UNIVERSIDAD DE GRANADA

Democracy in Japan and the Role of Neighborhood Associations

Kyoko Ito-Morales

Tesis Doctoral
Programa de Doctorado en Ciencias Sociales

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Abstract

Democracy is the most used and accepted form of governance in the contemporary world; it is believed to be the best, or at least the least bad world to live because their fundamental rights and liberty are respected, yet at the same time the commitment for common good is recognized under democracy. Also, it is realizable not only at the international and domestic politics level but also at everyday life such as within civil associations, work places, classrooms, and among friends. The democratic practice at the nearer community can contribute the generation of democratic culture, and furthermore promote the better democratic nation. Furthermore, it needs to be cultivated day by day to deepen its quality; it is a never-ending endeavor. However, the modern democracy is facing crisis due to several social problems such as extreme individualism, political corruptions, and political indifference, among others. In addition, difficulties of applying theories of democracy into the real world, especially to non-Western contexts have been casting doubt about the universality of Western-based theories and cultural assumptions.

Taking these issues into consideration, this thesis aims to challenge the unfading debate on the quality of democracy, especially in the non-Western contexts by taking the example of Japan. Studies on democracy have been carried out from diverse perspectives, yet this study approaches from the discipline of civil society and social capital. Following their assumptions on the positive role of civil voluntary association for the promotion of healthy democracy, I explore the role of neighborhood associations (NHAs) in Japan, the widely spread and the largest in number organizations, to test the theories in the non-Western background.

The findings unveil the non-voluntary aspects of Japanese NHAs, their deep interdependent relationships with public authorities, the important and increasing responsibility for the disaster management, as well as their locally-limited contribution for the generation of social capital and some kinds of civil and political skills. Yet, in terms of making better democracy, in spite of their potentiality, Japanese NHAs have not been fulfilling their role for democracy due to their internal factors (closed and conservative atmosphere, hierarchical structure, and undemocratic practices), and the external factors (aging society, lack of young members, Asian communitarianism or Japanese groupist culture, and continuous danger of natural disasters).

This research contributes to the scholarly debate in three ways. First of all, it progresses the discussion on the universalism of Western-based theories as well as the limit of regional particularism. Second, it forwards the study on Japanese NHAs quantitatively and qualitatively, in addition from the perspective of their role for better democracy. And finally, it adds the new findings and observations on the role of neighborhood associations after the tragic experience of

Higashi Nihon Earthquake, which have not been studied sufficiently yet, therefore need more research.

Resumen

La democracia es la forma de gobernar más utilizada y aceptada en el mundo contemporáneo. Se cree que es un mundo mejor, o por lo menos, menos malo para vivir, porque en ella los derechos y libertades fundamentales son respetados, al mismo tiempo que el bien común está reconocido. También, la democracia es realizable no sólo en el nivel de la política doméstica o internacional, sino también en la vida cotidiana, como en las asociaciones civiles, lugares de trabajo, aulas y entre amigos. Las prácticas democráticas en las comunidades cercanas pueden contribuir a generar cultura democrática y promocionar una democracia mejor. Además, la democracia necesita cultivarse día a día para desarrollarla; es un viaje que no tiene fin. Sin embargo, la democracia moderna está enfrentándose a crisis a causa de problemas sociales como el individualismo extremo, la corrupción política y la indiferencia política, entre otros. Además, las dificultades de aplicar teorías democráticas en el mundo real son inevitables, más todavía en los casos de contextos no occidentales, por lo que nos deja dudas de la universalidad de ciertas teorías desarrolladas y basadas en contextos culturales occidentales.

Considerando estos asuntos, esta tesis doctoral pretende desafiar el debate interminable del desarrollo de la democracia, especialmente en el contexto no occidental utilizando el caso de Japón. Investigaciones sobre democracia se han hecho desde varias perspectivas, y este estudio se acerca a ella desde la disciplina de sociedad civil y capital social. Siguiendo sus suposiciones sobre el papel positivo de las asociaciones civiles voluntarias para la promoción de la democracia sana, exploramos el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, que son las más extendidas y con mayor número, para examinar esas teorías en un contexto no occidental.

Los resultados demuestran aspectos no voluntarios de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, sus relaciones de interdependencia profunda con las autoridades públicas, sus responsabilidades importantes y en aumento para lidiar con desastres naturales, además de su débil contribución, limitada al nivel local, de generar capital social y algunas habilidades cívicas y políticas. No obstante, en cuanto a la mejora de la democracia, a pesar de su potencialidad, las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas no están cumpliendo mucho sus funciones a causa de factores internos (un ambiente cerrado y conservador, una estructura jerárquica y de prácticas antidemocráticas); y exteriores (población envejecida, falta de miembros jóvenes, una cultura comunitarista asiática o grupista japonesa, y la amenaza continua de desastres naturales).

Esta investigación contribuye al debate académico por tres razones. Primera, se progresa la discusión sobre la universalidad de teorías basadas en contextos occidentales y la limitación de particularismo regional. Segunda, se avanza en los estudios sobre asociaciones de vecinos en Japón cuantitativa y cualitativamente, además desde el punto de vista de estudios

políticos de la mejora de la democracia. Finalmente, se añaden nuevos resultados y observaciones sobre el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos después de la experiencia trágica del terremoto *Higashi Nihon*, que no se ha estudiado suficientemente todavía, y como consecuencia requiere más investigaciones nuevas.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Democracy is the most used and accepted form of governance in the contemporary world. From so-called Western countries of Europe and America to non-Western Asian, African and other parts of the globe, the vast majority of people believe that democracy is the best, or at least the least bad world to live because their fundamental human rights and liberty are respected, yet at the same time the commitment for common good is recognized under democracy. Its accepted as the indispensable condition for the modern society, and developed nations are supposed to share the democratic values.

Democracy is also applicable in different levels of society. It is best known for the manner to govern a country. Still, democratic governance is realizable and important at lower levels such as within an association, within a work place, within a class, within a community, and so forth. The democratic practice at the nearer community can contribute the generation of democratic culture, and furthermore promote the maintenance of better democratic nation. People of democratic countries are assumed to acquire the skills and means to live in a democratic environment.

Furthermore, democracy is not completed once a nation achieves to establish the democratic rules. Rather, it is something we have to cultivate day by day to maintain or even deepen its quality. Therefore, the issue of democracy should be a matter for all of us and for everyday life. It is a never-ending endeavor.

However, in recent years, devoid of content and quality of democracy become serious problem for many of democracy-consolidated countries: the hollow democracy. In those countries, apparently the nation maintains the democratic systems of politics and society is

stable. Yet, in reality, the democracy is left to some of people like politicians to conserve what it has, but the rest of players such as citizens of the countries are not motivated and interested enough to be involved in it. The stuck democracy can be manipulated by a small number of people and the fundamental democratic values may be forgotten or ignored one day. Thus the hollow democracy has the danger of losing the democracy. This is the case for numerous societies in the world, and Japan, which is our research target, has been also facing this crisis.

There have been diverse studies done around democracy from the philosophical point of view to the approaches to consolidate and improve it. One of the research fields for the development of democracy is the theories of civil society and social capital. These theories argue that the democratic practice at the associations of civil society can be the foundation and engine of democracy where people are trained and prepared to live in democracy, and this approach from the grass-root level can be transfer to the upper level of politics to maintain the democratic country with the real dynamics.

Still, the application of theories to the real world is not always simple and easy. Each country has its own culture, which may be conflictive with the democratic values. Sometimes it also has the external conditions such as its geography or surrounding nature that affect the custom of a country. This issue can be observed in Japan, our target of interest, where the non-Western background for culture and philosophy intervene for the establishment of democracy, yet still, people are willing to pursue democracy.

This research, therefore, tries to consider those issues described above and find the way to develop democracy in Japan by concentrating on the application of theories of civil society and social capital. In addition, we focus on one of the typical and widely spread, yet at the same time often marked as undemocratic civil voluntary associations, namely neighborhood associations (NHAs) in Japan, to study the role of NHAs in the Japanese society and for the strengthening of

Japan's democracy. There are some 298.700 NHAs in whole Japan[1] and the participation rate is generally the highest among all types of civil voluntary associations in Japan, as we will see more in details in this work. Taking the exceptional numbers of NHAs as well as the high rate of participation, it is not too much to say that the NHAs are the most typical and representative civic and voluntary association in Japan, and it should have a considerable influence to form the Japanese practice and culture of civil society. For this reason, choosing NHAs for our research target to analyze the role of civil organization for the promotion of better democracy seems appropriate and valuable.

1.2. Meaning and Importance of the Research

This study deals with the many issues to be examined and discussed around democracy and surrounding philosophy. It also explores the various theories for the improvement of quality of democracy. To date, there have been quite a lot of excellent researches done, especially by Western scholars to examine the Western societies. However, the author believes that the application of philosophy and theories rooted in the Occidental historical backgrounds and culture is not always compatible with other societies; there are sometimes conflicts of cultures and customs. For this reason, as the first notable meaning of this work, this research challenge to analyze the democracy of non-Western society. We choose Japan for our study target to examine the applicability of Western theories. Japan has a considerably strong influence of Western cultures and values, especially after the World War II. Yet, at the same time, Japan still holds a very persistent culture rooted in their Asian Confucian tradition, in addition some customs and values originated from Japan's own historical, religious or geographic conditions. Simply putting, the base of Western and Asian conflict can be resume to the antagonism between

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[1] http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000307324.pdf

individualistic liberalism and group-oriented Asian communitarianism. One of the meanings this study has is to challenge this difficult but unavoidable issue by looking from both sides and not by denying or ignoring one of these two.

Another importance that this research can contribute is the further development of study on NHAs in Japan that have been done by numerous scholars but often adopting descriptive case studies and not quantitative analyses. The lack of relevant data sets has been making it difficult to study NHAs in Japan quantitatively and this difficulty has not be changed a lot yet. Still, this research tries to collect and analyze several different data sets to explore NHAs quantitatively as much as possible. Moreover, the analyses will be strengthened by additional qualitative study to figure out the factors and reasons for the findings of quantitative analyses. This combination of methodology permits us to make this work become different from other former studies. Furthermore, there are only a small number of studies on NHAs to research the relationship between those and democracy. Yet, as stated before, NHAs are the most frequently participated civil voluntary associations, in addition to the incomparable number of existences. In this regard, there seems no reason to ignore the role of NHAs as one of the most influential associations of civil society for the analyses of democracy in Japan.

Finally, one more importance this research offers is the inclusion of evaluation on the effect of Higashi Nihon Earthquake occurred in March 2011. This natural disaster caused thousands of deaths and extensive loss in many aspects. At the same time, it awaked the people's consciousness of importance of ties among neighbors and the power of civil society to overcome the natural disasters. This is the prompt affair to study in relation with the role of NHAs, as well as the empowerment of people for better self-governance and democracy. This research will offer the timely evaluation for the effect of natural disaster over the civil society and democracy in Japan.

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1.3. Objectives of the Research

Taking the factors described above into consideration, the general objective of this research is to study the role of NHAs in Japan for the generation and maintenance of better democracy. Yet, before reaching this global objective, we will also pursue other secondary objectives aiming to lead the smooth analysis operation to the final goal. First aim is to gain a good understanding of philosophy and theories around the theme of democracy. Second is to familiarize with the philosophy and cultural backgrounds of non-Western societies, in the case of this research particularly East Asia. Expanding knowledge on Japan follows to complete the second objective. Third is to contrast the arguments developed by the Western academics with those from East Asia and Japan by using the bipolar structure of Liberalism for one hand and Asian Communitarianism for another. Then, the fourth and fifth objectives are to examine those theories and debates empirically by opting the case of NHAs in Japan. Therefore, the fourth purpose is to analyze and understand the role of NHAs for democracy quantitatively, and the fifth is to examine them qualitatively. Those narrow objectives will help us to make the clear and concrete path to reach the general objective of this research.

1.4. Structure of the Research

This study is divided into two parts. The first part encompasses the theoretical framework to understand the theories and pervious researches done around Western liberal-based democracy and counterarguments presented mostly from the non-Western spheres. It also includes basic information on East Asian and Japan as well as the general description of NHAs. The second half is devoted for the empirical studies. It will give us the methodological framework at first, then empirical analyses follow.

After this introductory chapter (chapter 1), the chapter 2 is to review the foundations of democracy. The definition of democracy as well as the different approaches and previous studies for the improvement of democracy are introduced. Particularly we will steer our focus in the direction of democracy promoted from the bottom by the participation of citizens, namely the theories of civil society, voluntary associations and social capital. In the last sections of chapter 1, we will also deepen the discussion on the matter of liberalism-based theories and their limits for global application. Those will lead us the issue of Western-liberal tradition and non-Western cultural backgrounds that scholars of political science have to face time to time. Chapter 2 will be resumed by suggesting this complex question to make a path for the next chapter.

Chapter 3 presents the basic information on Asia and East Asia fist to move on to the topics of Asian Communitarianism, which can be observed as the opposite pole of Western Liberal democracy. The analyses will be expanded to the Confucian philosophy and its influence over Asian culture and relationship between individuals and community. Then the democracies in East Asian will be evaluated to reflect both the theories of democracy generated in Western world and the particularities observed among East Asian countries.

In order to narrow down our target of research more, we choose Japan and details about this country will be given in the chapter 4. We begin with the general information on Japan and its democracy including the recent state of democracy and the history Japan has lived. Taking those into consideration, we analyze democracy in Japan in addition to the contemplations in relation with the Western and Asian-based democratic theories.

The final chapter of the first part is the chapter 5 that treats the studies and issues regarding NHAs in general and in Japan. NHAs are one type of many associations of civil society and these can be found in many places of the world. There are some common features, but there are also some particularities observed only among the Japanese NHAs. To make them clear, the

origin, history and effects of natural disasters for NHAs in Japan are reviewed. By doing so, we will be prepared to move on to the second part of empirical research.

The second part of this work starts with the chapter 6 that introduce the research framework. In this chapter, we will outline the research objectives once again, and establish some research questions, which helps us to execute the analyses more systematically. Followings are the justification and explication of methodologies to be used: quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. The advantages and disadvantages, as well as the applicability of each research method are reviewed in this chapter.

The next two chapters are devoted to implement the empirical researches. The chapter 7 provides the quantitative analyses by examining four different data sets. Each data permits us to discover various aspects of NHAs statistically and descriptively. Concretely we study the civil organizations and NHAs in relation with the willfulness of participation, participation styles and problems that NHAs have, the influence of Higashi Nihon Earthquake over the ways of NHAs and neighboring ties, the role of NHAs over social capital, political interests and behaviors, and democracy. The research questions created in the chapter 6 will facilitate us to do those operations.

The quantitative analysis on NHAs will be done in the chapter 8. In this chapter, we pick up the case study of a NHA in Mizutake Town of Gamagōri City, Aichi prefecture. It is located in a small rural area of Japan, but gives us an interesting case study to understand the ambiguous border between public and private spheres that Mizutake society has as well as the problems and advantages the Mizutake NHA holds. We will analyze them by focusing on the structure of NHAs and other locally-based institutions (both private and public), the practice of interdependency among NHAs and local authorities, in addition to the systems of concurrent posts and position rotation NHAs and other local institutions exercise. Two example of events

hosted by the Mizutake NHA will also help us to study in depth the functions and roles of NHA in the town. Then some observations will be made by referring to the research questions presented in the chapter 6 to evaluate the Mizutake NHA in relation with theories and previous studies.

Finally, in chapter 9, the overall evaluation and reflection about the role of NHAs for the creation of better and healthy democracy in Japan is realized. Responding one by one to the research questions will do it. Findings of all empirical analyses will be taken into consideration to evaluate the issues on NHAs and democracy in an integrated manner so that they can be described by multiple angles and the better understanding and aggregated evaluation can be expected. Yet, unfortunately all research projects have to face their cut-off point somewhere. Therefore, we will resume the limits of this work and leave some suggestions for the further research to conclude the chapter and this study.

2. Chapter 2: Theories of Democracy

2.1. Introduction

Democracy is the most accepted and used form of governance in the contemporary world. Studies of democracy vary from the philosophical approach to the practical dimensions, and the research focus have been moved in accordance with the trend of democratic situations of countries on the globe. More than a half-decade has pass since the World War II and the following waves of democratization occurred, and one of recent mainstreams of democracy investigation is about the quality of democracy. Although there are streams that seek the world with more free, democratic and egalitarian societies from the left-wing or no-liberal perspective (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001; Mouffe, 1993), there are others who study democracy within the representative liberal democracy, and this study also follows this direction. In this field, the quality, the content, the dynamics of democracy matter, because democracy is quite vulnerable, it is not completed once it has achieved to install the system of public-elected decision-making, and it should be updated with the development of world such as processes of environmental, social and economic globalization (Held, 2006: ix, x). Democracy is able to be sustained by its well-functioning institutions and structures with mobility and activity, as well as the all people interested in their democracy not only political elites but also ordinary citizenry, or in other words, popular involvement (Mair, 2013: 17). By including more debates among numerous citizens, the process of democratic decision-making may take more time and cost. Still, democracy needs stirrings, passions, movements and interest of people to give a life and content to democracy, Political stability is not all about democracy, it sometimes needs to lose temporary its governability (Watanuki, 1975: 144).

Old democracies seem have established their roots upon their cultures and histories,

yet, democracy is not an easy system because for its maintenance, citizens of democratic countries should keep fighting for the deepening of its quality. Be stated in another way, democracy is not singular but within this category there are varieties of different types and rages of democracy, and people should strive to make it better. Each country's unique history, customs, people, geography, cultures and so forth influence the ways of democracy, and because of these factors, some of recent researches on democracy have been paying much attention to the influential variables of democracy.

At the same time, these old democracies have been also suffering from problems observed in the modern societies such as extreme individualism, political apathy, political corruption, so called "balkanization" of states, etc. Theories and approaches such as civil society, role of voluntary associations, social capital, among others, have emerged to respond or to combat against social and political obstacles for the deepening of democratic quality.

In this chapter, a brief summary of contemporary theories on democracy will be presented. It will also facilitate us to analyze and understand the main topic of this thesis, which is the democracy in Japan later in this work, and it will also serve to start questioning about the universality of these theories developed mainly in the Western academic world.

2.2. What is Democracy? (Definition of Democracy)

The concept of democracy has been debated all through the human history by numerous philosophers, authors, professors, politicians, even by ordinal people, and it still has been the most essential theme to be discussed. According to Chiba, democracy has been the center of debate for centuries due to its diversity and ambiguity of definition (Chiba, 2000: iii; Held, 2006: x), or for its simplicity (Dunn, 1992: v).   Democracy is the form of "government by

the people[2]" (Held, 2006: 1). Democracy can be applied in various levels (local, national, international, etc.), in various places (government, associations, schools, informal groups, etc.), and by various persons (politicians, citizens, association members, students, etc.). When it comes to the democracy of a country, one can already observe the huge difference between the direct democracy and the indirect democracy. It sounds strange but it is true there are some countries in the world where dictators control the nations yet still they call their nations "democratic republic" or something similar despite of the lack of fundamental democratic political systems. Chiba worries that the abuse of term of "democracy" has been causing the indifference and disillusion toward democracy (Chiba, 2000: vi). But then, what does democracy really mean? Why do we want democracy?

The first time when democracy appeared in this globe was in various *polis* of ancient Greece and it was direct democracy. According to Plato, la mission of political science is to establish the structure of *Cosmo* (order) from *Chaos* (chaos) (Chiba, 2000: 6), and the ancient Greeks chose the democracy to accomplish it. Here, we have to be careful that although some of principles of democracy have survived since the ancient Greek time up to now, the conditions and environments in which old Greek lived were somewhat very different from what we have now. The common features of democracy in ancient Greece and our modern democracy are: 1) the philosophy of political freedom and equality among *demos* (citizens), 2) the political culture of participation and auto-governance, 3) the idea of respect to laws and justices, in addition to the civic virtues, and 4) the democratic process of decision making (Chiba, 2000: 5; Held: 2006: 14). On the other hand, the ancient Greek democracy was based on the injustice conditions where women, children, slaves and foreigners were not considered as *demos,* therefore not included to the political arena. It can be said that, to some extent, the system was able to exist because of

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[2] (1993) The New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary, p 629.

these excluded people who sustained the favorable conditions for the function of democracy. In short, although ancient Greece is often referred as the model of democracy, it was considerably exclusive and unjust (Held: 2006: 19).

Another point to be mentioned, especially when the democracy of old Greece is compared to the Western liberal democracy is that, under the ancient Greek system liberty was not belonged to each individual, but rather it was a collective or communal freedom of *polis,* privileged to *demos* only, and used for its auto-governance politics (Chiba, 2000: 18, Dahl, 18). Among these *demos*, there was a strong awareness of community formed and strengthened by the compulsory service, moreover it served as the means of self-control to restrain the egoism of each *demos* and to assume the responsibility before the members of *polis.* It may be considered as the origin of civic virtues and political ethics (Chiba, 2000: 14, 22, 23; Held, 2006: 15). As we can see, the strength of democracy at old Greece time was protected by the good-citizen's habit such as to respect wisdom, the spirit of scarifying oneself, to respect laws, and to serve for the public matters.

Furthermore, the ancient Greek democracy was also remarkable because it gave much importance on the active participation in the politics. To be more precise, for them, the right form of political participation was to participate by communicating and speaking out about the public issues, and at the same time, listen to the opinions of others. One may notice that to a certain extent the Western democracies, especially the Anglo-Saxon democracies inherit this tradition.

As far as the democracy in the modern Western societies is concerned, the most remarkable difference between the ancient Greece democracy and the democracy of modern age is that the former was based on the direct representation within those who could participate and the latter is on the indirect representation (except some countries), for simple reason that the modern states are larger than that of *polis* and indirect representation defined by the election is

more rational and convenient. The revolutions and wars such as the Puritan Revolution, the English Revolution, American War of Independence and the French Revolution freed people from the traditional societies and they formed the modern states based on the principles of liberty and equality of human beings. Because these bloody battles caused massive victims and sacrifices, there is no doubt that the freedom and equality mean a lot in the modern societies. The contemporary democracies, especially the liberal democracy, have their origin in such history, and they have been extended so widely and deeply around the world due to these principles.

