

学位論文題名

Inter-firm Linkages and SMEs' Development  
in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Evidence  
from the Construction Industry in Burkina Faso

(サブサハラ・アフリカにおける企業間リンクージと中小零細企業の成長：  
ブルキナファソ土木建設産業の実証分析)

学位論文内容の要旨

The importance of micro, small, and medium enterprises (SMEs) in developing countries to the processes of economic and social development has been theoretically and empirically acknowledged by numerous academics and policy-makers. However, in countries like Burkina Faso, one of the world's least developed countries, most of indigenous enterprises are still struggling without sufficient support from formal institutions. As a result, entrepreneurs use their own networks to substitute for formal business supporting institutions. In order to find the key to reducing such hindrances, in recent years the "collective efficiency" of inter-firm linkages or co-operations has become a considerable tool and drawing increasing attention. Following this tendency, several countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have implemented inter-firm linkages-emphasized projects, as elsewhere in the world. However, the results show that the collective efficiency tends to not present in Africa due to the small size of markets, over-supply of labor, weak institutions, and the absence of very efficient large-scale enterprises.

Although there is persuasive evidence that inter-firm linkages or cooperation can raise economic efficiency and competitiveness in certain countries, it is hard to sort out the appropriate and effective interventions that help to increase such cooperation. Especially in Africa, the dynamism of inter-firm linkages seems strongly varied according to culture, economic and policy factors, and it is not well understood in its mechanism and nature.

Therefore, this study attempts to uncover several questions on the role of inter-firm linkages in the process of SMEs' development in Sub-Saharan Africa. The study was

inspired by the lack of comprehensive studies on inter-firm linkages embedded in the construction industry in Burkina Faso. This study is examined based primarily on the results of firm-level interview and questionnaire survey, with reference to the “embeddedness approach” and the “sub-sector approach”.

The main questions and findings are as follows:

**1) What are possible internal and external constraints impeding the effectiveness of inter-firm linkages and SMEs’ growth in the construction industry in Burkina Faso?**

There are certain internal and external constraints confronting SMEs’ growth in the construction industry of Burkina Faso. Burkina Faso’s economic performance has been heavily disadvantaged by the external factors such as what happens beyond its borders or how weather goes because the country lives mostly off agricultural exports, mainly cotton and cereals, and receives substantial foreign aid. In particular, economic and political difficulties of an important trading partner like Côte d’Ivoire have serious spillover effects on the region. In fact, the problem disrupted the flow of exports and imports and it leads to an increase in prices and inflation. In addition, the decline of private transfers, especially worker’s remittances from Côte d’Ivoire, has affected the balance of payments of neighboring countries negatively. Such external constraints directly induce internal constraints on individual actors such as enterprises. However, results show that the majority of obstacles come from the unfriendly business environment created by GOBF such as legal and regulatory frameworks and administrative procedures or barriers to private investment.

**2) What are the characteristics and mechanisms of contractual inter-firm linkages (subcontracting or contracting) in Burkina Faso’s construction industry?**

The findings uncovered the nature and mechanism of contractual inter-firm linkages through subcontracting. The results tell us that subcontracting relationships are wide-spread among overall different-sized enterprises with a low frequency of transactions. Additionally, these linkages are vertically disintegrated and horizontally specialized with only slight flexibility. This vertical disintegration of the construction sector may have been caused by the liquidation of two large state-owned construction enterprises. It could have been more vertically integrated if these two companies still existed. Regarding horizontal specialization, most of enterprises have to deal with problems of fluctuations in output. This situation gives rise to the “flexible specialization” in horizontal linkages of both ICE and FCE to a certain extent. This is one of the survival strategies in a country like Burkina Faso where there is no sufficient business supporting system. In Burkina Faso, the

construction industry is populated by large numbers of small firms and its related construction works tend to be carried out in batches. Normally, fostering subcontracting arrangements between SMEs and LEs is conducive to the success of SMEs' development. However, these benefits have not triggered the growth of SMEs yet in Burkina Faso. Rather, it has promoted a mutual support mechanism and created strong horizontal cooperation especially among smaller-sized enterprises.

