

Human Beings and Development

- Toward a World where Every Life can Live Together. The Way of
Endogenous Development -

Nishikawa Jun

Foreword

In recent years, human development has been discussed in the field of Development Economics. The dominant thinking of development had been conceived to realize human welfare through economic growth and state intervention. However, the idea of an orthodox development paradigm faced more and more questions and challenges after the 1980s. Neo-liberalism, which advocated for smaller government, grew into the globalization era after the 1990s and emphasized marketization and liberalization everywhere. On the other hand, the idea of a human-centered development, which argues developmental efforts directed toward human beings themselves, has become stronger in these periods. As a result, this concept of human-development has become considered basic in the development paradigm.

In this paper, we will examine the orientation and transition of the notion of development that spearheaded the changes of our modern world. Through inspection of the relationship of development and human society, we will discuss the inter-relationship between the theory of “human development” and “the development (in Japanese “kaihatsu”) (and self-development “hatten”) of human beings”. In the modern world, this development is known to have brought wealth to one part of human society, and yet it has also brought disparity and inequality to human society. Furthermore, we know that development has damaged the human environment considerably. This degradation of the environment has been accompanied by mass poverty on an alarming scale. How can this situation be reversed? This should constitute one of the priorities of human society. With this in view, we will look at a new prospective for development, i.e. the theory and practice of “endogenous

development”, which has been advocated since the 1970’s. This paper will examine how endogenous development can conserve the environment as well as ensure human development. Examples collected by the author from East Asia in recent years will be used to make clear how civil societies have developed through people’s association in realizing endogenous development. Endogenous development and the formation of civil societies were found to be promoted by people’s participation and decentralization in the developmental process. The prospects of co-existence whereby human beings and the environment as well as various human groups can live together, can be conceived from this perspective. The purpose of this paper is to rethink the relation between human beings and development, in view of a society where human beings can live more peacefully and in harmony with the environment. This is the way of endogenous development.

In accordance with the purpose of this paper, to begin with, we will look at the origin of the development issues in modern/contemporary world. Secondly, by examining the shift in notion of development after World War II, we will analyze how environmental deterioration on a world scale has resulted from the dominant development paradigm. In order to cope with the serious situation of poverty aggravation and environmental deterioration, the United Nations Development Program submitted a theory of “human development” in the 1990s. Therefore, thirdly, we will discuss how the human development theory can be strengthened by endogenous development and development of civil society as the latter manages their own socio-environmental problems. Concrete cases from the East Asia region e.g. Thailand, China, and Taiwan, will serve as illustrations. In these cases, the keywords are poverty reduction, environment conservation, decentralization and local participation. These familiar terminologies in development concepts are often promoted by the formation and growth of civil societies. As stated above, this paper will attempt to portray a society that can have some balance between economy and society through human and endogenous development.

1. Development in the Modern World System

1.1 Development as the autonomous development of civil society

In English, “development” is a single word, but when translated into Japanese there are at least two different words – “kaihatsu”, and “hatten” which have a similar meaning. The matter itself is interesting though we will first discuss the word “development”. The origin of the word comes from modern history, first appearing in Western Europe. Hegel, a philosopher on civil society, was the first one who gave the word a definition. Hegel observed the emergence of civil society by breaking up the stratified status system in the feudal society and called it ‘*die Entwicklung*’ in German (a synonym of *development* in English). The verb *wickeln* means shrinking, wrapping, folding, and *ent* is the negative prefix. Simply, the word is defined as the “self-development of a civil society from feudal origins”. In English *envelop* means enclosed and *develop* is the reverse, which is similar to German. For Hegel, the self-development of civil society is equal to the global development of “reason”. Reason is nothing but the citizen’s consciousness of liberty and the development of reason forms the history of the world. This Romantic School’s way of thinking is based on German civil society which emerged and developed at that time, penetrating not only philosophical thought, but also expressions of literature, the arts and music, etc. Beethoven’s symphony is an artistic expression of Hegel’s philosophy.

In this sense, the original usage of the word that we call *development* was an intransitive verb that has a closer meaning to “self-development”.

The development of civil society coincided with the development of capital accumulation based on a market system. Financial capital was accumulated in central areas in Western Europe (many of them were port cities) together with development of international division of labor. As productivity improved, the peripheral areas where they supply labor force, raw material and food to the center developed as well. This world system came to be known as the characteristic of the modern world since the 15th and the 16th centuries (Wallerstein, 1985).

The development of a market system itself destroyed the feudal system based on social stratification and introduced an equal and more democratic social system based on the market. However, the new system brought in a class order consisting of capitalists/landowners who own capital/land and the labor classes who are deprived of

the means of production. In a market, labor is transacted by capitalists and people who sell their labor force became laborers. Land and natural resources, which had been the common wealth of mankind, were now privately owned by the wealthy and transacted as commodities. The new vertical-type of world order has penetrated globally through an international division of labor system. The colonial powers dominated the non-western world and the latter were turned into colonies. Along with the prevalence of this capitalist world system based on center-periphery division, social conflicts, North-South issues and environmental problems were born and escalated.

In Hegel's last years, he confessed his concern of a "disordered" situation caused by the liberal development of civil society and he began to perceive "reason", previously based on the endogenous spirit of civil society, as more of the *Raison d'Etat* (state reason) and advocated for the role of the state in the development process. The state reason was considered to be under the control of a state that was formed by an organic ideal of the nation. This is the birth of a nation state. In the early 20th century, the German political philosopher Friedrich Meinecke (1862-1954) wrote his famous book *Weltburgertum und Nationstaat* (1921), in which he expressed the dilemma that German civil society had faced (Meinecke, 1968). In other words, the Germans faced a fundamental choice of developing into a cosmopolitan civil society or the nation state. After WWI, it is well attested that Germany was led into the extreme form of the latter, Nazism (State Socialism).

