

JICA Ogata Research Institute Discussion Paper

Mapping JICA-supported Works on Japan's Development Experience in Development Studies: Their Particularities and Potentials

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No.19
MARCH 2024

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Suggested Citation: Murashkin, N. and Maruyama, T. 2024. Mapping JICA-supported Works on Japan's Development Experience in Development Studies: Their Particularities and Potentials, JICA Ogata Research Institute Discussion Paper No.19. Tokyo: JICA Ogata Research Institute for Peace and Development.

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Mapping JICA-supported Works on Japan's Development Experience in Development Studies: Their Particularities and Potentials

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Abstract

Japan's experience of development and modernization occupies a particular place in the study of development processes. Using the UK-based / Western Development Studies as a mirror, this study examines how research on Japan's development experience connects to broader Development Studies with international implications, rather than being an isolated country-specific field of knowledge. This study focuses on JICA-supported works (research and lectures) on Japan's development experience and modernization. JICA-supported works span diverse historical and thematic issues and prioritize the study of a long-term process of structural change and instrumental/specific knowledge, describing different policies. Emphasizing the role of the state and state-building, JICA-supported works focus rather on the long-term process of modernization and development of Japan after the Meiji Restoration, than on a short-term snapshot of policy changes. Resonating with the concepts of multiple modernities and reflexive modernization, JICA-supported works emphasize practitioner expertise, practice, and empirical knowledge, while seeking to avoid a supply-driven promotion of a single development model.

Keywords: Development experience, modernization, Development Studies, Japan.

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The authors express their gratitude to the scholars and practitioners who have kindly provided feedback to this research at various stages. The findings, interpretations, and conclusions expressed in this study are those of the authors and do not represent the views of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

1. Introduction

1.1 Rationale and objective of this study

Japan's experience of development and modernization holds a particular position in various fields of knowledge relating to the study of development processes (Dore & Whittaker 2001: 50-56; Terry 2002: xiii-xxix; Francks 2015: 1-7). Japan's development profile is transversal and helps challenging the rigid dichotomies of rich North vs poor South or developed countries vs developing countries. Uniquely, Japan is a rare member' of two distinct groups of economies: it fits, firstly, with the "early late developers" of the 19th century due to the Meiji-era industrialization and, secondly, with "late late developers" (Whittaker et al. 2020: 11-12) due to Japan's post-World War II "reindustrialization" (Cargill & Sakamoto 2008: 1-2). Most countries that went through catch-up industrialization more often belong to one of these groups, rather than to both. However, Japan experienced high growth in both of these periods (Whittaker et al. 2020: 12).

Japan's experience as a "pioneer of industrialization outside the West" (Francks 2015: 169-70) and "the world's first modern and successfully developed developing country" (Matanle 2011: 423) has been widely researched in Japan and overseas and acknowledged as a case study (Cargill & Sakamoto 2008: 1; Hein 2023). This success drew interest not only in Japanese Studies but also from numerous scholars of development (such as Ronald Dore, Seymour Broadbridge and others) in the post-World War II period.

The knowledge of Japan's development experience is important as Development Studies are becoming more global, while the conceptual boundaries between North and South, developed and developing states are becoming increasingly blurred (Horner & Hulme, 2019: 351, 363, 369). At the same time, issues relating to Japan's development experience, such as state capacity, state-building, resilience, equity and the formulation of sustainable national policies in various fields of development remain topical for many developing countries.

In the above context, a major general question looms large: how does the research on Japan's development experience fit not only in contemporary Development Studies but also in the studies of modernization theory? To tackle this query, this discussion paper explores and reflects on the position and potential contribution of JICA-supported works on Japan's development experiences and its relationship to wider extant Development Studies scholarship (both Japan-themed and more general one). We explore the potential of "Development Studies from a Japanese perspective" (International University of Japan 2018) by reviewing and juxtaposing¹ representative selections

¹ We use the following meaning of juxtaposition in this instance: the fact of two things being seen or placed close together with contrasting effect (Oxford Languages).

of relevant literature in the discipline, including Sumner and Tribe (2008), with a particular focus on the UK-based scholarship. The focus on the UK is warranted by its position as one of global hubs for both Development Studies and Japanese Studies in terms of historically hosting major schools and journals in these fields.² We highlight that Japan's development experience is a part of broader Development Studies and has implications internationally, rather than being an isolated country-specific field of knowledge. While Japanese development experience evidently has its own distinct features, an overemphasis on the uniqueness or particularism of Japan's way – or any single country's way, for that matter – is reductive and has various limits (Kim 2023; Kim, Wang & Sato 2023; Koga & Katada 2023). The paper lays out JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience (including JICA's Development Studies Program), thus tracing its connections to wider Development Studies, while using the UK-based and Western Development Studies as a “mirror.”

Japan-based studies in Japan's development history and the diffusion of this knowledge have received a recent boost over recent years, as Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) launched a Development Studies Program (JICA-DSP) and Japanese development experts – both academics and practitioners – have produced dedicated multi-disciplinary scholarship. JICA-DSP launched in 2018 offers to JICA scholars an opportunity to learn about Japanese modernization and the country's development experience (JICA 2022).³ The introduction of these new sources into the scholarly discourse of wider Development Studies would carry a valuable potential for the entire field.

The paper is structured as follows: after the introduction section that sets the scene of this study, Section 2 examines the research domains of Development Studies and seeks to grasp the epistemic boundaries. The section also describes the evolution of meanings of modernization, modernity, development and Development Studies from the early postwar period to contemporary ones. Section 3 attempts to locate JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience within

² Both Development Studies and Japanese Studies have become more transnational in terms of diversity of scholars' backgrounds for a long time, as the international mobility of academic careers has increased over the past decades. Thus, while we acknowledge the debates and concerns over the dominance of certain English-speaking hubs including the UK in Development Studies, the backgrounds and perspectives of scholars in Development Studies and Japanese Studies referenced in this work transcend national boundaries and are not confined to the UK or Japan as their countries of nationality – i.e. various UK-based or Japan-based scholars cited in this paper may originally come from countries other than Japan and the UK. Internationally, the UK is one of multiple hubs in global Development Studies, while diversity across the different schools of Development Studies varies between decolonial, global and more traditional ones.

³ The participants of the program were expected to gain a deep understanding of Japan so that they may use that knowledge to contribute to the development of their home countries. JICA scholars would then be expected play a significant role as leaders in their respective fields after they return, contributing to foster a bilateral partnership between their home country and Japan.

those typologies and trends described in the previous section. Section 4 concludes with a discussion of possible avenues for further research on Japan's development experience.

1.2 Japan's development experience: a "blind spot" in contemporary Development Studies?

As far as studying Japan's development experience is concerned, Development Studies and Japanese Studies have had some overlaps in the post-World War II period in that respect. More specifically, extant English-language literature has examined many economic aspects of Japan's development experience, as evidenced by the publications of Japanese scholars and Western-based scholars working in development economics.⁴ At that time, Japan-themed studies in development economics in this case initially often overlapped with Japanese Studies – a field of knowledge that was following its own evolution pattern in the post-World War II era: over the past eight decades, Japanese Studies expanded from a narrowly specialized applied area discipline to a transnational subject with a global and internationally mobile epistemic community (Ogawa & Seaton 2020: 3-12).

Following the 1991 bubble burst, experts on Japanese economic development shifted from the studies of Japan's modernization experience to focusing on the explanation of the bubble burst and/or retreated to Japanese Studies proper (Whittaker, personal communication 2022). Furthermore, the availability of research funding for Japanese Studies was also affected adversely. As a result, despite the existence of interest in Japan among some UK-based Development Studies scholars between roughly the late 1940s and 1980s (with particular traction in the 1960s and 1970s), the research on Japan's development experience subsequently remained present in Japanese Studies internationally overall (Ogawa & Seaton 2020: 4-5), but saw its profile somewhat diminished and going off the radar in Development Studies (Matanle, personal communication, 2022; Whittaker, personal communication 2022).

