented Researchers”. This volume was originally planned as a way to present a portion of the outcomes of this project, which aimed to re-contextualize and re-constructing the research paradigm of African Area Studies in Japan, to improve our theoretical understanding of the “African area” in the current context of a progressively globalized modern world.

Since embarking on the study of African great apes in the 1950s, Kyoto University has promoted research on Africa from the perspective of various fields, including primatology, anthropology, ethnology, ecology, paleoanthropology, linguistics, and agriculture. The CAAS and the Africa Division at ASAFAS grew out of this history of research and are involved in various activities, acting as a “hub” not only within Japanese society but also within the world of education and research on/for Africa. As detailed in Takada's article in this volume, the

CAAS and the Africa Division at ASAFAS at Kyoto University place fieldwork at the center of their research methods and strive to train researchers in Area Studies who are equipped with empathetic “local wisdom” learned in Africa as well as interdisciplinary knowledge. As an extension of this overall objective, the aforementioned research project has promoted mutual academic exchanges with collaborating research institutions that encourage research in Area Studies. These institutions include the University of Cologne (Germany), the German Primate Center (Germany), the University of Edinburgh (Scotland), École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (France), Addis Ababa University (Ethiopia), the University of Yaoundé I (Cameroon), the University of Cape Town (South Africa), the University of Antananarivo (Madagascar), and McGill University (Canada). Through these exchanges, we have examined the achievements of the educational and research activities of the collaborating research institutions with the aim of integrating them with the Area Studies approach promoted by CAAS and the Africa Division at ASAFAS. These exchanges have focused on the following three issues:

(1) The spatial and temporal organization of areas: Both the definition of an “area” and the intellectual framework with which it is understood are constantly changing. The way in which the spatial and temporal organization of “areas” is defined constitutes one of the fundamental components of the theoretical framework of Area Studies. We thus explored how research institutions that have achieved excellent results in the field of Area Studies on the African continent and its surrounding regions have resolved this issue. Additionally, we aimed to contribute to the development of a new paradigm for Area Studies by comparing these perceptions of “areas” with those of the CAAS and the Africa Division at ASAFAS.

(2) The revitalization of local knowledge in the areas under study: Researchers at the CAAS and the Africa Division at ASAFAS have observed the creation of local knowledge by people living in Africa and have elucidated the process by which such knowledge is generated. They have also explored the possibility that local knowledge can play an active role in resolving the issues affecting the world, including Africa. Consistent with this perspective, we demonstrate how research institutions that have produced outstanding achievements in the field of Area Studies have examined the local knowledge of African people and have attempted to revitalize it. Through these comparative studies, we aimed to advance our theoretical understanding of the relationships between local knowledge and other forms of knowledge, such as “scientific” knowledge.

(3) The design of a regional future: Scholars working in the field of Area Studies have expressed their opinions about the future development of certain areas based on research outcomes. They have also trained numerous experts and administrative officials who are now responsible for implementing their visions. In particular, the research institutions with which we have partnered are known for their development of various methods for integrating the academic research pertaining to a region with actual policies and implementation strategies in that region. We have worked with these research institutions to train young researchers and further promote academic collaboration among organizations. We aimed, thereby, to

overcome the various contemporary perplexing problems currently facing Africa and other regions in the world and to explore a path that leads to the coexistence of multiple cultures.

The challenge of re-contextualize and re-constructing the research paradigms underpinning African Area Studies is ongoing. There is much to do, and we have encouraged the contributors to this volume to engage in discussions about the aforementioned three issues. Indeed, this volume represents the current state of our work in progress.

SUMMARY OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

This volume begins with a Preface by Kaji, the principal researcher at the inception of the aforementioned project (the role of the principal researcher was then assumed by Jun Ikeno after Kaji's retirement from Kyoto University), followed by this Introduction, and 10 articles, which are divided into two parts. Part 1 consists of five papers contributed by the distinguished researchers who represent the collaborating research institutions, whereas Part 2 consists of five papers, of which authors include outstanding young researchers who have been assigned to these collaborating research institutions under the aegis of the project.