### **3) What are the characteristics and mechanisms of non-contractual inter-firm linkages (social networks) in the Burkina Faso's construction industry?**

The results clarified several features and mechanism of non-contractual linkages including two different kinds of social networks (SNEs) embedded in the construction industry of Burkina Faso. Both ICE and FCE had diversified and wide-spread business-oriented networks (BONs), but its strength is limited. However, this type of network developed strong cooperation among SMEs for lending or borrowing construction-related requisites and substituted for formal business service institutions. On the other hand, community-oriented networks (CONs) were deeply intertwined with BONs, and their social and business problems became a burden on capable construction entrepreneurs. Therefore, SNEs have both costs and benefits to actors in the construction sector in Burkina Faso. Through its informal institutions, SNEs somehow facilitate business transactions and foster networking. At the same time, SMEs encourage relatives and friends to become dependent on entrepreneurs and limit their chance of succeeding. They become, if not parasites, at least a burden that entrepreneurs have to cope with. These extra expenses may be compared with the legally imposed social expenditures that modern corporations in Japan and Western countries have to carry.

### **4) How non-contractual inter-firm linkages affect contractual inter-firm linkages?**

According to the findings of questionnaire on contractual and non-contractual linkages, there is no correlation between subcontracting and SNEs. However, there is evidence that through its informal institutions, SNEs somehow facilitate business transactions and foster networking. In fact, due to an absence of formal business supporting institutions, enterprises have to complement their situation by using SNEs. Needless to say, subcontracting linkages with large enterprises generally enables SMEs to alleviate certain constraints stemming from their limited internal resources, and to improve their capacities and production efficiency (Hayashi 2005). However, as effective large enterprises are missing in the Burkina Faso's construction industry, this kind of subcontracting mechanism is not the case. Most

SMEs would rather use their SNEs than subcontracting linkages to alleviate certain constraints. This is the reason why contractual transactions are feasible without business supporting services and it is how local enterprises facilitate their contractual governance.

**5) Can these two types of linkages enhance the construction-related SMEs' growth in the Burkina Faso?**

There is a possibility. However, at the present, the author believe that inter-firm linkages would somehow help overcome the obstacles facing African indigenous SMEs to a certain extent, but not yet help their growth dramatically. In light of the obstacles in the construction industry in Burkina Faso, as SNEs function as entrepreneur's social security, health insurance, financial service, business referral system, and business supporting service (as in other Sub-Saharan countries), it is hardly possible to achieve smooth subcontracting transactions without dealing with such SNEs. The lower the poverty line goes, the stronger the role of SNEs among SMEs becomes. Construction entrepreneurs in Burkina Faso can just use such functions as a temporary measurement in order to complete their present project, but not for future projects.

**6) What possible interventions can have the greatest impact on inter-firm linkages and SMEs' development?**

1. Rearrangement and accumulation of both macro- and micro-data on the construction industry in Burkina Faso
2. Reexamination and improvement of tender processes and the clauses of contract
3. Reexamination of SMEs-related regulations and policies
4. Reinforcement of existing voluntary business or professional associations
5. Coordination of both governmental and non-governmental business service institutions
6. Enhancement of accessibility to financial service institutions including micro-finance institutions
7. Enhancement of accessibility to training and acquisition of technical certification

# 学位論文審査の要旨

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## Inter-firm Linkages and SMEs' Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Evidence from the Construction Industry in Burkina Faso

(サブサハラ・アフリカにおける企業間リンケージと中小零細企業の成長：  
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本研究は、近年のサブサハラ・アフリカ開発で最重要課題の一つとされている中小零細企業 (SMEs) の本格的な実証研究であり、著者は長期にわたるブルキナファソの土木建設業に関する現地実態調査に基づいて、アフリカ社会に特有の中小零細企業経営とその企業間リンケージのあり方の解明を課題としている。研究対象の西アフリカ・ブルキナファソは、人口約1200万人、一人当たりGDP250ドルの最貧困農業国、歳入は外国援助と隣国コートジボワールでの出稼ぎ収入に大きく依存 (歳入総額の8割以上)、1990年代初頭の世銀・IMFの「構造調整」導入後も貿易赤字・重債務は改善されず、国営企業の整理・民営化は失業率上昇とインフォーマル・セクターの更なる拡大に帰結、さらに度重なる旱魃とコートジボワール内戦で輸出入減・物価急騰・出稼ぎ送金途絶という危機的な打撃を受けている。こうした状況下で、地場民間企業の圧倒的多数を占める小規模零細企業の振興が、雇用創出と貧困対策にとって焦眉の急と言われている。

