**Endogenous Development: The Contributions of Kazuko Tsurumi**

Kanako Omi

[koko.mitsu0609@gmail.com](mailto:koko.mitsu0609@gmail.com)

1. **Introduction**

The concept of endogenous development—i.e., locally driven development initiatives—frequently appears in Japanese discourse on development. In the context of international development cooperation, it refers to a process where people and local communities in developing nations take the lead in working to achieve growth (Holcombe 2014). Bottom-up approaches, with local residents initiating development, resemble participatory development. Endogenous development, however, is not only resident-led but also emphasizes the impact on the natural environment while drawing on the community’s traditional culture and knowledge (Miller 2014).

Moving away from Western concepts of endogenous development, the Japanese sociologist Kazuko Tsurumi formulated her own theory, known as *naihatsuteki hattenron*, the standard Japanese term for Western concepts of endogenous development. Tsurumi’s endogenous development theory has been applied in practice in a wide range of fields in Japan, including economics and agrarian studies and has served as a reference point for carrying out international development cooperation and community development in Japan (Inui 2017, Matsumoto 2017).

Tsurumi conceived of this idea in the 1970s—a time when the adverse effects of modern industrialization, such as pollution and human rights violations, were becoming acknowledged throughout the world. Criticisms of development policies focused on pursuing economic growth at that time were becoming increasingly strident in international discourse. Against this backdrop and in the wake of Western modernization theory and its critique by dependency theory, Tsurumi proposed endogenous development as a theory of social change, based on the idea of communities pursuing diverse approaches to development (*hatten*) in line with their natural ecosystems and traditional cultures and lifestyles. Here development (*hatten*) is not synonymous with standard Western modernization, but refers to multisystem development on a global scale.

Over five decades later, the endogenous development that Tsurumi advocated remains relevant today. The world is facing a range of threats, such as climate change caused by environmental destruction, endless conflicts, a widening gap between the rich and the poor, and the global spread of infectious diseases. These challenges cannot be resolved solely through political and economic debates among nations. Today, with more and more individuals and communities worldwide reconsidering their lifestyles and seeking sustainable development, it is worth revisiting Tsurumi’s advocacy of endogenous development and examining community-driven endogenous development.

This chapter first reviews the history of Western concepts of endogenous development and Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development. It then examines the elements of her theory and evaluates its significance today in light of the example from community-building in Japan.

1. **A history of the concept of endogenous development**
   1. **Changes in the concept of endogenous development in the West**

In *An Outline of the Social System* (1961), the American sociologist Talcott Parsons presented a typology consisting of endogenous and exogenous changes as a conceptual tool for analyzing social change. Drawing on Parson’s work, sociologists—particularly Western ones—began classifying social change into two types based on whether industrialization in a given society was instigated domestically (endogenous change) or in imitation of a process elsewhere (exogenous change). Britain, the cradle of the industrial revolution, the United States, and Western European countries, which followed in Britain’s footsteps, were placed in the endogenous development category and labeled as developed nations. Non-Western nations were classified under the rubric of exogenous development, and were assumed to be able to catch up with the West by imitating the Western development model.

This typology of social change was influenced by the modernization ideology widespread in the West at that time. Various Western researchers had proposed modernization theories. A particularly well-known one was Rostow’s social development model (1959), which proposed five stages of economic growth: (1) the traditional society, (2) the preconditions for take-off, (3) the take-off, (4) the drive to maturity, and (5) the age of high mass consumption. This approach assumed that Western modernization as the sole model and argued that if developing countries followed a similar trajectory, they too, would become developed.

Aid recipient nations were critical of this approach, and post-development theorists were vociferous in their criticism. In the midst of this discourse, the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation presented a report, *What Now*, on the occasion of the Seventh Special Session on Economics of the United Nations General Assembly in 1975. According to Nishikawa (1989), this report framed endogenous development in the context of international development cooperation and defined endogenous development as follows:

If development is the development of man, … it cannot but stem from the inner core of each society. It relies on what a human group has: its natural environment, its cultural heritage, the creativity of the men and women who constitute it, becoming richer through exchange between them and with other groups. It entails the autonomous definition of development styles and of lifestyles. This is the meaning of an endogenous and self-reliant development (Dag Hammerskjold Foundation 1975: 34)

The Foundation’s report referred to development that is endogenous and based on self-reliance as “another development,”[[1]](#endnote-1) and advocated seeking alternatives to conventional approaches to development. This was consistent with trends in the discourse on development, such as Seers’ *The Meaning of Development* (1969) and the *Limits to Growth* report by the Club of Rome (1972). Behind this “another development” also lay the fact that colonized nations such as Tanzania and Indonesia had begun to take steps toward independence under the banner of self-reliance, seeking to take the lead in developing their countries. The initial concept of endogenous development, which was regarded as virtually synonymous with self-reliance, strongly implied a situation in which developing nations became independent from their dependency on advanced countries and development aid institutions.