At the same time, in Western scholarship outside development economics, various aspects of Japan's modernization experience were covered by historians, sociologists and other social scientists, who were mostly positioned rather within Japanese Studies than in Development Studies and specialized in the history of modern Japan and Asia, political science, economic history. For instance, when it comes to the studies of Japan's modernity in Japanese Studies proper, Marius Jansen's 2000 seminal monograph *The Making of Modern Japan* marked a milestone as a landmark comprehensive work by a Japanologist historian on the various historical transitions and developments that shaped the country from the Edo to the Meiji periods. Some scholars

⁴ See, for instance, referenced works by Seymour Broadbridge, Ronald Dore, Penelope Francks, Takafusa Nakamura and Konosuke Odaka, Richard Katz, Hoshi & Kashyap, etc.

outside the Japanologist area studies strictly speaking produced comprehensive analyses of Japan's modernization – for instance, the modernization theorist and sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt (1996, 2010).

In the above-described context of ebbs and flows in scholarly interest in Japan's modernization, the studies of Japan's development experience, including JICA-DSP and other JICA-supported works, would be an important contribution to wider Development Studies, if they are clearly positioned. They shed light on Japan-related knowledge and combine the above fields of inquiry in a multidisciplinary field relating to Japan's development experience. Development Studies as a field can benefit from paying a closer attention to the study of Japan's development experience. The scope and quality of wider Development Studies would be enhanced, as multiple elements of Japan's development experience turned out relevant to the development of other states, particularly in East Asia or elsewhere⁵.

The importance of Japanese development experience is generally acknowledged in contemporary Development Studies; however, its study often tends to be disjointed from the field's programs, overlooked or low-profile in relevant curricula (Nissanke, personal communication 2022) and barely mentioned or absent in the works (with some exceptions) on the state of the field (e.g. see Sumner 2022, Currie-Alder 2016, Corbridge 2007), as if these Japan-specific inferences were in a “blind spot.”⁶ This disjunction may be explained by the effect of Japan's so-called “lost decades” or due to the perception of Japan as “developed” and thus subsumed by the amalgamation of the “Global North”.

2. Development Studies and theories of modernization: typologies and evolution

2.1 Focus, purpose, and approach of Development Studies

This section first addresses the research domains of Development Studies. While the scope of topic and methodology in Development Studies are broad and diverse, the global concept of research domains is laid out well in Sumner and Tribe (2008), using the following three dimensions:

- (A) the focus (the definition of “development”) of the research,
- (B) the purpose of the research, and
- (C) the methodological approach of the research.

⁵ See, for instance, Nissanke and Aryeetey (2003), Kaplinsky, R., Posthuma, A. (1994), Wade (1996).

⁶ This text uses the metaphor of a vehicle “blind spot”: this refers to an area around the vehicle that cannot be directly seen by the driver. If we imagine modernization as a process of catchup and countries as vehicles involved in that process in their development, Japan could be imagined as a vehicle that has caught up and got into a “blind spot” of Western-based Development Studies.

The research domains of Development Studies are depicted as the combination of the three dimensions (Figure 1) (Sumner and Tribe, 2008).

Figure 1: Dimensions on research domains of Development Studies

(A) Focus of the research		
(A1) Development as a long-term process of structural change	(A2) Development as a short-to-medium-term outcome of desirable targets	(A3) Development as a dominant discourse of western modernity
(B) Purpose of the research		
(B1) Instrumental	(B2) Mixed	(B3) Abstraction
(C) Methodological approach of the research		
(C1) Multi-disciplinary	(C2) Inter-disciplinary	(C3) Trans-disciplinary

Note: The figure is adapted from Sumner and Tribe (2008).

The first dimension includes three categories of the definition of development: development as a long-term process of structural change (A1), development as a short-to-medium-term outcome of desirable targets (A2), and development as a dominant discourse of western modernity (A3) (Sumner and Tribe, 2008). Whereas the definition (A1) broadly covers the process of structural societal change, the definition (A2) focuses on the short-to-medium-term indicators in development goals. In the definition (A3), the concept of development was constructed in the North as a modernity and imposed on South, which was a post-modernist conceptualization of development.

As the second dimension, different studies in Development Studies can be grouped according to the purpose. Sumner and Tribe (2008) raised three categories of the purpose of Development Studies: instrumental (B1), mixed (B2), and abstraction (B3). Research with high instrumentality serves for the development of policy and/or practice. Conversely, research with low instrumentality intends to build a theory through abstraction. Mixed (B2) includes the studies which aim for both purposes.

Finally, research in Development Studies can employ different methodological approaches. The methodological approaches in Development Studies are divided into the three categories: multi-disciplinary (C1), inter-disciplinary (C2), and trans-disciplinary (C3). Development Studies can combine one or more social science disciplines such as anthropology, economics, sociology, and politics. In the multi-disciplinary study (C1), individual discipline-based researchers work within their disciplines and subsequently collaborate to develop the syntheses. Trans-disciplinary study

(C3) integrates two or more disciplines with the possibility of forming new discipline. Interdisciplinary study (C2) is situated between the two.

Similar to the dimensions in Sumner and Tribe (2008), Williams (2014) mentioned three tensions in Development Studies: (1) Development vs the problems of underdevelopment, (2) General vs Specific knowledge, and (3) Disciplinary vs Inter (Multi-) Disciplinarity. The first tension in Williams (2014) corresponds to the Development as a long-term process of structural change (A1) and Development as a short-to-medium-term outcome of desirable targets (A2) in Sumner and Tribe (2008). The second tension was similar to the distinction between Abstraction (B3) and Instrumental (B1). Based on the concept of the research domains presented in Sumner and Tribe (2008) and Williams (2014), this study develops a simple analysis framework to map Japan's development experience within Development Studies in Section 3.⁷

2.2 Modernization and modernity in Development Studies and other relevant extant literature

2.2.1 The concepts of transitive and intransitive development in extant scholarship

One of the foci of Development Studies was the long-term process of structural change of society. Research in Development Studies reviewed the process of structural change of developing countries and modeled the process of societal transformation. This subsection summarizes the evolution of central concepts in the modernization theory: modernization, modernity and development, as well as their interlinkages.⁸

⁷ In addition to the global and multi-dimensional characteristics of the concept, there are two other reasons to refer to Sumner and Tribe (2008) for our analysis in this study. First, the first author, Andy Sumner, served at that time as the UK representative to the European Association of Development Research and Training Institutes (EADI), subsequently becoming its president in 2023. The UK is one of global hubs of Development Studies and the EADI is the leading European Network in DS. More than 100 institutions from over 25 countries participate in the network. The concept of research domains proposed in Sumner and Tribe (2008) would have reflected broad discussions in DS. Second, while the work of Sumner and Tribe has been published in 2008, the concept of research domains is still relevant today. For example, traditionally, Development Studies focused on developing countries; however, in the context of globalization from the 2000s, the concerns of the research have extended to cover developed countries. Recent studies on global development cover both developed and developing countries and underline the interconnectedness of development in North and South (Sumner, 2022). While the scope of the countries was significantly expanded, the concept of research domains in Sumner and Tribe (2008) does not put a demarcation between developed and developing countries.

⁸ In terms of evolution paths, DS as a discipline has been shaped by debates on the contrasting notions and interpretations of development and the role of policy, as well as rising critical approaches, as can be seen from the reviewed literature (see also comparative works such as Cohen, E. & Macekura, S. (2022)). By contrast, Western-based modernization theory per se, or at least its early theoretical development, has seen its peak in the 1950s and 1960s (as exemplified by landmark works such as Gerschenkron (1962)), although debates on its relevance continue until today. See, for instance, Appadurai (2020); Acemoglu and Robinson (2022).