At that period, Rosa Luxemburg (1871-1919), who was born in Poland when Poland was semi-colonized both by Germany and Russia, pointed out that the capital accumulation system conducted by imperialism emanated from the state reason and expanded into the non-western world. This system penetrated more and more into rural areas and developed itself into a world-scale capital accumulation system (Luxemburg, 1952). The autonomous development of civil society into the nation state was actually supported by the development of the world system.

1.2 Faust's development

The notion of *die Entwicklung* has another aspect from the beginning, if we look at the classical masterpiece of the play *Faust* written by the great writer of the Romantic

school, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. “Classical” here is not concerning time, rather, it refers to how the literary work has caught the essence of a society at that time and has continued to be read generation after generation. It still reflects the same message even though the time and background may differ.

We may well say the protagonist Faust was a self-portrait of civil society at that time. Faust desired to pursue almighty power and absolute freedom although he could not obtain these through reading and scholarship. Now the Satan Mephistopheles appeared to him and proposed to endow him with whatever he desired in exchange for his soul. For this Faust agreed. One day Mephistopheles came and whispered into Faust’s ears for development.

“And then, aware of my importance, I’d build a chateau in some pleasant spot, converting wood and hill, champaign and farmland, into a park of great magnificence...”

Then Faust answered,

“Here in this world there still is room enough for deeds of greatness. Astounding things shall be achieved—I feel in me the strength that will sustain bold efforts.”

“I wish to rule and have possessions!” (Part II, Act IV, High Mountains)

Standing before the beautiful green and open landscape he dreamed of building it into

“a platform....this masterpiece the human spirit has wrought to augment, by intelligent planning, the space its peoples have for living.” (Part II, Act V, Palace)

Here we see the other meaning of *Entwicklung* as a transitive verb which means “open up and build something new” from the top (property owner, developer, elite, intellectual, etc.)

Nevertheless, the obstacle of his great plan was a very old couple called Baucis and Philemon. They were kind, always willing to help people and lived simple lives in their small house on a hill. Faust was unhappy with them because their small cottage located amid his open landscape plan. “Those old folk there ought to give in; I want those lindens part of my estate; the few trees spoil, because I do not own them.”

This old couple became an obstacle to his development plan so he asked them to move. However the couple was satisfied with their living there and did not want to leave.

Mephistopheles then suggested, “why not make them ‘colonize?’”. Faust approved and said, “So be it! Go and rid me of their presence.” Mephistopheles went with three mighty men and soon “cleared them out”. They set a fire to the cottage and the innocent old couple died. (Part II, Act V, Palace)(Goethe Faust I & II, Edited and translated by Stuart Atkins, 1984)

Here the word *development* as a transitive was interpreted by *Faust* and his “opening up business” (Ernungen) by development from the top. This message expressed the enormous sacrifice that human society suffered while a prosperous civil society pursued its absolute freedom and possessions. Another facet of development was the deconstruction of a local community or a communal society. People who once were closely connected to each other and their land were uprooted under the shadow of a “great developer” flying the brilliant flag “for people’s living and human spirit”.

Faust also reflected a gender problem that issued with the development of modern society. He abandoned his lover Gretchen who was pregnant with his child for the reason of freedom. In despair the young woman threw herself and the newborn baby into a pond although she herself was saved and imprisoned, bearing thereafter the sense of guilt all her life. These two episodes have explained how the pursuit of freedom and equality of a prosperous civil society was accompanied by the sacrifice of community and humanistic mind and thus gave birth to a mythological interpretation of civil society in the western world.

The autonomous development of reason itself is contained inside the “state reason” and the dependence on the authorities. We may call this the ambivalence of the word *Entwicklung*, because of its two aspects of intransitive and transitive verbs.

In the case of Japan, modernization started from the Meiji era on the axis of the “modern nation” and “state reason”. This was the Meiji Restoration and since then, the application of the transitive verb side *kaihatsu* was always superior to its intransitive verb side *hattenn* from the very beginning.

The word *kaihatsu* (development) was first used in Japan from the second phase of Hokkaido colonization where “field soldiers” (soldiers turned into farmers) and prisoners were originally the main labor force. At that time, a professor from Sapporo

Agriculture School (later Hokkaido Imperial University), Takaoka Kumao, went to survey abroad at Preussen to learn about the colonization and development of the east side of the Elbe river. He brought back this strategy to Hokkaido. (Nishikawa, 2000, Part I, Ch. 2) As the Meiji State took its model of The Constitution of the Great Nippon Empire from the Bismarck Constitution at Preussen through Ito Hirobumi, Japan at that time was a nation trying hard to establish absolute political order in order to copy the example of the state of Preussen.

By the time of the Showa era, "Development of Hokkaido" developed further into the colonization called "Manchuria and Mongolia Development". Japan withdrew from the League of Nations, established a puppet government of Manchuria in the northwestern part of China and began to encourage colonization by sending poor Japanese rural families. Development was accelerated aggressively together with the expanding of the Yen economy. This development was different from merely encouraging immigration to Hawaii or west coast of the U.S. or South America. It was actually part of an attempt to form a unique economy of international division of labor / specialization with Japan as the central axis and the surrounding yen region (including Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria and Mongolia, Micronesia) as a periphery. In this sense, Japan's development was in accordance with what English colonial economist Edward G. Wakefield (1796-1862) had pointed out, i.e., that the English immigration to Northern America, development and capital exportation worked together to form one development (modernization) system. (Wakefield, 1834) Again, in this case, development was used as a transitive verb. (Nishikawa, 1978, Ch. 4)

After the reconstruction period of Japan after WWII, "regional development" became a major political agenda and "The Overall National Development Plan" was drawn up several times. The central government made its budget allocation mainly to the Pacific coast area port cities: Keihin (Tokyo-Yokohama), Chukyou (Nagoya-Yokkaichi) and Hanshin (Osaka-Kobe), which was used to build infrastructure. In this way, the Pacific coastal side was developed in order to import raw material resources from abroad and export the products to overseas markets. The rural areas were made to provide the labor force. In this way the government believed that they might

trickle-down the coastal development throughout Japan by developing a domestic labor division. This was, after all, out of a top-down developmental thought and as a result, it increased the area of depopulated rural regions.