The concept of endogenous development attracted greater attention after the publication of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation report, particularly at the United Nations University and UNESCO. However, it failed to take root or become widely accepted as an international development strategy. Esteva (1992) attributes this to the fact that its emphasis on recipients’ autonomy runs counter to the premise of the need for outside intervention upon which international development is based, as well as to the fact that proponents of endogenous development were unable to rebut this criticism about a contradiction effectively. Moreover, in response to the deteriorating international economic environment beginning in the late 1970s, the World Bank and International Monetary Fund began to adopt a structural adjustment approach when providing aid to developing nations. There was a reduction of arguments for endogenous development during this period, when strict conditions were imposed on financial support; indeed, the debate over autonomous initiatives by developing nations also abated.

Nevertheless, the concept of endogenous development was not entirely forgotten. In 1995, a joint platform known as the COMPAS network was created, with endogenous development its main focus. Universities, non-governmental organizations, and community organizations from Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America participated in this network, engaging in research and conducting a broad spectrum of rural development and community development projects worldwide reflecting an endogenous development approach. For example, there were projects to create manuals compiling traditional knowledge aimed at preserving the local environment, as well as governance-strengthening initiatives that respected a region’s traditional feudal system. As its rationale for undertaking endogenous development, COMPAS cited the lack of respect for traditional customs, culture, and knowledge exhibited by many international development cooperation projects. In order for local regions to achieve development by capitalizing on their resources, COMPAS called for policy dialogue and skills development that would set the stage by adopting an endogenous development approach (Boonzaaijer and Apusigah 2007). Holcombe (2014) conducted a microanalytical analysis of development trends to date and concluded that advocacy of participatory development and ownership became acceptable because these approaches embodied the concept of endogenous development.

Although somewhat removed from the context of international development cooperation, neo-endogenous development theory is now being advocated as the most recent advance in agricultural research in Europe. The efficacy of endogenous development has long been studied to establish a strategy to revitalize agrarian regions in Europe where the population is declining, using the European Union’s LEADER program as a case study. This program pursues collaborative local revitalization in the European Union, aiming to renew and establish the independence of agricultural economies. In this field, the concept of endogenous development initially advocated striving for economic independence of farming regions. Strategies for endogenous development eventually included promoting industry, revitalizing regional economies, and using local resources. The number of case studies in various locales grew, particularly on the European Union’s LEADER program for developing rural communities. This led to more researchers arguing that the key to endogenous development lay in the diverse actors and networks outside these locales, including in urban areas, rather than an internally oriented promotion of the industry through local resources. Today, with the global market economy penetrating every corner of the world, it is not feasible to develop in isolation. It is considered more realistic to abandon ideas based on an inside/outside binary, regarding networks linking the two as important social capital, and to identify development opportunities in exchanges between those within and outside these networks (Gkartzios and Lowe 2019). As these studies grew in number, the term “endogenous development” was replaced by “neo-endogenous development theory” (Ray 2006, Gkartzios and Lowe 2019).

* 1. **The concept of endogenous development in Japan: Tsurumi’s notion and its impact**

How has the debate on endogenous development unfolded in Japan? More than half a century before Parsons presented his typology consisting of endogenous and exogenous development, the literary giant Sōseki Natsume (1986: 26) stated that Western civilization was endogenous in nature, whereas civilization in Meiji Japan (1868–1912) was exogenous. After over two centuries of national isolation, the new Meiji government was dismayed by the gap between Japanese and Western civilizations and technological capacities and was desperate to catch up with the West. The race to do so through modernization led to prosperity, but much of Japan’s social system, culture, and customs disappeared as a result of the rapid industrialization and centralization of power. As described below, the folklore studies of Kunio Yanagita that Tsurumi drew upon for her theoretical framework of endogenous development arose from this realization.[[2]](#endnote-2) The idea of seeking a blueprint for Japanese-style development while learning from the West, as Natsume and Yanagita had done, subsequently garnered a certain amount of support among Japanese intellectuals, including Tsurumi.

