

The spectrum of endogenous development: In search of a conceptual red line

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Introduction

The discussion on endogenous development within the COMPAS network gears very much around the revitalization of cultures that suffer from neo-liberalism, agricultural modernization and western scientific approaches. Europe is usually identified with 'the West'. The question then arises: what does endogenous development mean in Europe?

It is possible to answer that question by highlighting the various struggles of local groups of farmers, citizens, entrepreneurs and scientists to develop alternatives. But by doing so, we do not bring the concept of endogenous development to another level. I would like to go a step further, and point to the characteristics of these struggles on a more abstract level, which, in my view, highlights more of the essences of endogenous development. It leads me to recognize a conceptual red line among the various manifestations of endogenous development.

This chapter explores – very tentatively – this conceptual red line that may unite different efforts on endogenous development. In this chapter, endogenous development is considered as an ongoing transformational process, in which worldviews (and subsequent actions) are continuously reconstructed. The chapter is exploratory and experimental in character, and at the same time ambitious, as it hopes to offer a common umbrella. It should be considered as a first attempt, to be improved in future versions.

I begin by describing my personal engagement with the topic, and the sources from which I write. I then identify the current endogenous development efforts that take place at a global scale, like the low external input and sustainable agriculture (LEISA) approach, participatory learning and action (PLA) approaches, the COMPAS network, the European Leader approach and so on. Then, I qualify these efforts by describing the paradigm they aim to develop an alternative for. A three-levelled diagram arises, in which different endogenous development processes of different orders take place. These processes are qualified as liberating processes. That means that they are viewed against a cultural context that is perceived as unsupportive – and sometimes as oppressive. The levels are the global, the local and the individual.

Endogenous development takes place vis-à-vis an encompassing context. This means – very roughly – state versus group (global level), group versus individual (local level) and the individual versus itself (individual level). I argue that we need to take action at all levels, in order to achieve maximum effect. Yet needs and possibilities are different around the world and may give rise to different emphasis and practice. For example, I argue that in developing countries, current emphasis and practice lies on the first two liberating struggles, whereas in Europe this is on the second and third.

Finally, I make a plea to recognize the shared essentials of the different liberating movements. The recognition of these shared essentials help us recognize that work should be done at all levels in order to make progress. Likewise, the emerging European Network for Endogenous Development and the Global Alliance for Endogenous Development will need to engage with all three levels.

My personal engagement

This chapter is a logical outcome of the development I underwent as a professional working in the field of rural development. Until approximately 1999, I was working as a researcher, trained in agroforestry (Mexico) re-educated as a rural sociologist (Spain), and returned to The Netherlands to write a PhD on endogenous rural development based on my Spanish experience (Remmers, 1998). I then left science to dedicate myself to constructing development in practice, and established myself as a process architect in regional development; I swapped, so to speak, analysis for synthesis. In the late 1990s I lived through personal crisis, and got in touch with my inner world. I discovered that my personal development process showed so many similarities with the processes I witnessed in rural development that it has puzzled me ever since. As a practitioner, I apply whatever insight I gained through these crises in my professional work. This chapter is an effort to pull things together. While writing, I realized that the practitioner in myself at present has more weight than the scientist: I didn't find it easy at all to gather scientific 'proof' of my basically intuitive insights. You will see it ahead, please be considerate and I welcome any suggestions.

The decisive clue for this paper I received when visiting AGRUCO in Cochabamba (in January 2005). The rebellious tone struck me a lot and seemed so different from the processes I was involved in in The Netherlands. But that was only at first sight, I realized. The Geneva meeting in October 2006 presented a proper moment to condense some of the thinking. Participating in the Maya ceremony at the meeting was the most enriching moment for me, a ceremony so intimate to my Guatemaltecan friends and yet I could be fully with them. I experienced a shared spiritual space, even though the words I and they would give to it were different.

