Political Participation by African Peasants as Development Actors of Integrated Water Resource Management

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Abstract

This paper is aimed at verifying the change of historical phases to overcome modernization, through the process of African peasants' participation in policy-making of integrated water resource management. To do that, it is important to criticize modern values like "rationality" and "efficiency" in order to explain why African peasants were marginalized from the political power during the colonization and authoritarian regime. And modern phenomena will be compared with postmodern one in regard to the social status of peasants, their availability of new technology and their rights to water. They overcome the dualistic system between modern administrative and traditional society. Some of them manage new technology according to their life style and treat easily it as their daily routine to increase agricultural production. Their application of new technology does not bring them a huge scale of colonial plantation but their life restructuration as social and economic actors. We will see also them using cross-national knowledge and technology to make decision of water resource as political actors. That is a new style of Nation-State under the influence of transnational elements. Without political participation of peasants as stakeholders, we will not be able to keep sustainable water resource management.

Keywords: African peasants; Cross-national knowledge; Integrated water resource management; Modernization; Water democracy

Introduction

This study aims at verifying that African peasants can participate in policy-making of integrated water resource management, because they have overcome modern method of development. It means that they are in the phase of historical change to overcome modernity. During the modernization, they were marginalized from the political power under the colonization and authoritarian regime (Linz 1975). Why were they considered to be incapable to participate into the development? To answer to this question, criticism of modern values like "rationality" and "efficiency" will be carried out (1.1.). In the field study, we can see that Burkina Faso peasants, dropouts of modern development in the era of Revolution (1.1.), have handled and applied a new system of compost toilet according to their life style and traditional culture (2.1. & 2.2.). The arguments of this paper are an observation of JICA and JST project (SATREPS) named "Improving Sustainable Water and Sanitation System in Sahel Region in Africa: Case of Burkina Faso". Finally, the concept of rights to water will be clarified so that African peasant would put water democracy into effect (3.1. & 3.2.).

1. Social Status of African Peasant

In this part, it is important to understand that African peasants were marginalized during modernization period

like colonization and nation building after the Independence (1.1.). Then using the result of field survey, the reality of rural community will be clarified, which has overcome the heritage of modernization (1.2.).

1.1. Acculturation of rural community under the colonization and the development policy of Nation-State in Africa

In Europe, a new social class appeared with their wealth kept from Middle Age. This class became Gentlemen or bourgeoisie in the 17th century in England, who was able to make a protest against King to look for the economic liberty and make a decision according to "rationality" and "efficiency", value of modern period (Fukuda 1985). They became citizen who can vote to decide national policy after the people's revolution.

French bourgeoisie thought that civil society and republic regime were not realized in Africa. Jean-Jacques Rousseau proposed "State of nature" where "Social contract" took effect between society and individual. His idea were a base of the French Revolution and republic regime. He criticized inequality and political struggle in Europe and suggested Europeans to be back to the "State of nature" but he was indifferent to African slave. Jules Ferry, Ministry of Education in the French third Republic, promoted the education of citizen to realize their equality in the republic regime but he was the driving force of colonization in Africa. It was not contradictory, because he thought that Africans were not able to bring the European notion of freedom and equality into effect (Sartre 1964). It took more than one century that Europe get used to different culture overcoming some notions like "barbary", "primitive" and exoticism of Africa. Then some African countries got independence in 1960[1].

Let us verify a modern history of Burkina Faso peasants who the Thomas Sankara government confronted. After the coup d'état in 1980, by the anti-government group of Sangoulé Lamizana, the third Republic regime finished and three military governments continued. Savonnet-Guyot (1986: 162) says that the military regime was instable, because the power struggles inside military elite caused a lack of policy consistency. Then the labor union and traditional chiefs criticized such an inefficiency of the governments. Finally, after coup d'état in 1983, Thomas Sankara's socialist government was established.

Sankara was a military elite of Marxism-Leninism. He became a chairman of National Revolutionary Committee (CNR) and the head of State. Pro-sankarists got many important posts of regime. Committee of Revolutionary Defense (CDR) and CNR went into the local autonomy to realize their politics. The Court of popular revolution impeached the principal persons of the former government. Though CDR got supports and popularities of youths, unemployed persons and unaffiliated voters, the local peasants had the tendency to obey their traditional chief. This political choice of peasants threatened Sankara's regime (Savonnet-Guyot 1986: 180-181; Bamouni 1986: 106).