Within the modern democracy, we can observe two models: French/European democracy model and English/American democracy model. On one side, the French/European model is characterized by its tendency of secular illustration or anti-religious aspect and on the other hand, the English/American one puts importance on the Protestant belief, the freedom of conscience, the cooperation to make decisions, spirits of debates, and on top of that, these principles and activities are generated through the participation in voluntary associations (they are units originally come from congregations (Puritan parishioners)) (Chiba, 2000: 41; Tocqueville, 2003, Huntington, 32-37).

These were the remarkable aspects of Ancient Greece democracy and still lasting principles of democracy. Now we consider how far these elements are applied and appreciated within the practical level of our contemporary societies. Under our modern age, theoretically and practically speaking, the basic unit of democratic actor is still a nation. Yet, the power of liberalization has achieved to the degree to promote the independence of ethnically, culturally, religiously or linguistically different groups so that they can declare their identities and recognize their rights and autonomies (Kymlicka, 1995; Taylor, 1994). In other words, the deepening and promotion of democracy has caused the segmentation. Furthermore, the political actors are no

longer limited to states but extended also to non-governmental organizations, civil groups, and multinational companies, and so forth, who have power to influence national and international politics. For this reason, there is an emerging necessity to seek the appropriate democracy model for the present world.

It is also important to refer that the democracy and the political system of our modern age is suffering from the unfortunate problems such as corruption, institutions inflexibility, collusion between political and economic sectors, and more, which cause the political apathy of citizens and phenomenon known as "hollow democracy." For these reasons, it is valuable to recognize the significance and importance of democracy once again, and examine the forms to exercise it. In the following sections, we will review the theories and approaches developed to improve the democracy of our age.

2.3. Approaches for Improvement of Democracy

In this section, some theories or approaches studied and designed for the improvement of democracy will be introduced. It should be noted here that, there are many theories around democracy, and there are also many different stages of democracy (for example, a country which has just finished the civil war and is about to construct a democratic country is in the stage of democratization, a country with a few years of democratic regime is going through the stage of democratic consolidation, etc.), therefore, appropriated theories for each period vary depending on the variable country to be analyzed. In this writing, we are to study and deepen our knowledge on the case of Japanese politics, which has been living under the democratic system for more than a half century, and what we want to do in this work is to seek the ways to improve its politics of democracy. Therefore, theories to be referred here are selected along this purpose.

2.3.1. Modernization

Is economic development indispensable for the establishment of democracy? Various authors such as Lipset (1959), Przeworski and Limongi (1997) have questioned and studied about the relationship between the economic improvement and the stability of democracy. This theory started originally after the World War II when the newly established United Nations (UN) tried to promote the social stability by the economic development, and other inter-governmental organizations such as World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and some non-governmental organizations (NGOs) also followed this strategy. Academics of political science tried to demonstrate empirically the relationship between economic development and democracy; in fact, generally speaking, rich countries were more likely to be democratic, and had less possibility to return to the authoritarianism regimes. Therefore, the more a country is developed economically and modernized, the more possibility of democracy: the Modernization theory.

However, there are some exceptions, notably in some regions. One of good examples is Latin America of the 1960s to 1970s. In some countries of this region under the military governments, the Neo-liberal policy widely used in such regimes enabled those Latin American countries to enrich in certain way. Nevertheless, it was possible because the military governments controlled their politics by authoritarian manner to marginalize ordinal people and kick them out from the political scene, but in return the economic stability was guaranteed. Later, some of these countries succeed to democratize their countries by the force of citizens lead by highly educated elites (they could receive such education thank to the economic development), and in this sense, the theory of democratization was right to say that the economic improvement and democracy have positively related.

Inglehart developed his theory of Postmodernization based on the modernization theory. His argument in his book *The silent revolution* is the following: the economic development, cultural change and politics go all together and cause the alteration in the industrialization, the economic system, the value system, the hierarchy system, the bureaucratic organization, the democratization, etc. (Inglehart, 1977: 3). According to him, persons in the postmodern societies have more political competences thank to the educational improvement and that promote the participation of citizens. Therefore, the form of actions changes from "lead by elite politicians (elite-directed)" to "challenging politicians (elite-challenging)" (Inglehart, 1977: 3). He names this new value as "post-materialist value" that has more emphasis on self-expression and quality of life, and it supports the democratic institutions and norms (Wilson, 2000: 258, 260). Using the data of mainly Western industrialized countries, Inglehart shows a pattern of political (shift from conservative to neutral support, etc.), social (rate change in marriage, divorce, birth, etc.), value (for example, from importance on economic development and social security to pacifist and democratic values) and generational changes in this book.

Many of Asian countries may show the paradox of modernization and postmodernization even more clearly. Singapore represents the most visible denial. In fact, the former president of Singapore together with other colleagues of similar positions, has challenged these theories publicly by presenting his theory of "Asian values." The defenders of Asian values argue that the cultural values can justify various political practices (Bell, 2006b). If a state is offering the economic stability and the citizens do not oppose against state because culturally they respect and value their state as if their "father," whether the state is democratic or not is not a real problem for these people. According to Asian value defenders, it is the oriental culture and the framework of Western democracy should not define the manner of governance in other regions. Generally speaking, the arguments of Asian values are used to debate the issues of

human rights and it can be considered as out of fashion already since their best time was in 1990s and Asian economic crisis marked their end in the late 1990s. Still, it is worthwhile to recognize that the Asian Values give us opportunity to cast doubt on the universality of the theory of modernization.

In a similar fashion, Inglehart refers to the case of Japan as the exception of post-materialist model. The major errors occur because the Japanese either do not have desire for self-expression or economic success for themselves, but they refer to stick to their belonging groups. His answer for this exceptional case is as followed: the Japanese society has the deep root in collectivist tradition, and they try to realize the self-actualization through collective units (Inglehart, 1977: 109). Again, this is one of the puzzling but provocative questions of "universality of Western-originated theories" and we will examine the case of Japan carefully in the latter half of this work.

2.3.2. Political Culture

The theory of modernization focuses on the macro level of political system, and there is other levels, or other actors of politics to be paid attention. These years remarkable developments of research on the micro level actors are observed, especially more and more studies are done to survey the values and opinions of people (Wilson 2000: 246). By analyzing the tendencies and preferences of citizens, researchers in this field try to figure out if there are cultural patterns which influence the ways of politics: the theory of political culture.

Already about a half-century ago, Almond and Verba did the most famous and influential work of political culture. In their book of *The Civic Culture*, almost a bible book for the students of political culture, they opened the new field of study of citizens' political behavior. They say, "a democratic form of participatory political system requires as well as a political culture

consistent with it" (Almond and Verba, 1963: 5). According to them, if there is no democratic political culture, the democratic system of politics does not function as it should be. Each citizen is a small part of a society, yet definitely he/she is one piece of political system. Hence, if he/she does not appreciate the democratic values and principles, institutional, economic and political conditions prepared for democracy will not be enough for the authentic democratic regime.

The original definition of political culture says that the political culture is like a political system that includes a series of significances and objectives, especially symbols, myths, beliefs and values sustained and empowered by the "habits of heart", by the knowledge comes out of the common sense of people (Bellah et al., 1987: 183). In this way, the theory of political culture started to add the psychological dimensions and subjectivity of each citizen in the studies of political science. Still, political culture studies do not attempt to study individuals and societies separately, on the contrary its interest is in the interactions of the macro and micro actors. Persons are fundamental entities of societies, and they are consisted of their own personalities as well as attributes affected and formed by the living social systems (Wilson, 2000: 246, 247). That is why the political culture has its focus on the relationship between cultures and preferences of citizens. When it comes to the analysis of a democratic country, the assumption behind is that the majority of citizens share the democratic values and norms, and at the same time, the culture of this country educates and teaches its habitants to appreciate the democratic principles. In fact, Almond and Verba mention the importance of education and experience during childhood (not necessary to be limited to the political experiences) to form the political attitudes and behaviors that last through the youth period and even till the adulthood (Almond and Verba, 1963: 324).

Also, a considerable part of *Civic Culture* is devoted to introduce the concept of civic virtues, which is indispensable for the development of healthy democracy, and which should be

demonstrated and formed by the political participation. For Almond and Verba, normal citizens of the democratic societies should obtain a series of beliefs, attitudes, norms and perceptions that promote the active participation in the politics of their cities (Almond and Verba, 1963: 178). However, they should not be obliged to do so, since obligation is a passive action. Rather, the democratic citizens should have the virtues such as respect laws and to be loyal to their countries, but more than anything, they should be ready and willing to participate in some processes of decision making of their politics (Almond and Verba, 1964: 162).

As we will see later, the theory of political culture gave great influence on other recent theories such as civil society, participative democracy, deliberative democracy and more. Also the research methods using quantitative data have been the preference of present academics and students of this field, so to some extent Almond and Verba opened the different approach of analysis in the political science arena.

2.3.3. Participatory Democracy

Those classical political theories listed above had their main focus on the electoral behaviors and political values of citizens who choose their representatives to bring voices to the political arena. They are, as Inglehart characterized, the elitist (elite-directed) electoral democracy. However, in recent politics around the world, what are observed notably are the decline of voter turnouts, increase of distrust in politicians and democratic processes, political corruptions and decline of citizens involved in the political affairs. At the same time, when one pays attention to the economic development in industrialized countries, there are more and more "post-materialist" environments favorable to challenge political elites and to foster the citizens' political participation. Such conditions claim the necessity of new political approach to revive politics of democracy, thus, there are a growing number of scholars and intellectuals as well as

activists and civil leaders who promote the "participatory democracy."

Various new theories and approaches are included within the concept of participatory democracy, and what is in common to all of these is, as the term shows, the importance on the promotion of citizens' involvement in the decision-making processes (Nylen, 2003: 27). The classical political culture studies seek and research about the cultures, which determine the way of democracy in the target countries, and theorist see such democratic values and orientations as the precondition of democracy in each country. On the other hand, the defenders of participatory democracy tend to deny the political culture theorists' "culturally determined logic," and instead, they argue that if there are well designed and promoted opportunities to achieve citizen's meaningful and effective participation, all people including previously excluded, ignored or underserved population will be empowered to be able to participate in the political matters (Nylen, 2003: 28). These empowered citizens are to check the political corruptions and mal-functioning of elitist politics; therefore, the democracy works smoother and better.

Now, we go in depth to see and examine the theories and approaches that emphasize the importance of citizen's political participation categorized under the wide concept of participatory democracy.

2.3.4. Deliberative Democracy

Ever since participatory democracy was introduced in the field of political science, numerous scholars and intellectuals have been seeking for the theories and means to deepen the democracy based on the true participation of citizens. One of the streams is so called deliberative democracy that puts strong emphasis on the deliberative process, and in order to enable such procedure, deliberative democracy needs the capacity, right, and opportunity of citizens to participate in deliberation (He and Leib, 2006: 3, 4). Deliberative theorists such as

Cohen, Dryzek, Elster, and Habermas argues that the existing liberal electoral democracy is not quite suitable for the better governance of contemporary societies because it does not solve the modern social problems sufficiently such as pluralism, inequality and complexity of (Western) modern societies (Stokes, 2006: 53). To justify the collective actions taken by politicians, citizens, officials or whoever involved in the democratic institutions, arguments and reasons should be given by them and discussed by the rest of members so that the decision making process will be truly inclusive and legitimated. Therefore, citizen's communicative capacity, equal right and sufficient opportunity to be involved in the deliberative process are indispensable requisites for the realization of democracy. They are scholars giving more importance on the deliberation within existing official liberal institutions (e.g. Rawls, Gutmann and Thompson), whereas others seek the exercise of deliberation outside the state like social movements, civil society and nongovernmental organizations (e.g. Habermas, Cohen and Dryzek) (Stokes, 2006: 54).

Those authors listed above work with the theoretical level of deliberative democracy. There are, on the other hands, other academics and activists whose interests are in the actual settings and events to realize the process of deliberation. James S. Fishkin's Deliberative Polling® is one of the practical tries. Deliberative Polling makes the "mini-public" consisted of citizens chosen by random sampling to represent all social groups to discuss on a certain social issue over a few days. The results and suggestions produced from deliberative process are often resumed to a sort of reports and sometimes brought directly to the referendum so that the deliberation experience influences the politics (Fishkin, 2011; Shinohara, 2012: 243). Such occasions are carried out in numerous places of various countries at different levels, and they are called in different names like Consensus Conferences in Denmark, Planungszelle in Germany, Citizens' jury in the United States and Policy jury in Canada[3]. Generally speaking,

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[3] For analysis and case studies of deliberative democracy, please see Gastil and Levine (2013) and Ogawa (ed.) (2007).

deliberative democracy is not treated as the alternative of electoral democracy, but rather it is used together with institutionalized political systems as a supplemental tool to deepen the quality of politics and democracy.

Gastil and Levine state the three strengths of deliberative democracy: inclusivity, empowerment and better solutions (Gastil and Levine, 2013: 353-356). First, as designed, deliberative democracy tries to include representatives of as many social groups as possible, and if it is really like that, even voices of minorities and often ignored groups can be heard, thus the process of decision making appears to be more democratic. Second, by supplying such opportunities to under-represented people, deliberative democracy empowers underrepresented people or those who are originally not interested in politics. Furthermore, third, decisions, suggestions and opinions produced from the deliberative process are the consensus of varied opinions. In other words, people involved in this process agree with the taken decision although they do not necessarily share the same values, yet they are convinced by the arguments provided by the different interest groups, therefore members should be satisfied with the consensus. In addition, by being and discussing about the interests and problems of other people from different social groups, deliberative democracy gives moral education opportunity for citizens to hear voices of other people, to understand them, and respect them although not totally agree with them.

On the other hand, there are several critics over deliberative democracy. Rosenberg casts doubt about the assumption of deliberative democracy, namely rational individual, self-directing individual, and capable individual (Rosenberg, 2006: 78). Indeed, there are no concrete arguments to support the rationality, motivation, and the ability of a normal citizen and if the persons involved in the deliberative decision-making process do not meet these criteria, deliberative democracy does not function always. On top of that, the starting point of such

assumptions is "liberal individual," and it shows clearly that deliberative democracy is based on

the ground of Western liberalism. As we will see later as the central theme of this work, it seems

that not all persons are born into the liberal and individualistic orientation environments. In fact,

people from collective-tendency societies such as Asians are often said to have different views

and values from what liberal-minded Western people have. For such reason, Rosenberg warns

not to take liberal concept as granted as if it is universal; rather, as he says, "culture importantly

affects the kind of deliberations that are likely to occur among citizens (Rosenberg, 2006: 99;

also Shinohara, 2012: 245). On the practical level, authors such as Sunstein find that citizens

involved in the deliberative process are not always prepare to hear and respect other opinions,

instead, sometimes the phenomenon of "group polarization" occurs. When it happens,

deliberation only generates extremely biased arguments rather than to depolarize and refine

discussions (Sunstein, 2012; Ogawa, 2007: 18). Other critics refer to the unfair advantages

already given to more powerful (such as economic power), more skilled, or more high-stake

agents (Ogawa, 2007: 16) because "the capacities for citizenship vital to deliberative democracy

represent very high standards of communicative action that are often not readily available among

large numbers of citizens" (Stokes, 2006: 66). Finally, Mutz concludes from her empirical studies

that although deliberative theories are fashionable and desired in the contemporary world of

diversity, equality and opportunity, the reality is that "most people want to get along with others;

they would prefer consensus to political disagreement" (Mutz, 2006: 147). Instead of discussing

and debating honestly and patiently, normal people either look for relations with like-minded

others or prefer not to speak about political issues with people with different opinions because

persons have to live and socialize with others day by day and what is really useful and needed is

to get along with one another to avoid unnecessary conflicts. It may be able to add that, although

the deliberation is desirable for the better democracy, sometimes it is extremely time-consuming

and expensive to do so. Therefore, Mutz's empirical observations are interesting to see how far the idea of deliberative democracy is penetrated to the thoughts of people and how much they actually try to put it into practice.

Deliberative democracy is one of strong and meaningful approaches to archive the citizens' participation in the political issues. There are still considerable gap between theories and reality. Still, more and more deliberative settings are prepared to deepen the quality of democratic process around the world.

2.3.5. Civil Society

Political culture theory is supported by the hypothesis that the more citizens' political participation, the better the quality of democracy will be. According to Barber, the political participation makes democracy stronger (Barber, 1984). The other democracy's literature emphasizes that the democratic political culture is based on a highly developed associational life: activities in civil society (Dalton and Shin, 2006: 6). In short, besides voting, civil society is one of the best places where citizens can participate in the political matters. For that reason, studies on civil society have been paid much attention in the contemporary academic world, especially since the former communist regimes collapsed in the late 1980s to early 1990s and the power and struggle of civil society for democratization were recognized by the world. Nowadays, studies on civil society vary considerably depending on the fields, but it can be observed that in the area of political science, scholars are interested to analyze the activities in the civil society to see whether they can fill the gap between the political or legal systems (unfortunately those are often marked by the negative images like political corruption by politicians, political parties and established interest groups, etc. and legal frameworks do not function too well to control such actions or they are too slow to reform to solve the most recent

social problems) and the social demands toward the making of better democratic society through the incorporation of citizens into the mechanism of democratic states (van Deth, 1997: vii). At the same time, civil society is not only in charge of look after the political system, but also to educate people to acquire the civic virtues (such as solidarity, tolerance, equality, respect to plurality, mutual trust, justice, etc.) to help the strengthening of democracy.

There is an important debate about the extension or size of civil society. It should be mentioned here because previous studies have been unveiling the difference in accepting the limit of civil society between the occidental thought and the oriental view. This variance is significant and interesting for us because it is one of the causes of great discussion on the perception of democracy between the Western and the Asian countries.

To start with, how is a civil society formed? There are several necessary conditions. First, a civil society can exist when several individuals or groups of individuals are free to form organizations. Second, these organizations should function independently from the state. And third, they serve as intermediaries between individuals and the state (Hann and Dunn, 1996: 1). That is, the civil society is located in the place between individuals and the state. Naturally the structure of civil society is marked by the symbols of collective identity formed and influenced by the cultures, traditions, religious practices, ideological components, and so forth, and these have effects on the concepts and practices of citizens, including the modes of relationship between individuals and state (Schwartz, 2003: 26). However, this concept of civil society as the intermediary between citizens and state is not easily accepted in some societies, particularly those with much influence of Confucianism[4]. Basically the problem is the relationship between individuals and the state. In the Confucian societies, state is not necessarily the natural enemy of individuals, but on the contrary, the relationship is often positive and father-sons like so that it

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[4] The concept of state in the Confucian culture will be studied more in detail in the next chapter.

even help to form the better civil society (Schwartz and Pharr, 2003). Hann and Dunn also caution about the tendency that the idea of Western-based civil society has been used extensively in the current academic world, but no enough consideration has been taken for the varieties and possibilities of civil society, therefore it has the danger of overgeneralization of the concept of civil society (Hann and Dunn, 1996: 2). The reason for their argument is that the concept of civil society in the Western countries has its own root in liberalism and individualism, but other countries in different regions not necessarily have passed the same history or influence of them (Hann and Dunn, 1996: 3). We will study about the concept of civil society in non-Western countries deeper later, but at this moment, the focus is limited on the reflection on the roots of concept of Western civil society in the socio-political field.

Van Deth and Montero categorize the origins of thought on the civil society and their virtues in three traditions: the liberal tradition, the communitarian tradition and the republican tradition. The liberal tradition put special emphasis on the freedom, particularly on the negative freedom (freedom from the undesired intervention by state or other individuals), and the equality of (legal) opportunity for all. Therefore it has less weight on the notion of community; the most important is the individual autonomy. The communitarian tradition is situated on the opposite side of the liberal, thus its focus is on the nearest community (the natural community (family) and the social community) in which individuals live. Yet, the farther artificial communities like the state and the international community are not included. The members of community are expected to fulfill their communal responsibilities before demanding their rights to self-realization. Finally, the republican tradition puts importance on the political community (cf. the communitarian tradition does not mention about the political community because it is artificial and its extension is limited to the cultural and historical unities), and the rights, obligations, fidelity and practices existed in relation to the political system (van Deth and Montero 2007: 4-6).

Warren is couscous and careful about the importance of context in which modern associations are crated when we discuss about their functions in democracy (Warren, 2001: 4). He comments on four contemporary environments that make modern associations more complex and not quite applicable to be explained by the classical democratic theories: globalization, differentiation, complexity, and pluralization and reflexivity Warren, 2001: 5-7). Those social political changes have demanded us the need of reconsideration of political democratic theories that were mostly developed at the time of nation-state consolidation, and majority of collective actions were non-market-oriented (Warren, 2001: 4). Compared with this era, our contemporary world is more diverse and complex. Therefore, the factors we have to consider when we analyze civil society in relation with democracy are numerous and extensive.

All in all, whether the concept of civil society is wide or narrow, more extended or limited, and more related to states or independent from it, the researchers of political science are interested in the role of civil society as the place and opportunity for citizens to participate in the politics so that the democracy can be more significant and authentic.

2.3.6. Civic Virtues

In the section above, we have seen the origins and concepts of civil society, mainly in the Western societies, and learnt that the idea and the balance on freedom and obligation is the crucial issue in the determination of characteristics of civil society. Certainly, the history of contemporary Europe and America is the continuous fight for freedom. Even our nearest history, Fukuyama notes that the politics of 1980s and 1990s can be characterized as the revival of liberal ideas (Fukuyama, 2004: 18). It is true that thank to this stream, more and more new types of human rights are recognized and defended; indeed, until very recently the notion of human rights was not a familiar term for the most of people around the world but now they are on the

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agenda of practically all governments. Unfortunately however, in considerably large number of pro-liberal countries, the enthusiasm for "more rights" is arriving to the extreme points where it starts to cause some social problems. This is what Dagger worries: the excess of liberalism. For this reason, he proposes the possibility of republican liberalism so that the civic virtues fostered in the political community brake the extension of extreme individualism caused by the inappropriate application of liberalism (Dagger, 1997). He is right to say a person cannot obtain rights or freedom if there are no "others" who form a community, that is, for the existence of rights, there should be someone who claims for rights on one hand, and someone who entitles (or sometimes abuses) them on the other. In other words, no one can build a community on his/her own, and without community no rights and freedom are recognized. Therefore, ultimately we (even individualism believers) all depend on the existence of community (Dagger, 1997: 4). Now the necessity of community for the existence of rights and liberty is clear, but the other side of the coin should not be forgotten: responsibilities. As all community members have rights to exercise, they all have their responsibilities to act virtuously for the good of community, because otherwise the community disappears. That is why the civic virtues are so necessary and indispensable because they promote the rights but at the same time they guarantee the common good of community or society (Dagger, 1997: 14). Still, civic virtues are tricky and problematic, because they do not bring each individual the positive consequences directly or immediately, so the citizens can easily fall into the temptation of corruption or dependency: the "free-rider" problem. For Dagger, to avoid such situation, the education to complete the obligations and duties is needed (Dagger, 1997: 14-16).