Development from local resources

Currently, quite a lot of attention is being paid to ways of pursuing regional and agricultural development that are based on local resources: natural resources, local ecology, biodiversity, local knowledge, local institutions, local culture and cultural history. It can be recognized in various 'disguises'. In the South there are LEISA approaches to agriculture, the agro-ecological debate (Guzmán Casado et al, 2000), ecological farming, PLA, COMPAS (Haverkort et al, 2003). In the European context are the Leader development approach, styles of farming approaches (van der Ploeg and Long, 1994), the Alimenterra group seeking to develop regional products Europe-wide (www.alimenterra.org), rural parliaments (Halhead, 2005), the Dutch belvedere

policy that integrates cultural history in spatial development and planning (Feddes, 1999), and interactive planning approaches.

All of these approaches aim to empower people to define and develop their own, locally adapted, sustainable way of living. They all build on practical examples in the field. At the same time, they have often grown against the background of agricultural modernization and globalization processes. These latter processes are viewed as threatening the quality of life in the concerned areas by applying homogenous standards and denying people's capacity to promote and develop new and inspiring ways of dealing with a changing world, ways that give them pride, self-esteem and power over their lives. It is the resistance and dislike of these processes that awoke the urge to articulate alternatives to them. Hence, these efforts can be viewed as processes of localisation, which I define as attempts to change the rules of interaction between the global and the local, taking the local as a reference point (Remmers, 1998; 1999).

Three levels, three contexts, three liberating processes

The main context of the debate on endogenous development has been the globally dominant, western and science-driven development impetus. Serious question marks were placed regarding the supremacy of western science, and meanwhile an impressive body of other knowledge has become visible and recognized. Similarly, critical question marks were placed regarding the development view embedded in western culture. The COMPAS publications abound with contributors pointing this out (see Haverkort et al, 2003; Haverkort and Reijntjes, 2006). Its alleged non-sustainable nature has led to numerous alternative development proposals.

It is valuable to observe that for developing countries this struggle emerges often as an intercultural process (local culture versus non-local westernized cultures), whereas the endogenous development processes in the western countries can be typified as intracultural struggles (individual 'culture' versus dominant local culture). Of course, this distinction is only a matter of emphasis, in reality both types of processes take place all over the world. In Europe, for example, the struggle of the French farmer leader Jose Bove has more of an intercultural clash (France versus MacDonaldis) than of an intracultural clash. In Bolivia the intercultural process is not only viewed vis-à-vis 'foreign western invaders', but also vis-à-vis more westernized cultures within Bolivia itself, whereas the intracultural dialogue refers to a debate among the Andean cultures themselves (see Escobar, 2006).⁶

We can thus see that intercultural and intracultural processes refer to two levels at which endogenous development takes place, and hence two different contexts that are regarded as not-supportive to people's identity, culture, wisdom and so on, and for which an alternative is sought. Yet, what I want to highlight here is the fact that endogenous development processes also take place at a third level, that I call

⁶ I fact, I am indebted to the colleagues from AGRUCO in Bolivia, who introduced me to the concepts intercultural and intracultural dialogue, even though I may give them a slightly different meaning here.

individual. This is the process in which an individual searches for his or her true self and qualities, and tries to bring them to expression, in search of meaningfulness and true satisfaction. It is a process taking place within the person, intrapersonal so to speak, of the type Zajonc (2006) would call humane endogenous development. Paradoxically, the unsupportive context is located in the person itself, and is therefore one of the most difficult endogenous development processes to pursue. There is no longer somebody else to blame, no 'other' somewhere around the person.

I view the intercultural, intracultural and intrapersonal processes as contingent processes: they do affect each other, they have an intimate interplay, yet there is no strict causality between them. So even though emphasis may differ from time to time, we can't get away with working with only one or two of them. In order to acquire mutually enforcing strength, it is necessary to work with all three processes, at all respective levels, not only in practice, but also in policy and science. See Figure 1 for a graphic representation of the three levels and three types of endogenous processes.