In Part 1, **Clemens Greiner** and **Michael Bollig** of the Global South Studies Center Cologne at the University of Cologne discuss the potential and challenges of establishing a new organizational unit, devoting special attention to African Studies. According to Greiner and Bollig, in the face of increasing global interconnections, entanglements, and conflicts, Area Studies, including African Studies, have come under increasing pressure to re-contextualize their academic agenda and their place within their host institutions as well as within the wider academic landscape. It is incumbent on African Studies, particularly in Germany, to meet such challenges because comprehensive funding for Area Studies is required to go through highly competitive processes necessitating collaborations between area specialists, humanities scholars and more theoretically orientated social scientists. The key challenge is thus to maintain and develop strong regional expertise without neglecting comparative and theoretically ambitious research agendas.

Their host institute, the University of Cologne, is one of the oldest universities in Europe. Its successful application in the third line of funding in the German Excellency Initiative in 2012 enabled the University to address the above challenges by combining several remarkably accomplished departments—including Social/Cultural Anthropology, African Studies, Historical Science, Linguistics, and Media Science—to establish the Global South Studies Center (GSSC), Cologne. The GSSC, which was established in 2014, integrates research from classical Area Studies disciplines with that from the social sciences and humanities. The center is expected to develop various innovative activities that promote cross-area and interdisciplinary studies under conditions of globalization. It has already drawn worldwide attention.

Barbara Bompani, the former director (~December 2017) of the Centre of African Studies, the University of Edinburgh, Scotland, also addresses the

European context of African Studies but from a rather different perspective. The University of Edinburgh is one of the most prestigious universities in the United Kingdom and is the best research institution in Scotland. For example, its School of Social and Political Science is known for its excellent educational and research activities in the social sciences. The Centre of African Studies, based in the School, was founded in 1962 and is currently one of the biggest and most prolific hubs for the study of Africa in Europe.

Bompani raises the following question: “For whom do we research Africa and for what purpose?” This is a point of departure to which we, as scholars working on Africa-related research and pedagogical projects, should always return to understand the challenges, opportunities, and legitimacy of our own work. Indeed, we should never forget that African Studies has taken different forms in different eras and contexts. According to Bompani, Western historians have tended to frame Africa in terms of the triptych of pre-colonization, the period of colonial control, and the period after independence, with particular attention devoted to its relationship to the Cold War and then globalization. This has led to an understanding of Africa that is mediated by perceptions of its relationship with Europe. Given this assumption of the inseparable and intricate relationship between Africa and Europe, her article reflects on the recent state of African Studies in the UK and, more broadly, in Europe, highlighting the reconfigurations brought about by national and international challenges, such as migration, European divisions, funding needs, institutional constraints, and networks.

Compared with Europe, which has formed complex relationships with African countries throughout history, Japan has had less direct contact with the African continent until recently. However, this does not reflect a lack of interest among Japanese scholars. To the contrary, the African continent has long been the source of inspiration for a number of committed Japanese scholars. For example, since its establishment in 1986, the CAAS has been involved in numerous and varied activities, including the promotion of large-scale research projects, the collection of books, academic journals, and animal/plant specimens, hosting domestic and international researchers in the field of African Studies, publishing the academic journal “African Study Monographs” (ASM), and the creation of a digital database of useful African plants (Aflora). After the establishment of the ASAFAS in 1996, the Africa Division sent a number of graduate and postgraduate researchers to numerous countries in Africa and other areas of the world for research purposes or as interns.

One important formative element in African Area Studies at the CAAS and the Africa Division of ASAFAS involves Ecological Anthropology, the focus of which is on the patterns and dynamics that underlie the intimate interactions between human life and the environment. In this context, Ecological Anthropology is more than a subdomain of African Area Studies. Rather, the former gave rise to the latter at Kyoto University, where the concept of “area” is inseparable from its environmental context. Adopting an emic perspective, **Akira Takada** examines the development of the (sometimes implicit) theories of Ecological Anthropology that have flourished in what he calls the Kyoto School. According to Takada, the trends that have characterized the work of the Kyoto School to date can be clas-

sified into the following five categories that reflect the era and the theoretical perspective of the researchers: the evolution of primate sociality; society as a form of adaptation to the environment; the ecosystem and human society; the environment, cognition, and culture; and the subsistence economy and ethics. For each trend, he examines several concrete research examples, drawn mainly from papers published in ASM, and also outlines several topics for future research. Taken together, these studies are expected to contribute to one of the primary goals of Kyoto University; The harmonious coexistence of the global society, of which we are a part.