The distinction within the types of focus and purpose of development akin to the aforementioned Sumner and Tribe's concept can be found in earlier works, such as, for instance, Ronald Dore's scholarship on modernization, where he discussed the distinction between transitive and intransitive types of development and highlighted the prevalence of the 'transitive' type (Dore & Whittaker 2001, Whittaker et al. 2020: 13).

According to Dore's typology, intransitive development meant that societies were modernizing on their own via a process of social change: initially, this process took place in industrial societies and then started to occur in some developing societies. By contrast, transitive development meant that societies that were *being* modernized, that an authority was proactively modernizing them in a guided fashion, i.e. making them undergo a transformation of life in various fields in accordance with models derived from other contemporary societies, which were thought to be more advanced (Dore & Whittaker 2001: 50). Dore argued that ultimately, however, all development was in fact transitive (Whittaker et al 2020: 13), i.e. not entirely spontaneous and inevitably involving an element of guidance by the government or another authority.

Furthermore, Dore contended that a theory of intransitive modernization was unlikely to be helpful for the leaders of countries in Asia or elsewhere who are trying to modernize (Dore & Whittaker 2001). Distinguishing between the types of modernization and development brings us to the scholarly definition of these two vast terms and the link between the two. In the Japanese language, there is a similar respective distinction between the two versions of the word development *hatten* (発展) and *kaihatsu* (開発).⁹

2.2.2 Defining modernization and its link to development.

If we were to provide a straightforward definition of modernization from the era of early postwar modernization theory, the one offered by Daniel Lerner may appear particularly concise and relevant to the purposes of this paper as it evokes the topic of development. According to him, "modernization is the current term for an old process — the process of social change whereby less developed societies acquire characteristics common to more developed societies" (Lerner, D.; Coleman J., Dore R., 1968: 386).

This succinct, encyclopedic definition straightforwardly links modernization with the concept of

⁹ Mine Y., personal communication, 2023. Note also the usage of respective ideograms (kanji, or Chinese characters) in the Chinese and Japanese development lexicons and terminologies. Another potentially helpful way to understand the difference between transitive and intransitive development is to recall the grammatical difference between transitive (*tadōshi*) and intransitive (*jidōshi*) verbs: e.g. *doa wo akeru* [to open the door] and *doa ga hiraku* [door opens].

development. In turn, the definitions of development can be broadly split into two groups: those emphasizing social change, including immanent one, and those stressing purposive policy courses aimed at achieving specific results. Sumner (2022: 3) expounds the definitions of these two types in a way similar to Dore and modernization theorists:

“Development as either the intentional actions of a specific macro-agent (e.g., a government ministry post-independence or a colonial administration) versus development as stuff that happens—i.e., social change.”

Lerner’s definition above also connects to what Corbridge (2007: 179) called the “similarity principle”, whereby development policies make developing countries more similar to developed ones. A hard version of such principle would involve something like the processes of “Americanization” or “Westernization” set out by earlier modernization theorists in the 1950s, whereas weaker and more contemporary versions might propose models of late-industrialization or growth-enhancing governance, including those associated with East Asia (Ibid: 203).

Table 1 below briefly summarises the key points of evolution of the modernization theory and Development Studies that are relevant to this paper.

Table 1: Evolution of intellectual trends in the study of Japan’s development experience.

Period \ Aspects	1950-1960s	1970s-1980s	1990s-present
Transitive vs intransitive development	Larger emphasis on intransitive aspects (unintentional social change) and grand narratives	Shift in focus from intransitive to transitive (specific policies)	Larger emphasis on the transitive element
Perceptions of modernity, influential theories and intellectual strains	Single modernity Modernization theory	Shift from single to multiple modernities Dependency theory	Multiple modernities East Asian economic miracle, classical vs reflexive modernization etc.
Studies of Japan’s development experience	Within the studies of the history of Meiji, overlap between DS & JS	<i>Nihonjinron</i> theories of Japanese uniqueness	Post-bubble economy, interest in Japan remains in JS, but wanes in DS

Notes: DS: Development Studies. JS: Japanese Studies.

2.2.3 Modernities: from singularity to plurality.

The extent to which the process of modernization refers to Westernization or to other kinds of transformation brings us to the crucial issue of defining the “common denominator”, that is the

modern and modernity, or modernities.

What does the modern stand for? When addressing the issue of *the modern* and its epistemic genealogy, historian Christopher Bayly (2004: 9-10) pointed out that in the 1950s and 1960s, S. N. Eisenstadt and other liberal writers of the postwar period used the idea of the modern to denote a clutch of global developments, which combined to create a step-change forward in human organization and experience which they called “modernity”: changes in family structures under urbanization, industrialization, the notion of individual political rights, and secularism.

Modernity, according to Bayly, was a period which began at the end of the eighteenth century and has continued until present. Modernity is also “a process of borrowing and emulation, as an aspiration to be up with the times and the essential part of being modern is thinking that one is modern”. The birth of the modern world, per Bayly, encompassed the rise of the nation-state, demanding centralization of power or loyalty to an ethnic solidarity, alongside a massive expansion of global commercial and intellectual links. Leaders in various countries including Japan viewed modern state as an escape from extinction. The international spread of industrialization and a new style of urban living compounded these profound developments (Ibid.).

By the 1980s, the ideas of postwar modernization theorists, described in the previous section, were challenged by demographers, economic historians and sociologists. In Development Studies, per Currie-Alder (2016), there was a move away from earlier grand narratives, such as modernization or dependency theory, toward more modest insights grounded in realist and positivist philosophy at present. The rise of critical Development Studies also criticized the field and its core tenets for producing a pathologized Third World that needed to be reformed by the West by morphing into a Western modernity (Corbridge 2007).

The emergence of the Polanyi school in the 1970-80s gave rise to distinguishing between *multiple* modernities as opposed to a single, uniquely Western modernity (Maegawa, 1998: 166) – a distinction that has become widely acknowledged in the subsequent years (Eisenstadt 2002; Matanle 2003: 1). Japanese anthropologist Maegawa Keiji argued that until the 1970s Japanese cultural features were considered “pre-modern”, and this judgment filled Japanese intellectuals with a sense of cultural inferiority, but during the 1980s, as Japan economically prospered, the same cultural differences of Japan vis-à-vis the West came to be regarded as positive values which merited active promotion (Maegawa, 1998: 166).¹⁰ Modernization theorist Shmuel Eisenstadt

¹⁰ For instance, from the 1970s onwards, Tsurumi Kazuko’s work on the theory of endogenous development was driven by looking for development paths and processes of social change alternative to the modernization theories based on the experience of the U.S. and Britain (Omi 2023: 25).

concisely synthesized in his later works that Japan's modernity was the first non-Western multiple modernity (Eisenstadt 2010).

Furthermore, Bayly (2005: 10-12) nuanced the roles of the West and Japan in the earlier modernization, arguing that before 1914, people in most parts of the world were grappling in different ways with common modernity and were not simply imitators of the West. For some time, according to Bayly, the West was both an "exemplar" and a "controller" of modernity, however, by the mid-19th century there were many new controllers and exemplars around the world, among which Japan's partially self-fashioned modernity was the most important (Ibid.).¹¹

Research and debates on the Great Divergence, for instance by Pomeranz (2000) and Francks (2016), placed Asia, including Japan, "within a global-historical, comparative framework that does not hinge on the assumed superiority or [...] necessity of the European model of industrialization and modernization (Francks 2016: 115). Besides, a certain multiplicity of modernities has been observed within the West as well. For instance, when it comes to Western and Central Europe, traditionally perceived as "developed", modernization scholars found that the processes of modernization in different European countries and in the US also progressed at different times and different paces (Travin & Marganiya 2004).

Outside Japan-themed studies, sociologist Ulrich Beck (1992: 9-12) distinguished between a classical modernization (the modernization of tradition, or changes in traditional societies such as industrialization) and a reflexive modernization (the modernization of industrial societies, i.e. already modernized ones). Both types of modernization are applicable to Japan's development experience.