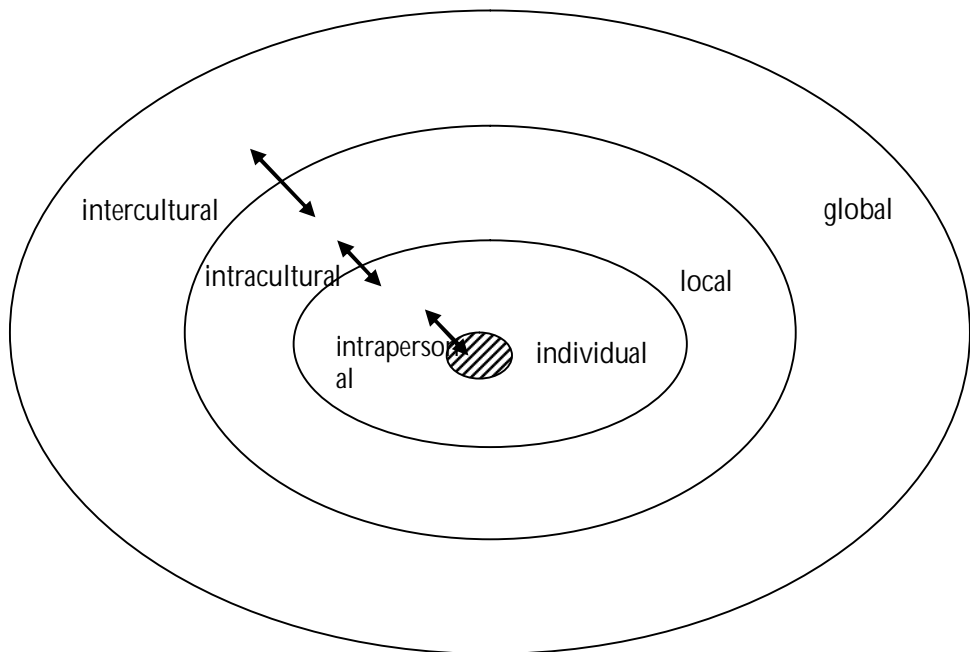


Figure 1 Three levels of endogenous development (global, local and individual) and three processes of endogenous development (intercultural, intracultural and intrapersonal)

Global, local and individual

The terms global, local and individual are not meant to be exact indicators of scale. They merely indicate relative positions. The global context is the context an actor views as 'alien', as something that he/she does not really belong to, that he hardly helps to constitute. The local context is the context an actor feels he/she belongs to,

forms part of, as something he/she does actively contribute to, even though the actor may not be fully at ease with this context. Finally, the individual context is the context that an actor thinks to identify completely with, the 'self', a context that does not allow any escape. It is the mindset, the worldview so to say, that provides the perspective against which the events of life are being judged.

Apparently, there is a contradiction when I speak about an individual context and at the same time qualify this context as something one identifies with. It is, however, my experience, that our own worldview is not always supportive to our self. In general, we have created this mindset as a way to stumble through life, to survive. We easily identify with it, as we are hooked up with survival, but very often we mistakenly take it for our true identity. There is something beyond what we call our 'nucleus'.

A closer look

Let us now review again the three levels and corresponding liberating processes. In the South, the movement of endogenous development refers basically to the struggle of the local people to come to grips with their own culture and identity, and to become free of western prejudices. It is about redefining local cultures, local identity and so on. It is a minority culture against a massive, dominant culture, manifested in education, religion, commercial entities and such like. In different countries it has different manifestations: sometimes state against specific groups, sometimes dominant economic classes against certain groups, sometimes a dominant cultural (religious) group against 'minority' groups (indigenous cultures, women, black people). It is also the struggle of innovative farmers and civilians against the routines and regimes of national institutions.

A second level is the struggle of the individuals against the group they belong to. This is the struggle for individualism, for self-expression, for being different (for example the struggle of homosexuals or women). It is the level where I would locate the rural development efforts of pioneering individuals. Those who developed biological farming, or the ones who embark in sector-overriding rural development initiatives typical of Europe under the so-called LEADER programme,⁷ those who founded environmental cooperatives as free-havens to experiment with innovative ways of regional landscape management (like the Dutch VELVANLA, see De Rooij, 2006), or those who found innovative public-private partnerships to enable complex development process, like the Fundación Penyagolosa in Castellón, Spain (see Remmers, 2007a). Again, these are all quite readily recognizable endogenous development efforts.