The characteristics of this developmental thought were to build up a central government-led economic growth system that collected resources and funds centrally and allocated some parts into local areas. This capital accumulation system corresponds to the world-wide capital accumulation system that we described as the modern world system and which was based on the international labor division system (developed center monopolizes industries and service business, while peripheral developing countries specialize in producing raw materials and foods. The latter then provides these raw materials / foods to developed countries and imports finished products from developed countries).

On the other hand, the negative aspects of this development mechanism were often observed. In 1972 when Okinawa was returned to Japan, the “Special Measures Law for Promotion and Development of Okinawa” was drawn, which was based on the law of an Okinawa revitalizing plan and special funds for it. The Okinawa Development Agency was set up to allocate this fund to Okinawa. This was a typical example of a top-down development model through which a huge amount of money was distributed unmethodically. As a result, the top-down development harmed the environment greatly and irreversibly. (Miyamoto, 1979; Miyamoto/Sasaki, 2000) However, in forecasting this sad situation, the Ryukyu Autonomous Government already before the restitution announced key points for its own vision of the rebuilding of the region in the “Suggestions on Restitution Measures” in November 1972, while it was still under the U.S. rule. According to this proposal, (1) People should be the main subject of development and growth, which would not be limited by improvement of income, (2) the respect for the right of self-government, (3) building up a prefecture of peace by removal of the military base. It is interesting to note that the above three points, which were not at all mentioned by the Tokyo based restitution plan called “Special Measures”, were selected to be their doctrine for development. (Teruya, 2000) As a matter of fact, in most of the public documents of Okinawa at the time, *kaihatsu* and

hatten were often used together. This shows that Okinawa did not submit to an expectation of a top-down development, but rather sought their own development dimension on the three pillars of human-centered, right of self-government, and peace, which could be seen as a pattern of endogenous type of development. What is interesting today is that, after 2002, the word “development” in the new law regulation was removed. Now the Law is called simply the “Okinawa Promotion Special Measure”. This action revealed a new direction free from dependence on the central government towards a more decentralized relationship. It also resulted in showing the will of both sides, in which Tokyo expected to diminish the “free lunch” budget and Okinawa wanted more autonomy.

2 Development after WWII

2.1 Modernization, Market economy and Development

After WWII, President Truman declared a “Soviet containment” policy together with a worldwide development strategy as a set policy in order to prevent the penetration of communism in the non-western world. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD, so called World Bank) was established from that time and its main function was to set up strategies for world development and offer necessary funds. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) was created as an associative organization among developed countries although it very soon changed into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). (Rist, 1995)

This development’s main priority, after WWII, was to resist communism and its centralized economic planning system by the two prongs of liberalism and a market economy to promote capitalism. Governments saw themselves as responsible to promote development in support of capitalist market expansion. From the 1950s to the 1960s when the former colonies of the Western powers such as Asian and African countries became independent successively, the idea of development immediately affected these developing countries. Including Japan, their purposes were not only the pursuit of a market economy but also to match developed countries by a mixed system of capitalism and a planned economy for which government holds strong power in

investment and economic regulation.

Development during this period was considered to be closely connected to the thought of modernization through economic growth.

The view of modernization concentrated on the fact that after all traditional societies received some external shock (from advanced countries), they became “awakened from their peaceful slumber”, modeling developed countries and proceeded to modernization. W.W. Rostow theorized in this context the Development Stages Theory (as advocated by Adam Smith and Karl Marx, who saw commercialized and industrialized societies of equality as the ultimate achievement for development). During this period, Rostow analyzed that the pre-modern society received strong shocks from the outside (such as the black ship), and then grew quickly. Their saving and investment rate increased so as to set the national path into an orbit of economic growth, and eventually entered into a period of mass production/mass consumption. (Rostow, 1961) Edwin O. Reischauer, who was a historian and the U.S. ambassador to Japan during Kennedy’s tenure, said that Japan was a representative case of this theory and thus he promoted Japan as a model of Asia’s modernization and economic development. (Reischauer, 1965)

The Modernization theory has set aside the problem of the international labor division system and accompanying gaps among nations that were generated from the modern world system. Its premise was that all nations stood by the same start line and were always ready to run their race. In fact, there were big differences in the structures of developed and developing economies. Their positions in international relations were not the same either. One actor might be benefited in the process of development but not necessarily any other which had played a supportive role to the former. There existed increasing disparity between different parties. As long as capitalism relied on a market economy and free competition, it would inevitably bring the so-called “market failures” which occur both in domestic and external spheres.

Developed countries might well use the profit they gained from an international labor division system to construct their domestic welfare state system and improve the education, health or social capital of the society to ensure national integration. On the contrary, when former colonies turned into developing countries their economy was

strongly distorted because they needed to “develop” in a short time. They therefore could not enjoy the same benefit from the existing international labor division system and were forced into a disadvantaged position. Moreover, in the pretext of “catching up” to the developed economies, the state power of these countries was often strengthened to a level that severely restricted human rights and freedoms.