This sub-section raised several core elements important for understanding Japan's development experience in the literature on modernity and modernization. These elements include, firstly, the distinctions between the focal points of purposive development policies ("transitive development") and social change ("intransitive development") secondly, the multiplicity of modernities, and, thirdly, the stages of modernization encompassing the classical modernization of tradition and the reflexive further modernization of already modernized societies.

¹¹ A more contemporary definition of modernity, relevant for this paper, was articulated in the works of Peter Matanle on Japan's modernity. Matanle (2001) defined modernity as both a "state of mind" and a "material condition," describing it as "a transformative ethic that has as its engine pushing it forwards and outwards the positivistic and economic rationalism that is capitalism." This transformative ethic, per the author, "seeks a progressive and linear transformation of the human experience into a rationally and reflexively ordered lifescape that can be pro-actively controlled and manipulated for the purposes of providing an ever more comfortable, fulfilling, liberating, challenging, and complex life for its human architects".

3. Mapping JICA-supported works in Development Studies

This section starts by providing an overview of JICA-supported research and educational work on Japan's development experience. The second subsection then locates the position of JICA-supported works in the research domains of Development Studies. The third subsection addresses certain characteristics of Japan's modernization and touches upon the discussion of Japan's modernization in extant literature including JICA-supported works.

3.1 JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience

JICA has been involved in the production of knowledge related to Japan's development experience (see Table 2 below).¹² The early major works were the sectoral studies on Japan's development experience, i.e., educational development, health, and social security (JICA 2004a, 2004b, 2005, 2013). The studies reviewed the historical path of sectoral development in Japan since the *Meiji-ishin* and explained the policy and programs conducted by the government for sectoral issues. The sectoral study on safety water supply was added in more recent years (JICA 2017). There were several working papers of JICA Research Institute on a topic in specific sector, such as the rural life improvement in Japan (Sato 2011).

The other major type of JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience was the online lecture series program produced in partnership with the Open University of Japan (OUJ) in the JICA Development Studies Program (JICA-DSP). The program, *Japanese Modernization Lecture Series (JMLS)*, overviewed Japan's development experience since *Meiji-ishin* in a sector-wide comprehensive manner, covering various fields, including politics, law, economics, social development, and science and technology (JICA and OUJ 2020, 2022).

Table 2: List of major JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience

Type	Titles of the publications or online lectures
Sectoral studies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - JICA (2004a). <i>Development of Japan's Social Security System – An Evaluation and Implications for Developing Countries.</i> - JICA (2004b). <i>The History of Japan's Educational Development: What implications can be drawn for developing countries today.</i> - JICA (2005). <i>Japan's Experiences in Public Health and Medical Systems.</i> - Sato (2011) "Promoting Gender Equality by Facilitating Women's Collective Problem-solving Capacity Development: Japanese Experience with the Post-War Life Improvement Program and Its Application to Contemporary Developing Countries." World Development Report 2012 Background Paper.

¹² In addition to the publications or lectures in Table 2, there are a number of educational video programs produced in the JICA-Net programs. For the purpose of this study, we refer to the publications and lectures listed in Table 2.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - JICA (2013). <i>Japan's Experience with Human Resources for Health Policies</i>. - JICA (2017). <i>Japan's Experiences on Water Supply Development</i>. - Ohno et al. (2022). <i>Policy Learning for Industrial Development and the Role of Development Cooperation</i>.
<p>JMLS (JICA and OIJ 2020) and other work</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ch. 1: "Meiji Revolution: Start of Full-Scale Modernization" - Ch. 2: "Rise and Fall of the Party Politics in Japan" - Ch. 3: "Japan after World War II" - Ch. 4: "Economic Growth and Japanese Management" - Ch. 5: "Educational Development in Modernization in Japan" - Ch. 6: "From 'Asia and Japan' to 'Japan in Asia'" - Ch. 7: "A Japanese Approach to International Cooperation" - Ch. 8: "Intellectual and Social Aspects of Modernization in Japan" - Ch. 9: "Modern Japan and the Wars" - Ch. 10: "Japan and Modern International Law" - Ch. 11: "Modernization of Japan's Administrative System" - Ch. 12: "Development of Industries and Industrial Policy" - Ch. 13: "Modernization in Japan-The Fiscal and Monetary Field" - Ch. 14: "The Road to a Nation of Science and Technology" - Ch. 15: "Public Health and Health Systems in Japan a Historical Review" <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Tsunekawa (2010). "State Building, Economic Development, and Democracy: The Japanese Experience." JICA RI Working paper.</i>

Note: OIJ refers to the Open University of Japan.

3.2 Position of JICA-supported works in the research domains of Development Studies

We developed our analytical framework to map JICA-supported works in Development Studies based on the concept of Sumner and Tribe (2008) and Williams (2014) as Figure 2. In the figure, the vertical axis (Y-axis) represents "development as a long-term process of structural change" or "development as a short-to-medium-term outcome of desirable targets" (addressing the problems of under-development). The horizontal axis (X-axis) shows the distinction between abstraction (general) or instrumental (specific).

Before mapping the JICA-supported works in the figure, we reviewed them using the analytical framework. As reviewed in Appendix 1, JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience is mainly positioned in the field of "development as a long-term process of structural change" and instrumental (specific) (Figure 2). JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience describe the long-term process of development of Japan after the *Meiji-ishin*, rather than short-term snapshot of changes. They also tried to communicate the development experience for developing countries, especially JICA scholars.

Recent research in Development Studies employs empirical methods such as the randomized controlled trial (RCT) to measure the impact of the interventions on intended outcomes (Horner and Hulme 2019). While such empirical studies are instrumental (specific) similar to JICA-supported works on Japan’s development experience, they are positioned in the field of “development as a short-to-medium-term outcome of desirable targets” (addressing the problems of under-development).

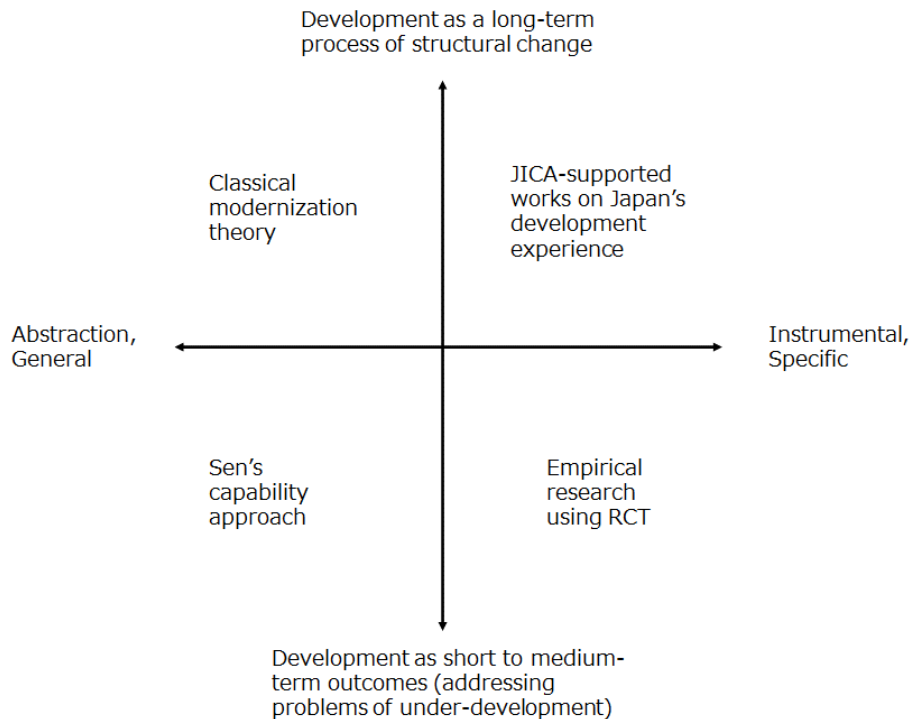


Figure 2: Mapping of JICA-supported works in the domains of Development Studies

RCT reveals whether the piloted interventions worked or not in the short-term; however, it does not clearly show the long-term orientation on policy or institutional building for the government of developing countries. JICA-supported works on Japan’s development experience describe the body of policies and programs that the Japanese government planned and implemented. As the context, motivations, and results of the policies and programs are also available from history, JICA-supported works can complement the empirical research in Development Studies with a long-term or longitudinal perspective.