The third level is the struggle of the individual with itself. It is about the instinct for survival and selfishness, of routines that we believe to suit our lives, but that however are not supportive of who we are or can be. It is about the control of our self-created paradigms on who we are, how other people are and so on; paradigms that continuously recreate our existence in 'that what we know'. We tend to conflate

⁷ The European LEADER programme stands for '*Liasion Entre Actions de Development Rural*', and has been since the early 1990s the most important EU-programme to stimulate integrated, area-based rural development.

our thoughts with who we are, and are therefore unable to see things 'as they are'. This is not a plea for value-free judgements, but for a type of observation that is descriptive rather than analytical, compassionate rather than detached. It is a plea for an 'ethnography of the soul', and I argue that there are states of minds in which this observation can take place. In these states we are able to see that we are not identical with our thoughts, and that we can distinguish between the observer in ourselves and that which we observe, and that this observation can take place from a non-judgemental position (Walsh, 1999). This is also the essence of meditation: observe thoughts and physical occurrences without going along with them.

I would not want to give the impression that this third level of endogenous development is essentially an 'individual thing' without any bearing for sustainable rural development. I believe that changes at this level have a crucial impact in our efforts at the other two levels. In The Netherlands, for example,, we observe numerous initiatives of citizens that operate on a very small scale (the house, the street, the neighbourhood), in which people redefine their own being in the world by relinking with their immediate surroundings and fellow citizens. Not in vain, the Dutch philosopher Vintges (2003) calls them 'efforts of spiritual self-creation'.

All levels occur in all places; however, some liberation struggles receive more emphasis and are more needed in other places than elsewhere. The first and second level struggles, for example, are the dominant struggles in developing countries, whereas in the West the second and the third are of increasing importance. See Table 1 for a tentative qualification of the differences between the three levels.

Level	Intercultural	Intra-cultural	Individual, intrapersonal
Context	Global ('alien') national	Local (own group, peers, familiar)	Individual ('self')
Exponents	Community or movement leaders	Lonely pioneers, traditional leaders	Hermits, wisdom seekers
Who is the other?	The rest of the world, the others in their own country	The ethnic group	Your 'dark' side
Geographical focus	Regional development	Regional development, community development	Individual
Most important struggle	Cultural dignity and expression, solidarity	Individualization, liberate oneself from the tight schemes of one's own culture, reconciliation with own cultural identity	Self-expression, liberate oneself from one's own convictions, attain own potential
Struggle/confrontation style	Social pressure, revolutionary movements, 'other' globalism, peaceful resistance	Breaking out of the group, coming home to own culture	Self-acceptance, introspection, energetic analysis, learning from (sub)consciousness, dreams
Classical integrationalist discourse	Gaia, it is about the reproduction capacity of the world, freedom, diversity	Overcome sectoralist thinking, particular interests, it is about the region	Uniting body and soul, uniting hearts, heads and hands
Main 'pitfall'	Nationalism, 'blut und boden', isolationism	Etnocentrism, romanticism	Spirituality in a narrow, self-referential sense, Hedonism
Relation to the context as a result of the 'pitfall'	Scape-gotism (fundamentalist negation of the other), violence	Indifference (retreatment to islands of self-expression)	Detachment (spirituality without meaning for the world)
Challenge	Search for own institutions, regional products, biodiversity, NRM, solidarity with other groups, autonomy	Finding likeminded people to gather strength	Search for true satisfaction and contribution to a larger whole
Key value to develop	Collaboration, listening to each other, respect for diversity and autonomy	Tolerance, mercy, self-esteem, self-criticism	Integrity
EU polices/programmes at work	LEADER/COMPAS	LEADER/COMPAS	No policy, welfare programmes, organizations
Contributing disciplines	Anthropology, economics, politicology	Sociology, ecology, transition management, complexity theory	Psychology, spirituality, philosophy
Lessons given to other levels	Go beyond your own preferences and contribute to the larger cause of your group (a larger whole)	Go beyond the norms of your own group and dare to be different subsequently, dare to acknowledge that you belong to a specific culture that differs from the mainstream	The other is within yourself, personal growth is a potential for everybody
Examples of liberating movements	Movimento Sem Terra, indigenous struggles worldwide, local action and initiative groups in Europe	Homosexuality, female emancipation	Spirit mediums, self-growth or self-management movements
Research style	Comparative, qualitative, ethnographic, action research, transdisciplinarity	Comparative, qualitative, social learning, ethnographic, action research	Meditation, bioenergetics, epistemology of love