After World War II, Tsurumi studied comparative modernization theory under Professor Marion Levy at Princeton University, receiving her doctorate there. Interested in the link between social change and individuals, Tsurumi concluded that modernization theory was constructed based on development in developed and advanced nations, particularly the United States and Britain, and that a different path of development and a different process of social change might exist for other regions and nations, including Japan.

After returning to Japan, Tsurumi established the Research Group for Rethinking Modernization Theory. She and her colleagues began to explore approaches to endogenous development in Japan during its period of rapid economic growth. Tsurumi learned a great deal from Yanagita’s work, likening his folklore studies to a theory of endogenous social change grounded in Japanese experiences (Tsurumi 1997). Around 1976, when the framework of endogenous development theory had begun to coalesce around research by Yanagita, the founder of folklore studies in Japan, Tsurumi joined the Shiranui Sea Comprehensive Academic Research Team[[3]](#endnote-3) and commenced fieldwork in Minamata, the site of severe mercury poisoning. Tsurumi later related that the idea of endogenous development was inspired by this experience, which illustrates the immense impact of what she saw and heard in Minamata (1998). Tsurumi’s fieldwork there added a tangible human element to the theory of endogenous development that had begun to emerge based on Yanagita’s research. She defined endogenous development as follows:

Endogenous development … is a process of social change that is rich in diversity. … It involves the creation of conditions whereby all people and nations on earth can meet their basic needs in terms of food, clothing, shelter, and health care and can each achieve their full individual potential. … Based on their cultural heritage (tradition), people and groups in each region create their autonomous path to that goal and society and lifestyle that allow these aims to be achieved, in line with their unique natural ecosystem while also drawing on imported knowledge, technologies, systems and so on (Tsurumi 1989: 49).

After she had independently devised the idea of endogenous development, Tsurumi learned of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation report. She stated that her concept of endogenous development and the “another development” described in that report could be considered virtually synonymous. As reasons for this, she cited the fact that the definition of “another development” in the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation report was based on communities as the unit of change and the fact that the report mentioned a harmonious relationship with the natural environment, local cultural heritage (tradition), and the creativity of people who constitute it (Tsurumi 1989). Nevertheless, Tsurumi remained committed to the notion of “endogenous” development. For the rest of her life, she sought to formulate an endogenous development theory distinct from that of “another development.” She explained her adherence to the term “endogenous” by saying she wanted to emphasize the point that not only advanced nations, but also less developed nations and regions have their distinct endogenous modes of development. The phrase “another development” falls into the dualism of modernization theory or an alternative. Tsurumi (1999) said she preserved the concept of “endogenous” because she wanted to argue that the theory of endogenous development is based not on “another development” but on pluralistic advocacy of multiple developmental trajectories.

Tsurumi’s endogenous development theory formulated a theory of social change reflecting the idea that different modes of development should be explored in forms compatible with each community’s unique ecosystem (the relationship among culture, nature, and lifestyle). Today, many researchers use her theory as an analytical framework for conducting case studies of community-building in and outside of Japan. Endogenous development theory continues to attract interest today because depopulation is proceeding apace in agricultural communities and rural revitalization is a major concern of the Japanese government.

Nevertheless, Tsurumi’s theory has also been criticized for failing to include policy theory and for lacking a frame of reference for analyzing power structures (Matsumoto 2017). Cross-disciplinary efforts have been made to overcome these drawbacks. For example,[[4]](#endnote-4) the economist Ken’ichi Miyamoto has presented principles of endogenous development aimed at designing more tangible systems,[[5]](#endnote-5) and the developmental economist Jun Nishikawa has researched the endogenous development of developing nations.[[6]](#endnote-6) The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), which is responsible for Japan’s development cooperation, often conducted research and training aimed at drawing on Japan’s experience in community-building to strengthen agricultural communities in developing nations and to develop the capacities of local governments (Kano 2003). Nearly half a century after Tsurumi proposed her endogenous development theory, the magnitude of its impact remains visible today.

1. **The elements of Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development**

Here I have presented a historical overview of how the endogenous development theory has evolved in Asia and the West. This section identifies similarities and differences between these views. It then presents the four elements of Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development: (1) a balance between value pluralism and value monism, (2) the link between changes in people’s lives and social change, (3) the idea that human beings are a part of nature, and (4) an analytical view of endogeneity as creativity.