On the theoretical aspect, Sen’s capability approach can be situated in the bottom-left field in Figure 2. Capability refers to a set of what a person can do or be (Sen 1992). From the perspective of the capability approach, poverty is described as a state of lack of essential set of what a person can do or be rather than simple level of their income (Sen 2000). Such theoretical framework

could shed light on the different aspects of Japan's development experience to examine the values and issues of policies and programs.

In Figure 2, while the classical modernization theory is positioned in the field of "development as a long-term process of structural change," it is situated in the field of abstract (general). As opposed to the classical modernization theory, which tried to understand the patterns of modernization, JICA-supported works focuses on a specific country and describes the development history. This focus is congenial to the perspective extended by Currie-Alder et al (2014: 3-4) who stressed the increasing importance of "policy and experience of others in order to develop ideas relevant to their own countries" (Ibid.).

In the tradition of Critical Development Studies various authors argued that development was a discourse constructed in the Global North as modernity and imposed on the South (Sumner and Tribe 2008). As reviewed in Appendix 1, JICA-supported works do not examine these philosophical questions on development in depth; instead, they focus on the depiction of the process of Japan's development experience, which is different from European countries and the United States. The description of the process of Japan's development experience would nuance and expand the scope of data and the breadth of perspectives available for Development Studies through focusing on Japan's development trajectory via acknowledging the dynamics of its various stages of development.

The purpose of JICA-supported works describes the backgrounds, development and implementation process, and the results of policy, planning, and programs in different fields, which would serve for policymakers and practitioners. As mentioned in Sumner and Tribe (2008), a long-term and broad view in the modernization theory might have a limited capacity to guide development practice. Conversely, JICA-supported works put an emphasis on the importance of practitioner expertise, practice, and empirical knowledge, while seeking to avoid a supply-driven promotion of a single model. When the similarities and differences of the context with the relevant developing countries are well captured, Japan's development experience has the potential to serve as a policy or program toolbox for developing countries. The in-depth knowledge of Japan's policies and their broad domestic context is expected to help assessing the relevance of Japan's experience for partner countries. Depending on the partner country's preferences, this knowledge also has the potential to facilitate policy transfer.¹³

The emphasis of JICA-supported work on instrumental aspects and its absence of an ambition to produce a high-level theoretical generalization has not only merits but also limits in terms of

¹³ For more details on the notion of "policy transfer" see, for instance, Cairney (2013).

relevance and implications. The historical path of development would differ across countries depending on the context. It is thus necessary for developing countries to adapt the policies and/or programs in Japan to their own country's context. Some of JICA-supported recent research has increasingly featured the integration of the concept of translative adaptation, which may yield some contribution in terms of theory.

In terms of the methodology, JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience address the specific sector using the multi-disciplinary approach. For example, JICA (2004) reviewed the educational development from different sub-disciplines such as mathematics or science education, local administration, and fiscal policy. Another notable example is *Policy Learning for Industrial Development and the Role of Development Cooperation* (Ohno et al., 2022), employing Maegawa Keiji's anthropological concept of translative adaptation and concepts of modernization.

Ohno et al (2022) tackle both Japan's industrialization and its takeaways for developing countries, combining the instrumental orientation with grounding in anthropological concepts. Without philosophically defining either the modern or modernity, the volume consistently applies the conceptual framework of modernization as "translative adaptation," advanced by the anthropologist Maegawa Keiji. This work interprets Maegawa's concept as the "process of systemic merger and the resultant dynamic interaction between a dominant foreign system and a local society" and the "adaptive acceptance of advanced systems and new culture by latecomer countries," often introduced from abroad through foreign aid and globalization, in the process of modernization (Ibid).

3.3. Characteristics of Japan's modernization and the discussion in JICA-supported works

3.3.1 Japanese conceptualizations of modernization

Japan's development experience represents both intransitive and transitive aspects of development: that is, structural social change and purposive policies with desirable outcomes.

While many state policies from the Meiji era onwards followed the intentional (transitive) pattern, they were also building on the early modern legacy of the Edo period, which provided a propitious ground for subsequent modernization while not yet setting an explicit catch-up objective.

This can be seen already in the early political thought of modern Japan, such as Fukuzawa Yukichi's ideas, and was consistently reflected in contemporary scholarship on Japan's modernity and development (e.g. Maegawa Keiji's work), both inside and outside the country. For instance, the thinking of Japan's influential intellectual of the late Edo period and Meiji era, Fukuzawa,

reflected the logic of purposive modernization¹⁴ as early as in 1875, albeit in the terms specific to his time:

“When we are talking about civilization in the world today, the nations of Europe and the United States of America are the most highly civilized, while the Asian countries, such as Turkey, China and Japan, may be called semi-developed countries” (Fukuzawa, 2009 (1875): 17-19).¹⁵

Over a century later, a contemporary Japanese anthropologist Maegawa Keiji offered a distinct interpretation of modernization, simultaneously acknowledging, nuancing, and challenging the role of the West as development benchmark. On the one hand, he argued that the essence of modernization was the adaptive acceptance of Western civilization under the persistent form of the existing non-Western culture.

On the other hand, Maegawa stressed that actors in the existing non-Western system have adapted to the new modernized system by reinterpreting each element of Western culture in their own value structure, modifying yet maintaining the existing institutions. Maegawa coined an original term “translative adaptation” to describe this phenomenon (Maegawa 1994, English translation pp.174-75).

Separately from Maegawa but with some similarity to his points on the importance of the existing value structure and institutions during modernization, the role of adaptation and pragmatism in Japan’s modernization was also stressed by the modernization theorist and sociologist Shmuel Eisenstadt. In his 1996 opus magnum *Japanese Civilization. A Comparative View*, Eisenstadt provided a detailed sociological treatise of Japan's experience with modernity as contrasted with other civilizations in history. This analysis focused on the nonideological character of Japanese civilization and its recurrent capacity to recreate community of various elements of Japanese civilization across various stages of its transformation. Subsequently, Eisenstadt’s ideas were developed into a thesis on Japan’s modernity as the first non-Western multiple modernity (Eisenstadt 2010).

As mentioned in the introduction, Japan’s development experience is distinct in combining both the industrialization history of 19th-century “early late developers” and that of the 20th-century

¹⁴ The term “purposive modernization” as a characteristic of the Meiji government policies was coined by political scientist Maruyama Masao (1965) (Matanle 2003: 25).

¹⁵ Fukuzawa then qualified his argument by stressing the then-recently achieved – as opposed to intrinsic, immanent or permanent – nature of the West’s advantage: “...although we call the nations of the West civilized, they can correctly be honored with this designation only in modern history. And many of them, if we were to be more precise, would fall well short of this designation.” (Ibid.).

“late late developers”. If we apply Ulrich Beck’s distinction between the classical modernization (the modernization of traditional societies) and reflexive modernization (the modernization of already modernized societies) to Japan’s case specifically, we would see how the country experienced both of those stages contiguously over the past 150 years. For instance, in the *Japanese Modernization Lectures Series*, scholar Tanaka Akihiko pointed to what perhaps we could interpret as an early instance of reflexive modernization – namely, the reference to *Meiji-ishin* in the 1956 White Paper by Japan’s Economic Planning Agency, which argued: “the growth through recovery is over. The growth from now should be supported by modernization.” (OUJ and JICA 2020. Chapter 3: p. 5)

Thus, the study of Japan’s development path illuminates certain elements relevant to different stages of modernization – from early industrialization to advanced challenges that other post-industrial societies are dealing with, such as rapid ageing and low birth rates. The relevance of Japan’s development experience to contemporary issues and production of cutting-edge knowledge has been conceptualized by various scholars inside and outside Japan as “advanced-in-challenges country” (Komiyama 2007), “harbinger state” (Lipsy 2023), or “pathfinder” (Matanle, personal communication 2022).¹⁶ At the same time, extant literature made the case for reconceptualizing “industrial revolution” in general and our perception of Japan’s industrialization in that framework, respectively (Francks 2021)¹⁷.