Table 1 A tentative effort to qualify endogenous development processes at three levels

Some key concepts for the conceptual red line

In my opinion, the three discerned levels are not only connected, but do also present a spectrum of endogenous development. That means that the endogenous development processes (intercultural, intracultural and intrapersonal) at all these levels have some key elements in common, even if their expressions differ greatly. Recognizing these shared elements may help us value the endogenous development efforts at different levels in different parts of the globe. There are at least three headings that may group important concepts for 'adding flesh to the conceptual bone': context consciousness, identification processes and turmoil, and transition (see Table 2). I try to sketch them below; please be aware that this is quite exploratory in nature and not fully matured.

<i>Key concept</i>	<i>Level</i>	Individual	Local	Global
Context consciousness				
Identification processes and change in turmoil				
Transitions and strategy				

Table 2 Key concepts shared by endogenous development processes at all levels, with different expressions at all levels

Note: The table is not filled on purpose, see text.

Context consciousness

Without understanding the context against which all things in life are seen, one is unable to transform anything at any of the three levels. What matters to me is the *awareness* of the context, and not so much the context itself.

In the above, I have portrayed endogenous development as a struggle with an unsupportive context. A context is seen as unsupportive or even oppressive when one has the idea that from this context no input arrives that helps to strengthen one's own development potential. Some sociologists (for example, Van der Ploeg et al, 2004) speak about 'regimes' instead of contexts. Dominant regimes exert alignment forces to accommodate all that deviates. Endogenous development, then, would be the struggle to by-pass these forces of alignment.

In order to deliver this struggle, one needs a consciousness of the context (or regime); without this consciousness, one merges unknowingly with the context, incapable of any purposeful action. Now this may seem evident at the local and the global level, it is less so at the individual level. Consciousness about the context we create as individuals day by day is extremely important. This context may include ideas and convictions such as 'I have faith in my resources and capacities', or the opposite: 'I am not good enough'. It leads to routines, patterns (or regimes), evolutionary and psychological shortcuts that help us out at some point in life, and may not do so anymore at other points. The type of context created leads to entirely different actions (see for a Slovakian case, De Rooij, 2006).

Hardly necessary to say that if the context is not seen as unsupportive – but rather as supportive – no struggle needs to be delivered. Yet, I still believe we can speak about endogenous development. It will take the shape of maintenance, and is about a continued and adaptive finetuning of the regime one operates in. But that is food for another paper (see for an elaboration in Dutch, Remmers, 2007b).

Processes of identification and turmoil

Processes of identification

Now, who is struggling with the context? This is what I call, provisionally, the 'self'. This self can be found at all three levels: the individual, the local and the global self. It leads to claims such as: 'this is who I am', 'this is who we are, this is our culture', or 'this is who/what/how the worlds is'. I argue that the struggles we see are efforts of identification, that means, efforts to make the self coincide with the context. If this struggle is successful, we are happy, if not, we are in trouble.

We have strong tools at our disposal to establish this identification. One of them is our incapacity to tolerate cognitive dissonance. I borrow the concept from Røling (2006, citing Festinger, 1957). This incapacity aims to smooth out the differences between the self and the context. Cognitive dissonance aches, it hurts. Yet, put in a positive way: we have a tremendous capacity to adjust the self to the context and vice versa. This is a capacity for creating coherence, to make things fit, even against all odds. It is the capacity to selectively observe things from our surrounding world, or from ourselves, in order to make our worldview match with what we see. The incapacity of tolerating cognitive dissonance could also be termed self-referentiality.⁸

Another way of creating coherence is what Røling labels 'correspondence': the capacity to adapt successfully to a changing context by changing the self.⁹ He mentions the adaptations of the Inuit people of Canada to their changing habitat.