* 1. **Similarities and differences**

Analyzing the historical discourse on the endogenous development theories proposed in the West and Tsurumi reveals both similarities and differences. Let us first examine the shared features. As is evident from Tsurumi’s statement that the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation’s definition of endogenous development resembled her notion, the definitions of endogenous development in Asia and the West are commensurate. It is also clear that both theories stem from the same perspective—a critique of development policies that view Western-style modernization as the sole goal of development.

One difference between the two is that whereas the Western concept of endogenous development has been discussed in terms of a principle and approach within the framework of development aid and community-building, Tsurumi’s endogenous development has been theorized as a matter of social change, as described above. It is not intended as a means of or research method for carrying out development projects. Instead, based on value pluralism, her theory views the process whereby communities undergo autonomous change as a creative phenomenon. Focusing on such phenomena, Tsurumi’s theory focuses on efforts to achieve positive social change in diverse communities. Since it drew theoretical support from research by Yanagita, the father of Japanese folklore studies, and was formulated based on interactions with local people through Tsurumi’s fieldwork in Minamata, this theory is firmly rooted in Japanese experiences. Below I outline the elements of this theory from the four perspectives of its value premises, epistemology, ideology, and analytical perspective.

* 1. **The elements of Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development**
     1. **Balance between value pluralism and value monism**

Rather than navigating social change based on a single value standard, Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development is premised on value pluralism. Yet she is not arguing that any kind of change whatsoever is beneficial. As Tsurumi aspires to eliminate unjust aspects of society and the destruction of nature and seeks sustainable social development, her theory is value-normative, not value-neutral. A particular contradiction between value pluralism and monism is a feature of Tsurumi’s theory.

Tsurumi discussed the theory of endogenous development from the perspective of how modernization theory, which treats Western experiences as universal values, can be supplemented from the views of non-Western societies. Referring to Talcott Parsons’s classification of societies into primitive, archaic (ancient and medieval), and modern in line with their developmental stage, Tsurumi noted that Western modernization theory is based on a temporal concept premised on a “staged model.” By contrast, she argued, in social change as portrayed in Yanagita’s folklore studies, the primitive, ancient, medieval, and modern simultaneously coexist within a society, like a nest of boxes. This concept of time refuted any view of a particular set of values as superior or inferior to other value standards (Tsurumi 1993).

Nevertheless, value pluralism does not mean indiscriminately accepting any cultural practices or customs. For example, Tsurumi’s theory opposes unjust practices such as discrimination against women and racial discrimination, which is value-explicit. So how can value pluralism and value monism be balanced? In response to this question, Tsurumi proposed the idea of animism as a motivational structure for endogenous development.[[7]](#endnote-7) She viewed this as a foundational belief in humans’ search for coexistence (Tsurumi 1999). Her theory of endogenous development is characterized by its simultaneous acknowledgment of value pluralism and its advocacy for the universality of coexistence.

* + 1. **The relationship between changes in people’s lives and social change**

The second aspect of Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development is that it seeks to understand social change by analyzing changes in people’s lives. Tsurumi adopted methodological insights from Yanagita’s folklore studies and incorporated them into her theory.

An example of the benefits of analyzing changes in people’s lives is the way in which accumulating empirical case studies makes it possible to present from non-Western perspective values that are absent in Western modernization. Yanagita gave the example of how in rural Japanese society, where marriages arranged by one’s parents were the norm, it was possible for young people who belonged to organizations such as local youth activity groups or young women’s groups to collectively resist absolute authority in a way that an individual could not. In contrast to individualism regarded as a universal value in Western modernization theory, this offers a counterexample where continuance of the group is viewed as beneficial for the protection of the individual. In this way, Tsurumi learned from Yanagita’s folklore studies that exploring people’s individual histories reveals elements that in Western modernization theory seem simply contradictory. She incorporated this into her concept of endogenous development (Tsurumi 1993). The originality of Tsurumi’s theory, which emerged by drawing on Yanagita’s folklore studies, lies in this attempt to understand changes in society based on people’s lives.

* + 1. **The idea that humans are a part of nature**

The pursuit of development that is in harmony with, rather than destroys, the natural ecosystem of each society is not unique to Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development. What *is* distinctive in her theory is the declaration that it is based on an epistemology of human beings as part of nature, instead of regarding the natural ecosystem as subject to human custody and control.