The next two papers discuss the research trends that have developed within Africa. **Hajanirina Rakotomanana** and **Aro Vonjy Ramarosandratana** evaluate the role of the Department of Zoology and Animal Biodiversity (DZBA) and the Department of Plant Ecology and Biology (DPEB), University of Antananarivo, in the conservation of the natural environment of Madagascar, which is home to highly diverse animals and plants endemic to the country. The University of Antananarivo is the oldest university in Madagascar and has served as a center of higher education and research. The DZBA and DPEB, in particular, have served as hubs for zoology, botany, and nature conservation in Madagascar. The article arising from their work examines the number of graduates of their institution per year, the research performed in Madagascar by the two departments, the development of research topics, the types of ecosystems in which research was undertaken, and the types of post-graduate jobs that have been available in the field since 1995.

The results show that these departments have collected large quantities of biological data, corresponding to 570 doctoral dissertations and master's theses. It is notable that, facilitated by partnerships and collaborations with overseas institutions, the number of research studies undertaken by their zoology and botany students has increased during the last decade. More than half of these studies have been carried out in dense forest areas that provide less diverse research topics than are found in other areas. In this context, 64% of the graduates are working with government or private agencies as consultants or in permanent jobs in the field of conservation. These results indicate that the two departments have played crucial roles in training national natural scientists, able to provide scientific expertise, to support sustainable conservation. Their research is designed to help policy-makers and other actors determine conservation priorities. However, the fact that graduate students have served, largely, as data collectors for their academic counterparts in Europe and Japan underscores the future challenges involved in improving the quality and autonomy of the departments' education and research.

Another example of the historiography of African scholarship comes from Ethiopia. **Mehari Getaneh** describes the trajectory of the research activities performed at the Department of Social Anthropology (SOAN) of Addis Ababa University, which is the oldest and most prestigious national university in Ethiopia. The SOAN started its MA program in Social Anthropology in 1991, and it started its PhD program in this discipline in 2010. Getaneh's article explores the history of the graduate programs, SOAN's engagement in international part-

nerships, enrolment and graduation trends, and the themes and regions that have been the foci of graduate research activities, especially during the last 11 years (2006–2016). This article traces SOAN's enthusiastic involvement in higher education. Specifically, the number of graduate students has significantly increased in recent years. It is noteworthy that 49 students were enrolled in the PhD program by AY2016/2017, whereas 11 students obtained their PhD degrees in 2015 and 2016. At the same time, SOAN's graduate programs have been involved in international collaborations. Since the MA program in Social Anthropology was established in 1991, such collaborations, particularly with Norwegian institutions, have provided financial and institutional support aimed at enhancing the quality of anthropological education and research.

The graduate research activities of the SOAN have a strong ethnographic orientation and cover a wide range of regions and themes. From 2006 to 2016, the overwhelming majority of the MA graduates (86%) conducted their research in three major regions and the capital of the country; Oromia (30%), Southern Region (26%), Amhara (17%), and Addis Ababa (13%). The regional coverage of doctoral research activities also follows this pattern. In contrast to the pattern of the regional coverage that have largely maintained their original focus over the past 24 years, the foci of SOAN graduate research have been shifting during the last decade. For example, agriculture and livelihood strategies, the first major thematic area and the central focus in the previous decade, is now number three in the hierarchy of research priorities. Conflict resolution and local governance, previously ranked fifth, currently holds the first position. Gender, previously ranked third, moved down to the seventh position, whereas religion, rituals, and ceremonies moved from seventh to the third position. Despite the successful development of scholarly activities, according to Getaneh, the graduate programs are facing challenges, including the slow pace of staff development, lack of adequate funding for graduate students' research, and limitations in forging new regional and international partnerships.

Part 2 consists of five papers, of which authors include the young researchers who were selected to participate in this project based on their outstanding research accomplishments to date. They were sent to the aforementioned collaborating research institutions, where they engaged in joint research activities. **Haruka Arii**, who recently completed her long-term fieldwork as part of a collaborative research project on social development in Ethiopia, was dispatched to Addis Ababa University, the University of Cologne, and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales to engage in research on the social nature of memory, with a special focus on women's changing life history. Her article aimed to clarify how the expansion of formal education in rural Ethiopia has influenced the livelihoods and gendered value of women.