So what kind of education is necessary for the creation and strengthening of civic virtues? It may sound very simple but at the same time very tough, the best way to train citizens to achieve civic virtues is to belong to communities, starting from the nearest community to the

farther communities. In this way one will learn to assume the social obligations and act for the common good. It should be started with the near community as communitarian tradition says, because they are natural and everyone has the possibility to access such communities. The good thing about the education giving by belonging to communities is that not only a person learns to fulfill the duties and behave in accordance with the civic virtues, but also he/she will receive the training to think and act democratically. Bryce says,

> "An essential ingredient of a satisfactory democracy is that a considerable proportion should have experience of active participation in the work of small, self-governing groups, whether in connection with local government, trade unions, corporations or other forms of activity." (Cited in Almond y Verba, 1963: 164.)

Almond and Verba explain the positive effect of participation in some organizations, groups, communities or associations saying that, in a certain sense these are little political systems where one learn the skills of participation and know the perspectives to receive. By doing so, each individual can increase his/her political competence (Almond and Verba, 1963: 313). In addition, these democratic capacities learned by belonging to the near communities are transferable for the farther communities such as national or international political states (Almond and Verba, 1963: 310). Putting in other words, the associations are "school of democracy" (Morales, 2002: 498) and the civil society is the "school of virtues" (Rsenblum, 1998: 26). This is the logic of strengthening and making of better democracy through civil society; by studying and giving importance on the democratic habit and practices in the communities of micro levels (civil society), it enables us to improve the macro level entity, which means the quality of democracy. This is also the original base for the theories of voluntary associations and social capital that have been debated by scholars of democracy these decades.

Yet, there is also a critical argument against the notion of civic virtues. Burtt strongly criticize both liberal and republican approaches for civic virtues and better democracy. Her main argument is clear and simple; the recent debates on civic virtues do not reflect the real situation of contemporary liberal citizens and they do not distinguish privately from publicly oriented civic virtues (Burtt, 1993: 364). The reachable civic virtues, according to her, should be the sort that links citizens' self and private oriented civic virtues to the public life through political deliberation and actions (Burtt, 1993: 367). Civic virtues should be some more realistic approaches reachable by the ordinary people, as Burtt explains in very casual but understandable words,

> It is all very well to speak of "reeducate[ing] the modern political mind," for this locution keeps the object of such reeducation comfortably abstract. But what of ordinary American voters and nonvoters? How are they to be turned to virtue? How will Americans be brought to see, amid the challenges of tedious jobs, limited incomes, family problems, and everyday personal tragedies and triumphs, the values of a full political life in the Aristotelian sense? I have made the case for the impossibility of this task by pointing out both universal human passions (self-love, ambition, desire for material comfort) and foundational features of modern democracies (universal suffrage, party politics, civil liberties) that will frustrate any strong republican schemes for public renewal (Civic virtue and self-interest, 1995: 150).

In short, normative debates are fundamental. Yet too idealistic proposals are simply impossible to realize in the modern world. Filling the gap between those two is an important challenge left for us.

2.3.7. Association

Since Tocqueville started to use the term "association," it became one of the topics to study in sociological and political science fields. The researchers on the association still refer to

the Tocqueville's belief that the virtues and viability of democracy depends on the strength of association in the society (Warren, 2001: 3). In addition, the positive effect of association extends to the members of societies, because these societies based on the association encourage citizens to be stronger in the democratic sense by teaching and training civic and political skills so that they can obtain the sense of efficiency (Vázquez, 2010: 201). To sum up, if the civil society (that function as the intermediary between political system and the citizens) is full of pro-democratic associations, it can educate both the political world and individuals to be more democratic, therefore, its quality of democracy will keep improving.

Warren categorizes the contributions of association to form, improve and support the capacities of democratic citizens as follows: developmental effects on individuals, public sphere effects, and effects that contribute to instrumental conditions and venues (Warren, 2001: 11, 61). First of all, the associations help to develop each individual so that he is able to achieve the ability to judge and reflect on the necessities and beliefs by himself. In this way, citizens are prepared to start actions together with others. Secondly, the associations leave the spaces for individuals who have desire to express their suggestions and opinions, by getting together to discuss, to examine, to draw up ideas, and finally to transform into the collective opinions. And third, the associations give occasions and places to let collective opinions and voices come out of their settings and become public. The forms to be in public vary from the political representation, protest and resistance actions, organize political processes, to formation of the alternative place of governance. In this way, an idea come from a citizen can be appeared to the political stage, and this is what we call the authentic, inclusive, and active democracy enabled by the power of association.

Now we have to pay special attention to the term "associations" because it includes all types of groups where people get together and if we examine carefully not all associations

appear to be genuine supporters of democracy. The classical example is the Nazi Party of Hitler's Germany; it was an association like any other ones, but definitely it was not the association to contribute to the formation of democratic citizenry or to improve the quality of democracy. What this shows is that we have to look into the characteristics of associations.

Then, what types of associations are effective for the strengthening of democracy? The mainstream of studies on the correlation between associations and democracy says they are voluntary associations. Probably there are two principal reasons: first, the Western tradition and second, Tocqueville tradition. First of all, as showed before, the domain of studies on civil society is based widely on the Occidental tradition and liberalism. Along with this track, associations should be formed by the members who get together by their free will without any social, political or cultural pressure. Secondly, Tocqueville's *The Democracy in America* (2003, originally in 1835 and 1840), which provoked the boom of studies on association put special emphasize on the importance of "voluntary" association for the improvement of democracy, therefore this notion was accepted widely.

However, one of our objectives of this work is to question the universality of Western-based theories, so we want to cast doubt on this already-accepted stream to see if "involuntary" associated groups have no democratic effect at all or not. Beside, this operation will serve us to analyze the case of Japan later because the Japanese society is full of involuntary associations. So now we move to see more in depth on the voluntary association and not voluntary association.

2.3.7.1.   Voluntary Association

When Tocqueville studied about the American society more than one and a half centuries ago, he observed that secondary associations provoked civic consciousness because

they could take individuals out from the familiar environment (primary associations) and put into the public space where people acquired the sense of reciprocity, trust and value to work together (Warren, 2001: 30). To put this Tocqueville's argument into the situation of contemporary society, the voluntary sector is a part of society where exclude the family relations, the marketplace, and the state, moreover, it is not pushed imperatively by these sectors (Newton, 1999: 10). The members of voluntary organizations get together freely. In addition, they are not segregated by the authority powers or cultures. They are connected by the horizontal way to assure the equality among voluntary members, so that the nuclear of democratic participation, namely the equal opportunity to raise voices is guaranteed (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 2002: 1). Therefore, the voluntary associations are the very places to realize the improvement of democracy.

But what motivate people to participate in the voluntary activities? There will be numerous motivations to do so, yet the common base shared by all volunteer members should be the respect and the belief in the democratic values, otherwise they will not bother dedicating their spare time to join the volunteer activities. Ellis and Campbell define the voluntary activities as below:

> "To volunteer is to choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one's basic obligations." (Ellis and Campbell, 2005: 4)

A person "choose" because he/she is not obliged to do so but rather act following his free will. "Social responsibility" means that the actions taken by the volunteer is for the benefit of others and he does not look it for oneself. He does it "without concern for monetary profit" because the objective of activities is not earning money although volunteers receive some kinds of rewards such as transportation fee or lunch time to time, yet they definitely do not have the same value

as the salary of equivalent job. Finally volunteers participate in such activities that are "beyond one's basic obligations" since the voluntary services are more than citizens' necessary and obliged work, but it does not mean that volunteers can do the voluntary work leaving their basic obligations behind (such as taking care of themselves or of their families), and neglect their citizens' responsibilities (like voting or fulfill their contracted jobs) (Ellis and Campbell, 2005: 4). The central motivation of voluntary activities is to think of others and work for them without disrespecting the basic duties. The voluntary associations are the places where these volunteers with desire to be connected with other persons and to work together. There will be different opinions and disagreements, still by being there and participating in these groups actively, people will be able to learn the modes to negotiate and solve problems by pacific means. That is to say, the voluntary associations give members the opportunities to develop the civic virtues and strengthen the democratic values.

According to Dekker and Halman, there are three reasons why people are involved in the volunteer activities. First, there are persons, especially those with children, who participate in the voluntary association of services for kids, because they also demand the same type of service for their families. Second, people who live in the rural areas often participate in such activities because the needed services generally offered by the state or the local governments are lacked in those places, therefore, they have no way but to cooperate and cover such necessities. Finally, there are also people who simply want to work with other and desire to do so for common good (Dekker and Halman, 2003: 6). Although the first and second motivations appear to be for necessity than will, it cannot be denied that all three reasons comprehend the democratic values such as justice, equality, fidelity, trust, honesty and impartiality. Also, people can be disciplined to acquire the ability to collaborate, negotiate, and obtain sense of responsibility and solidarity and work for common good by participating in such volunteer

associations (Halman, 2003: 180).

Having said that, nevertheless, some defenders of voluntary associations like Ellis and Campbell also recognize that these organizations are not perfect to create and strengthen the democratic environment, and the cause of the defect comes from the free-will-based characteristics of these associations. And paradoxically speaking, these problematic aspects of voluntary associations are more remarkable as the democracy extends more.

First of all, a volunteer association can be more exclusive or inclusive depending on their members, because the volunteers are not forced to form an organization but at the same time they are not obliged to admit whoever wants to join. In different terms, the voluntary associations are allowed to choose their membership. The classical and easy example to show this aspect is the *Ku Klux Klan*; it was organized by white race volunteers only, no black membership permitted, and for sure its radical political ideology of racial discrimination had nothing to do with the democratic values. On the contrary, governmental organizations can be appeared more democratic and inclusive sometimes because they normally impose the anti-discriminatory policy (Ellis and Campbell, 2005: 355). There is the conflict of democratic concept observed between the theoretical and practical level; as theory, democracy should mean the inclusion and equality of opportunity for all as much as possible, but on the practical scene, it implies the free selection therefore the tendency of exclusion cannot be denied.

Secondly, it is inevitable to have the rivalry and duplication in the contemporary world and the field of volunteer associations cannot escape from this dilemma; if there are opposing opinions within a voluntary association, members are free to quit from the association and form another similar but without-opposed-group association (Ellis and Campbell, 2005: 355). The origin of problem observed here is the same as the first one; volunteer associations can be selective and exclusive and they are allowed to pick up members with same or similar opinions.

Once again, we have to reflect the difficult side of freedom given by democracy because despite of all positive values, the democratic liberty also allows us to be discriminative against people with different. And if a voluntary association keeps selecting the convenient membership only, what we can learn by participating in the volunteer activities, specifically the capacity to discuss, debate, negotiate and achieve agreement through pacific manners will never be trained. The phenomenon of competiveness and duplication may be increased due to the excessive time consuming caused by the process of negotiation and taking decision within a group, but it is absolutely pathetic that this tendency lessens the opportunity to acquire important civic virtues.

The third negative aspect of voluntary association is the hierarchy within and outside of these organizations. For example, if there are several of associations with different memberships in a same working sector with the equivalent objective, naturally there will be a certain rivalry among these associations to look for the better or best members (for this reason there is a process of personnel selection). In such environment, some of staff starts to receive a kind of compensation or reward for their work due to their better curriculum, professionalism or special capacities. Actually, it often happens in the big and well-known organizations such as *Amnesty International* or *Save the Children*, and those with advantages usually become the full-time staff with salary. The rest of members are "normal" volunteers and they are more than necessary for the function of the association, not just because they fulfill their missions and they themselves feel satisfaction by being volunteers, but also they are important because in order to compete against other rival voluntary associations of the same sector, there should be sufficient number of membership to maintain its status (Maloney and Jordan, 1997: 110). This reality causes the hierarchy or classification of volunteers within the organization; the professional volunteers with rewards or compensations are classified as upper level staff than usual volunteers. This is the honest reason that sometimes persons without special skills but still with much desire to

participate in volunteer activities are discouraged, because they feel useless for being "I'm just a volunteer" (Ellis and Campbell, 2005: 348). In some extreme cases, particularly in large organizations, volunteers do not have occasions to meet other colleagues and start to lose the motivations (Maloney and Jordan, 1997: 110). Others remain to be the vast parts of membership only, or named in another way, the "partners" whose names are listed on the yearbook because of their occasional donation on the arrival of informative newsletters. Uslaner and Dekker find that such massive but shallow participation is often observed particularly in Scandinavian countries, Western Germany and the Netherlands[5] (Uslaner and Dekker, 2001: 140). The reality is that these volunteers or partners are not receiving the positive influences of voluntary associations, namely the training for acquiring democratic values at all. If this is the negative effect of volunteer classification within a voluntary association, the hierarchy outside of the voluntary organization is described as the structure of "those who give aid" and "those who receive aid." Take the international corporation for example. The international volunteer associations from developed countries send materials and professional personnel to the conflictive and problematic places or underdeveloped regions with extreme poverty. Theoretically speaking, these opportunities give favorable benefits to both sides; those who take supports receive the needed products or demanded technology, and those who donate goods or service gain the feeling of satisfaction and valuable experience, besides learn other skills or knowledge from the local people. In other words, the relationship of "give and take" is established, and this is a good pattern of the international corporation. However, this balance between "give" and "take" is very fragile and difficult to maintain, so when someone abuses the

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[5] They categorize the modes of participation in non-governmental organizations (NGOs) into following three types: 1) the members are very few and limited but very active (E.g. Southern Europe), 2) there are massive nets of societies and organization working and collaborating, with huge membership, and moreover most of these members are active (E.g. North American NGOs), and 3) there are numerous organizations and societies which have many members and partners, yet the percentage of active members is considerably low (E.g. NGOs in Scandinavian countries, Western Germany and the Netherlands (Uslaner and Dekker, 2001: 140).

relation, the good will of solidarity is transformed into the hierarchy between donors and receivers. The same situation can cause the so-called "free-rider" problem if the aid receiver takes advantage of the occasion harmfully. Indeed, the problem of "free-rider" is one of recondite dilemmas of the democracy. Although such problems of hierarchy and "free-rider" should not occur if there is the existence of ethics and democratic virtues for both sides prior to taking actions, it is not good enough to assure that the volunteer associations always serve to generate and strengthen the democratic values.

From his empirical studies on voluntary associations in Europe, Halman concludes that he could not obtain sufficient evidence to support the hypothesis of voluntary associations as the promoter of democracy. Rather, in his opinion, the education is more important for the promotion of democracy (Halman, 2003: 195). Newton agrees with him in terms of the importance of education at schools including the group activities such as sports, theatre, music bands and inter-school competitions, because they offer the opportunities to experiment the group corporation. At the same time, the school education also teaches the general idea of citizenship, universalism, equality, common good, benefits of corporation and difficulty to achieve a solution pacifically. He also mentions about the special importance of higher education, specifically the university education, because he thinks that persons develop the skills to work with known and unknown persons from the same community during university period (Newton, 1999: 18). In the same manner, Halman states that members of voluntary associations not necessarily have more democratic perspective than those of non-voluntary counterpart (Halman, 2003: 195-197). Clark considers that what really matters is the structure and policies of each organization when it come to the creation of political participation habit, therefore the recent literature on the role of voluntary association is overlooking the real pictures of each organization (Clark, 2000: 22). Moreover, he warns that the studies focus on the positive influence of voluntary associations

over the political customs should recognize that the education on active participation is not always offered by the non-state institutions. The public political spheres, especially the local state structures are often committed to involve more local population in the process of decision-making (Clark, 2000: 22). Finally, Lelievdot adds that the para-governmental organizations (for example, non-profit schools and neighborhood associations) have the potentiality to represent the interests of their members as much as voluntary associations do (Lelievdot, 1997: 183). In fact, in most cases, the local governments are responsible to offer the well-being services and compulsory education as well as promote cultural activities, yet in practice they are actually depending on the intermediary organizations (para-governmental organizations) to implement such services (Lelievdot, 1997: 185). He also comments that often time the intermediary associations are more familiar or accessible unities than governments or voluntary associations, and they represent the citizens' interest better than others.

These counter arguments against positive role of voluntary associations for the promotion of democracy leave us to think weather non-voluntary associations also have some beneficial abilities to promote the improvement of democracy. Thus, we examine about the non-voluntary associations in the next section.

2.3.7.2. Non-voluntary Association

As we have seen, behind the development of research on the role of voluntary association in relation with the improvement of democracy, there are certainly a number of authors who are skeptical about this theory. Fundamentally these scholars question if the type of association to promote democracy has to be the voluntary character always, or "non-voluntary" associations also can work out rightly as well. The bottom line is, the democratic values can be transmitted among the members of whatever kind of associations when there are necessary

requirements and process for the democratic training within an association, no matter if they are voluntary or not voluntary ones.

Warren thinks that the Tocqueville's argument has been over generalized by his followers (Warren, 2001: 31), so he tries to approach it introducing another view. What he does is analyzing the different internal effect between voluntary and non-voluntary associations using the concept of "exit" (Warren, 2001: 94-106). Following this analytical framework, the key variance between voluntary and not voluntary associations is weather the organization leaves members the option to abandon the unity or not. In the case of voluntary association, members are guaranteed to be able to resign whenever they want, because the members are connected by their free choice, so they can enter and exit from the group if they are not satisfied with the organizational policies or due to internal conflicts. Yet, Warren worries that if the option of "exit" is offered too easily to take, the voluntary associations cannot assure that the minority members' opinions appear in public, because when there are serious disagreements among members and those who frustrated or feeling pressured by others would use the right to leave the association. Yet if it happens the voices of pushed-out-persons will never be heard, therefore ignored (Warren, 2001: 97). Of course, the majority members have the right to expel the conflictive persons as long as the manner fits within the legal framework of the association. Yet, this is the reason why voluntary associations often take the process of "self-selection" and therefore, they tend to favor the homogeneity of members (Warren, 2001: 104). Warren says that those who have to leave the organizations can hold the "quality sensitive" and it is a pity for the association to lose such membership because they may be the potential active members with important opinions (Warren, 2001: 105). To sum up, the easy "exit" option takes the opportunity away from voluntary association members to propose the potentially significant opinions, and train some of the democratic values like negotiation skill and peaceful process of decision-making.

In exchange, the associations with non-voluntary characteristics limit the possibility of "exit," so the people with this environment has to look for the way to achieve the agreement without using the last option (dismissing members). It is true that in some non-voluntary organizations the process of taking decision is very anti-democratic or authoritative; for example, the most traditional ways are the patriarchal system or the system of seniority. Under such organizational structures, certainly it is difficult to transmit the democratic values. Still, if there is enough space for members to discuss, debate and negotiate before actually taking decisions, it is not totally impossible to develop the democratic habits even within the non-voluntary associations. Warren confirms that non-voluntary associations also generate the positive democratic effects; concretely they help members to cultivate the practice of "giving opinions" which is important for the development of deliberative democracy and the political skills. Indeed, if members of non-voluntary associations have no choice but remain in the group although there are full of opponent arguments, this situation demands members to be patient and negotiate democratically each another until achieve the conclusion. For this reason, the democratic experience obtained by participating in the non-voluntary associations is more authentic and valuable than that of voluntary groups (Warren, 2001: 106). Yet, once again, it should be noted that this pacific and genuine democratic process of decision-making is often time consuming and sometimes frustrated-some. Unfortunately in many occasions people run away from facing this processes and leave it up to the undemocratic processes like seniority decision-making to save extra struggle.

Ultimately, the members of non-voluntary associations are, in a certain sense, obliged to maintain the unity even though they face disagreements and problems within the same group. "Being obliged" already sounds undemocratic, as under the democratic system we are all free to determine our own actions. However, the paradox of democratic societies is that the most

citizens of democratic countries have never actually had opportunity to choose their nationalities and home lands, rather they just happen to be born in those places and keep living there (except some special cases such as changing nationality, applying for asylum, etc., yet obviously these are very rare cases and more difficult to do so in terms of procedures, money, time and other factors). In other words, citizens of democratic countries are obliged to live in the democracy, and in order to maintain the democratic system they are propelled to solve internal and external problems by using as much pacific means as possible because there are no "exit" options. The most respectful and peaceful manner to resolve conflicts within the unity is, without doubt, taking collective decisions by discussing, debating and negotiating, or in short, by the democratic process. To which resemble more? The voluntary associations or the non-voluntary ones? Since we have no easy access to the "exit" choice, it can be said that the majority of global population actually live in the environments of non-voluntary characteristics.

Gutmann is another author who casts doubt on the role of voluntary associations for the formation of democratic values. According to her, the action of participating in voluntary associations is already a consequence of acquiring democratic values, and the process of democratic education happens before participating in the volunteer activities. In fact, the places like schools (in addition to family) are where a person learns the essential habits and virtues to take collective decisions for the first time of one's life. People would follow and maintain values acquired in such places after finishing until later and go on to participate in the secondary associations. Yet they do so not specifically to learn the democratic skills and values, but rather their already acquired values and habits driven them, and eventually they develop democratic customs even more there (Gutmann, 1998: 28). Without having this base of democratic values, an immature association could face the danger of extreme segmentation. And if we overlap this phenomenon on the contemporary society, it is what sometimes called the "balkanization" or

"tribulization" of civil society (Gutmann, 1998: 172; Rosenblum, 1998: 46). In order to avoid such extreme reality, Gutmann proposes a point of view totally opponent to that of Warren. Warren puts emphasis on the active participation in the process of negotiation through the mean of "making opinions." Gutmann's strategy has its importance on the action of "listen to others." She says,

> "… the virtue of public discourse is not just the willingness to participate in politics or to make one's views known. Rather, it includes the willingness to listen seriously to a range of views which, giving the diversity of liberal societies, will include ideas the listener is bound to find strange and even obnoxious." (Gutmann, 1998: 187)

In the case of voluntary associations, if the situations where some members cannot endure listening to different suggestions occur, the impatient members would choose the action of "exit." Yet, the non-voluntary associations do not let their members to escape from the facing difficulties so easily but oblige to listen to the varied opinions until achieve some agreements. In this sense, once again, the non-voluntary associations offer the better democratic training opportunities due to its aspect of compulsory stay in the group.