Sankara's socialist government considered labors, petit bourgeois, unemployed (lumpen proletariat) and peasants as the popular mass. According to the authority's thinking, peasants were the bases of economic development. The government used peasants as labors for the agrarian reform, infrastructure of water supply, welfare and health policy and agricultural policy. In consequence, it was too heavy a burden for the peasants. Moreover, Sankara didn't control well the traditional chiefs and he couldn't get support of peasants. He wasn't able to mobilize the local population without intermediation of traditional chiefs. Sankara couldn't reform and modernize rural traditional communities. It is difficult that State administration works in the traditional society, because this society keeps its own value and political system. Sankara's development model, where peasants have to be integrated, became a typical case of African modern State that cannot be compatible with traditional society (Bamouni 1986: 119-122, 130-135; Savonnet-Guyot 1986: 188; Zagré 1994: 166, 172-177).

1.2. Reality of rural community after the modern agricultural policy

Comparing with such a modernity like colonization and authoritarian regime after the Independence, it will be clear how African peasants have overcome the modernity.

According to Ouédrago (1990), the traditional community is composed by ideology, morality and religious value in Burkina Faso. It must assure its lineage members of property, welfare and security. There they have relationship of mutual aids. In Mossi ethnic group, the elder class plays legislative, administrative and judicial roles and there are youth group and women group. Occupation groups like peasants, smith and "griot" musicians of oral history don't take economic activities to get money but self-sufficiency. Savonnet-Guyot (1986) describes, as community functions, the authority of lineage, the cooperative spirit of agricultural work and the social status. These functions are useful to prevent the community from being divised. She says that they are incompatible with the modern Nation-State.

Hydén (1980: 40, 229-230; 1987; 2006: 54, 61, 64) said that African peasants have "Economy of Affection", which they have as moral and rationality to take care of the members of their traditional community. He is very tired of their attitude, which prevent them become citizen and modernize an agriculture. His theory is not sufficient to explain their real situation of community. They overcome the dualistic system between modern administrative and traditional society.

To verify it, a survey was done from 2010 to 2011. It is aimed at investigating peasants' life style and traditional community's social system. The method is a "deep" interview with Burkinabe actors, like persons of ministries, local government (Commune), NGO, agricultural producers' organizations, women association and peasants. It is a communicative approach between interviewer and respondent in order to find and clarify the social problems. The results of this field survey have been gotten as follows. According to these results, their local knowledge and autonomic capacity are persuasive and the real Burkinabe traditional life sometimes survives and sometimes coexists with the modern State administration:

a) Traditional chief has a power to make a decision of village. On the other side, a village adviser, "conseiller villageois", plays an intermediate role between village and local government. Therefore peasants overcome the dualism of modern and traditional life.

b) Many cases have been recognized as wise way of life. Facing the lack of water, peasants use a local knowledge to reserve water. For example, they damped up a river to make a reservoir, but they decided to stop using this water because of the sanitation problem. They try many ways of save water and are flexible to learn agricultural technique from their neighbors. They have knowledge on what is an effectiveness or demerit of compost and chemical fertilizer. They sometimes store agricultural production for low season of harvest to sell it at high price.

c) The local population has only a small production to consume in their own village. And they are dependent on the subsidy of government. It is difficult for them to be economically independent. They struggle for their daily life. Some peasants group collects fees from each family according to every family income proportion, rich or poor. That is a moral and autonomy of rural community.

d) Gender role is important for social and economic development. Men grow millets for the exportation to the neighbor countries. But women make a vegetable garden for their family consumption. Women are unsatisfied from their shares in the family income. It can bring the change of family system and social status of women.

2. Peasants' Adaptation to the Technology

This project is a proposal for the Burkina Faso peasants to settle water and sanitation problems and to increase

agricultural production using a new technology of compost toilets. This project team installed some compost toilets into the pilot families for monitoring of this toilets. It chose for the pilot Village Barkounba and Village Kologondiousse in Ziniaré where it takes one hour by car from the capital Ouagadougou. And Kanbouansse has been one of the pilots as periphery of urban zone. In this chapter, using theoretical thinking (2.1.) and result of field survey through the interview with pilot family (2.2.), it can be clarified what kind of impacts have been imported by the technology to the African rural community.