The focal woman, Ohko, who could not finish her formal education due to poverty, worked to enable her eight daughters to obtain a formal education in the Maale district in southwestern Ethiopia. Her life story gives expression to an ideal vision of the livelihood of women and exemplifies the importance of forming one's own interpretation of one's life. Special attention is paid to her message to her daughters at their wedding ceremony (*yerqamitsi* in the Maale language). It

is remarkable that Ohko described her daughters as “men” to underscore their success in the public life. She thereby ostensibly accepted the masculine theory of male supremacy dominant in Maale society. At the same time, her speech contained an implicit critique of the dominant male value system by pointing out its roots in a social construct, rendering success theoretically possible for both sexes, rather than in relation to biological sex differences. This practical solution suggests the changing and ambivalent status of women in rural Ethiopia. According to Arii, the spread of formal education had at least two social functions for Maale women. First, it helped them to see themselves in terms that went beyond the various restrictions imposed in the name of convention and morality. Second, it established the categories of “educated” and “uneducated” women. These categories have a powerful effect on the self-esteem of women living in contemporary rural Ethiopia. Uneducated Maale women have been increasingly motivated to participate in adult education or to send their children to school. Such changes may be a driving force behind the development of their ability to govern their own fate and reorganize the whole Maale society.

The CAAS and Africa Division of ASAFAS have been conducting longitudinal research in southern Madagascar since the late 1980s. **Shinichiro Ichino** was trained in this research group and promoted its collaboration with other institutions, such as the University of Antananarivo and the German Primate Center, in research regarding biodiversity conservation in Madagascar. Ichino and his colleagues **Teruya Maehata**, **Hajanirina Rakotomanana**, and **Felix Rakotondraparany** investigated forest vertebrate fauna and local knowledge about these species among the Tandroy people in Berenty Reserve, which is a small gallery forest connected to a spiny forest and a sisal plantation. It should be noted that although small, it is the largest gallery forest remaining in the region and thus provides a precious environment for the animals living there.

Based on a literature review and their own observations, the authors present a list of forest vertebrates consisting of 27 species of mammals, 106 species of birds, 46 species of reptiles, and 6 species of amphibians. This indicates that the forest fauna is characterized not only by considerable diversity among vertebrates but also by the absence of some vertebrate species (e.g., the fossa and Malagasy harrier hawk). The results suggest that the forest is too small in size to hold large carnivorous animals. One of the risk factors for biodiversity conservation is that the local Tandroy people regard three species of tenrecs and at least 46 species of birds as prey for hunting. On the other hand, most other mammals are not regarded as food or are not even recognized. Indeed, these taxa are poorly studied by scientists as well. Among them, in particular, small animals may be facing potential extinction in the small forest ecology.

As indicated in Takada’s article in this volume, a group of Japanese researchers, including **Junko Maruyama**, have conducted long-term field work among the San, known as (post-)hunter-gatherers and indigenous people, in southern Africa. Maruyama was dispatched to the University of Cologne, the University of Cape Town, and McGill University to study changes in the indigenous rights movement in southern Africa as part of a joint research project on multiculturalism and globalization. During the last two decades, the concept of indigenous

rights has become widely accepted in the international community. However, despite the fact that the San in southern Africa have often been cited as a typical indigenous people in Africa, many African governments have been reluctant to recognize their indigenous rights.

Maruyama focuses on the San groups known as the !Xun and the Khwe, who currently living in Platfontein, located in an arid region of the Northern Cape Province, South Africa. Unlike people in Botswana or Namibia, South Africans had believed the San to be almost extinct or to have been completely integrated into the majority societies for a long time. The !Xun and the Khwe were only recently displaced from their original homelands in Angola and Namibia before their arrival in South Africa. Interestingly, they are playing an important role in the indigenous rights movement in South Africa. This article thus raises the following question: "How did these recent immigrants come to be recognized as the indigenous peoples of South Africa?" To answer this question, Maruyama traces the historical experiences of the !Xun and the Khwe in Angola, Namibia, and South Africa and then discusses the context in which the emerging discourse on indigenous peoples in South Africa is taking place. By analyzing how these groups were once marginalized and then given legitimacy in a particular place at a particular point in time, she clarifies some of the ambiguities, areas of instability, and potential scenarios inherent in the claims of, and aspirations for, "indigeneity".