Rosenblum researches the role of association from the moral point of view. She emphasizes that the contexts have a great influence over the associational experience, no matter if they are voluntary or not voluntary characteristic. Involvements in associations cultivate the capacity of corporation, which is the heart of the morality of association (Rosenblum, 1998: 50). The process of morality acquiring is as follow; individuals in groups learn the system of group-corporation and along this experience one encounters a variety of actions and points of views. By being in such environment, members develop the capacity to appreciate the others' perspectives. The more one is committed in the group, the more feelings of friendship and trust

appear. Then it enables him/her to understand that all members are doing their bests to fulfil their responsible parts of the group work. As getting closer and familiar to the environment, the group members start to develop the mutual trust and this encourages them to complete their obligation as group members (Rosenblum, 1998: 50). This is what she calls the morality of association, or putting in different terms, to be valuable to others of the group. Rosenblum confirms that, therefore, it is not so important weather the association is voluntary or not, rather the morality of association depends on the personal contributions, not on the psychological identification (Rosenblum, 1998: 62). Although she does not mention about the possibility of creation or strengthening of democratic values in associations, there is no doubt that the morality of association is one of democratic virtues and her argument supports the fact that the formation of morality can be occurred in whatever kind of associations that meet the necessary conditions.

In the latter part of this work, we will touch the aspects of non-voluntary associations again, but this time along the context of occidental culture. Now we move on to introduce another theory that analyzes also the relationship between association and the quality of democracy: the theory of social capital.

2.3.8. Social Capital

Social capital has been one of the hottest research streams of political science in the 1990s and not as passionately as before yet it is still studied by various authors around the world. The most famous contemporary theorist of social capital is Robert D. Putnam. His works on the difference of democratic function between North and South Italy, and on the American society with the fall of voluntary associations and social problems possibly caused by this phenomenon, have provoked a new domain within the studies of political science: the theory of social capital. The principal hypothesis behind this theory is that when a society has a social structure based on

the trust, norms of reciprocity and social networks, the connections among individuals become more dense and the corporative actions begin to be more active, then, the citizens start to think and act for the common good as they are able to get over the dilemma of collective actions, therefore, the democracy in this society works better.

Although the researches on social capital have increased from the 1990s caused by the presentation of Putnam's writings, the history of the concept of social capital goes back to 1916 when L.J. Hanifan stated that for the development of community and the improvement of auto-governance it was indispensable to have the good will, the sense of friendship among friends and mates, the sympathy for the belonging community, and social exchanges among individuals. And in order to obtain such values and norms, what needed was a certain investment to build up the social capital (Putnam, 2000: 18; Azuma, 2003). Since then, there are numerous authors who research on social capital theory from various different perspectives such as economy, sociology and political science.

Putnam's social capital theory inherits the tradition of Hanifan and Tocqueville, but his focus moves to the micro level: the habits of individuals. His famous work *Making Democracy Work: Civic Transitions in Modern Italy* (1993) analyzes the difference of associative culture between North and South Italy to figure out which region has the favorable conditions for the building of strong, receptive, effective and representative institutions (Putnam, 1993: 6). From his studies, he concludes that the local governments of North Italy have better functioning institutions because the communal activities are more frequent and active, the social networks are structured horizontally, in addition, these favorable conditions and environment support the creation of civic virtues like solidarity, participation and integration. On the contrary, the Southern Italian governments do not work as well as those of north, so he looks into the community level and finds that there are less community activities than North, the social connections among

people are formed vertically, and these factors make citizens living there feel controlled, incompetent and alienated. It does not mean that there are less interpersonal links in the South Italy, or these connections are weak. On the contrary, the community networks in the South are abundant and strong, but ironically speaking, associations of southern Italy model are not contributing to the democracy. The reason is that these connections among family members and close friends remain within the limited and narrow circles and never be exchanged with other members from different groups. These closed and dense relationships become rather obstacles to generate the wider trust among whole community members. The generalized mutual trust is the essential component of social capital, and the democracy does not work without it (Putnam, 1993). Putnam's next work *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (2000) analyzes the contemporary American society where Putnam observes the dispersion of communities caused by the decline of social capital, and to support this argument he uses the massive empirical data. In this work, he studies the variety of associations in the United States and categorizes them by putting into the model of social capital as summarized in the table below.

Table 2.1: Types of Social Capital Presented by Putnam

Type	*Bonding* (E.g. Ethical group network)	*Bridging* (E.g. Environmental organization)
Form	*Formal* (E.g. PTA, Workers' Union)	*Informal* (E.g. Basketball matches)
Degree	*Thick* (E.g. Family connection)	*Thin* (E.g. Interest in unknown persons)
Orientation	*Inward Looking* (E.g. Chamber of Commerce)	*Outward Looking* (E.g. Red Cross)

(Source: Azuma, 2003, translated by author)

Once again, in this work, Putnam states the importance of social capital for the better functioning of society. Yet now he also mentions about the danger of some types of groups to arrive the radical tendencies such as secrecy, ethnocentrism, and corruption. Thus he adds the new elements for the social capital for the healthy functioning of society; the character of associations should be inclusive and outward looking (Putnam, 1999; 21-22). He finds that the decrease of social capital in the United State leads the malfunctioning of society, and blames on television diffusion, women's incorporation into the labor market, people's life style change, generational changes in terms of values to participate in the community activities, and so on, as the causes of social capital decline. There are various authors who oppose against Putnam's argument. To list some, Dekker and Uslaner feel uncomfortable with Putnam's too much emphasize on the "face to face" participation in the civic activities (Dekker and Uslaner 2001: 2, 149), and Ikeda and Kobayashi point out the lack of explanation on the relationship between the social participation and the political behavior (Ikeda and Kobayashi, 2007: 4; Putnam, Feldstein and Cohen, 2004: 5).

As more researchers investigate on the social capital, the more definitions are adopted for further studies. Yet, generally speaking, there are three fundamental factors to be referred: networks, norms of reciprocity, and trust. And the accepted hypothesis is that these three elements are supposed to promote the improvement of social, political and economic systems. The focuses of social capital studies are also altered according to the academic disciplines. Johnston and Soroka observe that the political science literature puts more emphasize on the formal membership of secondary association, whereas the sociologists pay more attention on the types of connections (Johnston and Soroka, 2001: 31). Moreover, ever since the social capital theory wins the boom in the academic field, scholars and students are elaborating thousands of models and tests by using different data base, data of different countries, regions,

communities, time series data, different variables, composing new variables, etc., hence some specialists start doubting about the reliability of data and statistical analysis models, which sometimes go beyond the capacity of social science arena. Besides, the minor sides of social capital such as the cost of social capital, the types of associations, cultural difference, structural difference among associations, and so forth are not fully studied yet because these variables are not included in the major social value surveys. Thus, in the reality, there are more and more case-study-type analysis and conclusions, but still we are far from accomplishing the overall definite conclusion to secure the strong correlation between social capital and the functioning of social, political and economic system. Still, precisely this is the reason why students and academics should keep researching about the social capital, and this is why we will examine the social capital and democracy in Japan later in this work.

2.3.9. Civic Voluntarism

Close to social capital theory, Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) present a model called civic voluntarism, which is based on the socioeconomic model and is introduced to explain the political participation. According to them, political participation depends on the citizens' involvements in associations and institutions, but not necessary those of political interest, but also social institutions, family, schools, working places, voluntary associations and religious institutions (churches), etc., because these places also offer citizens the possibilities to acquire the civic skills and those environments and decisions taken in such settings influence them the forms and ways of participating in political activities. Verba, Schlozman and Brady continue that in order to be involved in the political activities, the acquisition of civic skills is very important because these abilities including the communicative skill (like writing letters, giving presentations and discourses, interpersonal communications, etc.), organization skill (such as how to plan and

organize meetings), and other social abilities are transformable for the political sphere. These capacities make citizens easy to use their time and money efficiently for the political purpose, and eventually encourage them to be interested in politics and participate in it (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995: 304).

Verba, Schlozman and Brady's original questions to make the hypothesis is "why some people participates in politics and why others not?" Then, they assume that those who are not be involved in the political activities are either "because they cannot," "because they do not want to," or "because nobody asked to do so (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995: 15). These assumptions lead them to focus on the analysis of variables of resources (knowledge and abilities, money and time), recruitment networks and motivations (or the political orientation), and conclude that these factors are very strong to determine the patterns of political participation (Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001: 33, 365; Schlozman, Verba and Brady, 2012: 18-21).

What is remarkable and original (and interesting for the present study) about the civic voluntarism model is that it mentions especially about the importance of motivation; in order to let citizens to be involved in political activities, they also need to have a certain level of motivations and desire to be engaged in it (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995: 391). Yet, they also admit that the conventional social surveys normally do not include sufficient cases to analyze the motivations and passion to be interested in politics (Verba, Schlozman and Brady, 1995: 392). Hence, to demonstrate the causality between motivation and political participation empirically may be difficult to do, still the meaning and significance of motivational factor for the political engagement remains important.

2.3.10.   Liberalism and Democracy: To What Extent Individualism is Democratic?

Up to now, we have seen several theories on democracy that are developed to help in analyzing and improving our contemporary societies. We have paid a particular attention on the significance of voluntary or non-voluntary characteristics of an association, which might appear to be rather peculiar and rare to try to overview the democracy theories. The reason is to deepen the discussion on the positive and negative side of liberalism in relation to democracy because we are interested in this notion of "liberal" that many Asian societies are said to be lack of. In this section, the analytical focus is on the influences of liberalism over democracy.

As referred a number of times above, ever since the democracy is established in the Western sphere, citizens under this system are enjoying the benefits brought by democracy as well as struggling to overcome the problem of liberal democracy: balance of individual's rights and the common good. This matter is often discussed within the framework of individualism. Theoretically speaking, individualism promotes the natural right of individuals to be free from unjust authoritarian pressures, but at the same time, it is often got in wrong for being the central cause of social problems. As some literature shows, individualism itself is nothing bad since it is the symbol and prize of the long history of modernization and democratization. Kateb describes that the democratic individualism cultivates the sense of individual's infinity, and it can influence other human beings, or even the rest of nature also (Kateb, 1992: 34). To be more precise, the democratic individualism will be able to inspire the man's potency that we are all given at birth, and this is very important and positive for the development of humanity. Moreover, this operation will not be able to be deepened by the communitarian point of view because the communitarianism[6] produces only a docile society without the possibility of development, or provoke citizens' distraction and irritation (Kateb, 1992: 239).

Thus, the individualism itself does not harm the democratic society, or contrary, it can

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[6] Communitarianism will be studied in depth in the following section.

serve as the promoter or the stimulation of human life improvement if it functions within the rules of democracy. The problem appears when this individualism goes too extreme; when there is too much individualism in the society, it is considered to be a danger. And this is what we observe in most of the contemporary societies, and this is what many scholars worry about. Camps thinks that the individualism is a consequence of democracy (Camps, 1993: 11). Vázquez searches the origin of participation decline in the individualization of civic activities (Vázquez, 2010: 198). Modern humanity is too influenced by the trend of individualism without understanding to be free in the real sense and live with freedom. Camps is right to say that one thing is to be free theoretically, and another is to use the liberty in practice, because these two are quite different (Camps, 1993: 64). People says we live in the century of liberty; Individuals are free to look for benefits for themselves and the ways to develop themselves since no body has the right to limit others' actions, because this is what individualism is about. Yet, thinking about the real day by day life, how can we live following this individualism fashion without bothering and hurting others, keep maintain the functioning of the society, and without violating the established democracy's rules? The lack of knowledge and care for others lead the modern societies to the absence of ethics (Camps, 1993: 61). For this reasons, recent writing and works take hostile views on the individualism: "individualism equal to egoism."

Dagger is even surprised by the fact that persons in the contemporary world are so obsessed with rights (Dagger, 1997: 3). His criticizes that the concept of rights is studied from the view of individualism unilaterally. In fact, when a person talks about "my rights," he usually put himself at the center of the universe by marginalizing the rest world, and forgets that he cannot deny the existence of other persons in order to claim his rights. Thus, in the modern society, it seems that one can be free and be equipped by all rights, yet the reality is that if there are no connections with other persons and belonging communities, there are no recognized rights. In

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other words, if there are no opposing parties who restrain one's actions, there is no need to be free from the limits, therefore there is no need to demand rights. Ultimately, even from the point of individualist view, it cannot be denied that we always need the existence of others in order to obtain rights. After all, our world is consisted of multiple interdependencies. Having said that, unfortunately or not, if our society is full of personal contacts, naturally we encounter the conflictive occasions time to time because people wants to fulfill the personal interests. Then, what are the most pacific means to resolve this kind of crash? Here appears the concept of rights and obligations. Indeed, ever since we are born on this earth, we play this game of rights and duties day after day. Take children in the park for instance. They have the right to play with public swings, but they also have the obligation to respect the turn and use safely in order to avoid the possible danger. Wherever we are, the present society is based on this mechanism. D.G. Ritchie describes as follows:

> "The person with rights and duties is the product f a society, and the rights of the individual must therefore be judged from the point of view of a society as a whole, and not the society from the point of view of the individual." (Cited in Dagger, 1997: 21.)

Now there should be a nearly full agreement about that the rights and obligations cannot be separated from one another; there are two sides of the same coin and they cannot exist independently. To be free or to be autonomous means to fulfill the combination of liberty and responsibility. A person is free to be individualist because she has the capacity to choose to do so. Still, in order to exercise this capacity of liberty, she has to carry the responsibility to be free (Dagger, 1997: 63). When we put this condition to the social level, Putnam also reminds us that the civic participation and social capital entail the mutual obligation and the responsibility of actions (Putnam, 1999: 21). That is why the participation in association means so significant for

us because it enable us to recognize our duties and to be responsible. All human relations in associations prepare citizens to exercise the responsible behaviors (Rosenblum, 1998: 37), and in order to exercise this responsibility prudently citizens have to obtain the skill to manage it (Barber, 1984: 237). Dagger even thinks that not only the obligations themselves, but also the feeling of obligation is already sufficient to let people behave responsibly, therefore, this "sense of obligation" is important (Dagger, 1997: 49). In fact, if a person maintains the sense of duty and always is responsible with his actions, the other persons can trust him, and as a consequence, the environment of trust is built. To let someone to do his work responsibly is, for one hand, the person who leaves to do so has the trust in the one in charge, and on the other side, the responsible person knows that he is trusted and recognized by his capacity to complete the mission therefore he assumes the weight of responsibility and will try the best in order to respond the expectation to maintain the trustful relationship in the future, too. The importance of the trust is the central argument of social capital, but the significance of responsibility feeling has been recognized little by little, not as much as that of trust, still surely it will be one of the hottest topic to be developed deeply in the near future. (The recent economic crisis gives us the opportunity to do so as we all have come to know that some of the reasons of the crisis are caused by persons' irresponsible, extreme individualistic and egoistic actions). These are fundamental and principal values for the improvement of democratic civic societies and should be debated and studied more. Yet, the process of acquisition of trust and responsibilities are not researched as much as that of rights, and perhaps this phenomenon has its origin in the Western academic world which emphasize the importance of liberalism and individualism rather than communitarianism. In the following section, the idea and components of communitarianism will be introduced to examine the counterargument of liberalism.

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2.3.11.   Communitarianism

The concept of communitarianism was born in response to the extreme liberalism. Contrary to liberalism that has its emphasis on the liberty of individuals, the communitarianism focuses on the importance of responsibility each member of a community holds: "from contract to community" (Delanty, 2003: 73). Sometimes communitarianism receives strong critics for its appearance of a backward social movement rather than a progressive idea, since it indicates to return to the traditional culture forgetting about the enormous struggle of people to win the freedom and rights. Still, it can be said that, this academic current is also a reflection of the contemporary societies, which have been noticing the danger of demolition. Indeed, communitarianism is also counted as the descendent of Tocqueville school like civil society, association and social capital[7]. What differs communitarianism from these theories is that communitarianism counts on the involvement of the governments or states to promote the active participation of citizens in communal associations (Walter and Steinberg, 2006: 230). According to some communitarians, the modern world needs an idea rather more radical to change societies; we have to sacrifice some parts of liberty to stop the excess of individualism, but the degree of communitarianism should be as much as the autocratic states where violations of human rights are taken for granted.

The book provoked the birth of communitarianism was *A Theory of Justice (1971)* written by John Rawls. As liberalist, one of the objectives of Rawls to write this work was to expose an appropriate moral conception of justice for the democratic society and to show the interpretation of two most important values of democracy: the liberty and the equality. Behind his thought, Rawls believes that human beings are not naturally corrupted, amoral, and dominated by the egoistic motives. Rather they are sincerely prepared for the sociability (Freeman, 2007:

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[7] Walter y Steinberg state two branches departed from civil society studies by Tocqueville are communitarianism and social capital (Walter y Steinberg, 2006: 230).

13). As we know, the theory of liberalism is nothing new to the history of humanity; in fact the philosophers like Locke, Kant and Mill wrote to increase the tolerance and the respect to individual's rights within the framework of liberalism. Rawls is one of the most contemporary liberalism defenders and his orientation to recognize the beauty of liberalism adapted to our modern age helps us to understand the concept of liberalism, and at the same time, it stimulates the defenders of democracy approaching from different angle. Thus, communitarianism was developed as the general critics against the Rawls' liberalism, formed by researchers with anti-liberal panorama, and insisting that democracy needs morally prepared individuals and needed virtues are only generated within the context of community. Therefore, according to communitarians, the state of the democratic societies have to take their responsibility to educate citizens morally and offer demanded conditions so that they can learn and exercise the most important civic virtues.

The liberals, in turn, criticize communitarianism essentially for its conservative political orientation. They say that there is an ample diversity of forms of community and not all of them are evaluated morally; for instance, some traditional communities are characterized by the intolerance, violence and hatred (Talisse, 2001: 291). Indeed, the communitarian arguments are very close to a sort of traditionalism that reminds us of the series of unjust events of our history. Thus, there is no guarantee that all communities have the capacity to educate their member citizens morally. Bell tries to give a comment on the debate between liberals and communitarians from the as much neutral as possible point of view:

> "Most important, liberals now emphasize, is not choosing our own life-plans, or thinking of ourselves as unencumbered by social ties and commitments; rather, liberalism founded on the value of self-determination requires only that we be able critically to evaluate our ends, hence that 'no end or goal is exempt from possible re-examination.' It may well be that we initially came to value certain

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attachments without having exercised the powers of choice, and that we cannot entirely escape our socialization, but that does not mean that we can't engage in autonomous deliberation as a piecemeal process, 'akin to repairing Neurath's boat at sea,' if we have valid reasons for doing so." (Bell, 1993: 9)

Having been familiarized with the origin of the communitarianism and debates around it, we now go on to see the variety of communitarianism. As noticed, its definition is rather ample and sometimes imprecise, therefore there are several interpretations of communitarianism. Delanty attempts to categorize it into four principal versions as showed in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Versions of Communitarianism

Versions	Liberal Communitarianism	Radical Pluralism	Civic Republicanism (Civic Communitarianism)	Governmental Communitarianism
Characteristics	Approach from the political philosophy	Emphasise on the group rights	Emphasise on the civic participation and social capital	Community in relation public policy
Authors or Groups	Michael Sandel Michael Walzer Charles Taylor	Marion Iris Young Feminist theories	Robert Bellah Philip Selznich Robert Putnam David Miller	Amitai Etzioni

(Source: Delanty, 2003: 74, modified by author)

First of all, the liberal communitarianism is the original critical answer to liberalism. The representative authors approach to the debate from the philosophical point of view to develop the ideal community for the realization of democratic political unities. Sandel says that the communitarianism is necessary because if we want to assure the liberty in the community, first we need the community, and second we have to have the sense of belonging and the civic participation to create the community (Sandel, 1996: 6). Other researchers express the necessity and worry regarding the cultural rights and national communities as well (Delanty, 2003: 87). Hence, the noteworthy feature of liberal communitarianism is it encourages the policy to

recognize those "particulars" such as culturally defined groups. Second, there is so-called radical

pluralism, which is often considered as the opposition of liberal patriotism and it aims to win the

right of groups. The feminist theory is the most symbolic one of this category. The third kind is the

civic republicanism, or also called civic communitarianism. This version shares very much of

what theories of civic society and social capital defend. Yet, Delanty sees the civic republicanism

as the appearance of nostalgia of good old days as the civic republicans search for the ideal

image of community in the times when liberal protestant values existed in the American society

(Delanty, 2003: 85). Lastly the governmental communitarianism is to be presented. It has been

known by the writings of Etzioni who is one of the activists of this sort. The marked feature of this

stream is that communities are treated as parts of governmental plans. Communities are no

longer groups of persons united by their cultures, languages, geography, etc., but they are

unities that can handle politics to correct the neo-capitalist societies (Delanty, 2003: 74, 87).

Putting in the different way to say, the government designs the policies to be taken within the

community by mobilizing the community. This affirmative involvement of government into the

project of recreation of moral society differs itself from the civic republicanism because the

former does not reject the governmental involvements or rather welcome them, whereas the

latter marks a certain distance between civil societies and the government, or better to say it

hates the governmental intervention. Still, governmental communitarians warn that the

governmental interference should not be too excessive to control the society, but it should let

communities strengthen themselves to share the burden of the state and to promote the

decentralization of power. At the same time, the governmental communitarianism recommends

that each individual should assume as much civil responsibility as possible. For instance, some

authors insist that the community service learning should be obliged to young people to increase

the civil participation and feeling of personal obligation toward belonging communities and fellow

citizens (Walter and Steinerg, 2006: 231). Etzioni also expresses the importance of civic responsibility in his platform of *Responsive Communitarianism* (Etzioni, 2004: 1-24). Thus, the governmental communitarianism admits the necessity to marginalize the importance of rights and liberty to some extent to increase the sense of responsibility allocated to all individuals in order to recover the morals in the society.