2.1. Technology and system of production in the modern period

In 19th century after the Industrial Revolution, European powers established a capitalism to exploit colonies for the investment and for the trade. This was an Imperialism (Darby 1987). The traditional value of local society prevented capitalistic management. So, colonial power wanted to destroy local social system to supply manpower, making people free from traditional status or custom. And it had to introduce modern system like plantation, infrastructure, education, law and life style. Moreover, the modernization or capitalism, being imported in Africa, brought the damage to natural environment, the huge consumption of resource and the stereotyped way of implementation of development policy.

To think about the impact of technology on the African rural community, it is helpful to make reference to Heidegger (2009), German philosopher. He says that the technology is not only a means but also human activity. Technicians have to step up their idea to technology. It is necessary to use it well and to look for its reality. Using it, we, human being, must confront what has been caused by technology. According to Heidegger, the reality of technology exists in the natural environment and technical experts often misunderstand that all natural phenomena are calculated. Heidegger found the possibility of catastrophe caused by technology and proposed that we must resettle negative heritage of technology with new technology. He thinks about the causal relations between natural environment and technology. His idea is applicable to think how technology can adapt to each local culture of Burkina Faso.

Kawada (1999) emphasizes the possibility of human capacity and various types of civilization. He thinks that the superstructure of cultural value like social system, arts and law, has an effect on infrastructure of technology. From this point of view, he compares Japanese, French and African civilizations to understand what a development is. He points out a problem that final object of development has been the European or American type of civilization. Is a human being's political and social life so stereotyped that only one value is in use in the world? Why is the social system made in Europe strong and powerful? Because, in the field of political science, European civilization makes power struggle for technology innovations, huge riches and industrial structures, where capitalism and expansive State power have a structure to control people.

2.2. Innovation after the overcoming of modernization

Kawada's theory on civilization is interesting for us to understand African culture. He recognizes three types of civilization. First type is Japanese civilization. Japanese use human capacity to operate a machine. Second is European one. In this civilization, people can economize physical energy, using tool and technology. And the last is African culture. Kawada is famous for the research on Mossi language communication in Burkina Faso. African people can adapt their physical capacity to the severe nature environment. So, they need strong and limber bodies. It is low cost and ecological culture. They try to coexist with nature.

In the Mossi community, there are a king and his descendants as traditional authorities. Their community is composed of lineages. They practice the polygamy and religious ceremonies, and live in the compound (concession, in French) with head of family, some wives, old men, children and domestic slaves. They cook in

the open-air inside of their compound. Often girls go drawing water with a wagon from a well far away from their houses. They put it in a jar to keep it drinkable. They use shower room where they urinate. They defecate open outside of their compound. It is risky to be attacked by animals or to be victims of crime in the dark night. The toilet system of this project is suitable for the Mossi cultural life style, because it makes compost after separating feces and urine.

Our social science team did a field survey about pilot families on March 2014.[3] It aimed at getting data on the impact of compost toilets into their life habit. The questions were about the following changes:

- Economic growth: peasants can nor calculate neither estimate their incomes. But it is important to ask them how much monthly income and consume, in the rainy season and dry season.
- Working hours, working style and gender roles in family life;
- Production in the garden: genres, quality and price of vegetable production;
- Cultural life style and opinion about the water and sanitation;
- Social network: producers' organization, relationship with neighbors, gender groups, etc.;
- Flexibility and satisfaction about this project's toilets.

In fact, members of pilot family told freely us their impression, claims and demands. Sometime they were proud to tell us their success story. As result of this survey, some differences have been evident among these families like the following.

a) Flexibility or applicability in the Mossi family in Kologondiousse are remarkable. Particularly women told us positively their experiences and took initiative to manage this system. They are motivated, because women are realists to confront some difficulties of daily life. They said that they wanted to try other vegetable production. Their opinion is showed in the next table:

Table 1. Results of interview with Mossi families in Kologondiousse.