So, I view the intercultural, intracultural and intrapersonal endogenous development processes as processes of identification. Generically, in these processes we conceive of two basic options for action: either change the context, or change the self, with different expressions:

Change context

- Simply ignore (parts of) the context (individualism), I try to do it on my own, isolation from the context in order to preserve the self (and 'die in beauty')
- Refuse the context, battle it
- Create another context (lobbying, pressure groups, scientific efforts)

⁸ Self-referentiality has a bad smell intellectually, yet, it is important to remember that it is also a tremendous capacity to make things match. It is usually the capacity needed to go from making plans to implementing them.

⁹ Please note that the concept of correspondence is used by Røling in a normative sense, whereas I would want to stress the fact that establishing correspondence is the same as establishing coherence: it is about making our worldview match with what occurs in the world. I prefer to speak about process of identification, because it stresses the agency of the actors involved in establishing the correspondence or coherence.

- Impose one's own values on others (imperialism, terrorist attacks)

Change the self

- Ignore or give up one's own aspirations, dreams, sense of pride, cultural and natural, resources, value, self-esteem (ex-communist countries, 'marginal' areas)
- Surrender to the demands of the context

The above mentioned ways of establishing correspondence between self and context can be understood as 'flight and fight' mechanisms. They doubtlessly have their evolutionary value. Yet endogenous development, as I see it, aims to overcome these rather instinctive, evolutionary grown reactions by a process of reflection and (re-)discovery of what is really important to us, and then develop an alternative context, while engaging with the current one.

This process of reflection typically is a process where the capacity to phase out cognitive dissonances doesn't work anymore. That is usually the case when the advantages of self-referentiality no longer outweigh the disadvantages. One of the great advantages of self-referentiality is that dissonance and pain aren't felt. To a young boy, this can be tremendously important, for example, when his father dies. Continued mourning over this loss can result in total inactivity and loss of esteem by his friends; behaving brave and ignoring the pain gives him the social comfort of his friends. He may develop a way of being that suits him well and helps him through life, for example, through hard work. At a later age, the ignored pain may show up as the strategy developed as a boy no longer works. Then, another capacity may come into place: a capacity to sustain pain, discomfort. Not in the sense of resisting pain, but in the sense of 'being with' the pain or discomfort. When we are able to face the pain, transformational shifts can occur that may give rise to alivened being and a sense of this is why I/we are on earth. And this process is essentially what endogenous development is to contribute to: a continued homecoming.

Translated to agricultural development processes at the local and global level, we might say that after World War II, the Dutch efforts to modernize agriculture were fully logical against the context of 'no more hunger, let's assure our national food security'. This context was rather 'small', very few other issues were relevant. Yet, in the latter part of the 20th century, environmental and rural development issues have become much more important ('richer' context); the modernization approach even started to produce counter-productive effects as regards food security (for example, the crisis with the foot and mouth disease in the late 1990s). A totally different approach was needed. However, a substantial part of the agricultural sector did not want to acknowledge this, as it would undermine all the things it had believed in for so long. It was only when civil protests against modernization approaches became a political and economic factor (and hence a more dominant context), that the old convictions of this part of the agricultural sector really started to hurt the sector itself; the snake bit its own tail and it was painful. We now witness a gradual shift even among the most 'conservative' bodies, acknowledging a changed context. In fact, in both the example of the boy and the agricultural sector, we can speak of a process of mourning and acceptance of a loss. Both processes would qualify for me as endogenous development processes, as odd as it may seem, especially in the 'agricultural case'.

Endogenous development thus aims to strengthen one's identity and build a new context in which one's own resources and dreams can thrive, while at the same time allowing for others to define their own identity. Endogenous development takes a close look to one's own identity, considers what is really important, does the same with the context and looks for a match. The process of identification works both ways: vis-à-vis the self and vis-à-vis the context.