Tsurumi visited Minamata in 1976, and over the next five years, she interviewed 32 people about their personal experiences, focusing on villages with a high incidence of Minamata disease (Tsurumi 1983). In the process, she noticed how Minamata patients, although suffering from symptoms and discrimination, had set off on the path of self-regeneration. Tsurumi viewed their resolve as a form of endogenous development that emerged from the profound destruction of nature (1998: 153). Minamata patients told her they became ill due to human destruction of nature, so recovery had to begin with restoring their ties to nature (Tsurumi 1998). Tsurumi became firmly convinced that humans were a part of nature after encountering the stories and practices of these Minamata patients (1998). Western modernization theory—and most likely the Western concept of endogenous development—regarded humans and nature as separate entities, viewing nature as a resource that people monitor, control, and utilize. By contrast, Tsurumi’s theory stressed the importance of a sensitivity that learns from personal experience that humans are also a part of nature.

For nature and human beings to coexist, empathy with nature and a sense of unity between nature and humankind are vital. Current knowledge has lost sight of sensitivity. … I would like to incorporate within knowledge the sensitivity that Minamata patients have toward nature. Only then can we create knowledge that does not involve pollution or the destruction of nature (Tsurumi 1998: 91–92).

The philosophy underpinning Tsurumi’s endogenous development theory held that moving toward the desired social change required reexamining the relationship between humans and nature and creating a society where the two can coexist.

* + 1. **Analytical view of endogeneity as creativity**

The fourth element in Tsurumi’s theory is the perception of local endogeneity as autonomous creativity. Her theory is one of creativity based on the community unit.

Taking a cue from the analysis of interactions among newcomers, temporary residents, and long-term residents in Yanagita’s folklore studies, Tsurumi argued that incidental encounters among different actors trigger creation. This is similar to how neo-endogenous development theory regards the networks in and outside a community as social capital. Tsurumi, however, took the view that not only does creativity involve diverse ties internally and externally, but long-term residents’ passing on of the community’s traditions and culture was also essential. She argued (1993) that recreating traditions is possible only when there are interactions among long-term residents—who know the local natural ecosystem well and pass down local traditions—and newcomers (people who have moved to the area from elsewhere) and temporary residents (for example, travelers). If knowledge and information do not flow in from outside and a community becomes isolated, it will fall behind the times. Conversely, without long-term residents, there is a one-way influx of knowledge and technologies, which differs in nature from local autonomous creativity. For endogenous development, it is therefore vital to have venues where newcomers and long-term residents can interact, such as festivals that have been traditionally celebrated in the community (Tsurumi 1993). Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development holds that the foundation for endogenous creation is keeping the community both grounded in local life and open to the outer world.

1. **The effectiveness of Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development**

Tsurumi’s endogenous development theory has been described here as being characterized by the following elements: (1) it is a value-normative theory that aims to resolve injustices in society, albeit premised on value pluralism; (2) it seeks to understand social change based on individual people’s life experiences; (3) it regards human beings as a part of nature; and (4) it regards endogeneity as autonomous creativity. In the light of this, I would like to discuss the significance of Tsurumi’s theory for contemporary international society and international development cooperation.

As is evident in the United Nations’ Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), a key topic in international society today, particularly in development cooperation, lies in supporting each nation’s social and economic development while simultaneously striving to protect the global environment. Bettering society while reconciling what seem to be the mutually exclusive goals of development and environmental protection cannot be achieved simply through collaboration among nations and with international organizations. Even more so than in the past, each locality must pursue a vision of development that reflects its unique natural environment and culture and a development approach that aligns with this vision.

Tsurumi believed that a vital intellectual contribution is possible through adopting the analytical framework of endogenous development theory, accumulating case studies of endogenous development, and continuing to document these cases to provide a bank of varied examples. Documenting the diverse forms of development in different areas is an essential function of development cooperation. Previous case studies of endogenous development involved analyzing community-building and development cooperation projects in Japan and Europe. In the future, we need to broaden the research to include agricultural areas in developing nations. This might lead to discovering ways of expressing autonomous creativity in previously unimagined forms.