	Satisfaction with technology	Working situation and income	Agricultural production	Reaction of neighbors	Impression (security and cleanliness)
Woman of Family 1	Washing the clogging stones is a hard work. No problem for the smell with a mask. It is easy to use. I understood how to use in the workshop. It will be better to give a slope for the sewage.	I sold beans to get money. I have been motivated for the agricultural production thanks to the workshop for the population. Women clean the toilets and men seed.	Some geckos ate it in the dry season. I try to increase sorts like okra and eggplant. I chose these sorts according to each season. I am satisfied with the crop.	This toilet has a good reputation and our neighbors often come seeing it. I am proud to show them our toilet and harvest.	Using toilet inside of compound, it is not necessary to go to outside. Water is not enough. I thought that harvest is impossible in the dry season.
Man of Family 1	I am satisfied with technology. But I need some support to extend this system near to the dam. No problem for the smell.	It is not so difficult work.		Neighbors will understand why we use urine. But it is expensive to maintenance. So it is difficult for them to buy it.	We eat vegetables grown with urine. I am satisfied with shower inside our house. It is good for the cleanliness. But water is not enough.
Head of Family 2	I am content with technology. Troubles have decreased after the repair. Washing the clogging stones is a hard work.	Harvest of okra is good. It was unnecessary to buy vegetables.	We got a vegetable garden. I need technical guidelines for other agriculture produce.	Neighbors are interested in it.	No mental problem for using urine.

b) On the other side in Kanbouansse, periurban near to the capital, the cunning and claimant attitude was found, because the population depends on the money economy.

Table 2. Results of interview with Mossi family in Kanbouansse.

	Satisfaction with technology	Working situation and income	Agricultural production	Reaction of neighbors	Impression (security and cleanliness)
Head of Family 1	I hate to have my hands smelling urine. Tank of gray water is full in the rainy season. Women often use it.	Income was less than my expectation's. We have used more water and soap. We could not increase okra and its income. So, we eat it by ourselves. Using a lot of time for its maintenance, we have difficulty of getting food.		Design is popular among our neighbors.	Necessities (buckets and gloves) are not enough. I am worried about disease. To continue this system, we need economical support. Give us soaps.

c) Some researchers in our team emphasize the ethnic aspect as reason why Fulbe ethnic group in Barkounba refuse human excreta. This ethnic group complain about the operating of compost toilet. But based on the next result of Fulbe pilot family's interview, it is doubtful to recognize the ethnic reason, because some individuals can adapt to the new technology. Applicability doesn't depend on ethnic group but on individual capacity.

Table 3. Rresults of interview with Fulbe pilot family in Barkounba.

	Satisfaction with technology	Working situation and income	Agricultural produce	Reaction of neighbors	Impression (security and cleanliness)
Head of Family 1	It sometimes has been broken or clogged in time of mixture. Problem of smell. I am afraid of outbreak of mosquitos. Mixing system is difficult. The materials for washing the stones were not sufficient.	Harvest has increased in the vegetable garden (4 times harvests in 2013). But it was not enough to sell. To get quantity to sell, we need a big scale of land near to the dam.	I can manage a vegetable garden. But I need technical guidelines for the millet produce.	I give some harvest to my neighbors.	Water is not enough. It is more safety to go defecating inside of compound than outside. I cannot use compost, because I think that it is dirty. Using urine causes a religious problem.
Mother of head of Family 1	It is a new habit to use compost and urine. But I can do it if I am persuaded of the explanation.	I don't think that we have more works to do.	Men produce in the vegetable garden. We consume its harvest by ourselves.		It is safety and we can take a shower any time. We have to get used to new way. But the explanation is not sufficient.
Couple of Family 2	It often is clogged by stones. We need some materials like gloves. Stocked urine stinks. No problem for the convenience.	Harvest is not big. Our children darw water, women clean the tiolets and men maintain them.	We want to learn technical guidelines, because some buds fell down.		In time of defecation, we can protect ourselves from animals' attacks. It is clean. Water is not enough. We want to continue this system.

Ethnicity is a notion that is changeable and crystallized in the process of modernization. Amselle (1990: 143, 212-213) said that original ethnicity was composed by plural elements of "logic of hybrid (logique de métissage)". For example, the Fulbe ethnic group, in general, speak Fulbe language and live by livestock. But in reality, there are people who recognize themselves as Fulbe though they don't fit this definition. According to Amselle, the ethnic loyalty and identity prevent African people from being motivated to labor for the colonial administration and agricultural plantation, so colonial governor integrated African communities into the units of "Indirect Rules" administration to hide autochthonous loyalty and identity. Thus, European colonization wanted to realize "Colonial Peace (la paix coloniale)". He suggests that the integration of traditional community in the modern administration brought paradoxically identity crisis and artificial ethnicity.