The above-described particularities of Japan’s development path and their scholarly assessment provide a conceptual footing for examining the potentials and particularities of the studies of Japan’s development experience undertaken within JICA.

3.3.2 Characteristics of the discussions of Japan’s modernization in JICA-supported works

As noted in Section 2.2, studies on modernities and modernization are distinctive works in broader Development Studies and adjacent social sciences that discuss the long-term process of structural change of society, as well as specific government policies. Based on the mapping in the previous section, this section further examines the links between JICA-supported research on Japanese

¹⁶ Furthermore, the analysis of the post-1980s transformation of Japan’s capitalism by Lechevalier (2016) argued that neoliberal policies were among the causes of the problems that Japan has faced over the past 30 years, and demonstrated how Japan’s case can help examine the diversity of capitalism in other countries, for instance, in Europe, which has experienced problems that in many ways are also comparable to those of Japan.

¹⁷ Also see the Industrious Revolution concepts by Hayami Akira and Jan de Vries. Other scholars have qualified the relevance of Japan’s “early late developer” experience in the current environment of global value chains and “compressed development” (Whittaker et al 2020). Recent Japanese publications (Sato 2023) have explored and revisited some of the core indigenous “untranslatable” concepts of Japanese development thought, such as Tsurumi Kazuko’s theory of “endogenous development” (Omi 2023).

development experience and relevant key conceptual streams in the studies of modernization and modernities. These links are summarized in Table 4 below, addressing the five key characteristics of JICA-supported works from the examined sample in this light. Table 4 is based on the authors' interpretation of how JICA-supported works engaged with the aforementioned key concepts of wider studies of modernization and modernities. This interpretation and classification are addressed in further detail in Appendix 2. As shown in section 3.3.1, the focus of this subsection is to show how modernization and Japan's development experience were viewed by some of Japan's influential thinkers and how they were later conceptualized or addressed in JICA-supported works.

First, JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience tend to acknowledge the prevailing role of pragmatism while also acknowledging the role of ideology (cf. Eisenstadt's point on the historically nonideological character of Japanese civilization) and historical dynamics between the two.

Second, they consistently emphasize adaptation and localization as opposed to universal "one-size-fits-all" solutions: i.e., 1. translative adaptation (Maegawa) of foreign borrowings to Japanese national- and local-level conditions as opposed to a "copy-paste" approach; 2. adaptation to changing external and domestic environment.

Third, the examined sample of research implicitly recognizes the multiplicity of modernities, whereby the Japanese modernity is a variation of non-Western modernities, resulting from its distinct experience of modernization and development (see, for instance, works by Maegawa, Bayly, Eisenstadt).

Fourth, JICA-supported works on Japan's development experience include both "intransitive" and "transitive" aspects of development: i.e., structural social change and purposive policies with desirable outcomes. In particular, there is an implicit emphasis of the 'transitive' aspects of development, as seen in the focus on intentional purposive modernization policies of the state (Fukuzawa Yukichi, Maruyama Masao).

Finally, conceptually the subject sample of research connects to the debates distinguishing between "classical modernization" (modernization of tradition) and "reflexive modernization" (further modernization of modernized societies) (Beck 1992), as can be seen in evoking the

postwar references of the Japanese government to modernization as imperative (Tanaka 2019).”¹⁸

¹⁸ Outside JICA-supported works, the examples of de facto addressing reflexive modernization can be found in Komiyama’s conceptualization of Japan as a country “advanced-in-challenges” (kadai-senshinkoku), or Lipsy’s concept of “harbinger state.”

Table 4: Conceptual location of JICA-supported works on Japan’s development experience in the studies of modernization and development

Modernization-related concepts and ideas	Characteristics of JICA-supported works on Japan’s development experience
Pragmatism vs ideology	Pragmatism > ideology
Adaptation vs similarity/imitation	Adaptation (e.g. translative adaptation)
Single vs multiple modernity	Multiple modernities
Transitive vs intransitive development	Both, with relative emphasis on transitive elements
Classical vs reflexive modernization	Both classical and reflexive

Among JICA-supported works, Ohno et al. (2022) is an example of study on the characteristics of Japan’s modernization, which specifies the particularities of Japan’s development experience and shows how they were translated into Japan’s development practice. Namely, Japan’s industrial development is characterized by its focus on the “components of the real sector such as human resources, technologies and firms,” while these approaches have been reflected in Japanese industrial development cooperation in various global regions (Ibid.).

Ohno et al. (2022) highlight the historical context of Meiji-era industrial development as part of Japan’s “state modernization” and locates its arguments in a robust conceptual foundation. Conceptually, the book’s approach is in line with the above-mentioned notion of multiple modernities: it stresses that “translative adaptation attaches high importance to indigenous perspectives and local learning”, contending that “development is an interactive process incorporating both foreign and indigenous’ elements” (Ibid.). The work develops this point by evoking Polanyi’s ideas of the economy’s embeddedness in society: it argues that latecomer countries face the need to acquire the foreign elements (modern technology, knowledge, and organizational structure via aid, trade, and investment by the private sector), while having indigenous elements (distinct values and social institutions) that regulate and determine the effectiveness of imported items.

4. Conclusion

This paper is based on the premise, according to which the research on Japan’s experience of modernization from non-Western background provides an extensive reference material in Development Studies. This knowledge contributes to Development Studies by expanding the field’s scope and the diversity of available data through elucidating perspectives from Japan as the world’s first non-Western state that transformed from developing into developed and through

integrating this Japan-specific knowledge more systematically into broader Development Studies.

Using works in the UK-based / Western Development Studies as a “mirror,” we showed how research on Japan’s development experience connects to broader Development Studies with international implications, rather than being an isolated country-specific field of knowledge.

JICA-supported works in this field span diverse historical and thematic issues and prioritizes the study of a long-term process of structural change and instrumental/specific knowledge, describing policies and programs that Japan’s government planned and implemented. Emphasizing the role of the state and state-building, JICA-supported works in this field focus rather on the long-term process of modernization and development of Japan after *Meiji-ishin*, than on a short-term snapshot of policy changes.

Resonating with the concepts of “multiple modernities”, classical and reflexive modernization, and transitive and intransitive development, JICA-supported works on Japan’s development experience emphasizes practitioner expertise, practice, and empirical knowledge, while seeking to avoid a supply-driven promotion of a single model. This research is mostly empirical and case-based, not theorized.

If future research addresses the above-stated limits via attempts at theorizing, further systematizing and/or generalizing in this area, this can help applying Japan’s development experience to the context of developing countries. Exploring and building linkages with other knowledge areas can create synergy, enhancing the value of JICA-supported works in this field. In terms of agenda for future research, the following topics appear to harbour tangible potential:

- Discussion of rationale for possible theoretical generalization and/or conceptualization of empirically-focused research on development experiences: this may include further exploration of the concept of translative adaptation and its validation in various other sectors outside industrialization, as well as other theories. This theoretical work can help overcome the risk of particularism in diverging and granular empirical datasets.

- Exploration of the connections of the studies on Japan’s development experience to international conceptual trends and challenges in wider Development Studies: for instance, the case for “recasting development” made by the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex, encompassing such topics as equity, inequality and justice, and other problems, such as demodernization.