For example, phenomena that can be regarded as examples of endogenous development exist in the agricultural areas of South Africa where I have previously conducted fieldwork. South Africa is classified as a medium-income nation. Still, the ravages caused by colonization and apartheid policies remain evident, and poverty-driven social ills are rampant in agricultural areas. The places where I conduct fieldwork are regarded as “poor,” and one’s attention is inevitably drawn to these social problems, overlooking creative endeavors that play a part in endogenous development.

In South Africa, the number of young people who cannot find a job even after college rises every year. The expansion of urban slums and the decline in law and order are also severe social problems. As a result, the number of people who are moving to the cities in search of work but have failed to find employment and are returning home is on the rise. Although this is of concern, young people who have moved away from home gain knowledge of the outside world and bring it back to their community. Using this knowledge and networks acquired while away from home, some young people are gradually beginning to develop homegrown ventures, such as local start-up businesses.

In one example, at his parents’ urging, a young man attended college in the city. However, after graduation, he was unable to find work for two years, so he returned home. He soon realized there was unused land and even a support network back at the place he thought lacked opportunities. This network included his family and relatives, friends, and neighbors. He began a poultry farming business, and is active today as a wholesaler providing a service that is indispensable in local life. As with this example, several young people who have been temporary residents elsewhere and then returned home have begun businesses with deep local roots—viewing such phenomena as endogenous embryonic development suggests two lessons for development cooperation.

First, the analytical perspective adopted in Tsurumi’s endogenous development theory can also be applied to localities in developing nations. By regarding people who initiate projects in their local area as the drivers of endogenous development, as with the young man who established a poultry farming business, and by comparing their individual experiences, we may be able to identify a mechanism for establishing locally-based businesses. If we can systematically analyze examples in this way, they might serve as a helpful reference point for other locales.

Second, even in poor areas that appear to be aid recipients, there are people who are inherent self-starters, carrying out creative acts in the course of devising strategies for daily survival. Tsurumi’s theory of endogenous development excels at highlighting such people’s determination. Carrying out case study research from the perspective of endogenous development theory and understanding how people’s creativity has expressed itself might, I would suggest, enable a mode of development cooperation that supports this process.

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1. In my view, endogeneity and self-reliance are, strictly speaking, different concepts. Self-reliance was an idea originally formulated by colonized countries in an effort to spearhead their own development through using resistance to domination by advanced nations as the driving force. The concept of self-reliance extols the process of not depending on advanced nations or aid institutions, whereas endogenous development does not necessarily reject all external ties out of hand. [↑](#endnote-ref-1)
2. The folklore scholar Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962) is known as the founder of folklore studies in Japan. Setting out from the question of why Japanese farmers were poor, he studied agricultural administration and then worked as a government official handling agricultural matters. In the course of visiting villages around Japan and conducting surveys, he came to believe that the culture of everyday life in agricultural villages and these people’s folk beliefs and folklore contained hints for considering Japan’s modernization, and he switched careers to become a folklorist. Yanagita’s house in Tokyo was across the road from Kazuko Tsurumi’s family home, and she was on friendly terms with him from when she was about 29 years old. [↑](#endnote-ref-2)
3. Shiranui Sea Comprehensive Academic Research Team was a team of 12 people, including researchers, doctors and teachers, that was formed to carry out investigations over a five-year period between 1976 and 1981 in Minamata in Kumamoto Prefecture, the site of Minamata disease. Minamata disease is known as one of Japan’s four major diseases caused by pollution. See Chapter X. [↑](#endnote-ref-3)
4. [↑](#endnote-ref-4)
5. As his principles of endogenous development, Miyamoto cited (1) endogeneity, (2) synthesis of aims, (3) industrial development, and (4) the participation of local residents. After developing an argument that incorporated the role of administration, which does not appear in Tsurumi’s theory, he focused on the practical question of how to ensure that community-building activities are not short-lived but are sustainable (Miyamoto 2010). [↑](#endnote-ref-5)
6. See, for example, Jun Nishikawa. *Ajia no naihatsuteki hatten* (Endogenous development in Asia) (2001) and *Shinsei Afurika no naihatsuteki hatten: jūmin jiritsu to shien* (Endogenous development in the new Africa: Self-reliance and support for its people) (2014). [↑](#endnote-ref-6)
7. Animism was originally a term coined by an English anthropologist. It refers to the belief that all things, even abstract concepts, have their own distinct spiritual essence (Tsurumi 1998). This means that people who believe in animism can respond to nature and things, as well as phenomena. [↑](#endnote-ref-7)