What has brought such a difference between the pilot families? As result of the survey about pilot families, it has been clear that this project's new technology needs the punctuality, curiosity and motivation of individual to succeed in operation of compost toilets and in agricultural production. It needs also optimist spirit to get in habit of routing work for the toilet operation. These results of the field survey suggest some African peasants' flexibility towards new technology. If African peasants understand this project's concept and efficacy, they will be able to apply their way of life and agriculture to this project's system.[4]

The application by local population to this new technology can bring a growth of family income and their life restructuration as social and economic actors. It is to say that this technology does not bring a stereotyped mass-production of the modern period but can be applicable to the toilet users' life style and cultural value. It is possible to say that our new toilet and water system is one of civilizations, Japanese type, "dependence on human ability" according to Kawada's theory, because human power is required to make it sustainable. The local people need the capacity to continue and routinize these operation and maintenance. It depends on how the members have motivations to make this new technology work.

3. Participatory Democracy and Nation State

This paper is verifying a historical paradigm change where African peasants can be recognized as actors of "integrated water resource management". For that, it is important to understand that water has been one of the human rights (3.1.) and how actors manage water resource as their rights (3.2.).

3.1. Water administration in the modern period

This part discusses about values and rights that were formed under the modern State regime and the economic system and defines what is a right to water. So, it will be possible to see the capacity limit of State administration and international treaty or agreement concerning water resource.

Under the feudalism, Gentry or Yeomen appeared as rich men in England. They became middle class who demanded their rights, in particular freedom of economical act and business, from the king. In the political sciences, we have big two categories of human rights. One is civil rights like freedom of press, thought and religion, right to vote, freedom of association, equality under the law and prohibition on torture. Private property is also involved in these civil rights. These kinds of human rights were created during the period of Enlightenment. According to the idea of natural rights, the people thought that the human being has rights by nature. In the 17th century, the bloodless revolution came to make the king compromise with the middle class. In other side, in the French Revolution, the royal family was killed by the radicals.

In the 19th century, these middle class and bourgeois became the capitalist investors. They got a lot of money with agriculture during the feudal era. They invested to create manufacture and industries. Thus, the capitalistic

economy-system was established. Under this economy-system, the small peasants lost their lands, because the capitalists shut out them to start the plantation, big scale of agricultural production. This is the Enclosure in the English history. So, they had only their manpower to be labors and proletarians. In the beginning of industrialization, labors' position was very miserable. To overcome such a bad working condition, other concepts of human rights were established. It is the right to life for health, education and welfare. It has been important to assure people of minimum level of life. [5]

In this historical evolution, the concepts of human rights have been multiple. We have now new rights; right of environment, right of information, right to portrait, right of minority or aborigines, etc. And today these human rights must be assured by international treaties. Civil human rights have been written on International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Human right to life have been written on International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. These international agreements were signed in 1966 and came into force in 1973. Human rights became a transnational concept assured by international society, because Nation-State often violates them.

The realism of international political sciences thinks that the Nation-State has a nature or destiny to seek powers and national interests, for example security of territory against the foreign enemy, economic interests, technological innovation and priority of diplomatic position. But according to the evolution on Nation-State, its role and function have been changed (Kamo 1991).

International regime theory criticizes the realism to establish rules and consensus of international economic policy. But international regime system runs the risk of making ambiguous decision because of power struggle inside of the process of decision making, where greats powers intervene. It takes the form of a difficult consensus process of Framework Convention on Climate change.

Next according to these concepts, let's try to define water as human rights and human security. Water is necessary and indispensable to survive. Water is for keeping a life. According to the concepts of civil human rights, water belongs to individual for his life. So, it leads to the private ownership of territory of water supply and it causes conflicts over the water. On the other hand, according to the concepts of human right to life, water is commons, common property assured by the public powers for example State administration, UN special organizations like UNICEF, UNDP, World Bank, etc. For example, the first international organization was established as International River Commission in 1958 to settle a water problem of the Rhine and Danube rivers that flows among many countries. Many NGOs and civil society groups are against the privatization and commercialization of water. They often criticize some enterprises that make and sell water productions. [6] But to keep water clean or make the reuse of water, investments and costs are needed. It is doubtful that the public powers are able to fund their budget for that.