- Regional and international comparisons of knowledge-sharing mechanisms in development cooperation within East Asia and wider Asia, as well as the Indo-Pacific. Building on this research via comparative analysis of various Asian practices of knowledge-sharing would put Japan's case in perspective and enable a broader understanding of the key processes in East Asia outside the confines of nation-states.

This research has the potential to enable the exploration of the criteria of relevance and irrelevance of applicable models and examples in the sharing of development experience internationally, again drawing on the challenging distinctions between particularism vs universalism when it comes to country-specific and regional-specific comparisons.

Appendix 1. JICA-supported works and the domains in the Development Studies

Appendix 2. JICA-supported works and the studies of modernity and modernization

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JICA-supported works and domains in Development Studies

No.	Title	(I)-(a)	(I)-(b)	(II)-(a)	(II)-(b)	Remarks
1	Development of Japan's Social Security System - An Evaluation and Implications for Developing Countries	✓		✓	✓	This report categorizes several Asian countries according to the maturity of the social security system and overviews the development of the social security system in Japan including the socio-economic backgrounds.
2	The History of Japan's Educational Development: What implications can be drawn for developing countries today	✓		✓	✓	This report overviews the modern history of educational development in Japan and describes policies and programs for various issues in depth. This work also explores how to apply the policies and programs in the context of developing countries.
3	Japan's Experiences in Public Health and Medical Systems	✓		✓	✓	This report overviews the modern history of public health and medical systems in Japan and describes policies and programs for various issues in depth. This work also explores how to apply the policies and programs in the context of developing countries.
4	Promoting Gender Equality by Facilitating Women's Collective Problem-solving Capacity Development: Japanese Experience with the Post-War Life Improvement Program and Its Application to Contemporary Developing Countries	✓	✓		✓	This paper introduces the historical background of the life improvement program in Japan and describes the characteristics of the program. This work also raises several examples of how the program was applied in developing countries.
5	Japan's Experience with Human Resources for Health Policies	✓		✓	✓	This paper describes the evolution of the human resource development system in health, such as medical doctors and nurses, and the socio-economic background. This work also discusses the characteristics of the system and lessons for developing countries.
6	Japan's Experiences on Water Supply Development	✓		✓	✓	This report overviews the development of water supply in the modern history of Japan and describes the topics in a holistic manner. The work also explores how to apply the policies and systems in developing countries.
7	Policy Learning for Industrial Development and the Role of Development Cooperation	✓		✓	✓	This study reviews the industrial development in Japan and examines how the policies and programs were applied for developing countries, using the concept of translative adaptation.

8	Meiji Revolution: Start of Full-Scale Modernization (OUJ-JICA Chap. 1)	✓			✓	This lecture overviews the transition of the political system in Japan through the Meiji-ishin, discussing the two aspects (restoration and revolution) and major events under the Meiji government, including the development of the constitution of the country.
9	Rise and Fall of the Party Politics in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 2)	✓			✓	This lecture overviews the development of the political parties in Japan, such as the Liberal Party and the Progressive Party, and party politics before the World War II. The work also explains the party politics under new constitution after the World War II.
10	Japan after World War II (OUJ-JICA Chap. 3)	✓			✓	This lecture overviews the modern history of Japan in politics and diplomacy after the World War II. Japan returned to the international community and realized its economic development under the 1955 system. The work also discusses the evolution of the ODA of the Japanese government in the changing environment.
11	Economic Growth and Japanese Management (OUJ-JICA Chap. 4)	✓		✓	✓	This lecture describes the development and the characteristics of the Japanese corporate system and Japanese management, using the concept of “Peoplism,” as a principle in the management of Japanese firms.
12	Educational Development in Modernization in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 5)	✓			✓	This lecture overviews the modern history of educational development in Japan, describing the policy objectives and the backgrounds of the institutional changes.
13	From ‘Asia and Japan’ to ‘Japan in Asia’ (OUJ-JICA Chap. 6)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews the diplomatic history of Japan from the 1950s to the 2000s, mentioning Japan’s alliance with the US and its shifting economic position in Asia.
14	A Japanese Approach to International Cooperation (OUJ-JICA Chap. 7)	✓		✓	✓	This lecture reviews the history of Japanese ODA after the World War II and raised the key characteristics, such as self-help (self-reliance) and emphasis on economic infrastructure. The characteristics of Japanese ODA are based on the development experience of Japan.
15	Intellectual and Social Aspects of Modernization in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 8)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews the characteristics of political thought and its social background at the early stage of modernization of Japan, specifically the period from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries. This lecture aims to present a brief picture of continuity and change of the trend of social and political thought from the Tokugawa shogunate period to the twentieth century.

16	Modern Japan and the Wars (OUJ-JICA Chap. 9)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews several wars in the modern history of Japan, including Japan's war with Qing China, the Russo-Japanese war, World War I, the Sino-Japanese war, and the Pacific War. This lecture argues that it is essential to review the origins of the wars to prevent them in the future.
17	Japan and Modern International Law (OUJ-JICA Chap. 10)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews how the Japanese government received the European international law in the Meiji Era and negated the international law by force in the modern history. It concludes by examining the conformist and reformist sides of Japan's approaches toward the contemporary international law.
18	Modernization of Japan's Administrative System (OUJ-JICA Chap. 11)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews the modern history of Japan's administration system, focusing on the development in the Meiji Era.
19	Development of Industries and Industrial Policy (OUJ-JICA Chap. 12)	✓			✓	This lecture overviews the economic and industrial development of modern Japan, and the role of government policies in that development, focusing on the period from the late nineteenth century to the late twentieth century.
20	Modernization in Japan-The Fiscal and Monetary Field (OUJ-JICA Chap. 13)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews the modern history of Japan in the fiscal and monetary field from the pre-Meiji restoration period. The lecture also overviews the design and development of public financing system after the World War II.
21	The Road to a Nation of Science and Technology (OUJ-JICA Chap. 14)	✓			✓	This lecture reviews the role of science and technology in the development of Japan, discussing the scientific standards of the Edo period, international exchange in the Meiji era, military-driven science, and the evolution of the science and technology after the World War II.
22	Public Health and Health Systems in Japan a Historical Review (OUJ-JICA Chap. 15)	✓		✓	✓	This lecture overviews the modern history of the development of public and health system in Japan and discusses the unique three approaches based on the socio-cultural background.
23	State Building, Economic Development, and Democracy: The Japanese Experience	✓			✓	This paper reviews the modern history of Japan and argues that the state-building and the economic development after 1945 both have its roots in the country's prewar experiences with state-building, economic development, and democratization.

Note: (I)-(a): long-term, (I)-(b): short-to-medium term, (II)-(a): abstraction (general), and (II)-(b): instrumental (specific). OUJ-JICA indicates Seven Chapters on Japanese Modernization and Japanese Modernization Lecture Series.

JICA-supported works and the studies of modernity and modernization

No.	Title	(I)	(II)	(III)	(IV)	(V)	Remarks
1	Development of Japan's Social Security System - An Evaluation and Implications for Developing Countries		(a)		(a)	(a)	This paper examines how Japan modified and modelled its social security systems after Western ones, when Japan could be virtually classified as a developing country in terms of its industrial structure. The report argues that this situation was unique to Japan, since Western nations began to deal with this issue only after their economic power had reached a certain level. It contends that it is not appropriate to apply Japan's social security systems to other countries without any modification. At the same time, the paper finds that Japan's experience can be useful for developing countries, as Japan's development of its original social security systems occurred while the society was dramatically changing in the trans-war period, and Japan introduced the best practices of the leading nations.
2	The History of Japan's Educational Development: What implications can be drawn for developing countries today		(a)		(a)	(a, b)	This paper examines how Japan's managed to realize the diffusion of basic education, tackling the problems of "quantitative expansion," "qualitative upgrading," and "management improvement. It addresses the role of adaptation to local conditions as a stage of policy implementation.
3	Japan's Experiences in Public Health and Medical Systems		(a)		(a)	(a)	This paper analyses the kind of policies and systems that Japan put in place, as it tackled and resolved the issues of high infant mortality rate, and a high prevalence of infectious disease such as tuberculosis. It stresses the importance of adapting health policies to the cultural, social, economic and political background of each country.
4	Promoting Gender Equality by Facilitating Women's Collective Problem-solving Capacity Development: Japanese Experience with the Post-War Life Improvement Program and Its Application to Contemporary Developing Countries	(a)			(a)	(a, b)	This paper discusses pragmatic (effective and culturally sensitive) strategies, potentially available for policy makers, which might help empower women and promote gender equality in the long term. The paper examines the experience of the Life Improvement Program (LIP), implemented in Japan after World War II.