As far as the role of civil associations is concerned, practically all communitarians agree that these are essential, but they do to limit to the voluntary associations, rather include all types. Communitarianism differs from theories of civil society, association, and social capital, which see all sort of "governmental" or "state" institutions as somewhat negative and doubt about their capacity to form the democratic values, therefore, true civic organizations are the only actors for the realization of civic morals.

The general critics given to the overall communitarianism encompass the forever-lasting discussion about supremacy of individual over community. We have encountered this constantly in the analysis of other theories, and communitarianism cannot escape from it because it is also developed under the Western context of liberal tradition. Simply stated, communitarianism sounds too conservative, too contradictory and too idealistic. First, communitarianism calls popular distaste for its too much emphasis on "morals" and conservative attitude (Talisse, 2001: 293; Bell, 1993:1; Delanty, 2003: 88). A number of communitarian literature refer to the traditional American society as the model of social moral salvation, yet it also seems missing the point because the societies of modern age is much more complex than those of the old days, in which the economy, cultures, international relations and more are connected intricately. Hence, the communitarian arguments appealing too much to the human conscience cannot convince the audience. Second, the Western liberal culture pushes communitarianism to hold the ambiguous position, and even in some ways it appears to be

contradictory. Communitarianism wants to expose the value of responsibilities and social duties, but at the same time it does not want to deny the importance of liberty for which people have fought for long. Captured in the dilemma, the communitarians are not being able to give a concrete, clear, consistent and realizable answer to convince people. Beng-Huat analyzes new communitarians like Etzioni are still having too much faith in liberalism, and for this reason communitarianism will not go farther in practice (Beng-Huat, 2004: 5). The third reason is closely related to the second one: the idealist perspective of communitarianism. For example, Bell criticizes Etzioni's platform, because a platform has to be intellectually attractive as well as politically relevant, but Etzioni's idea does not fulfill this criteria, therefore it is in denial (Bell, 1993: 1). Schmitter also comments that communitarianism is ignoring the present conditions such as the intricacy of decision-making process and the worldwide states' interdependencies, and communitarianism cannot cover all these necessities (Schmitter, 1995: 20).

Despite of all critics, communitarianism is also one of the noteworthy theories for the revival of civic virtues and the better functioning of democracy. For the scholar of Asian studies, it is also an interesting theory because the Asian societies tend to have more features described in the communitarianism frame. Therefore, the considerable part of next chapter will be devoted to analyze the Asian communitarianism.

2.3.12.   Relationship Between State and Civil Society

After examining the variety of social, political, economic and cultural influences over the patterns of civil society, we introduce two studies by Salamon and Anheier with their special focus on the state-society relations. Their research is important and opportune to be presented here, because their essential interest is the society's conditions listed above (namely the social, political, economic and cultural contexts) in which civil society grows and volunteers are born, yet

they have not been considered enough yet (Anheier and Salamon, 2001: 43).

The article published in 1998 aims to figure out the contexts in which associations of civil society grow, and it is named as the theory of social origins. The starting question is the following, "we know from the recent research the vital importance of social capital, therefore the role of voluntary association to produce it, but what it is that encourages or allows such associations to develop?" (Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 214). Their assumption is that a number of factors affect the ways of nonprofit sector, such as culture, religion, degree of heterogeneity and level of government social welfare spending (214), or in another word, the "embeddedness" of volunteer sectors in social, political and economic realities (215). Hence, examine the cross-national data on nonprofit sectors from 7 different countries (Sweden, France, Italy, Germany, United Kingdom, United States and Japan) by first considering five existing theories to explain the size and financial means of voluntary associations: government failure/market failure theory, supply-side theory, trust theory, welfare state theory and interdependence theory. None of above are satisfactory to tell the scale of civil society associations, thus they opt the social origins theory that permits to consider the prior patterns of historical development of different societies and their voluntary associations in relation with the balance of power among social classes, between state and society, and among nations (226), and their findings demonstrate that the social origins theory appears to explain better the volume of voluntary sector of civil society. To them, nonprofit organizations are important actors of social and political coordination, therefore, they are tightly embedded in the already-existed social, political and economic conditions (227), therefore, the role of state, a particular position for the voluntary sector formed by the history, and in addition, a precise constellation of varied social forces are important to determine the way of civil society (228). Taking such factors into account, Salamon and Anheier formulate the models of voluntary sector regime as shown in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Models of Third-Sector Regime

Government Social	Nonprofit Scale	
Welfare Spending	Low	High
Low	Satist	Liberal
High	Social Democratic	Corporatist

(Source: Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 228)

(Source: Salamon and Anheier, 1998: 228)

In the *liberal model,* government social welfare spending is low and that gives more space for nonprofit sector to grow. Normally, this model is shaped by the historical background where middle class hold ascendancy yet traditional landed elites or working class have never been considerably strong. Therefore, the liberal model maintains ideological and political hostility towards governmental intervention to social welfare matters, and gives preference for voluntary approaches instead. According to the analysis results of Salamon and Anheier (1998), of 7 sampled countries, Unite Kingdom and United States are categorized into this model. The opposite of liberal model is the *social democratic model* in which state delivered actively social welfare protection and not much room left for nonprofit organizations to develop. This model can be observed most likely in societies where working class successes to exercise effective political power in alliance with other social classes. Yet, it is important to mention that it does not mean the size and development of service-providing voluntary sector is limited, rather there is no need for organizations of such purpose, but it gives civil society a different role as the promoter of political, social, cultural or recreational expressions and interests. Sweden and Italy are of this group. The third and fourth models are often overlooked by conventional civil society theories, still important and much of our interest. In *corporatist model*, the state is either obliged or pushed to make some reasons to promote nonprofit organizations to preserve the support from important

social elites as well as pre-empting more radical demands by the masses for social welfare. The relationship between government and the size of nonprofit sector appear to be more curvilinear than linear, in which the size of voluntary sector increase as governmental social welfare spending grows (whereas in liberal model, as nonprofit sector decreases governmental social welfare spending decreases). The representative countries of this model are Germany and France. Finally, in the statist model, the state controls a wide range of social policies, and it exercises power for its own behalf, or to serve for the business and economic elites (the crucial different between the statist model and the social democratic regimes is the key actors who hold the political power; in social democratic model they are organized working class whereas in the statist model, they are politicians themselves or those with strong connections with business and economic sectors). In this environment, both government social welfare protection and voluntary activities are considerably constrained. Japan is the country characterized by the statist model.

Anheier and Salamon's article in 2001 goes the same research line of social origins theory as that of 1998, but this time more attention to the act of volunteering instead of establishment of civil associations. In other words, their research interest moves from meso (institution) to micro level (individuals) who give time for some particular purpose. To start with, they are very conscious about the disagreement of notions of volunteering and volunteers in different countries (Anheier and Salamon, 2001: 48). Not only the varieties of concept of volunteering observed within the Western world that are often put into one single group yet each country has its own historical, cultural and political connotations (48), the diversity of ideas, resource and availability of volunteering in non-Western contexts, particularly in the settings of developing countries is enormous (60-61). In addition, Anheier and Salamon aware that it is not easy to define volunteering by objective means, because from the subjective point of view, volunteering is deeply tied to personal motivations, which are normally made up of the different

combination of altruistic, instrumental and obligatory factors (56), and dispositions (50). In fact, their cross-national analysis of 23 countries including European, other developed and Latin American countries, confirms the wide range of scale of volunteering around the world, and hardly can it be categorized according to the simple measures like geographical, political, historical or economic position (58). The better possible grouping system Anheier and Salamon propose is the models of social origins as already presented in their articles of 1998. Here again, United States and United Kingdom fit in the liberal model in which volunteering is recognized with a special emphasis on individual public service, Sweden, Finland and other Scandinavian countries are classified in the social democratic model in which people participate in voluntary activities seeking the opportunities of individual and group expression, France and Germany are identified as the corporatist model countries where volunteering is historically defined in relation to state provision and administration, and finally Japan represents the statist model with considerably low volunteering activities and involvements. The developing countries of Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe countries appear to be close to the statist model although some hopes left for the newly emboldened middle class leaders to promote the rise of volunteering people and sector as well as pushing state expenditures for those so that they move towards the corporatist model (61-64). Still, Anheier and Salamon observe the changing in public recognition and role of volunteers in traditionally low-volunteer countries like Japan due to the domestic and international pressures to count more on the voluntary sector. In any case, Anheier and Salamon's measure is one of valid alternative approaches to analyze civil society and voluntary associations.

2.4. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, the major approaches, concepts and theories on democracy are

reviewed. We paid special attention to the Tocqueville school branches, which give importance on the role of associations in the society for the improvement of democracy. Particularly the theories of civil society and social capital discuss the positive role of voluntary associations for the strengthening of democracy, and at the same time empower citizens to be active players of democracy. We also looked carefully the relationship among these approaches and the influence of liberalism in the Occidental context. More specifically, liberalism claims more individual rights to be strengthened; therefore Western model liberal democracy is funded on the ground of rights. Yet, the excessive desire for rights put the appropriate balance between rights and responsibility for democracy at risk. Hence, the new debate on communitarianism comes out to save our democracy. Having obtained the basic knowledge on the Western-based theories on democracy, in the next chapter, we will examine how notions of democracy, right, responsibility, individuals, community and related items are viewed in the non-Western societies, concretely in East Asia.

3. Chapter 3: Community, Confucianism and Democracy in East Asia

3.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, an overview of theories on democracy was presented to get a basic idea of studies of democracy today, and to be familiar with some topics and discussions relating to the research theme of this work. As repeated in abundance, the special attention has been paid on the relationship between democracy and the influence of liberalism in the Western sphere. In this chapter, we move to extend our knowledge on the societies where the liberalism tradition is not found in the original traditions. In other words, in these societies, the social, cultural and political structures are based on the principle of collective identity rather than the value of autonomy and freedom. Our target region is Asia, in particular East Asia, where people live in the rather community-oriented environment with different religious, cultural and social influences, and it is said that the democracy there functions in a different manner.

3.2. Asia

"Diversity." This is the perfect word to explain Asia in the simplest way. This enormously huge region is somewhat difficult to define. Originally the name of Asia was used to call the area situated in the east of Europe, and the definitions of Asia are still being debated and changed depending on the purposes of use. Geographically speaking, Asian continent occupies the world's largest area. Demographically speaking, this region hosts the world's largest population, yet the difference among most populated countries such as China with 1.3 billion or India with 1.2 billion and small population countries like Brunei with only about 400,000 people is immense. Meteorological speaking, Asia contains varied climates from coo-temperate in Northern part of

the Korean Peninsula to the tropical weathers in Southeast Asia. Linguistically speaking, it is said that some 600 to 800 languages are spoken in Asian area (this diversity comes mostly from South Asia), in addition to their countless dialects. Racially speaking, there are numerous races and minority groups found in Asia, and the new encounters of unknown ethical minorities happen time to time still (they are found in the South-east Asian jungles sometimes). Historically speaking, most countries have passed through the colonization, and Thailand and Japan are counted the two rare cases without such incident. These experiences gave great influence over colonized countries with regard to cultures, languages, cuisines, etc. (For instance, the Philippines' culture and languages are strongly influenced during the Spanish colony (many Philippines have Spanish surnames) and the American occupation. In Malaysia, Indonesia, Vietnam, and others, originally there were their own writing systems, but French and British colonization introduced the alphabet as the writing letters) (Centre for Documentation & Area-Transcultural Studies, 2004). Besides, there were numerous wars within the region, and some of them are still going on. Religiously speaking, Asia is composed of Islamic, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, Hindu, Confucian, Buddhist, Shintoism, Taoism and more religion believers. Moreover, they are mixed, altered, and influenced by local religions in some cases in some countries (Masaki, 2015: 18-87). Culturally speaking, all varieties listed above influence the cultures of Asian countries in the complex manners, especially in those countries with diverse religions, races, and so on. Some countries, particularly those in South Asia are said to be extremely traditional. Furthermore, one of remarkable and the mysterious aspects of Asian developed countries such as Japan, South Korea and Singapore is the coexistence of profoundly traditional but at the same time extremely modern cultures. Economically speaking, there are, on one hand, the developed and economically rich countries such as Singapore, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong which can be ranked equally with European and North American

counterparts, whereas on the other hand, the developing countries (often they are still in the conflictive and unstable situations) like Afghanistan is still suffering from extreme poverty. Such economic condition also provokes the considerable difference in the education level, the life expectancy rate, the fertility rate, and so forth. And finally, politically speaking, Asia is also interesting because the diversity of political forms is another factor to make this region so significant and peculiar. There is a concentration of still-surviving authoritarian regimes; North Korean socialist regime is extremely closed and authoritarian, Myanmar has recently freed from the military regime and people are striving for the political stability, China and Vietnam choose the open economy yet they still survive to maintain the socialist or communist political system, Singapore presents the successful economic development story under the control of single party politics (in a manner, Japan also achieve the economic success under LDP's dominance in politics), and Afghanistan and other conflictive countries have not been able to establish concrete political system yet. All this factors and variations make us confused and difficult to grasp the overall image of Asia. Therefore, we need to concentrate on smaller region to find some similarity to facilitate our research, especially to investigate the common cultural, social and political patterns. Hence, our focus moves to the region named East Asia.

3.3. East Asia

Asia is often divided into East, Southeast, South and Central Asia according to the geographical and cultural similarities. East Asia is located in the most Eastern part of the Asian continent, and usually includes China (the formal name is People's Republic of China), Japan, North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea), South Korea (the Republic of Korea), Mongolia and Taiwan. This geographic-based classification is mostly used, yet, if we use the cultural-based categorization, some scholars include Vietnam and Singapore for the Chinese

cultural influence and the Confucian teaching influence, and exclude Mongolia for its long relation with former Soviet Union therefore cultural difference. Singapore is also grouped together with South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong into so-called "Asian Tigers" or "Asian Dragons." These countries succeed to achieve the remarkable economic development during 1960s to 1990s, and the Confucian influence on these countries is often referred to give the explanation of such success. There is another tricky point to be mention in regard to Taiwan and Hong Kong. Taiwan and Hong Kong are often treated as independent entities, yet in the strict sense, they are not countries but the parts of China[8]. Still, certainly many customs, habits, values and cultures of these places are different from the Chinese mainland due to their historical paths and political strategies, therefore, often times it is convenient to treat them separately. One may also question about Macau that was Portuguese colony until 1999, and same as Hong Kong and Taiwan, it has its particular cultures and meanings. In this study, what have been interested are the political culture and the civic orientation of Asian citizens, and possibly the Singapore case contributes to show the interesting aspects and phenomenon originated from the Confucian thought. Separating Hong Kong and Taiwan from mainland China may help us to have better understanding of the behaviors of their citizens, political tendencies and so forth. Because of having less common political, social and cultural features with the Confucian Asia, excluding Mongolia enable us to simplify the analysis. We may not pay too much attention to Macau as our literature and survey data used in later chapters does not include Macau sometimes. It is too difficult to know the citizens' political behaviors and political culture in North Korea for its extremely reclusive political situation; there is practically no literature available on the present

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[8] There are on-going debates about the international status of Taiwan, which declare its independence from China, but the UN has not been admitted it as a country. In the case of the UN, it is no more than the political game and massive influence of China within it. In any ways, we are not to do in depth about this discussion in this work, but it is worthy to mention about this aspect here. As for Hong Kong, since the retrocession from the U.K. in 1997, it is officially a part of China and the formal name is Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China.

North Korean society anyway. Therefore, in this work, Singapore will be referred time to time within the frame of East Asia, Hong Kong and Taiwan are treated as separated entities from mainland China, and Mongolia, Macau and North Korea is not include into our research.

It is true that East Asian countries share some common features as stated above, yet, it is also true that within East Asia there are also remarkable differences among member countries. Take language for example, although Chinese was used in the East Asian territory once in the history, at the present time, all countries speak different languages (Chinese in China, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and some population in Singapore, Korean in South Korea, Japanese in Japan), and all used languages have their own writing systems. As seen before, East Asian region embraces a variety of political system such as democracy, open-economy socialism and single party politics. What makes these countries and their citizens want to label themselves differently from one another may be the modern history of Japanese colonization and related wars in East Asia. It is not the right place to discuss about this any further here, yet, it should be noted that certainly this unsolved historical problem is one of the causes of diversification of this region.

Having said that, the reason why we categorized countries into the East Asia group is that there are some features in common and these affect the way of democracy and people's political behaviors in this region. We now go on to analyze these typical aspects resuming into three subjects: the importance of community (Asian communitarianism), the influence of Confucianism, and the ways of democracy in East Asia.

3.4. East Asia's Common Features

3.4.1. Importance of Community (Asian Communitarianism)

The theory of communitarianism was overviewed in the former chapter, and we did the

revision paying much attention between the theory and the influence of liberalism in the European-American background. As a matter of fact, it was did so on purpose to be able to compare the communitarian theory with the concept of community and origin of such group-oriented value in the East Asian environment. In these societies people are not inspired by the liberalism values as much as Western societies are, the traditional values teach them to live harmoniously within the belonging communities. Perhaps for those East Asians who are actually born in such societies do not hear the name of communitarianism in their day by day life, nor do majority of Asian scholars argue about this concept. Still most of communitarian principles viewed in the former chapter are observed in the East Asian community-oriented societies intensively. Therefore, in this section, we will try to analyze the societies of East Asia from the point of communitarian view, and for convenience, we call this as Asian communitarianism.

The East Asian traditions promote the formation of community-oriented societies, and in order to do so, they often given more weight on the individual's responsibility than the liberty and rights side. This tendency sometimes causes the belief that one should sacrifice oneself before the well-being of the community. To Western academics, this attitude neither sounds acceptable nor looks democratically. Hence, the Asian communitarianism is often shadowed under the name of authoritarianism. Fukuyama states:

> "The most significant challenger being posed to the liberal universalism of the American and French revolutions today is not coming from the communist world, whose economic failures are for everyone to see, but from those societies in Asian which combine liberal economies with a kind of <u>paternalistic authoritarianism</u>. (Cited in Beng-Haut, 1999: 579, underline added by the author.)

In another article, Fukuyama also names the Asian regimes as "soft authoritarianism" in which

the combination of relatively free economic market and the political authority assists the strong

group consensus over the individual rights (Fukuyama, 1995b: 13). Etzioni goes as follows:

> Authoritarian communitarians (some of whom are often referred to as "Asian" or "East Asian" communitarians) are those who argue that to maintain social order and harmony, individual rights and political liberties must be curtailed. Some believe in the strong arm of the state (such as former Singapore Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew and Malaysian head of state Mahathir Bin Mohamad), and some in strong social bonds and the voice of the family and community (especially the kind of society Japan had, at least until recently). Among the arguments authoritarian communitarians make is that social order is important to people, while what the West calls liberty actually amounts to social, political, and moral "anarchy"; that curbing legal and political rights is essential for rapid economic development; and that legal and rights are Western ideas, which the West uses to harshly judge other cultures that have their own inherent values (Etzioni, 2004: 9)

As seen, depending on each authors, the Asian regimes are oftentimes categorized somewhere

between communitarianism and authoritarianism. Communitarianism may sound less harmful

and more positive, and authoritarianism leaves the negative image, as it appears to be less

developed and non-democratic. This simple impression itself is not so important, yet, to tell the

truth, this intuition should be paid more consideration because the idea of common good may

provoke the danger of being utilized to justify the authoritarianism. Thereupon, the idea of

collective interest to maintain the social order as much as possible should always be presented

with the necessity of minimum consensus of community members (Beng-Haut, 1999: 578). For

the Asian communitarianism defenders, if the citizens of Asian societies appreciate the logic of

social order maintenance based on the value of common good and they choose to do follow it

despite of all negative matters relating to the communitarianism, it should no longer be called as

authoritarianism, but rather Asian communitarianism.

The beginning of discussions on the Asian communitarianism does not date back too far, for simply reasons that until recently neither the Western nor Asian scholars were interested in the exchange of opinions toward distinct political behavior patterns originated in cultures. As Chan states, a century ago, there were practically no references to the model of Asian communitarianism, because many Asian intellectuals considered their cultural traditions and their ethic-religious social systems were considerably inferior to those of the Occidental countries (Chan, 1997: 46). Moreover, if there have not been the remarkable economic development in Asia, especially in East Asia, the Western sphere would never have worried about such far eastern countries with authoritarian-oriented political practice and tradition, and simply they would have tried to export the Western political model to Asia, or to close the diplomatic relationship with traditionalist countries until they learn to be more "civilized" and prepared to install the liberal democratic practice following the Western manners (Bell, 2006: 8). Yet, the time has changed, and respectful representatives of both sides now want to understand and learn from each other, or some aggressive advocates act to defend and impose their arguments time to time: the debate between Western liberal democracy and Asian communitarianism (Asian authoritarianism). For the Westerners, the Asian countries still keep appearing to be non-democratic states and not sufficiently liberalized, in addition, they do not pay enough attention on the issue of human rights. On the other hand, for the Asians, the Western world based strictly on the principles of liberalism does not look so attractive because it is riddled with social problems cause by the excess of liberalism and individualism. Asian defenders add the fact that to some extent most of Asian countries have accepted the Occidental modernity (in some cases willingly and others unwillingly), or better to say "Americanized," in order to participate in the international games of diplomacy, of political power, of economy, of transnational communications, of military conflict cessation, and so on. As a matter of fact, this is

the reason why Asian countries are counted as the members of international community (Tu, 1996: 9). Furthermore, most of Asian countries have influenced by the Western political, constitutional and legal structures and inherited them widely after the colonization experience, so they are as much modernized and democratized as the Occidental counterparts (Chan, 1997: 42). In spite of high degree of Westernization, there are certain unchangeable proper cultures that Asians maintains for some reasons. Asians have no desire to lose them because their political, cultural and social systems function better with these cultures. One of them, and probably the most striking and indispensable Asian typical culture is the community-oriented or communitarian culture. Therefore, the citizens of Asian countries are born to belong to communities, and they would be educated to fulfill their communal obligations and duties before claiming their rights and freedom. For them, it is not sufficient that all citizens believe in the theory of democracy because "democracy, in whatever form, must be made to work" (Kausikan, 2004: 31) and if it does not work in practice, after all democracy is a mere idea. Hence, according to the Asian communitarians, despite of the unwelcomed factors like obligations before belonging communities and less consideration on individuals' rights, we definitely need the Asian communitarianism. Moreover, the East Asian community-oriented culture can even help Western theory of communitarianism to be salvaged from the philosophical and idealistic degree to the practical and comprehensive level.