Therefore, during the 1960s and the 1970s, these two heterogeneous types of countries both contributed to the escalation of “mal-development” issues on a world scale. This was especially serious in terms of the distortion of social relations and environments.

2.2 Mal-development – the deterioration of socio-environmental problem

There were a large number of victims of the high growth period of Japan. Many died or were injured by water/chemical pollution that occurred in the period of average 10% of high economic growth. It is understood that high growth does not necessarily assure desirable results.

However, the democratization after the war has considerably increased the middle class in Japan’s society. A social security system was also promoted and except for gender and minority discrimination problems (“buraku” (outcaste people), disabled people, foreign residents, indigenous people, etc.), we may say that social problems in Japan were relatively limited.

Nevertheless, social and environmental problems on a world scale, especially considering a successive independence and development boom of the former colonies, are getting much more serious. In recent years, ethnic conflicts have also characterized the Third world.

All these problems have been recognized from the 1960s.

In the developing countries, the state power supported industrialization in order to catch up to developed countries. The fastest and most convenient method was to attract multinational enterprises from the North and export products or semi-products to developed countries to obtain foreign currency and to accumulate capital. In other words, most of them took the path of export-oriented development. Big countries tend

to protect their domestic market and at the same time take an import-substitution industrialization strategy, which means that they replace imported goods with domestic products as quickly as possible. This is often seen in Latin America and South Asia, while in East or Southeast Asia, they prefer the export-oriented industrialization path. Combination of the two ways has also been found in Thailand, Indonesia and other countries.

Since the 1970s, almost all developing countries began to deny the traditional international specialization path and started to promote a “new international economic order” based on the nationalization of resource and energy to transform them in domestic plants and pursue more added value. At that point, the extremely unbalanced and abnormal world system problem was estimated as: three-fourths of mankind were producing only 7% of the world industrial production (1975) and the recognition of this fact began to reverse the traditional international labor division system. As of the year 2000, the industrial production in the Southern countries, which has 80% of the world’s population, has increased to 20%.

On the other hand, this industrialization rush has been accompanied by an enlarging world population suffering in poverty.

The World Bank publishes the *World Development Report* every year. The 2000/2001 version especially explored the poverty problem and was entitled “Attacking Poverty”. According to the report, the population in poverty whose living costs was under US\$1 reached 1.2 billion in the year of 1998 (World Bank, 2000). The same WB investigation on poverty conducted in 1985 had found a total of 700 million (World Bank, 1990). This means that within 15 years the world poverty population had increased by 70%. Presently, one out of four people living in developing countries are considered living under the poverty line. Approximately three-fourths of this population (800 million) live in Asia.

The global environmental problem has also become alarming. The United Nations has advocated the concept of “sustainable development” since 1987. The report of the Independent Commission on Development and Environment pointed out that the balance between development and environment conservation had deteriorated through

economic development and that environmental deterioration progressed so much that the sustainability of development was threatened. (Nishikawa, 1998, 2001) Furthermore, the “World Summit on Development and Environment”, hosted by the UN, was held at Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in 1992. The conference adopted an action plan entitled “Agenda 21”, which emphasized that the ecological/environmental deterioration problem needed to be tackled by all stakeholders, governments, private firms and civil societies on a worldwide scale.

Environmental problems are seen in cities as well as in rural areas, however, the rapid deterioration observed in developing countries seems more serious than in developed countries where environmental consciousness is higher and anti-pollution techniques and resources are relatively sufficient.

The Whitepaper on Asian Environment, published by a Japanese environment NGO, pointed out in its 1997/98 and 2000/2001 editions that the environment deterioration in Asia related largely to “compressed industrialization” and fast “urbanization”. Therefore, it recommended raising more public concern for the urban pollution problem. While we worry that serious damage has occurred due to Asia’s high industrialization and urbanization, however, we cannot overlook the serious damage that has occurred in rural areas as well. The progress of industrialization has brought desertification, loss of water and soil, water shortage, repeated drought and heat waves, frequent flooding and countless abnormal weather patterns and the so-called “natural disasters”. We may say that, in many cases, these disasters are related to deforestation, industrialization, commercialization and marketization. This may be seen as the other side of the coin called economic “globalization”.

In fact, the hazes that covered the Strait of Malaca for over half a year in 1997, the deluge of the basin of the Yantze River in China that made millions of people victims in 2002, the tsunami that attacks the coasts of Bangladesh every year, and the “sand-storm” that now pummels the inlands of China year round which had only previously been observed in some limited areas in northern China from April to May, are examples. This sandstorm has now even proceeded into Korea and Japan in the springtime. These phenomena are all related to the deterioration of the ecosystem in

Asia. (Nishikawa, 1998, 2001) To our regret, the situation is no different in the Middle East or Africa where wars and ethnic conflicts have continued. In Latin America, where industrialization and urbanization are rapidly progressing, the situation is similar.

Is there a way to correct this mal-development and refocus on the original purpose of development = autonomous *hatten*? The United Nation examined this question since the 1990s and raised the problem of “paradigm shift” in development. The UNDP now advocates the theory and policy of human development. Human development in this case is a new paradigm that places human beings in the center of development. It is also called “endogenous development” in terms of viewing culture as a key factor to one’s development. Behind the thought there lies the issue of the change of the actors in development, which we will discuss in the following section.