5	Japan's Experience with Human Resources for Health Policies		(a, b)		(a)	(a, b)	This paper focuses on Japan's human resources for health policies during the period when Japan shifted status from a low-income country to a high-income country. It examines the adoption of a healthcare system and regulation, the role of western medical education and licensing, as well as the change of the role of physicians practicing traditional medicines.
6	Japan's Experiences on Water Supply Development				(a)	(a, b)	This paper discusses the history of various water resource development policies in Japan. This includes the early history of water rights and settling conflicts concerning water resources – these issues emerged as the policy of national prosperity and the drive for modernization were based on reclaiming farmland and increasing food production.
7	Policy Learning for Industrial Development and the Role of Development Cooperation		(a)	(b)	(a)	(a, b)	This paper emphasizes the concept of translative adaptation and focuses on state-driven development policies – in particular, in industrial development.
8	Meiji Revolution: Start of Full-Scale Modernization (OUJ-JICA Chap. 1)	(b)		(b)	(a, b)	(a)	This lecture delves into Japan's development history during the early modern Edo period and its implications for Meiji modernization, such as 'peace dividend' enabling education policies.
9	Rise and Fall of the Party Politics in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 2)		(a)			(a)	This lecture examines the evolution of the political party system, especially in the prewar Japan. In particular, it finds that both in prewar and postwar periods, Japan had a tradition of short constitutions, which meant that Japanese constitutionalism was hybrid, German-British and British-American, respectively.
10	Japan after World War II (OUJ-JICA Chap. 3)	(a)			(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines Japan's postwar policies, including success factors behind the stability of the 1955 system and the emphasis on modernization as a key driver for future growth in the 1956 economic white paper.
11	Economic Growth and Japanese Management (OUJ-JICA Chap. 4)		(a)		(a, b)	(a, b)	This lecture examines Japan's postwar economic growth, stressing the role of entrepreneurs and their Japanese-style management principles. In particular it addresses the idea of 'peoplism,' the people-centered way of organizing economic activities, which stands in contrast to the money-centered principle of a typical capitalistic system.

12	Educational Development in Modernization in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 5)		(a)		(a, b)	(a)	This lecture examines Japan's history of adaptive educational policies during modernization, selectively using elements from the education systems of different countries, while also building on the legacy of the early modern Edo Period.
13	From 'Asia and Japan' to 'Japan in Asia' (OUJ-JICA Chap. 6)	(a)			(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines the evolution of Japan's regional position in Asia following World War II. It addresses the role of developmentalist regimes and the politics of productivity, in particular the policies of high economic growth and improvement of the Japanese standard of living and their relationship with national security and political stability.
14	A Japanese Approach to International Cooperation (OUJ-JICA Chap. 7)		(a)	(b)	(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines Japan's approaches and principles of international development cooperation. In particular, it examines the spirit of "adopt and adapt" – for instance, in the case of legal systems development. The creation of new legal systems in this context referred to but did not copy other countries' legal systems.
15	Intellectual and Social Aspects of Modernization in Japan (OUJ-JICA Chap. 8)		(a)		(a, b)	(a, b)	This lecture examined political thought and its social background at the early stage of modernization of Japan, namely from the late eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries amid rapid Westernization, industrialization and social change.
16	Modern Japan and the Wars (OUJ-JICA Chap. 9)		(a)		(a)	(a)	This lecture examines the reasons and circumstances behind Japan's participation in various wars during its modernization history amid its adjustment to the new international system of modern sovereign states.
17	Japan and Modern International Law (OUJ-JICA Chap. 10)		(a)	(b)	(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines Japan's historical adoption of international law and argues for Japan to take an important role to positively develop international law within its own background as one of the Asian countries amid the increasing diversity in the current international society.
18	Modernization of Japan's Administrative System (OUJ-JICA Chap. 11)	(a)	(a)		(a)	(a)	This lecture examines the modernization of Japan's administrative system, in particular how Japan developed a strong bureaucracy as an essential instrument to "catch up" with the technically more sophisticated nation-states of the West, while being a latecomer to the industrial revolution.

19	Development of Industries and Industrial Policy (OUJ-JICA Chap. 12)		(a)		(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines the economic and industrial development of modern Japan. In particular, it focuses on the role of government policies in that development, including institutional development and technology adoption.
20	Modernization in Japan-The Fiscal and Monetary Field (OUJ-JICA Chap. 13)		(a)	(b)	(a, b)	(a, b)	This lecture examines the modernization of Japan's fiscal and monetary system. It advances the case for an appropriate balance to be found between domestic deepening and internationalization. The lecture discusses Japan's financial system in the early modern Edo-period and its subsequent modernization, which involved successfully integrating its domestic activities
21	The Road to a Nation of Science and Technology (OUJ-JICA Chap. 14)		(a)		(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines how Japan adopted Western European and American science and developed these for its own benefit during different periods of modernization, while initially being influenced by the Chinese civilization earlier in its history.
22	Public Health and Health Systems in Japan a Historical Review (OUJ-JICA Chap. 15)		(a)		(a)	(a, b)	This lecture examines the development of the public health and health systems in modern Japan, identifying their characteristics and the socio-cultural background which enabled such policies.
23	State Building, Economic Development, and Democracy: The Japanese Experience	(a)	(a)	(b)	(a)	(a, b)	The paper focuses on the central role of modern state-building in Japan's development history. It addresses important reasons behind the adoption of the Meiji constitution and parliament: the renegotiation of unequal treaties and reducing resistance to government policies. Furthermore, it stresses the primary importance of Japan's prewar experience for its postwar democratization.

Note: (I): pragmatism (a) vs ideology (b), (II): adaptation (a) vs similarity/imitation (b), (III) single (a) vs multiple modernity (b), (IV) transitive (a) vs intransitive development (b), and (V) classical (a) vs reflexive (b) modernization.

Abstract in Japanese

要 約

日本の開発・近代化の経験は、開発プロセスの研究において特別な位置を占めている。本稿は、英国を拠点とする西欧における開発研究に照らし、日本の開発経験にかかる研究が、他国との関連性の薄い隔絶されたものではなく、開発研究の枠組みに位置づけられ、国際的意味合いを持つことを論じる。日本の開発経験・近代化にかかる研究のうち、本稿では JICA の支援のもとで実施・作成された研究や留学生向け教材に焦点を当てる。JICA の支援のもとで実施・作成された研究や留学生向け教材では、様々な歴史・テーマに関し、長期的な構造変化のプロセスや、政策のレビューを通じた実践的知識の提示に重点が置かれている。また、JICA の支援のもとで実施・作成された研究や留学生向け教材は、国家や国造りを重視し、政策変化にかかる短期的スナップショットよりも、むしろ明治維新後の日本の近代化・開発の長期的プロセスに焦点を当てている。一元的な開発モデルの推進を避けつつ、「複数の近代 (multiple modernities)」や「再帰的近代化 (reflexive modernization)」の意義にふれながら、JICA の支援のもとで実施・作成された研究や留学生向け教材は、実務家の専門知識や開発政策の実施、経験的知識の重要性を強調している。

キーワード: 開発経験、近代化、開発研究、日本