I believe that processes of identification are very helpful in guiding people towards that what is important to them, but at the same time have no fixed end point. Often, evolutionary survival impulses make us become fixed on a certain identity, whereas this is a mere incapacity of conceiving and accepting an encompassing connectedness with all that lives. This is at least what spiritual leaders tell us. Yet this cannot be the new paradigm to be imposed on us all. We need to find a pragmatic balance between reestablishing a balance with what we consider to be our individual, local and global identity and resources, and a continuous drive to find more fundamental shared values and resources.

Some scholars may feel my argument leads to the recognition of something that is the essence of a region, a person, the unique explanatory source of all. I am weary of that. What I coin here is a proposal to peel-off a series of believed identities and worldviews, which, in the end, I believe will make evident that there is no essence to which everything can be pinned down. It will, however, lead us into the domain of spirituality and highly subjective investigation. In the domain of spirituality, paradoxes abound: there is an essence and yet not, it is everywhere and nowhere. Wilber has made a tremendous effort to link spiritual with (trans)psychological research (see Wilber, 2000; or Visser, 2001).

Change in turmoil: Options at chaos points

The above examples (the boy and agricultural development) lead me to recognize the work of Ervin Laszlo (2006), especially his drive to point out that societal development can be conceived of stadia of build-up, stability and chaos. In chaos we have two options: either we are able to sustain the turmoil and the pain and take a step towards a new and higher order of complexity, or we don't and regress to lower orders of complexity. It occurs to me that in our globalized societies we need a tremendous capacity to sustain turmoil and uncertainty. The temptation to 'eradicate' confusion is evidenced by a call for 'strong leaders' and development options that exclude minority groups, reducing complexity. Yet, the only way to develop this societal capacity is to acknowledge that the transformational processes at the local and the global levels are buttressed by the same processes at the individual level. The experience of chaos points to something most of us live through on a daily basis. Or maybe I should write: on a daily basis we are presented with several minor and major chaos points, each of them representing opportunities for growth or regression. It depends on our view of the context (supportive/unsupportive) and on the way we deal with our capacity to (in)tolerate cognitive dissonance (do we want to see what is being presented to us?), and what we do with such learning options.

Transition processes: Strategic interlocking of endogenous development processes

Linking endogenous development between three different levels demands quite something of the individuals and institutions involved. It is unlikely that change will occur overnight; instead, resistance against this subjectivized and personalized conceptualization of development is very likely. Even so, demanding others to engage in endogenous development at the individual level is not effective nor respectful. Even though I think that honest scrutiny of one's individual endogenous development process is vital to strengthen endogenous development at local and global levels (both conceptually and practically), individuals are rather vulnerable in a context that doesn't value this. So what we need is that endogenous development processes at different levels start to interlock and engage with each other. If done successfully, we might speak about a transition.

Rotmans (2003) describes three levels where transitions operate: the micro, the meso and the macro level. Stated shortly, the meso level consists of the status quo, dominant thinking and dominant practices; the macro level consists of the wide and visionary panoramas delivered by freethinkers, and the micro level refers to practice, with a day-by-day experience of the inadequacy and inappropriateness of the rules and codes being delivered by the meso level. At micro level the anger and the call for change is situated, the first attempts to create something different, which however are mostly doomed to fail because of the iron grip of the meso level. This will only change after being informed by unsuspected persons or occurrences at the macro level.

So, contradictory as it may seem, strategy is needed to engage with full vulnerability and sensibility in endogenous development processes.¹⁰ The creation of unsuspected context is hence vital to transitions. In this context, vulnerability (or chaos) is not seen anymore as something to overcome, but as a something that generates value.

How to go forward?

In the above, I have tried to sketch in an intuitive way the relationship between endogenous development at three interconnected levels. My stance is that for progressing practice, policy and science for rural development, we are in need of mutual recognition of the essential similarities of processes at these levels. I believe that different disciplines use concepts that are very helpful to describe, analyse and make explicit the processes that take place. This chapter has only given a hint of these concepts and should hence be elaborated as a vital third 'ring' of endogenous development the individual level emerges. We have to be inclusive with respect to the world around us, and with respect to the world within ourselves.

¹⁰ Spiral dynamics, a vision on spiritual growth of mankind (Beck and Cowan, 2003), may be helpful in this.

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