3. Endogenous Development in East Asia—The Rise of Civil Society and Advance of a new Development Concept

3.1 Re-discovering the Objective of Development in a Global Age—From Human Development to the “Enlightenment” (*Kaihotsu*) of Mankind

As social problems and environmental deterioration have been caused by mal-development, which has constantly enlarged and escalated, the concept of “sustainable development” was explored from the 1980s, which we discussed in the former section. Sustainable development regards restoring the balance between development and environmental conservation as important. Nevertheless, this balance greatly depends on social relations and the value system of stakeholders.

In the 1990s, along with the progress of economic globalization, the increasingly serious poverty problem came to light and the need for social development was presented. It recognizes poverty, unemployment and the division of society as three major social issues. In order to solve these problems there is a need to switch the traditional objective of development, which is economic growth into human-centered development as well as human development. (Nishikawa, 1997) The Social Development Summit held in 1995 at Copenhagen, Denmark, concluded that civil

society should be associative in solving the social development issues together with traditional stakeholders such as the government and enterprises (market).

Human development, a new developmental paradigm advocated by UNDP in the 1990s, is based on the capabilities theory of the Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen, who see that development should be focused on “the enlargement of human free choices”. (Nishikawa, 2000, Part I Ch. 12) The enlargement of human free choices may be measured by achievement in health and education, and the real purchase power of per capita (ppp) income. These measures are called “human development index”.

As we can see here, the ppp income is calculated on the basis of GDP per capita; therefore, we have to say that the notion of human development is not totally free from the concept of GNP or economic growth. Furthermore, as human development depends on government expenditure on health and education, an emphasis on the action of government as a key contributor is understandably made. It emphasizes, therefore, the role of public policy. The human development concept is here again related to the traditional actor of economic growth paradigm. Judging from the reality and the nature of the human development theory, one has to admit that it still has limitations, in the sense that human development has been advocated in the framework of a public policy theory while trying to resolve various socio-environmental problems.

However, in our investigation on the developmental process of East Asia, we have encountered several good examples that may have reached some breakthrough to resolve environmental or social problems. These examples are also related to the theory of a civil society.

3.2 The Practices of Endogenous Development

The first example to be introduced is a case of a local promotion movement based on Buddhist teachings by ‘enlightened’ monks (in Japanese *Kaihotsu* monks) in Thailand’s rural area. The second case is the formation of ecological-environmental agriculture promoted in China’s rural areas. The third case is an example of Taiwan’s community (She-Cu) (in Japanese *Shaku*) movement for environmental and culture conservation.

What is common in these cases? First, these grass-root developments often criticize

top-down style development approaches and attempt to generate their own development from the grass-root level in local areas. Secondly, these areas of endogenous development are often immediately recognized at once because of their green environment, which is apparently different from the devastated area that we can see in many localities of developing countries.

The question is where is the origin of this human and social inner potentiality? And what are the dynamics that produced the green environment in those areas?

(1) 'Enlightened' Monk in Thailand's Rural Area

The following example was made during 1994-96 survey in the rural area of Thailand by Nishikawa and Noda (2001)

Due to high economic growth realized in Thailand, the growing population kept on inflowing into the capital of Bangkok. For this reason, Bangkok has a population of about 6 million, which is far higher than the second largest city of Chiangmai that had only 600 thousand people in the 1980s. More and more people move from peripheral and rural areas to metropolitan areas and thus the rural areas are left with elderly and children. Depopulated regions are increasing. Scooter, radio cassette and refrigerators become three "civilized machines" anywhere in the villages. Villagers are often seen addicted to alcohol and disputes between couples and neighbors occur frequently. Droughts have devastated the north and northeast area frequently and the soil becomes cracked, salted, and many farmlands are found with white alkaline.

Observing these difficult situations, many monks who had traditionally taken care of the spiritual life of the villagers, began to cast their doubt on the development style from the top that was called *Pattana*. In the Buddhist view, human beings are often absorbed by their own greed and lose control of themselves. They are driven further and further away from spiritual achievement and understanding and are unable to have *Pavana* (Kaihotsu=enlightenment). Spiritually, they become darkened.

These monks are called "enlightened monks" (*Kaihotsu* monks), and they are involved in village promotion or environment conservation activities in the grass-roots level.

They work in rural areas as well as in cities. In rural areas, they use the rice offered by villagers to establish something like a "rice bank" which offers low interest seed rice

to village people in order to free them from Chinese money lenders who take even half of the farmer's crops. In a similar way, these monks also establish a calf bank to increase calves, i.e., the borrowers give the temple back the calf and baby calves become owned by villagers.

The monks ask the villagers to obey the basic religious precepts such as not killing, not abusing, not cheating, not committing adultery, loving your parents and so on. Villagers are also asked to meditate on the truth of the world and they are encouraged to live out a life according to the three ways to reach the truth (percepts, meditation, wisdom). Meditation meetings are hosted by the village cooperative once a week and they usually become the meeting place for villagers. Enlightened monks regard education as important so they often open their temples for children to learn or they make their facilities into libraries.

On many occasions, baby plants are also grown and distributed to villagers for the purpose of improving the environment. Enlightened monks would hang their yellow gown on the trees near the entrance of a forest in order to declare the place holy and forbid theft by cutting trees. Similar methods are also found in protecting fish in rivers. Many of these villages practice organic and diversified/compound agriculture. They abandoned the monoculture of rice and tried to involve themselves in raising livestock and fishery, creating a circular economy in the village. If necessary, the villagers will all work together for building irrigation facilities and make their village full of greenery and stable water resources.

Some villages are even having contracts with cities or foreign countries to sell organic rice.

In the cities, some enlightened monks help street-children to live, training them in professional jobs, adopt children of AIDS patients or HIV infectors, and others run hospices for terminal AIDS patients. Their motivation is normally based on the doctrine of religion "helping the weaker" and that's why their work attracts more and more attention of the public in a world of globalization and marketization economy.