Water is considered as human rights and human security. For that, many actors concern water problems and they have to participate to the political decision. It is named "water democracy". Moreover, today water is transnational issue as indispensable condition of human rights and life. That is a human security suggested by Amartia Sen and Sadako Ogata. On the basis of this idea, UN established Millennium Development Goals. They think that these goals are indispensable condition to life of human being. They are aware of not only security of Nation-State (Clausewitz 1968) but also security of individual life. [7]

In the 1990's, another theory, constitutionalism, was established. Wendt (1999) created this theory, applying sociology, cultural studies and psychology. He tried to focus the national agencies that act for social system, cultural value and identity. He explains the internal and external connection of these national agencies that make impacts on international economy and politics. But he recognized only national agencies. African actors, in particular peasants who are marginalized from State administration, are not considered as national agencies. Any

theories above-mentioned cannot well explain internal and external actors' interrelationships.

3.2. Integrated water resource management after overcoming the modern development

Many scholars thought that traditional peasants weren't able to have relations with external actors. Dahl (1987) is one of these scholars. In the "Polyarchy" of Dahl, democracy has been established with lobbing groups' participation. At contrary in the oppression regime, people is confronted with few of freedom, low participation of social groups and mass manipulation by elite. Dahl thinks that the groups which participate in decision-making are only enterprises and labor unions. To participate in the democracy, it is necessary to be rational enough to understand liberal economics. From Dahl's point of view, traditional community is autarchic, customary and exclusive, where local population insists on faith and unequal social ranking. So, he has not found any possibility of political participation of African peasants.

In the 1990's, African authoritarian regime fell down because of its bad economic policy and illegitimacy. In the globalization after the end of Cold War, the aides from the Soviet Union stopped. These African States had to accept IMF and World Bank's conditionality and to make their economic policy liberalistic. It caused the unemployment problem, poverty and insecurity (Banque mondiale 1994). In this social and political disorder, people particularly mass peasants have been dependent on not State administration but ethnic identity for their survival. They have crystalized an exclusive ethnicity (Nabeshima 2004). It has been a strong tendency in a democratization or multiparty system (Nnoli 1989). This tendency is, for the scholars who think that only rational citizen can participate in the politics, so chaotic as to deny modernity.
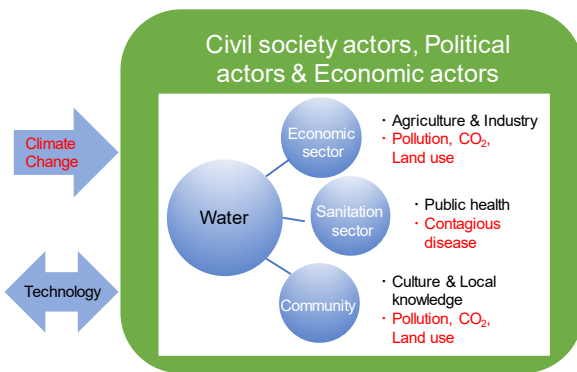
Is the political participation authorized only in the advanced countries? Aren't African peasants "citizen"? Aren't they capable to make a rational decision? Eke (1992) adopts a wider definition of citizenship than European individualism in order to recognize African traditional and ethnic groups as citizen. To break a stereotype model of political participation, Sen (1992) proposes a variety of concepts of happiness and welfare. Depending on cultural value of local population, they can decide the purpose and method of development. According to him, to realize welfare of each local population, it is necessary to develop their "capability". For that, health, medicine and education are indispensable. His theory is possible to overcome a stereotype of modernity.

Water is a target of conflict and, at the same time, of joint control. It is to say that water has become an object of politics. We should settle democratically such conflicts of water. To realize this water democracy, integrated water resource management is an important and useful concept. It involves all stakeholders and actors, for example, local population in the river basin, agriculture producers, industries that use water. It concerns water administration by local government and ministries. Two actors are added in this paper; one is transnational actors that link the local knowledge to the foreign one and second is traditional peasants who work for autarky. It is radical change to recognize these actors in the integrated water resource management, because African traditional peasants are not compatible with modernization.

To make the technology work, it is necessary to understand the local decision making. In general, rural community inclines to be conservative toward the new technology. Without authorization of traditional chief, the community members cannot accept it even after verifying that this technology does not break a taboo and not bring division to the community. It means that in the rural community, decision making functions on the initiative of traditional chief under the modern State administration. It is their political legitimacy.