ブルキナファソのような最貧国の民間企業では、規模の零細性・孤立性、技術水準の低位性、公的な金融機関へのアクセスや情報収集の困難性、政府の公的財政支援の欠如等が成長の制約要因になっており、著者はこれを補填する機能としてインフォーマルな社会ネットワークの存在に注目する。方法的には経済社会学的な「埋め込み」 (Embeddedness) アプローチを援用しつつ、社会ネットワークに基づく企業間リンケージの特徴に着目し、まずはその実態を正確に把握して将来の中小零細企業振興政策に結びつけようとするものである。かかるアプローチは、サブサハラ経済の研究でも先例がほとんどなく、先駆的な業績と言えよう。

論文は前半の第1章～第4章で先行研究の検討とマクロ統計の分析を行い、後半の第5章～

第8章が現地調査に基づく実証研究である。

論文前半で注目される点は、企業間リンケージを把握する方法の提示である。つまり、中小零細企業の分析では通常、個々の経営資源の形成過程と産業の分業構造を把握し、当該企業間の相互関係に着目することが不可欠な視点であるが、本研究では事例産業へのアンケート・インタビュー調査に基づいてサブ・セクター・マップを構築し、規模別企業や他のアクター間との垂直・水平・双方向・多方向の企業間関係を描き出す。また契約等による企業間リンケージの集合効率性が低位であるといわれる当該国においては、インフォーマルなリンケージがどう有効に機能しているかを解明すべきとする。調査対象の土木建設業は、1990年代初頭の世銀・IMFの「構造調整」以来、都市部成長産業の典型であり、先進国主導の大型インフラ建設支援のプロジェクトが始動しているが、そのほとんどが外資系の土木建設企業によって入札されて、圧倒的多数を占める現地資本零細企業の成長は不透明である。これが、当該産業を事例調査する所以でもある。

論文の後半は事例分析であり、土木建設業123社、各々100項目にわたる詳細な調査データが検討される。まずは同業界の零細企業と中小企業の事業展開の包括的な制約要因について、端的には市場の狭隘性、未熟練技能、公共サービスの欠如、大型外資系企業の寡占、政府の組織的支援の欠如などが一般的特徴として指摘される。

次に、社会ネットワークの非契約的企業間リンケージに関する分析である。社会ネットワークに関しては2つのタイプ（コミュニティ志向型とビジネス志向型）を検出するが、企業規模に拘わらず広範囲に張り巡らされ、建設機械・車両・熟練工等の相互補完的な共有関係がインフォーマルに構築され、これが公的な支援体制の欠如を代替して、小規模事業を稼働させているという。一方、下請取引等の契約的企業間リンケージに関する検証では、政府や外国援助のプロジェクトで参入しうる業者が限定されており、一定の熟練を有する事業体に契約が集中し、その下位に登録・非登録に拘わらず、中堅の中規模企業と多数の小規模零細企業が下請け関係を取り結んでいる。確かに契約的企業間リンケージも垂直的・水平的に存在するが、注目すべきは契約関係の構築に重要な役割を果たす非契約的企業間リンケージであり、社会ネットワークであることが明らかとなっている。当該国に特有の下請契約関係はインフォーマルな社会ネットワークの上に成り立っており、それが個別企業の大きな成長には繋がらなくとも、市場の需要に応じて企業間での労働力、設備、技術の相互移動が柔軟に行われ、企業自体が存続しうる要因として機能しているという。

以上のような調査資料の分析結果から、著者は中小零細企業の安定的経営と公平な競争環境の整備にとって、政府および各種の援助団体に取り組むべき課題を提起する。それは、地場の中小零細企業に関する正確な統計データの蓄積、公的入札・契約の透明性の確保、公共事業への地場事業体参入の確保、企業の財政状態に見合った柔軟な政策対応、土木建設企業の公的な組織化やビジネス協会の強化・新設、アクセス可能な金融サービスの設立などである。

今後の課題は、中小零細企業の調査研究を他業種にまで広げ、著者のいうインフォーマルな社会的ネットワークの実相とそれに基づく企業間リンケージの内実をさらに

掘り下げることであり、そうすれば提言している政策課題も一層説得的なものになるであろう。いずれにしても、本研究は日本でほとんど研究蓄積を有しない西アフリカ経済研究の先駆的業績であるとともに、長期にわたり当該国研究機関との協同研究にも参加してきた筆者の政策提言が、具体的な開発戦略に活かされることを期待したい。

以上の審査の結果、審査委員は一致して本研究が博士（経済学）の学位授与に値するとの結論に達した。