As the basic discipline of Buddhism is to encourage self-reliance through human efforts, likewise, it is the enlightened monks' purpose to help the villagers become more

independent from the external forces such as the market, or money lenders, etc. These monks are challenging village people toward an almost forgotten spirit of association of life where people help each other in a profit-driven world.

(2) Ecological-Environmental Area in China

Nowadays, China is facing serious environmental and ecological problems. Two major methods have been taken to recover the green environment.

One is called “Giving land back to forestry by retreating from cultivation” (退耕還林) which is a large-scale tree-planting project conducted by the government. It also formed one pillar for the “Interior development of West-China”. In this plan, all hill areas along Yangtze River and Yellow River which have a slope of over 25 degrees are restricted from farming, and trees or grass are required to be planted. The project is implemented in an enormous scale and controlled by the Forestry Bureau. All mountain top areas become “protected forest”, and the lower half of the hills become “economic forests” where owners may plant fruit trees or forestry or mushrooms, etc. for making their living. The government is responsible to give compensation to inhabitants in the form of aid or support mainly with food and some money. This lasts for 5-8 years until people become independent from the aid of Forestry Bureau. However, “ecology forest areas” and “protected forests”, where people are not allowed to enter, have become cracked after some years along with much soil damage.

Though it is still too early to evaluate the result of the “Giving land back to forestry by retreating from cultivation” policy, it seems there is still a long way to go. The policy requires an enormous input of expenditures as well as labor while the young plants have an average survival rate of 50-60%. System improvement will definitely be essential in the future. The Chinese government decided to implement this policy after the deluge of the Yangtze River in 1998, which was traumatic and brought a serious sense of crisis to the government in tackling its ecological problems. This policy can be called a typical “top-down” environmental policy.

Another approach of environmental campaign is called the “ecological-environmental friendly area”

This campaign was advocated in the 1980s by a group of intellectuals and was soon supported by the Agricultural Department of China. (Kojima, 2000) Presently there are a total of around 100 places of this kind throughout China. They expect to involve more than 300 places in the next ten years. This paper will discuss two cases located at Beijing, Da-xing County, Lio-Ming-Ying Village (the Chinese meaning is, "Keeping People Village"), and another one at Si-Chuan Province, Chong-Qing City, Da-zu County (the Chinese meaning is "Big-foot" County). Both were investigated in August, 2001.

"Keeping People Village" in He-Bei Province is located in a rocky tableland where soil is salty and barren. During the Qing Dynasty, it was started by poor immigrants who had farmed there. (Xiang, 2001) However, since the location is only 30 km from the southeastern part of Beijing, where the Beijing-Tienjing highway passes, the transportation facilities were dramatically improved. Approximately 900 people from 240 households in the village used to go work in neighboring areas.

In the early 1980s the village responded to the advice of the Environmental Science Institute of Beijing and started to implement a circulating compound organic agriculture. They challenged themselves to supply energy by generating methane gas from kitchen garbage and livestock excrement, and also used the fermentation as fertilizer to replenish soil. Upon inspection, the soil now contains an average of 5% of organic material. Other than the two major methane gas generating tanks in the center of the village, each household has a small facility of their own to supply the energy needed efficiently.

Diversified business has been extended over the area of 27 hectares producing not only rice but also vegetables, mushroom, and livestock (chickens, ducks, pigs, cows and rabbits), dairy industry and fishery products (they also raise fresh water fish in an artificial pond of about 4 hectares), etc. These products have been shipped to the government's "Green Food Company" as organic "green foods". The vice secretary, Ms. Chang Guan-Hui, who is in charge of the administration of the village, told us "green food takes time and labor and yet the market price does not meet its cost. Our future goal is to promote the consumer's consciousness to buy."

The villages also used their own production to make feed processing, flour milling,

juice and bean products, ice-candy, pickled eggs as well as use their own machine repair factories. Presently about 500 people are working in the village.

In 1982, the average income per capita was 405 RMB (people's Yuan), but in the year 2000 it rose more than 12 times to 5000 RMB. The villagers who once had to go out of the village to work now find jobs to do in their own place and they even absorb the shortage of labor force from neighboring localities.

Since the forested areas increased by 30%, and many people do flower cultivation in greenhouses, many visitors are attracted from Beijing to sightsee. Side businesses such as home vegetable gardens, guesthouse operations and restaurants have become more popular than ever. A Hong-Kong invested hotel was under construction when we visited.

A monthly old-age security pension for 180 RMB is now being paid to retired people.

The village has a primary school that begins from the third grade. Villagers need to commute to other places for higher education. Presently there are a total of 40 young people attending professional schools or universities non-locally. Ms. Chang pointed out that "the key for developing the village" is to promote further education facilities and welfare institutions.

Another case is Da-zu County, which is located in the suburbs of Chong-Quing city. Da-zu County ("Big-foot") is a touring spot famous for its stone carving. The whole county has become involved in ecological agriculture now after trying to fit a large population into too small a space. They also lack water resources as most mountains and hills are barren and soil has continuously eroded. For this reason, "Big-foot" county has been considered as a "desertificated" area. While accommodating over 800 thousand farmers, which is about 80% of the population in the county, they finally proposed the idea to build water saving dams, ponds, and river sluices for over 4000 places from the 1980s under the leadership of the local government. "Water resource finding" became the objective of these localities.

At this time, this area is proud of the fact of over 25% coverage of forest and enjoys "evergreen" all year round. Infrastructure constructions such as water supply, energy and road paving, etc., have been developed upon the primary industries like wet-rice,

corn, green peas, melons, fruit trees, livestock, fishery, and forestry. All these are even connected to the third industries like ecological gardening, stone carving business, and historic culture conservation work.