The debate between the West and the East has been debated intensively among radical intellectuals, particularly during 1990s under the name of "Asian Values." The symbolic defenders of this school were basically the political leaders of Asian authoritarian governments with rapid and remarkable economic development, such as the former prime minister of Singapore Lee Kwan Yew and Mahathir Mohammad from Malaysia. According to them, the Asian countries' histories and origins of values are different from that of Western countries, therefore,

the governments of such countries should seek the different style of governance than that of Westerners search for; that is, the "Asian values," the more communitarian or authoritarian, paternalistic and hierarchical style politics. These values help Asian societies not to fall into the problematic Western liberal democracy full of troubles caused by the excessive liberalism. Kausikan notes that:

> In debating "Asian values," they are examining such issues as the responsibilities of individuals to the society as a whole, the role of the family, the integrity of public institutions, and the maintenance of law and order-issues that are also being widely debated in the West. Many Westerners now feel that serious problems have arisen in their own countries as a result of an overemphasis on liberal values and individual rights—indeed, an erosion of the very concept of legitimate authority. In fact, the most trenchant criticism of extreme individuals, of liberal democracy, and of key elements of Western-style systems, including education, the administration of justice, and the media, have been voiced not by Singaporeans or by citizens of any other Asian country, but by Westerners themselves. A small liberty could be compiled of such critiques by Western authors… But some Western liberals are uncomfortable talking about or even acknowledging values other than their own" (Kausikan, 2004: 33).

Asian Values debates were contracted when the Asian Financial Crisis happened in 1997 since the Asian defenders were no longer able to justify their regimes by the economic growth. In any case, as says De Bary, the real question of the Asian values' "liberal individualistic West" versus "communitarian authoritarian Asia" is not much of the geographical and cultural difference, but the never-ending pursuing of the appropriate balance between the "individual" and "community" in the democratic society (De Bary, 1998: 9). Bell also comments on this argument. His opinion is that there is a democracy for the region of East Asian, but not necessary the same as the

Western liberal democracy style. Generally speaking, the East Asian societies are relatively successful in adapting to the modernity's requirement. Taking this fact into consideration, it is an error to think that the final destination of social evolution in the history of humanity is the liberal democracy only. The reason to say that is already apparent: the East Asian evidence. The political realities and cultural traditions in East Asia are so different from those of Europe or America, yet they are still defensible. In fact, Bell even adds that it is worthwhile that Western world pays more attention to the Asian cultures to learn some Asian practices for the strengthening of social networks (Bell, 2006: 8, 18).

Ultimately, the relation between society and individual has been seen differently in the Western world and in the Asian sphere. In the European or American environment, the starting point to think about the relationship in the society is each individual, and when these individuals get together to form a group to ease the lives, for the first time a community appears. The ties of individuals with the community is based on the rule of voluntary will, therefore, these individuals are equipped with the rights and freedom so that they will not be abused or treated unjustly by the belonging community. Problems may be occurred within the culture, but they have to be resolved depending on the good will of individuals of the community. Cultures, customs, values and ethics are defined along this principle of individuality, thus the political system also set out to the liberal democracy as the final goal. On the other hand, in the East Asian world, community is the precondition of the existence of an individual. Individuals are parts of community, and all members are born to fulfill the communal obligations and duties allocated, although it is also true that the new trend of inclination towards individualism especially among young generation is inevitable. If all individuals carry out their missions, the community should work without major problem, therefore, this system also has the function of conflict avoidance. As far as assigned responsibilities are satisfied, the members of community are also allowed to enjoy their rights

and freedom. Persons are educated to acquire the cultures, customs, values and ethics to be on the track of communitarianism, therefore, what appeared are communitarian or authoritarian-oriented political regimes.

The history, religious thought and other factors make the Western liberal tradition and we have analyzed some of them in the former chapter. In the following section, we will look for the origin of community-oriented East Asian culture. We particularly look into the common influence of Confucianism given to the East Asian countries because it is said to be one of the original reasons of the collective-minded societies.

3.4.2. Confucian Influence

As explained above, the East Asian societies can be marked to have a different manner of governance than that of European or American societies. In concrete terms, they put more emphasis on the community, and the surrounding environments and cultures are not influence by the liberalism idea as much as the Westerners are. Neither Occidental nor Oriental models are perfect to govern a society peacefully. Generally speaking, the Western liberal model has been the defender of rights and freedom, yet suffering from the social problems caused by the abuses of such advantages. On the other side, the East Asian communitarian model favors the smooth function of governance and economic development, yet individuals' rights and liberties are often disregarded and limited under the name of collective interests. Until now, the academic world has been dominated and lead by the Western philosophy, yet what is needed, and what is try to do in this work is the exchange of fruit of each spheres and learn from one another. Fukuyama agrees with this attempt and says that the fact that the Asians have been able to dominate the modern technological world and have transformed their societies into capitalist and compatible with those in the West. Such experiences make the Westerners to face to the weakness of their

societies in such way that no other alternative ideologies have achieved to do so. In short, Asia proposes an ideological challenge to the world (Fukuyama, 1995b: 12).

However, as we also seen before, the Asia, or in our case, the East Asia is rather a wide and ambiguous definition because the varieties of languages, religions, customs, cultures, political systems and so forth within East Asia. It makes us difficult to find the common aspects and shared values. Still, we studied above that the community-oriented spirit was one of the shared values. And now, we focus on another feature, namely the Confucian influence.

It is curious that when surveys ask the East Asians about their belonging religions, merely do they list the Confucianism. The origin of Confucianism dates back to the anti-Christum times in China, and the overall system of belief, thought, teaching and lessons developed by Kongzi (Confucius) is called Confucianism. Along its long history, there have been branches and schools originated from this stream, and also successive kings, emperors and politicians of different dynasties and regimes in varied periods in East Asian region embraced the teaching of Confucianism. They adopted it not so much as the religious beliefs but rather the strategic teachings for the governance and economic development. In addition, Confucianism has been mixed and transformed into new beliefs by encountering with other religions and local beliefs, because it is relatively tolerant to other ethic systems and religions. In fact, Confucianism has been coexisting with other religions in the past, notably with Buddhism and Christianism[9] (Fukuyama, 1995: 26). Also, in China, the Confucianism is called by different names depending on the purpose of use, indeed, there is no term equivalent to English "Confucianism" in Chinese. These are the reasons that most East Asians don not identify themselves with Confucianism as their believing religion, rather they treat it as the ethical guidelines. The countries maintaining the vast influence of Confucianism are, as listed before, mainland China, Hong Kong, Taiwan,

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[9] Fukuyama reminds us that the Confucian tolerance is widely known, although it is not perfect since there were periods of persecutions against Buddhists in China (Fukuyama, 1995: 26).

Macau, South Korea, Japan and Vietnam (still the degree of influence and the interpretations of Confucian teachings also vary in each country[10]).

Due to the long history as well the numerous branches and schools, to give the overall characteristics of Confucianism is not an easy task. Despite that, the followings are the general description of Confucianism often referred: consensus as the preferred method of decision-making: negotiation as the conventional means to solve conflicts: informal arbitration as the most frequently used substitute in the formal legal procedures: and the common practice of mediation through third parties to avoid direct confrontations among rivals. All these customs exit to maintain the group or community solidarity in the political, economic and social activities (Tu, 1996: 9). There are also other values and ethics Confucianism put emphasis on such as the competitive education, the strong and discipline work spirits, the principles of equality and mutual trust, the self-cultivation, the importance and orientation toward families, and so on. Still, they are not as distinguished as the former values listed, because technically speaking these are transferable to the Western virtues as well. Beng-Huat adds one more values that is, according to him, the only Confucian value that may possibly cause the difficulty to export to the Occidental thought: the value of communitarianism, the heart of Confucianism (Beng-Huat, 1999: 573). In order to obtain the total harmony, governments should not doubt about exercising their power actively over people because Confucianism fuses the morality and politics. Within this kind of society, the group interests have more importance than the interests of individuals. The authorities have more importance than the liberty, and the responsibilities mean more critical than the rights. It may sound tremendously shocking for some liberal thinkers, and there is no reason to deny the fact that there are also Asians who are not comfortable with this system. Still, the majority of East Asians actually identify themselves with such Confucian thought (Chan,

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[10] We will analyze the Confucian influence in Japan in the next chapters.

1997: 40). Fundamentally the Confucian believers tend to be collectivist, hierarchical, and conformist, therefore no doubt about that superficially they certainly sound and look as the enemy of democracy. O the other hand, indeed, Confucianism respects and considers the moral aspects profoundly (as mentioned above, Western democracy and Confucianism have many principal morals in common), therefore they are potentially useful to stop the actual extreme liberalism and individualism (Fox, 2008: 50). De Bary suggests that Confucianism serves to strengthen the essential elements of civil society such as the practical infrastructures and the counterbalance institutions to keep eyes on the monopoly and abuse of the state power (De Bary, 1998: 16).

With the description provided above, we now have knowledge on the general concept and significance of Confucianism. In the following sections, three particular aspects of Confucianism will received special attention. These points are selected because they facilitate us to analyze the features of civil societies, forms of association, and communitarianism in East Asia. They are: superiority of community to individuals; emphasis on responsibility than right; and preference to harmony than direct confrontation.

3.4.3. Community rather Individual

Even in the West, as we have seen, people recognize the importance and inevitability of human relations. "We need to emphasize that human beings are more than individuals, that we are parents, children, creatures, citizens, and friends" (Lawler, 2004: 50). The relationships among persons are even more significant in the Confucian societies. Tu observes that, in these societies today, Confucian ethics have been losing the supports in the work environments, in the economic organizations, in the political ideologies, and in the social behaviors; still, the presence and influence of Confucianism is still so powerful and irreplaceable in practically all aspects of

the interpersonal relationships of daily life in East Asia (Tu, 1996: 5). If Confucianism influences the personal relationships so remarkably, obviously the civil societies, which are the sum of personal relationships, are also ordered along the Confucian tradition[11]. And, for that reason, the way of civil society in the West and East is widely different[12].

Traditionally speaking, the paradigm of human relationships in Confucianism (predicated on the writing of Mencius who is one of the most famous Confucians) is described as follows:

Between parent and child there is to be affection

Between ruler and minister, rightness

Between husband and wife, [gender] distinctions

Between older and younger [siblings], an order of precedence

Between friends, trustworthiness.

(Cited in De Bary, 1998: 17.)

Three aspects regarding to this writing should be mentioned: the family, the reciprocity and the hierarchy.

First of all, the order of the list shown above should be paid attention, because it is registered following the priority of the human relations and the moral order of Confucianism. It may appear to be striking because the family relationship is on the top of the list, therefore, more important than any other relations. The Asian tradition of this nature puts extra stress on the centrality of the family tie, although the difference of degree is observed widely in each country of East Asia. There is even the classic proverb saying that, "the state can govern people correctly only if families are stable"; it shows the Confucian vision of human relations clearly (Tu, 1996: 8). The wide concept of "family" is not limited in the real family realm, but also in almost all forms of

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[11] For more details on the civil societies of Confucian cultures, please refer to Shils, 1996: 38-71.

[12] We will study in depth particularly about the civil society in Japan in the next chapters.

social organization and related environments like the political power games, the moral education, and in the political cultures of East Asian countries. The family-like personal networks form the civic associations with the informal and beyond-legal characteristics, hence, there are less presence of the concept of "contract" like most Western associations have. Tu points out that the lack of civil society development under the conception of Western style (civil society depending more on voluntary associations) comes from this cultural context (Tu, 1996: 8).

Secondly, it is significant that the all human relations of Confucianism presented above entail the idea of reciprocity. Putting in different terms, humans depend on the relationship of mutual dependency, or the supposition of "give and take. For instance, if we focus on the relationship of father and son, the father has the responsibility to take care of the son and educate him. At the same time, the son has the filial obligation like taking care of the elder father or to obey him. Thusly, all these actions are based on the mutual affections. Under such philosophy, a person is born with responsibilities and not with rights. Moreover, in this culture, the assumption of human existence is the presence of human relationships and the social communities. This community-based notion marks the different point of view clearly from what liberal individualism has.

Finally, the presence of strong hierarchical system in the Confucian societies is unquestionable. Returning to the human relationships described before, all five links contain hierarchical orders. However, the Confucians try to explain the connections not as that of owner and slaves, but rather seniority hierarchy with strong importance on the responsibilities and obligations to every actor, especially to seniors. This is the reason that in the Confucian societies, it is often considered that the elder or the superior persons are to be punished more than the lowers when they do not complete their responsibilities.

All these human relations explained above show that the idea of social structures in the

Confucian societies is based on the person's relationship with other people, and eventually with the belonging community or shortly put, "community before an individual." Within this culture, a human never exist as a nucleus. The existence of an individual can only be justified through the social relations. Each person has his/her social responsibility and the maximum virtue that enables it to maintain this social system is the self-discipline. According to Kausikan, the North Americans and Asians have various similarities and differences in values. Both people say the self-belief and hard-working are the most important personal values. However, the Asians put emphasis on the importance of learning, honesty and self-discipline, whereas the American stress the personal success and to help others. As far as social values are concerned, both agree with that the existences of responsible public institutions and the freedom of expression are indispensable. Still, the vast majority of Asians think the social order cannot be lost in any situations, while the Americans believe that personal liberty and individual's rights cannot be taken off at any time. Therefore, it is not surprising that the American and Asian societies have the different understandings of democracy (Kausikan, 2004: 32). To Western defenders, sometimes Asians appear to be obliged by the authorities or governments to be self-disciplined to maintain social orders. Yet, the great part of Asian intellectuals say that the Asians do not feel forced to do so, rather, they, themselves believe that the communal harmony is the vital value. Others explain that the Asians accomplish the feeling of self-realization through the belonging community and the natural order. De Bary argues that this philosophy is equivalent the Western individualism, and he names this Confucian individualism as "personalism" (De Bary, 1998: 25). The self-cultivation is the central principle of the Confucianism; it does not bias either the society or individuality, rather it serves for the quest of balanced relation between those two (Tan, 1999: 442).

3.4.4. Responsibility rather Rights

The tendency of rights obsession observed in the present Occidental societies has provoked a certain retreat to the notion of responsibility, which we studied in the former chapter. Etzioni dedicates a vast part of his platform of Responsive Communitarianism to describe and deepen the concept of responsibility (Etzioni, 2004: 23). Oaks agrees that we have tried to achieve too many social goals through the right promotion, and as a consequence, we have paid too little attention to the responsibilities (Oaks, 1998: 97). Lawler thinks that we can be happy only when we have something to love and when we feel responsible of something, this is the reason why we have the responsibility to be faithful with others and this enable us to be good persons (Lawler, 2004: 50, 53). In our present society, the social responsibilities (for example tolerance, trust, benevolence, patriotism, respect to human and civil rights, participation in the democratic processes and dedicate oneself for the common good) are seen to be the unwanted products of rights, as if they are costs that we have to pay in order to keep living in the civilized societies. Especially, in the Western communities, the responsibilities are treated as the secondary factors, since the communities are dominated by the liberal ideology, and they are so-called rights based democracy" (Peerenboom, 2000: 307).

If we say that the Western democracy departs from "rights," it can be said that the starting point of Confucian democracy is "responsibilities." A well-functioning harmonious society maintains their members to respect the social obligations and this is what Confucian democracy wants its citizens to do so (O'Dwyer, 2003: 43). We have gained the knowledge on the Confucian societies which give importance on the human relationships and the motivation used to unite among members of societies is the feeling and satisfaction of obligation; all member persons have allocated responsibilities to complete, and if not, the society does not function. However, it does not mean that the human links take away the individual's independence or autonomy. The

explication for this is, as we have seen, the Asian as well as Western people share the concept of self-cultivation as the central aspiration of the life, and people realize it by connecting one another and assuming their responsibilities. Furthermore, the degree of independence and autonomy can vary depending on the desire to complete the obligations and the types of activities one chooses to participate (for example, within the activity of take care others, the range differs from looking after family, community, state, or international community, etc.), therefore the personal dignity is defended perfectly (Tu, 1996: 8). O'Dwyer adds that the most important obligations and responsibilities are not allocated to each individual, but to each human relations like between father and son, between brothers, between friends, between workmates, and so on. A person learn to be human by acquire the morals and virtues through the continuous interactions with other persons of varied relations (O'Dwyer, 2003: 44).

In a sense, the Confucian principle of community-oriented base and responsibility education something in common with the idea of participative democracy. O'Dwyer's description of participate democracy fits the Confucian environment:

> (1) members of such an association take part, to the best of their ability, in deliberating and directing the affairs of the association to which they belong; (2) such associations take upon themselves the responsibility for educating their several members with one aim being to increase their ability to participate in directing the affairs of their association; and (3) there is increasing interaction between different associations within a community, accompanied by a heightened mutual awareness of the consequences for each group of the conduct of their affairs, and a willingness to adjust their activities in light of this awareness (O'Dwyer, 2003: 47-48).

The existences of society, community, group, or whatever kinds of unities are the base of Confucianism since the human relationships are necessary and indispensable conditions of

the world. Therefore, the associations and groups are abundant and all citizens of Confucian societies have more possibility to participate in such activities. Responsibilities are allocated to all members according to their capacity and status. The mechanism of responsibility appeals to people's moral consciousness and self-discipline and it serves to control the outlaw members, or free-riders.

If defenders of Confucianism want to add one more advantage of associations found in the Confucian societies, it is the non-voluntary characteristics of the unities. People in Confucianism are design to belong to various human relationships, groups, associations and communities in varied levels of the life, and in most of cases, they do not choose which units to belong to but they are already designated. In the former chapter, we have studied the problematic aspects of voluntary associations, and basically their original problem is the notion of freedom; the right of association as well as the liberty to leave the association if one does not feel comfortable with the belonging group. This logic was explained within the framework of Warren's "exit" in which people associate by their own will, yet they are also free to assume or abandon the moral obligation freely. As a consequence, members of the association lose the opportunity to train themselves to tolerate and negotiate with others, or acquire the morals. By contrast, the Confucian system allots the belonging associations and people are expected to be well-disciplined to assume and complete their responsibilities. No space of freedom is provided until one fulfils the given duty. Whether one considers it as democratic or not depends on whether persons living in this system feel to be obliged to follow the rule or appreciate it as a part of self-cultivation process.

Still, we have to mention that there is a negative side of disciplined and responsible citizens such as the Confucian people are expected to be. The excessive importance on the responsibility make people feel culpable if they cannot fulfil their assigned duties and such stress

are actually causing other types of social problems. The high rate of suicide in East Asian societies[13] is one of such negative signals because some of citizens in such societies cannot endure the pressure of group, communal or organizational responsibilities and choose to kill themselves. While the Western societies suffer from social problems like extreme individualism, the Asians have problem in dealing with too much feeling of responsibilities. The debates always comes back to the fundamental point that we have to look for the healthy balance between rights and responsibilities, and this may be one of significant examples to show the necessity.

Thus, in the Confucian cultures, people are to born and live in the community, where one learns to be responsible by facing the variety of human relationships. It does not mean that an individual does not have his/her human dignity or independence in such society, rather, people acquire them by assuming their responsibility and through the satisfaction obtained by the process of self-cultivation.

3.4.5. Harmony rather Conflict

We have seen the Confucian way to see the world of humanity which gives the emphasis on the human relations and the fulfillment of assign responsibility as a member of community. The ultimate end to do so is because Confucianism wants the harmony in its societies, and tried to avoid all possible conflicts by any means.

The term "harmony" may sound positive and peaceful, yet it is also difficult to realize in the real society. In addition, due to its fuzziness, it is also complicated for people to understand the true significance. However, it is tremendously critical to appreciate it correctly, because otherwise, the deviation of harmony can lead to authoritarianism like other essential components of Confucianism, Fox introduces a short tale to ease us understand the principle of harmony

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[13] WHO. (2012). *Suicide data.* [online] Available at:
http://www.who.int/mental_health/prevention/suicide/suicideprevent/en/ [accessed: 13 November 2016].

properly:

> The Marquis of Qi had returned from a Hunt, and was being attended by Master Yan at the Chuan Pavilion when Ran Qiu came galloping up at them at full speedy. The Marquis remarked, "It is only Ran Qiu who harmonizes with me!" Master Yan replied, "Certainly Ran Qiu agrees with you, but how can you say that he harmonizes with you?" Master Yan answered, "There is a difference. Harmonizing is like cooking soup. You have water, fire, vinegar, pickle, salt, and plums with which to cook the fish and meat. You heat it by means of firewood, and then the cook harmonizes the ingredients, balancing the various flavors, strengthening the taste of whatever is lacking and moderating the taste of whatever is excessive. Then the gentleman eats it, and it serves to relax his heart…. Now, Ran Qiu is not like this. What his lord declares acceptable, he also declares acceptable; what his lord declares wrong, he also declares wrong. This is like trying to season with more water—who would be willing to eat it?" (Zuo Commentary, cited in Fox, 2008: 36.)