Harbermas (1979) cautioned against the capitalism, which control and destroy the humanity. At that time 1970's, market economy was so incontrollable for the government that people looked for only the economic growth and forgot human life. He called it "Colonization of human life". He proposed a public agreement of

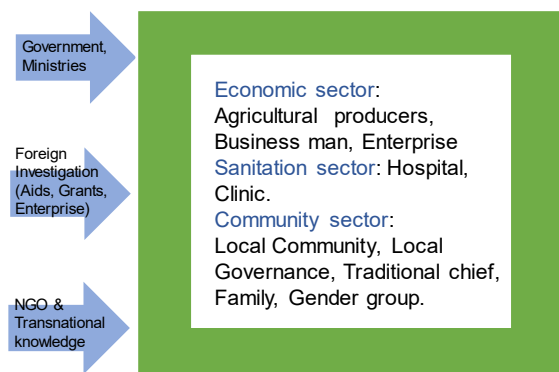## Sectors, Problems and Actors　　Who participate as actor?

Figure 1. Image of integrated water resource management.

civil society to settle this problematic situation. Political participation is important to make consensus between administrative elite and citizen. He trusts the rationality that comes from liberal discussion among peoples. This is a social corporatism, which is different from national corporatism where State integrates all social actors and movements. In Europe, autonomy or self-decision functions to choose something rational. But in African traditional community, agreement is not made by autonomous individuals but by the duality of power between modern administration and traditional chefs. This is different from the democratic decision making in Europe.

If African peasants use their local knowledge and the transnational one, their rural community will develop as autonomic organization for agricultural development and water sanitation. Some of them manage new technology according to their life style and treat easily it as their daily routine to increase agricultural production. This indicates a cross-national knowledge and technology. Moreover, it can be also an opposing argument against constitutionalism, because it is possible to recognize African peasants as actors who can build the transnational relationship. New African concept of Nation-State consists of African social autonomy and the cross-national linkage. That is paradigm change to overcome modern development, because Nation-State and modern civil society can be restructured.

Conclusion

We don't know when we, human beings of the present age, have gone out of the modern phase to overcome modern development. Phenomena verified in this paper as overcoming of modernity is still invisible, because it has created nor huge production neither infrastructure. It looks rather chaotic. Moreover, it is doubtful that transnational networks will bring big powers to marginalize again African peasants.

But African traditional peasants have dynamics to change themselves according to the new social and political condition (Balandier 1971). Transnational exchange between local knowledge and exterior technology will help them to accelerate their change. So, African peasants, who were considered incapable and irrational in the era of modernization and nation building, have been recognized as actors of social and economic development. Without political participation of peasants as stakeholders, we will not be able to keep sustainable water resource management.

Acknowlegments

Notes

1. Lévi-Strauss, in *La pensée sauvage* (1962), doesn't think that the "primitive" society is more inferior than the civilized society and emphasizes that the real society is mixed with "hot society" (not civilized society) and "cold society" (modern society).

2. This is a short mention about organization of local administration in Burkina Faso. There are 13 Régions (its head is "Gouverneur") and 45 Provinces. Département and Commune are set up under the Province. The head of "Département" is "Préfet" and Commune's one is "Mairie". Commune, with more than 10,000 population and budget of more than 15,000,000 CFA, is classified into "urban" and others Communes are into "rural". And there are 8,317 villages all over Burkina Faso and its representative is "Délégué". (Yahmed 2005: 84) Administrative districts in Ziniaré are as follows:

    -   Région Plateau Central: advisory committee makes a plan and take it in force for the interests of Plateau Central;
    -   Oubritenga is one of 3 Provinces. Capital of Oubritenga is Ziniaré.
    -   Under the Province Oubritenga, there are 7 Communes (1 urban and 6 rural) and 7 Départements. One of Communes is Ziniaré. Mairie was established in 2006 for the decentralization. So, it is said that Préfet is inclined to be so conservative that he checks Mairie's movement.
    -   In Ziniaré, there are 217 villages, where traditional chief exists as different authority from modern administrative Délégué.

3. It is Hokoyama, Yamauchi, Ushijima, Nabeshima and Burkina Faso staff member that did a field survey.

4. Throughout the field survey from 2010 to 2011, members of NGO, which practice organic agriculture using compost, agriculture producers, members of women's organization and traditional chief all said that the peasants can understand the scientific evidence, and if they are convinced by the reality of agricultural production's growth, they must accept a new way.

5. See Fukuda (1985) to understand a history of European modern period.

6. Water Justice is a world grass-roots movement that was established in World Social Forum in 2004. http://www.waterjustice.org/?mi=15&a=true (Accessed May 19, 2014).

7. Clausewitz defined, during Napoleonic Wars, that war is a result of all means of diplomacy. That is a classical view of national security.

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