These localities also submit to the government policy of “Giving land back to forestry by retreating from cultivation”. The tops of the mountains with pine and oak trees form a protected area. Fruit trees are planted mid-way, and on the hills and plains paddy rice fields are seen everywhere. In order to build a dynamic diversity of landscape, they also place fish in rice fields and plant lotus in ponds to harvest lotus flowers and their seeds and roots. These products are offered to restaurants to attract more visitors.

Under strong leadership and technology carefully chosen from non-local sources, people share the same vision and work together to better their living standards. Although each area of ecological environmental agriculture may differ from another by their different conditions, these areas have constructed a circulating regional green economy by their own initiative.

(3) Taiwan's case- Environment Conservation through Community Participation

We visited several communities in Taiwan in July 2002. It is known that Taiwan has made great progress in democratization during the past decade and this higher community consciousness is related to environment conservation. Among these case studies, we explore the case of Gang-Bien Community (located at Yi-Lan prefecture, Su-Aou area), and San-Mei Village Community located at Da-Na-Yi Valley near the famous Mountain Ali.

In Taiwan, a community is generally called in Chinese “she-cu”, which is an autonomous common agency taking care of the inhabitant's non-profitable social activities. It has no direct connection with administration structure, but in many cases the administration offers construction fees for building community centers on the condition that inhabitants provide the land. From the 1990s after the Democratic Progress Party successfully took over political power from the former authoritarian government of Kuo Ming Tang (KMT), Taiwanese people have shown more and more

concern about their issue of identity. In 1994, the Culture Construction Committee (a department attached to the Ministry of Administration) began to support the community movement in terms of community history and culture conservation, which is called "General Community Development Plan". (Chen, 1996, p.126-129) Community volunteers also involved themselves in a wide-range of activities such as promotion of local economy, disaster prevention, welfare, education and environmental conservation.

Compared to western Taiwan, the eastern part has lagged economically even during the high growth period. Yi-Lan is located in northeastern Taiwan and used to be regarded as a "backward" area. However, because of the appearance of several strong cultural leaders, people in Yi-Lan area were especially encouraged and are known to be zealous for their local cultural revival activities. Nowadays, 100 out of 400 or more active communities in Taiwan are located in the area. Su-Aou is one of them and is an industry area located in the south of the prefecture. This area has had a history of an opposition movement against a thermal power plant construction plan during 1993-1994. The candidate area was located in a wetland area inhabited by more than 137 rare kinds of water birds. In addition to the angered inhabitants, many NGOs and volunteers rushed to help the opposition demonstrations. Gang-Bien Community Association was established at that time in 1994 and through the 8 years of resistance they finally drove out the power plant project and successfully protected the wetland area of 102 hectares for water birds. Now bird watching stations have been set up here and there and observation platforms as well.

Our attendant, Ms. Huang Rong-Shu (35 year old), herself, came to the area during the campaign and was married to a local man there. Among the total population of 2000 people, 150 members committed themselves to the Community Association. This lady prepared bicycles for us to our surprise and gave us an eco-tourism guide.

She said "In KMT years, the nation has placed a major weight on economic development and pushed forward heavy industry called 'Lan-Yang basin Development Plan' in the area. At that time they used to say 'beautiful landscape gives you no jobs!'. Yet we knew that once our environment was destroyed it would not return. Therefore we decided to make as our priority the environmental protection of our region."

Gang-Bien (“port side”) community is now attempting to promote eco-tourism for their economy. The Community Association is also operating a summer school for children to learn of nature, a community school for adults, and many volunteers are interviewing old people and all kinds of professional people to re-discover their local history and traditional culture which once was nearly lost. Little by little they gain back their self-respect and confidence through these efforts. One of the results is the “National Traditional Arts and Profession Center”. This center is a compound area with exhibition windows and shopping streets for all kinds of local hand-made articles. There are exhibits of traditional art activities, aborigine life styles, and so on. The number of visitors is increasing, and in Ms. Huang’s view, the Gang-Bien area may well turn out to be a good eco-tourism spot for its wetland, which is rare in a sub-tropic zone.

San-Mei Village is close to a valley of Mountain Ali over 3000 meters high. The valley is called Da-Na-Yi and the village is located in a zone from 500 to 2000 meter of the slopes. When our study group visited the place, the small road was jammed by a number of large touring buses full of tourists. At least half an hour elapsed before we arrived at the entrance of the village and parked in a parking area large enough for 20 large buses and 80 small cars.

This explains the prosperity of Da-Na-Yi Valley as a famous sightseeing spot now.

Nearly 400 inhabitants of the Zow Tribe lived there. As late as the 1980s, they lived simple and poor lives and concentrated in agriculture and fishery. They sometimes worked for road construction businesses. However, some villagers soon began to use the dynamite they obtained while they were engaged in road works and tried bombing the water in an effort to catch fish. The river was badly damaged and the fish were decimated. A newspaper report on “Poor area reality” said it was “a weeping river-valley”.

The key person who rebuilt the village was Mr. Gao Zhen-Shen (63 year old in 2000), the head of the community association. While a sailor traveling in South Africa, he saw a natural preserve area and it reminded him that he might be able to do the same for his homeland where people could live a harmonious life with nature just like their ancestors. He then came back to the valley and talked to the seven tribal chiefs who

owned the rights to the river. He persuaded them to cooperate with him and placed restrictions for protection against fish poaching. He released young fish stock called “Gu” which symbolized the tribe. Time has past and now along the length of 18 km of the river the fish are flourishing.