Returning to our real world, what this story wants to teach us is that, in the democratic community, we have to achieve the harmony constructed by citizens participating, debating, negotiating and obtaining decisions out of many different opinions, but never by the simple resignations. In the day-by-day life, it is often easy and quick to submit oneself to what the other people say or what the superiors tell to do. This laziness makes societies inactive and routine; in this case, it is the beginning of authoritarian society not originated from the extreme control by the authority power but caused by the abandonment and the apathy of members of the community. The story above teaches us the significant different between two ways to obtain an agreement, and it also reminds the community members to fulfill their responsibilities actively to maintain the fine balance of community components, which is named as "harmony." Fox argues that the harmony emerged from the interactions of diverse points of view can strengthen the state or government democratically. He also evaluates the Confucian communal harmony positively because the

thoughts and teachings of Confucianism offer this environment of harmony through the closeness, familiarity and informality of communal authorities (Fox, 2008: 36, 37). As we have seen before, Confucianism makes an individual to be within a community inevitably, and his/her existence is shown through the human relations. This links with people bring the hierarchical orders, yet, the important point is that these are not necessarily authoritarian relationships. How to make these connections more democratic and not authoritative? The answer is by giving responsibilities to both sides of superior and inferior positions. Moreover, in Confucian societies, these human hierarchal but not authoritarian relations should not be mechanical but the familiar ones, therefore more informal and flexible. In this condition, it is possible to create the harmony by negotiations even among the superior and the inferior persons. Therefore, bringing this concept to the real society or political level, theoretically speaking, although it is not seen within the formal political process, the policy or issues should be debated and negotiated enough in the familiar environments beforehand. When these are presented in the public stage, the agenda should have been discussed sufficiently and the decisions should have been taken already. In other words, in the Confucian culture, process of discussion is the same as practiced in the Western politics, therefore it goes through the democratic check, the slight different is whether it is done formally or informally.

Even so, for some Western defenders, this Confucian ways to achieve agreement harmoniously but sufficiently debated may not sound correct or democratic still. The natural questions for them will be why not Confucians do the decision making process in the public spaces and not in the informal settings. The Confucian answer is this; it is a matter of aesthetic, and not much of logic. On one hand, there are the Western people admiring persons with highly developed skills of debate and discussion, in addition, they also applaud those who have skill to make statements loudly before the public. On the contrary, the Asians view that the harmony

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should be maintained even in the public space and this is the maximum beauty of the politics.

Persons or politicians speak and discuss openly in the public are rude and shameless, so they

prefer to do so behind the curtain and it also enable them to debate deeply because the

atmosphere is more informal and familiar. To sum up, it is not the question of which manner is

better or not, it is all about the aesthetical motive.

3.5. Democracy in East Asia

Having been familiarized with the East Asian region and its cultures, politics, societies,

especially the Communitarian orientation and the influence of Confucianism, it is time for us to

evaluate the democracies in the East Asian countries. Once again, we have to remind that there

are various non-democratic countries in this region. In addition, the differences among countries

can achieve to the considerable degree. Therefore, the general remarks we make here may not

grasp the all features of democracies in East Asia, and we will do the particular evaluation of

Japanese democracy in the following chapters.

According to Dalton and Shin, nowadays there are more than 400 million people living

under the democratic political system in East Asia, and almost half of the nations of this region

are categorized into democracy (Dalton and Shin, 2006: 3). Chu, Diamond, Nathan and Shin

agree that the social movements toward democracy in this region is certainly remarkable, yet

that also reminds us that unfortunately there are also "hollow, illiberal and poorly institutionalized"

characters in East Asian democracies, which rather welcome the authoritarian-characterized

regimes (Chu, Diamond and Nathan, 2010: 254). The principal issues mostly cited regarding

democracy in East Asia are approached by these two theories: the modernization theory and the

cultural theory. The ambiguous relationships between economic development and culture of

democracy in East Asia has been throwing an interesting question that is; whether East Asian

favorable socioeconomic conditions (sizable middle classes, well-educated populations, and highly internationalized economies) really promote the democratic legitimacy, or the region's culture, political history and the overall geopolitical configuration brake the deepening of democratic culture (Chu, Diamond, Nathan, and Shin, 2010: 10).

First, as we have seen before, the modernization theory is based on the assumption that if a state is developed economically, there is more possibility to have democratic politics. And the following Inglehart's studies has advanced the hypothesis that the more modernized societies are, the more importance will be paid to the values such as peace, ecology, democracy, pluralism, etc. than more basic needs like the economic growth and the national security. East Asian cases are favorite materials for the academics and students of this field as they challenge the reliability of these theses. The speedy and distinguished economic growth observed in East Asia was called as "Asian miracles" or "miracle economies." Although these had ends when the Japanese bubble economy has broken in 1989 and other East Asian tigers met the Asian economic crisis in 1997, their living conditions have improved to the level of Western countries and certain economic stabilities are guaranteed in such countries. Therefore, there will be practically no objection to treat these as industrialized and modernized countries. So, what has been expected is that the political values would be modernized to gain the total support for democracy as well as the cultural shift to promote the democracy. Shin challenges the debate on East Asian version of democracy empirically. His findings show that Confucian East Asian people evaluate political freedom less essential, rather they rank economic welfare more important (Shin, 2013). He comments that "differences in value priorities do have significant implications for the building of democracy, especially democracy in culturally Confucian East Asia" (Shin, 2013: 20).

All in all, the findings by several researchers are rather varied, and mostly it is said to be due to the wide variation and differences among East Asian countries. By using the empirical

analysis, the books, *Citizens, Democracy, and Markets Around the Pacific Rim* (eds. Dalton and Shin, 2006) and *How East Asians View Democracy* (eds. Chu, Diamond, et al., 2008), they try to show us the common features and distinct aspects of economic development and democratic status in East Asia and other Asian-Pacific countries. According to these studies, generally speaking, the vast majority of East Asians, no matter if living in the democratic regime or authoritarian regime, evaluate democracy positively and believe that democracy is the form of governance to be taken, but significant differences are observed between more Western-style-democracy-oriented countries like Japan and South Korea and Asian-values-defenders represented by Singapore. Cases of Japan and South Korea fit the modernization theory in some measure (although they do not reach the strong congruence level as much as the Western examples mark), whereas, Singapore's strong claim of Asian Values and following justification of authoritarian politics may be the irrelevant example of this theory. For this reason, most academics seek the additional explanations in cultural aspects of East Asian countries, in particular the Confucian influence.

Second, based on the Almond and Verba's argument, we have already seen in former parts the theory of political culture. The scholars of this theory claim that the micro level individual behaviors influence the macro level political stages, and the life experiences, education, social class, associational experiences and so forth shape the individuals' political orientations. The two books mentioned before are also committed to the cultural explanation of democracy in East Asia. They stress that the relatively strong (but the degree variations are wide and considerable depending on the countries) influences of cultures, particularly Confucian traditions over politics are observed in this region. Again, their conclusions are that, in general, there is a certain tendency toward pro-democracy political culture in East Asia, still, there are notable differences among countries and it is too dangerous to simplify the overall view of political culture in East

Asia. The authoritarian tendency originated in the Confucian teachings cannot be denied in some cultures like Singapore and China, and they are probably caused by the education and social environment that those countries offer. Interestingly, not all but some countries (including Japan which are even considered as the oldest democratic country in this region) have a considerable number of citizens who feel they neither acquire the ability to understand politics nor participate in politics, despite of their social status, and educational backgrounds (Chu, Diamond, Nathan, and Shin, 2010: 14). This fact will be examined in depth later when we analyze the case of Japan, however, it is worthy to mention here that the possible explanation for such phenomenon is the Confucian culture's preference to social harmony does not fit comfortably to the formation of civic skills.

To sum up, generally speaking, being analyzed by the framework of modernization theory and political culture theory, the overall evaluation on politics in East Asia results in the relative democracy with some exceptions. It is "relative" or "almost" democratic, because they are not as much democratic as the Western counterparts, even the Asian's most democratic country Japan is considered. This gap between Western level of democracy and that of East Asia could be explained by two reasons: 1) because East Asian democratizations started later than West and have less years of democratic experience, the deepening processes of democracy have not yet caught up with Occidental countries, and 2) because of its culture mainly influenced by Confucianism, East Asian do not desire to achieve the level of democracy of the Western democracy, and rather they are satisfied with the almost-full-democratic status.

As for the first explanation, Dalton and Shin picture East Asian's situation as "enjoy fruits later," since the ordinary people in this regions made a great deal to sacrifice their rights and freedom for the economic success and rapid modernization and now they are starting to change their values and behaviors toward more democratic orientation (Dalton and Shin, 2006:

265). The variations among East Asian countries also may depend on the length of democratic experience. Thus, the development of democracy in East Asia is still in process to achieve the Western level.

As far as the second element is concerned, not too strong but constant support for "though undemocratic yet morally defined regimes" (that is to say, the Asian Values regimes or authoritarian regimes) is the sign of warning for the extreme liberal democracy. In fact, up to now, we have analyzed the positive and negative side of theories of democracy based on the Western academic history, and what differ it from Asian communitarian Confucian politics is the degree of "rights" and "freedom" within the framework of democracy. Confucian beliefs such as the concern for the community and conflict management are very congruent with democratic values (Dalton and Shin, 2006: 267), and such Confucian doctrine can balance the weight of rights and responsibly to mend the liberal democracy's shortcomings (Teng-hui, 1999: 18). If that is the case, the level of democracy in East Asia would probably never achieve the Western level. And so what? If East Asians appreciate the fundamentals of democracy and they choose to add traditional and authoritarian elements to create their own democratic model, they rather should be proud of this and confident with what they have.

If we recall the analysis done in the former sections, the communitarian tendency in East Asian societies and Confucian influences, namely the importance of human relationships, responsibility-based approach, and the pursuit of social harmony are items to barrier themselves from the extreme liberalism and individualism. And almost all these values are also studied, examined and claimed by the Western scholars of civil society, association and social capital theories because they also worry about the danger of erroneous application of rights and freedom. The only contradiction we may encounter between the Western and Eastern practice is the notion of Confucian social harmony and its custom of informal negotiation, because staying

in such atmosphere, the civic skill, one of the most important component of democratic societies, will not be able to be developed. Actually, this might be the reason of some East Asians lack of confidence in their abilities in political matters, and that might be the cause that East Asian democracies are evaluated lower than that of Occidental model. However, here again, if the East Asian are still sure about their negotiation and decision making style and assure that their system leads the right, just and uncorrupt decisions, they should be happy with their harmonious informal custom, the Confucian manner of negotiation also should be respected and adopted.

3.6. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we have seen the general information on East Asia and some features of cultures, traditions, Confucian influences and the ways of democracy in this region. We have deepened our knowledge on Asian communitarian tendency, the responsibility-based approach toward community and the preference of harmonious decision making process influenced by Confucianism. We have also gained the overall images that East Asian countries are relatively democratic with some special characteristics marked by their cultural and Confucian effects, therefore, the level of democracy is not as much as that of Western countries.

In the following chapters, now we turn our focus on more specific country of East Asia, namely Japan, to see the differences and common aspects of Western democracy as well as East Asian democracy. Furthermore, we will try to point out the deficits of Japanese democracy to search for the better functioning of democracy in Japan.

4. Chapter 4: Japan and Democracy

4.1. Introduction

In chapter 2, we have overviewed the history, the general evaluations, and the advantages and problems of liberal democracy of the contemporary world. We paid special focus on the "freedom" and "rights" defended under the system of liberal democracy, yet at the same time, we have observed the recent tendency of the lack of consideration on the responsibility in the contemporary societies. New approaches such as civil society theory, social capital, and communitarianism are developed to try to overcome such problems caused by the excess of rights and extreme individualism, and researches have been carried on still to deepen the quality of democracy. After all, the search for the proper balance between rights and responsibility is the key for the improvement of modern democracy (Dahl, 1956: 4).

In the chapter 3, we have brought the concepts and practices of democracy in the Non-Western context, concretely in East Asia. In spite of massive differences and varieties of societies in East Asia, there are some common features observed. To list a few, our attention was paid to the importance of community and the influence of Confucianism. Such characteristics build East Asian societies into somewhat different from Western societies in terms of the basic idea of individual's freedom and rights. East Asian societies are rather community-oriented and they especially emphasize the importance of responsibility (O'Dwyer, 2003; Tu, 1996). These make East Asian societies to avoid direct confrontations and debating; rather their maximum desire is put on the social harmony. Due to those differences, East Asian democracies and citizens in this area show some different aspects and preferences of democracy from what American and European counterparts have.

In this chapter, we narrow down our study to a specific country from East Asian region: Japan. There are several reasons to choose this country. First, Japan is officially a liberal democratic country characterized by the regular elections with the presence of legitimated political parties. Second it guarantees the system of public debate. Third, it has the longest history of democracy in Asia. Fourth, it has accomplished the fast and stable economic development therefore it is modernized. Fifth, it has also realized relatively fair and equal economic distribution among citizens without major social class conflicts. Sixth, it has been receiving massive influences of Occidental culture since Meiji Restoration (1868) and even more remarkably after the defeat of the Second World War (1945). Seventh, yet Japan has been maintaining firmly its own customs and cultures influenced by Asian Confucianism as well as by their local beliefs. And finally, therefore, Japanese democracy shows the peculiar mixture of Western democracy concepts and East Asian Confucian democratic values, in addition, some Japanese own characteristics of the society. We will also examine the civil society and social capital in Japan to find the remarkable features of this society. And finally we will evaluate and describe the contents of Japanese democracy by analyzing the components of Western and Confucian influences as well as the Japanese particular factors (Watanuki, 1975).

4.2. Japanese Democracy

4.2.1. Actual State of Democracy

According to the international data, there is no doubt that Japan is categorized into one of stable democracies of the world. Polity IV describes Japan as a democratic state since 1950s. Also, generally speaking, The Worldwide Governance Indicators Project affirms positively the Japanese accountability, political stability, country's security, government effectiveness,

regulatory quality, rule of law and control of corruption. Freedom House classifies Japan as a *Free* country, with 1.0 points for freedom rating, 1 for political rights and 1 for civil liberties. Japan, together with Hong Kong and Ireland, has been ranked at 18th of the Corruption Perceptions Index 2015 produced by Transparency International. These international rankings are sometimes criticized because they are based considerably on the Western values such as the strong belief of connections among democracy, liberty and participation. Therefore, Western countries have more advantages than non-Western countries such as Asian states where the governments play more active and direct role in the politics (Bova, 1997: 112-117; Bell, 2006: 16). Despite that fact, Japan is still categorized into the group of consolidated democracy; therefore, it is safe to accept Japan as a democratic country.

Some intellectuals pay more attention to the particularity of Japanese democracy when it is compared with Western models. Fukuyama, for example, describes the modern Japanese democracy as the one based on the Asian communitarian idea that is not structured much around the concept of individual rights but with the moral code to maintain the communitarian life. According to him, this particularity of Japanese semi-Confucian politics has been one of the reasons to be able to hold both the democratic institutions and the Confucian culture of discipline for more than two generations (Fukuyama, 1995b: 13-14). Yet, it does not means that the Japanese democracy is somewhat totally different from that of Western countries; it goes without saying that the tendency toward Western liberal democracy model in Japan is so obvious, and perhaps it is better to say that the preference toward the American model democracy is remarkable, especially after the defeat of World War II

4.2.2. History of Democracy in Japan

Some authors point that democracy was nothing strange to Japan along its long history.

Huntington says that Japan and the Philippines were only two countries in Asia that had experiences of democratic regimes prior to 1990 (cited in Fukuyama, 1995: 25). Pye and Pye mention that the feudalism under Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868) maintained the legitimated stability inspired by the Confucian and Buddhist ideas, and the civic relationships were like those observed in Ancient Greece and Rome. In this sense, curiously, the historical evaluation of Japanese democracy is rather similar to the European experiences than Asian ones (Pye and Pye, 1985: 37).

The Meiji Restoration in 1868 opened Japan toward the world and the Meiji government radically accepted the Occidental cultures and democracy models. "Encouragement of new industry," "prosperous country and strong army" and "leave Asian and join Europe" were slogans used by Meiji government; in fact, the Meiji Imperial Constitution was made referring to the Prussian constitution, although it still lacked various fundamental aspects of authentic democracy (for example the sovereignty did not belong to citizens but to the empire, and the civil rights were very much limited). After the Meiji Restoration, there were some social movements, for instant, the "movement for the civil freedom and rights (Jiyūminkenundō)" (in Meiji era) and the "Taisho Democracy (Taisho democurasī)" (during Taisho era), in which the Japanese people themselves were involved in the protests and social movements for the improvement of democracy in those eras.

Normally it is believed that the true democracy in Japan started when Japan lost the Second World War and it started to re-establish the country based on the principles of democracy supported by the allied forces, principally by the United States. Under the new constitution, the sovereignty was no longer belonged to the empire but to the people, and the empire remained as a symbol of unity of the Japanese. Furthermore, Japan gave up wars and abandoned the military forces (those are especially remarkable compared to the Meiji

Constitution). The full legal equality, the universal suffrage, the equality of the sexes, the respect

for the basic human rights, among others, were added to guarantee the constitutional framework

for the construction of democratic state. The systems of indirect bicameral parliament as well as

local governments (elected by direct votes) were established for the functioning of democratic

country.

The tragedy and bitter experience of the World War II served as the engine to re-start

the country in all senses. Especially the Japanese people believed in the combination of speedy

economic development and the relatively equal distribution of economic benefits, and they prized

these achievements as the recovery from the war. As a consequence, it seems that the

Japanese society is not suffering so much from social class conflicts and maintains the overall

homogeneity. The economic success and the realization of harmonious society had been

possible due to the presence of interventionist government, which sometimes appears to be

undemocratic and incompatible with the Western liberal democratic model.

4.2.3. Japanese Version of Democracy

As we have seen above, Japan has tried to follow and copy the Western models some

times of its history, and the degree of desire to learn the Occidental values and cultures has been

even more intensified after the war (Chan, 1997: 45). However, the foreigners who visit Japan

are often surprised by the Japanese society where one can observe the coexistence of

Western-like modern cultures and the traditional, spiritual and even to some degree primitive

original cultures. Some law scholars such as Haley, Taylor and Peters discover that the

Japanese legal frameworks, which are very much similar to those of Western countries (because

they were simply imported from them, or to some point imposed), are not just the copies, but they

are rather interpreted and adopted to the Japanese contexts widely influenced by the

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Confucianism (Haley and Taylor, 2004: 446; Peters, 2006: 51; Watanuki, 1975; 121). The same happens to the political matters in Japan. In other words, Japan has the all elements prepared to exercise the Western liberal democracy, still yet, the Japanese people who are to be the players of Japanese democracy maintain their own customs and cultures strongly. Taking these two factors, namely the considerable Western influence and the resistant Japanese cultures into consideration, it is interesting to observe and analyze the Japanese politics because it is the product of bridge between the Occidental experiences and the Asian social traditions and cultures (Hayes, 2005: x). Concretely, Fukuyama lists two symbolic characteristics of Western democracy that are not extended sufficiently in the Japanese society: the emphasis on the public political debates and the individualism (Fukuyama, 1995: 21).

4.2.4. Confucianism in Japan

One of the factors to be analyzed to understand the formation of Japanese culture is the influence of Confucianism. We have already seen the general concepts of Confucianism before, and in this section we focus on the Japanese interpretation of Confucianism. The Japanese version of Confucianism shares some aspects with the rest of Confucian countries, but there are others that are notably different from them. The most important difference is the treat of family and authoritarian father. According to the original Confucianism, a father is the central of the community. Yet, in the Japanese Confucian case he is not exactly situated in the center. Some authors conclude that the principal reason is the importance of mythic base of this country, or better to say, the presence and the continuity of the royal family. In order to justify the existence of the royal family and the emperor, Japan interpreted and modified Confucianism imported from China and gave less weight to the centrality of family, so that there would be no conflicts between the patriarchal authority and the emperor (Fukuyama, 1995; Pye and Pye,

1985; Hendry, 2003). This transformation formed the peculiar culture of Japan: the centrality of groups (the state, companies, clubs, etc.) (Harootunian, 2000: 28), with the authoritarian personalities (the emperor, company bosses, team captains, etc.). Some intellectuals call this as the Japanese "Groupism" (Shūdan shugi) (McCargo, 2000: 5; Yamagishi, 2010; Komai, 2000: 2; Doi, 2000: 64).

Fukuyama evaluates the replacement of family by groups both positively and negatively. As the advantage, he points out that this enables Japan to generate relationships of strong trust outside the family environments. On the other hand, the central role of groups sometimes ends up with the extreme mobilization such as the extreme nationalism that caused the wars in the twenty century, and phenomenon like workaholic persons called "kigyō senshi (company solders)". Whereas, other Confucian societies such as China maintain the strong family unity and the patriarchal authority still, which are, in fact, sometimes obstacles for the construction of a state. Yet the concept of fighting for the good of family or individual interest in China is more resemble to the idea of Western individualism (Fukuyama, 1995: 27-28; Fukuyama, 1998).

Pye and Pye add that the Japanese version of Confucianism has been the moral base of the Japanese culture, especially for the maintenance of importance of values of merits, virtues and loyalty. Moreover, Confucianism in Japan without too much importance on family helps to legitimate the paternalistic form of elitism that enables to maintain good balance between the order and the competitiveness (Pye and Pye, 1985: 57-58, 160). To explain this idea, they use the examples of samurai who worked hard to be recognized by the superior nobles or Shogun, and not by their families or fathers. If we put this into the actual situations, it is the idea of fidelity to the belonging groups as well as the bosses, and the competitions among different unities. It may be able to say that this concept of importance of group (Groupism) can be situated somewhere between communitarianism and individualism.

To resume, the two peculiarities of Japanese cultures originated from Confucianism are the emphasis on groups and the competiveness within the society.

4.2.5. Japanese Groupism

In this section, we focus on the Japanese Groupism. On the surface, Japan appears to be one of Asian communitarian society as the importance on the community over individuals is observed strongly. Yet, when one adds the concept of Groupism, probably Japan is a Groupist society than a communitarian one, because there is a strong notion of competiveness among distinct groups, and the members of groups think about the good of other members of the same group, but not necessarily the whole community. As seen before, some authors conclude that the Groupism is originated from Confucianism and modified for the Japanese context. On the other hand, there are other scholars arguing that the Japanese Groupism is a form of actions created artificially. Komai and Doi explain that Japan copied the German model of concept of work in groups during the Meiji era so that the Japanese economical as well as social development were to be more effective and faster (Komai, 2000: 2; Doi, 2000: 64). Yamagishi approaches Groupism from the point of psychological view. According to him, the Japanese people prefer forming and act in groups, not because they want to serve for the belonging groups or they believe that the group activities are ethically correct and desired, but they do so because acting in group is more beneficial than working alone, so they tend to cooperate each other. Putting differently, the Japanese are rather individualists in the sense they peruse the maximum interest of each individual, and consequently the rational choice to take is getting together and help one another (Yamagishi, 2010). We do not go farther to search for the origin of Japanese Groupism in this work because it is not our central theme, yet what is certain is that the Japanese people are tend to act in groups and work for groups. Pekkanen and other researchers on Japanese civil

society show the evidence of Groupism by describing the existences of numerous associations (voluntary and involuntary) as well as small local group.