Similar to the San of southern Africa, the so-called Pygmy peoples are known as (post-)hunter-gatherers and indigenous people in western and central Africa. **Koji Sonoda** is a member of Japanese researchers who have enthusiastically promoted long-term fieldwork among the Pygmy peoples, particularly the Baka. He was dispatched to the University of Yaoundé I and the University of Edinburgh to research the dynamics of inter-subjective life among the Baka children from the theoretical perspective of Language Socialization. In this volume, Sonoda and his colleagues **Daša Bombjaková** and **Sandrine Gallois** describe the processes by which the "foundational schemas" in two different Pygmy societies (the Baka and the Mbenjele) are learned and taught.

Pygmy societies are said to have subscribed to a cultural model of egalitarianism, in which people appreciate individual autonomy and the sharing of important materials. Foundational schemas refer to any coherence that is fundamentally associated with a particular cultural model. Like all hunter-gatherer societies, Pygmy societies have experienced multiple social and ecological changes, including sedentarization, the reduction in their access to their territory and its natural resources, and the increasing availability of education and health services, in recent decades. To discuss the effects of these changes, the authors explore the processes by which the foundational schemas of the Baka and the Mbenjele have been culturally transmitted and reproduced, focusing on everyday interactions among children as well as between children and adults. According to this analysis, although the Baka situation exemplifies the production of cultural knowledge by multi-aged children, the Mbenjele situation illustrates the aspects of joint construction of cultural knowledge by children and adults. The foundational schemas introduced by formal education differ substantially from those in hunter-gatherer

egalitarianism, and the authors suggest that the pedagogical approach in schools should be based on the latter as a way to support children's independent learning process and their initiatives. The arguments in this article suggest that, if we examine the venue in which cultural knowledge is generated, it is possible to understand, from an emic perspective, how foundational schemas work.

Yanyin Zi has performed research on the livelihood of the Chinese communities in Botswana and Namibia. She was dispatched to the University of Cologne and the University of Cape Town, where research on Asian communities in Africa is flourishing, to elaborate on her extant work as part of a joint research team studying Asia–Africa relationships in the globalizing world. Based on participant observation and in-depth interviews conducted in “China shops” in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana, Zi and **Monageng Mogalakwe**, her colleague at the University of Botswana, describe relationships between Chinese merchants and Batswana (i.e., Tswana people) shop assistants and identify challenges they are facing.

As part of China's growing presence in Africa, many Chinese people, most of whom are from the Fujian and Jiangxi provinces in China, have established “China shops” in Botswana. The organizational structure and interpersonal relationships in these shops are closely related to the Chinese culture and its family business model, which can be traced to Confucian capitalism. Due to government regulations, these merchants have recently been required to hire locals as assistants. Thus, it is hardly surprising that various conflicts and communication difficulties have arisen between Chinese merchants and their Batswana shop assistants. Chinese merchants view their Batswana shop assistants as having a poor work ethic and lacking the appropriate organizational commitment, whereas Batswana shop assistants view Chinese merchants as exploiters of cheap labor who do not trust their assistants to serve as business partners. Similar situations can be found in many other African countries. As the authors suggest, the sources of these disputes, the inter-group tensions, and the toxic work environments are largely attributable to linguistic and cultural differences as well as to a lack of personal contact between groups. These can be resolved by more, rather than less, engagement in empathic and convivial face-to-face relationships.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

As noted at the beginning of this Introduction, this volume was designed to present the results of the “Network formation for reconstructing the paradigm of African Area Studies in a globalizing world” research project. All the papers summarized in this Introduction address the complicated and challenging situations that continental Africa has encountered in a globalizing world and suggest potential ways in which the peoples and societies of Africa can deal with those complications and challenges. It is important to recognize both the differences and the similarities in the suggestions presented by these papers. It should also be remembered that these papers report on only a small portion of our results. By promoting this project, we wish to strengthen further the partnership between

Kyoto University and our outstanding collaborators and enhance the human networks and academic communities involved in African Area Studies. We hope, thereby, to share the academic ideals and achievements of the collaborating research institutions as well as to spread the interdisciplinary approach to African Area Studies developed at Kyoto University. In the end, examining the changing paradigms of African Area Studies is a way to reconsider one of the most ubiquitous and tenacious agendas in Area Studies: Namely, how do local and global worlds intersect and interact?

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