Mr. Gao established the San-Mei Community Development Association in 1994. He built a 4 km promenade by the riverside and made culture booths, fish restaurants and resting stands to attract visitors. Here and there he placed signboards to assist tourists and help them to know more of the plants and animals living in the area. The government assigned the place as a first class “natural ecological preservation park” in 1995. Thereafter more than 1 million people rush every year into the small and almost inaccessible mountain village to see the mysterious fish, listen to the shrilling of cicadas, walk along the promenade and enjoy the fresh smell of the forest. They dip their feet into the cheerfully cool water and feel the joy that nature brings to them. If they desire, fish barbeque and traditional Zow tribal dance are also available for them.

The income of the village has improved a great deal and young people who used to be employed outside began to come back to work. As they did so, they confronted new problems of another dimension. They asked questions of whether the tourism business was really what they wanted in order to recover their traditional life style. Were they truly protecting environment while it was actually deteriorating by receiving so many tourists all the time? Doubts and questions remained and debates continued.

From that period, the community campaign revised their path more and more closer to a “general community development” plan that the government was promoting and gave more space to the restoration of their lost language, culture and history. The elders teach children how to speak their tribal language, preserve traditional cultures and wits, and apply traditional rituals to their weddings and funerals. The old traditions that help old people, the disabled and the weaker in society have been revalued through these activities.

What is really amazing about the village is that not only has the natural environment been restored but that through the exchange with urban people they were able to restore their way of life. They once had been so unconfident of themselves and tried to

hide their tribal origins because there had previously been much discrimination against indigenous people. Now they have become much more comfortable with their language, culture and lifestyle and are even able to feel proud of themselves. Their development objective now is not restricted to commercialized tourism but a whole set of values such as human and ethnic development, local culture promotion and restoration of participative associational life which symbolizes the practice of endogenous development.

(4) Sub-conclusion

The practical examples of endogenous development implemented in Thailand, China and Taiwan gave us the hint that environment conservation can only be achieved with the participation of local people. These local people are not those blocked-minded or self-contained people, instead, they are able to look at themselves objectively by relating themselves to the world and thus acknowledge their position. From this they may take one step out with hope, using external resources to seek their own development by their own initiatives. Therefore, local participation and initiative may be concluded as the two necessary major conditions for environment conservation.

The perspective of endogenous development is actually indivisible with the rise of contemporary civil society. This is different from the 19th century's civil society, which used development and growth (Kaihatsu and Hatten) as the two moments in the structure. Now, the civil society is composed of citizens who are aware of their sovereignty as well as responsibility over society and who are willing to participate in the social process in association with others, respecting their environment. This leads to the revision of the notion of development from traditional growth-based one to self-awakening and enlightenment to the universal truth. We understand that this revision of the notion of development and growth is related to the thrust of the civil society movement.

Conclusion

There are several meanings for "citizen". The first is a city-dweller, a person who

lives in a city. This is the most general meaning of citizen. The second is civilized person who does not use violence but uses communication or rules or simply civic culture, to solve problems. The third is, like Marx often used, a bourgeois who sits within the protection of the walls of a castle (nation) and conducts profit-oriented business. The fourth is the usage took by the “Declaration of the Right of the Man and Citizen” (1789) adopted by the France Revolution. A citizen not only has the right as a natural person (liberty, property and security) but also should be treated as a main constituent of a nation or society who is aware of their sovereignty over society.

The civil society, which gave birth to the concept of development in the 19th century, promoted the slogan “Freedom, Equality, and Fraternity”. While they performed the above four meanings of citizens in their countries, they actually obtained their freedom by suppressing social barriers of the feudal society, establishing the equality of propertied classes and by practicing fraternity among those who own capital and power. For this reason, the more civil society developed themselves on the basis of capitalism, the more they became dependent on the state, which finally led to an era of imperialism ruled by the great powers. As Hegel has predicted, civil society in its prosperous peak, was absorbed by the state.

After WWII, development was once more controlled by the hands of states. The mechanism played out in the time of the east-west cold war rivalry and then through the globalization era. Development under the world system has brought the North-South division, serious social disparities, poverty, and environmental deterioration. And from that time, the development paradigm had shifted into human development that replaced the “economic growth above all” era.

In this era there appeared a new social actor, which was called the civil society, who re-valued the development and growth perspective. Civil society at this time contains the characteristics of the previous four dimensions but apparently they are no more the same with that of the time of Faust. In other words, the colors of the third dimension of profit making paled, and the consciousness of the fourth dimension as a citizen who is aware of sovereignty became stronger. We call this pattern of new citizens who are concerned with global issues and act positively to tackle them, “global citizens”.

These new global citizens pay more attention to associational life and co-existence with nature than development itself. They reject development from external globalism and attempt to resolve global issues by finding their roots in the local societies and thus work out their own development based on their own culture and identities. The new dynamics have gone beyond “human development” and have begun to emphasize local initiatives to promote people’s participation and environment conservation. And this dynamic is called endogenous development. Only through this new approach of endogenous development, we may expect to reverse the tendency of the worsening socio-environmental problems which derive from the capital accumulation system based on the domination of the strong over the weak and the permanent pursuit of profit. That is to say, a new dynamic, which leads to the co-existence between human beings, on the one hand, and human beings and the nature, on the other, has just started. Through the actual examples examined in various Asian countries, this has proved possible. As democratization, participation and environmental consciousness have been considered more and more as important in East and Southeastern Asia, including Japan, the key word in common is found in “civil society” and its active commitment in tackling with the revision of development and environment deterioration problems. Therefore, this paper has analyzed how the new Asian and global civil society has appeared through the initiatives of endogenous dynamics and has become the major catalyst in opening a new way to realize more balanced development and environment relationships.

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