To sum up, the positive side of Groupism is, as shown before by Fukuyama's analysis, is that it helps Japanese society not to stick within the chain of family connections, which is often observed in other Confucian societies. Still, the negative feature is that Groupism is similar to clientism and limits the human relationships in the Putnam's "bonding" type social capital that is said to be undemocratic.

4.2.6. Civil Society in Japan

Most of scholars on Japanese society agree with the notion that it is nonsense to compare the civil society in Japan with those of Western counterparts because those are considerably distinct (Schwartz and Pharr, 2003: Pekkanen, 2004; Pekkanen, 2006; Hirata, 2002; Ogawa, 2009; Kingston, 2004; Vinken, et al., 2010). And it is also often said that curiously when one studies about the Japanese civil society, he will encounter two totally different images: on one hand, inactive Japanese civil society without remarkable or active secondary organizations, and the Japanese civil society full of active little local groups on the other. The principal reason is Japanese case does not fit into the typical definition of civil society developed under the Western context. Three particular traits of Japanese civil society can be listed: the informal characteristics of small local groups, the interdependence among Japanese government and social organizations, and non-voluntary style of associations. For these reasons, many academics encounter the difficulty to analyze the Japanese civil society in accordance with the Western-based concept of civil society such as voluntariness or willfulness of participation in voluntary associations.

The reason of the difference is in the history of Japan. Japan is originally a nation

based on the agriculture activities and it has been indispensable working in groups when labor

power is needed intensively during harvest time. Japanese hard natural conditions also oblige

them to fight against natural disasters time to time. So families and neighbors have been helping

each other naturally, yet mostly they did so feeling the social pressure of obligation of mutual

help, or if they do not cooperate probably they would not survive. This environment has been

training Japanese people to get and work together in many different situations, and groups

formed under such context are enormous in number but not necessarily formally ordered or

registered.

Thus, there are numerous associations and groups that form parts of civil society in

Japan, therefore, the image of active civil society is actually true. However, the Japanese civil

activities appear to be inactive because such associations already mentioned above traditionally

cooperate deeply with the government, too (mostly with the local governments), therefore they

are not totally free from state interventions and this is not desirable according to the Western civil

society theory (Schwartz: 2003: 6). Back to seventeen century, there were already the

communitarian system called "gonin-gumi (group of five families)" promoted by the local

authorities, which later became the base of neighbors' associations. In fact, even up to now

these associations are very active in the modern Japan with more than 300.000 associations in

all Japan (Pekkanen, 2006: 2). There are other groups and associations with similar

characteristics such as elders' club, children associations, housewives associations, etc. Local

governments usually promote these associations to transmit governmental information

effectively or lessen their burden of social service delivery. Such paternal and authoritative

values given to the role of government are included into the social systems due to the Confucian

tradition as we have seen in the former chapter.

Another particularity is that Japanese civil society lacks the concept of charity,

philanthropy and voluntary participation; rather it is occupied by the activities done by closed unities such as families and companies. Pekkanen insists that it does not mean the Japanese civil society is inactive, but simply there are different from what normally observed in Western countries. Organizations and groups in Japan are often more informal and personal, and there are less voluntary-type associations with the aim of helping unknown third persons (Pekkanen, 2006: 12). Yet, he criticize that because of this informality the groups and associations of Japanese civil society do not have enough influence over the politics; there are sufficient number of groups which serve for the creation of social capital, but there are few organizations with professional defenders of public voice which can be lobbies (Pekkanen, 2006: 3, 10; Pekkanen, 2004: 224, 240). Haddad finds another argument that Japanese civil society is full of embedded organizations (organizations with strong relationships with the government) because there is a culture of strong ideas of government responsibilities for caring society, thus the Japanese people assume their civic duty by joining such embedded organizations (Haddad, 2007). Vinken shares the similar argument saying that the people in Japan are hesitative to exercise political influence because they believe that politics and governance are better to be left to experts (Vinken, 2010: 7).

In any case, there is a truth that a large number of people in Japan are active on a daily basis to provide supports or to use their energy for their community. Usually they do so through informal associations instead of formal ones, through small and local groups instead of well-known and well-organized big ones, and through embedded associations instead of voluntary ones. Although they may not fit comfortably into the definition of Western civil society theories, still there exists a relatively active civil society in Japan.

Having said that, there has been a notable change in the Japanese civil society, especially since the 1990s when the big Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (better known by the name of

Kobe Earthquake) happened in 1995. This earthquake called attentions from politics, mass media and academics in Japan to recognize the importance of civil society, and this time, the referred civil society was more similar to the Western one. On the disasters, the Japanese government authorities were severely criticized because they could not react quickly and effectively before the earthquake, and those who could play active and efficient role were NGOs. Thus the government had to recognize the lack of its capacity and flexibility facing the natural disasters, and as consequences, there was a serious political reform to increase and strengthen the importance of civil society (NPO Law enacted in 1998, for instance). Also the 1990s was the decade of economic depression after the bubble economy in 1980s, and the political changes occurred largely to reduce the state power and increase the pluralism in the political sphere (Hirata, 2002: 155).

Although there were various events that supported the creation of a strong and Western model civil society in Japan, it has to be admitted that the Japanese model still goes with the strong state intervention. For example, instead of leaving space for the autonomous birth of civil associations, what Japanese government does is to create so-called "third sector" organization with semi-governmental feature, which reflect the governmental policies more and not necessarily citizens' demands (Ogawa, 2009: 12). Furthermore, in order to register as NPO hōjin (Non-Profit Organization) to obtain the tax advantages, the candidate associations have to pass the bureaucratic processes of selection and examination, in addition, several strict and complicated annual controls. For these reasons, unfortunately there are only a few associations that choose this option to be NPO hōjin, and the vast majority prefer to remain informal ones and limit their capacities within small and local activities (Pekkanen, 2004: 227).

Thus, for one hand, the Japanese civil society keeps appearing to be inactive because it is still under the considerable influence of the government, or because the number of

registered voluntary associations is limited. Still, on the other side, there are numerous little local groups keep working to serve for the neighbors while maintaining good relationships with local authorities. In addition, certainly there appears some new voluntary associations more independent from the state power and delivering the demands and will of citizens. The Japanese model of civil society has been modified, yet, still it is long way to go to be close to the Western model, or perhaps the Japanese people are not willing to follow this mode but keep following their own style.

4.2.7. Social Capital in Japan

There are several writings on social capital in Japan, in which many different approaches to social capital are studied. For example, Inaba's work gives us a brief summary of the states of social capital in Japan in different settings: social capital and trust, social capital and communities, social capital and mass media, social capital and economic conditions, social capital and health, etc. (Inaba, 2008). Sakurai and Hamada's writings focus on the relationship between social capital and religions in Japan and in Asia (Sakurai and Hamada, 2012). There are also more and more survey data to be used for the empirical analysis on social capital. Beside World Value Survey or Asian Barometers which are worldwide or regional projects, there are Voters' Value Survey (Yūkensha Ishiki Chōsa) by Association for Promoting Fair Elections (Akarui Senkyo Suishin Kyōkai), Survey on Japanese National Characteristics (Nihonjin no Kokuminsei Chōsa) by The Institute of Statistical Mathematics (Tōkei Sūri Kenkyūjo), and Basic Survey on Social Life (Shakai Seikatsu Kihon Chōsa) by Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (Sōmusho Tōkeikyoku), to name a few. Those tools enable scholars of social capital to approach Japan's social capital situations by the mean of statistical manners.

When we concentrate on the state of social capital as the social structures of trust,

norms and networks, most of researchers evaluate Japanese social capital positively. Sakamoto compares Japan with other 54 countries using the data from World Value Survey and concludes that Japan is not in the highest social capital score group, still it is in the middle-high level category (Sakamoto, 2010b: 29). He also analyses a number of data base to see the development and slight declining of social capital in Japan (Sakamoto, 2010b: 32-40). Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo has tried to measure social capital in the prefectures in Japan and created "social capital score" to compare and highlight the features of social connections and trust among citizens in each prefecture. Its finding shows that briefly speaking, Japanese people maintain the social connections, yet, participations in social activities in both local level and national or international level have been declining (Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2007: 1). Furthermore, social capital scores are higher in the Western Japan and lower in the Eastern Japan. It adds the bonding scores and bridging scores, which help us to see if a prefecture has more open-minded but loose social connection characteristics, or local-minded but tightly connected traits. In addition, this report shows the correlations among social capital and social problems such as truant students' rate, unemployment rates, working hours, Gini index, etc. Its results and policy suggestions are interesting to grasp the general state of social capital in Japan (Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2007; Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2008). Sakamoto says that the advantage of Japanese social capital is the frequency of face-to-face interaction among association members even they are often not totally voluntarily connected. Using Putnam's categorization of secondary associations (those which actually have face-to-face interactions among members, therefore, these are able to generate social capital) and tertiary associations (those which have large number of memberships yet they lack of direct human relationships, therefore they are not quite useful for the creation of social capital), Sakamoto argues that associations in Japan are dominated widely by the associations positively serving for social capital (about 60 % of

associations can be categorized as the secondary associations), thus Japanese civil society has the firm ground for the creation of social capital (Sakamoto, 2010: 291-292). He also mentions about the peculiarity of the structure of Japanese civil society, namely the strong influence of semi-profit (although they are often named as "non-profit") organizations. Farmers' associations (Agriculture associations) and Fishers' associations are of this type, and they exercise their power over the electoral campaign and budget lobbying notably. They are also huge in number because they grow together with the Japanese economic growth after the WWII. This "ancient regime" associational structure may looks a negative sign for the generation of social capital since they are not purely "non-governmental" or "voluntary" associations that means they are already biased politically. Yet, Sakamoto's argument is that, as long as the Japanese case is concerned, the associations of old regime strengthen social networks more than voluntary associations in Japan. (Sakamoto, 2010: 293-295). He even finds that associations in the social service sector closely working with the government generate more social capital; in other words, associations with deep relationship with the state have positive influence over the creation of social capital (Sakamoto, 2010: 295-297). The bottom line is his analysis also emphasizes the inter-dependence among associations and the state for the smooth and effective generation of social capital in Japan. To give another example, Ito pays attention to the seniority system in the vertically ordered associations and the rule of taking responsibilities in turns within such associations. She states that by doing so, members of the associations learn to be responsible, hence it helps to generate the civic virtues and maintain the social capital (Ito, 2011: 107-116). Finally, comparing the social connections in other Confucian societies like China with those of Japan, Fukuyama thinks that Japanese bonding type associations are not as bad as more family-centered associations, because although the Japanese Groupism constrains the possibility of wider personal connections it still allows to relate persons outside the family units,

and it also enables people to generate the sense of trust towards members of the same associations (Fukuyama, 1995: 76).

However, if we focus on the relationship between social capital and political performance, social capital in Japan does not appear to be so successful in promotion of democracy. There are mainly three critical reasons for it: the dominance of embedded or not-voluntary-type associations, the vertical characteristics of those associations, and bonding-type associations.

First, as it has been analyzed in the former section, Japanese civil society still lacks the voluntary associations in number and most of organizations are working with the government-related agents closely. For the Western social capital theorists, this fact does not sound healthy already because the associations are not free from the political pressure of the government, and in fact they try to avoid the direct confrontations with authorities. Because otherwise they would not receive the fund or any kinds of support from them. In addition, at the micro level, often people do not choose to belong to such associations voluntarily but they are pressured to join them by the Groupism atmosphere (e.g. neighbors' associations, parent-teacher associations, etc.). Under such circumstances, the members of organizations tend to be passive (Fukumoto, 2002: 243), and that makes it difficult to acquire or train the civic skills. Hence members are not necessarily motivated to acquire the democratic values. Second, most of Japanese associations, especially the traditional ones (e.g. neighbors' associations, economic organizations, etc.) maintain the structure of hierarchy based on the Confucian tradition, and this base makes members to be connected in the vertical way, therefore, not democratic . Third, associations in Japan tend to be what Putnam called the bonding type associations (Yamagishi, 2003: 294; Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2008: 10). As we have seen before, the bonding social capital promotes the coherence and cooperation within a limited social group

and help to create the friendly and familiar environment, and on the other hand, the bridging social capital serves members to go beyond the already-known environment and gives opportunities to explore and find the new social connections. Japanese associations with the bonding characteristics driven by the Groupist culture contributes the creation of social connections in Japan as seen before, yet, it is not enough to promote the generosity out of the limited group. In this sense, the Japanese bonding-type associations are not contributing to the social plurality, therefore, they cannot be the engine for the democratic values.

Sakamoto (2010: 127-160) gives another insight regarding the social capital and Japanese politics, concretely the local governments' effectiveness of governance performance and social capital. He agrees with the fact that social capital is everywhere in Japan and its society is full of social connections. However, he casts doubt on the Putnam's argument about the high effectiveness of local governments in North Italy with dense positive social capital, because by analyzing the data on Japan's social capital, he finds the opposite result. To explain that, he introduces a new independent variable called "civic power," which means the citizens' ability to support, criticize, demand and control the political elites' power. He also divides civic power into two categories: general citizens' power (normal citizens' political ability) and civic elites' power (civic activists such as participants of civic movements, demonstration, feminist movements, consumers' movements, etc.). His finding shows that the elites' power influence significantly for the better governance performance of local governments, but not the citizens' power. Therefore, social capital itself does not promote the effectiveness of governance directly, but active civic elites play crucial roles for the better governance. His analysis is interesting and important for our study because he carefully studies about the characteristics of Japan's social capital affected by the Groupist culture, and tries to go beyond the already accepted Western-based theories and findings.

To sum up, generally speaking, Japanese social capital is abundant because the Groupist culture serves to generate countless social networks. Still, as far as the relationship between social capital and better democracy is concerned, some aspects of Japanese social capital, namely the non-voluntary, hierarchical, and bonding characteristics of associations are not quite advantageous for the deepening of the quality of democracy. Yet, we have also studied about the different beliefs and expectations toward democracy between in Western countries and in East Asian ones, therefore, careful considerations are needed to analyze the relation between social capital and democracy in non-Western contexts. Hence, when it comes to Japan, it seems that to a certain extent it is not useful to adopt the Western-based social capital theory directly since the very base of the social and cultural structures and the sense of values is so different. Therefore, it may be valuable to evaluate and examine again about the social capital in Japan by trying not to be stuck by the general rules of correlation between good social capital and democracy. We will do so by using the empirical data in the later chapters.

4.3. Democracy in Japan: Western or Confucian Model?

Hendry gives us a good description of Japanese society that represents neither typical Western mode nor the Confucian Asian one.

> "… (the author's) purpose is to orient the reader to the characteristics of Japanese society by reference to a number of common features. Among these are the silence of face-to-face relationships, the existence of a shared value system, the principle of reciprocity, attachment to the warmth of human feelings, adherence to norms of hierarchy, emphasis on cooperation, especially within coherent groups, playing down of individualism and the striving for equality." (Hendry, 2003: xii)

It goes without saying that Japan certainly receives and admires the Western democratic mode. Still, it is also true that there are vast amount of peculiarities in Japanese democracy. Some of them are originated in the Confucian tradition, which some other East Asian countries also share. Others are created by modifying the Confucian influences. And the rest have their roots in the Japanese original culture. For example, Japanese Groupist culture is notably different from the Western individualistic thought as well as from the Asian communitarian tradition, and the Japanese civil society and social capital patterns differ from other countries of the world considerably because of this Groupism. Hence, it is an impossible mission to categorize the Japan's democracy into whether Western or Confucian East Asian models. Probably it is fair enough to say that the Japanese society lies somewhere between those two types. If so, it is not appropriate to analyze Japan by using Western-based knowledge only or by East Asian value arguments alone denying the considerable influences brought by Occidental influences. What is important here is to remind that we at least need to consider several approaches to reveal and analyze the democracy and society in Japan.

4.4. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we have seen the theoretical studies on the democracy in Japan including its democratic history, cultural aspects and Confucian influence. We also paid attention to the particularities of Japanese tradition such as Groupist culture and active state intervention to the civil society to show the difference among Western, Asian and Japanese democratic models.

Up to now, what had been introduced were mainly the theories related to democracy in general, in East Asian and in Japan. Yet a major question is remained: whether the theories correspond to the actuality or not. In order to examine it, I will go on to the analytical works using

the descriptive method and empirical data analysis on Japan in the next chapters to deepen the

understanding of the society and democracy in Japan.

5. Chapter 5: Neighborhood Associations

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, we explored the history, actual state, as well as recent studies on the democracy and civil society in Japan. We paid much attention to the difference existing between the mostly-accepted Western-based concept of democracy and the Asian or sometimes Japanese interpretation of democracy. We marked some peculiarities observed in the Japanese society and tried to identify the historical or cultural reasons and possible explanations where those traits come from. We also introduced briefly about some Japanese popular civic voluntary associations such as neighborhood associations, elders' groups, children's associations, parent-teacher associations (PTA), etc., which are the important parts of civil society as well as the source of social capital, yet at the same time, their autonomy and degree of willfulness to participate in such activities remain questionable due to the influence of communitarian cultural pressure or Japanese Groupism.

In this chapter, we take an example of civic voluntary associations in Japan, concretely Neighborhood Associations (NHAs) to study in depth about the characteristics, history, function, democratic value and other significance that Japanese NHAs hold. By doing so, we examine the theories and concepts introduced in the past chapters, and intend to explain the states and reasons of existence of civic voluntary associations in Japan.

5.2. Neighborhood Associations (NHAs)

Neighborhood Associations (NHAs) are the "bridge between the individual in private life and the large institutions of public life" (Cnaan, 1991: 614), the "most genuine form of civil society

organization" (Meyer and Hyde, 2004: 77), and it "could make citizens better deliberator upon the common good" (but only if neighborhood assemblies have significant powers" (Burtt, 1993: 366). Although the definitions of NHAs vary slightly depending on scholars, the common aspects to define them are; 1) locally based, 2) volunteer-run and non-profit character, and 3) their purpose is to pursue the common interests of residents (Logan and Rabernovic, 1990: 68-69; Cnaan, 1991: 615; Meyer and Hyde, 2004: 77; Austin, 1991: 516; Tanaka, 2000: 18; Oropesa, 1995: 236). Their activities range widely from one place to another responding to the needs of their communities. Still, basically NHAs are involved in every aspect of day-by-day life. In this sense, the notable difference among conventional civil associations and NHAs is that the former often have definite and concrete issues to work on, whereas the latter have rather wide and changeable objectives to pursue.

According to Tanaka, the features of NHAs vary from one country to another, too, reflecting their political structures, cultures, and realities (2000: 19). In fact, it seems that for the researchers from Western countries, the most important aspect for NHAs is the autonomy from governmental control (Oropesa, 1995; Cnaan, 1991; Logan and Rabrenovic, 1990). Therefore, those which are more democratic, representative, voluntary and independent tend to gain the positive evaluations. On the other hand, those with closed, oligarchic, low-participated, compulsory, and conservative characteristics are often marked as negative and harmful NHAs for the health of society. Meyer and Hyde's analysis shows that residents' concerns on the neighborhood security issue or limited-area protection lead these associations to be more insular and members of them to be nonreciprocal (2004: 87). However, scholars of NHAs, especially those who cast the doubtful eyes on the theoretical domination of Western-based studies, seek the values of NHAs in their role of intermediate agent between state and individuals (Tanaka, 2000; Yoshihara, 2000; Iwasaki, 1989; Torigoe, 1994). Because at practical level, a large number

of NHAs in most of countries actually have at least some connections with governmental institutions and maintain the cooperative attitudes, and even some Western-based researchers admit that fact (Logan and Rabrenovic, 1990: 70). Indeed, many NHAs share the burden of public service delivery in the sectors of education, crime prevention and safety issues, garbage collections, and so forth, with local governments. Taking such reality into account, Tanaka tries to divide the World's NHAs according to the organizational types and principal functions.

Figure 5.1: Types of Neighborhood Associations (With Relation to Governmental Agencies)

Organizational Types / Principal Functions	Representative	Associational		
		Public-based	Local-Community-based	Voluntary-based
Deliverative function only	Germany, Italy			
Implementation function also		Thailand, Korea	France, Sweden (Japan)	USA, Britain
Judical function also		China, Philippines		
Relation with local government	Complement	Supplement	Complement (Complement supplement)	Complment
Law prescription	Yes		Partially yes	No

Source: Tanaka (2000: 22), translated by author.

From this figure, it is clear that the sorts and roles of NHAs range from country to country, and it is probably safe to say that these variations are originated to the history, governmental structure, local autonomy, culture, actual condition, and more, of each country. Moreover, the frequently referred perception that independent, freely-associated and volunteer-based NHAs as good and correct ones seems to be more Anglo-Saxon model, and not the representative style of the whole Western world at all. Yoshihara's study (2000) discovers that many Asian countries which were once colonized by Japan still maintain the NHAs although they were once forced to organize them but later they were accepted and included into their cultures. Nowadays they are developed and transferred responding to the local necessities. Figure 1 also shows this fact; Korea and China are former Japan's colonial countries, yet their recent NHAs have their own associational modes and functions, therefore different from Japanese one.

Hence, although NHAs generally hold the similar goals of seeking neighbors' common good, each of them works for the needs of corresponding community and the contents of

activities change from one association to another. In addition, their associating ways and principal functions differ in different countries due to their historical, political, social, economic and cultural conditions. Recent discussions on NHAs try to find their meaning of existence not just by measuring their democratic values but also the role of bridge and connection between individuals and governmental agencies. In this sense, the studies on NHAs may have to involve and consider a vast influence of social, cultural and political phenomenon and factors.

5.3. NHAs in Japan

As we have seen in the last chapter very briefly, NHAs in Japan have been existed for centuries. Yet the evaluations towards them changes over the years. The debates on the roles and values of NHAs in Japan have a lot to do with the theories of democracy, civil society and social capital that we have studied in the former chapters. On one hand, the negative critiques are the result of historical path and the undemocratic features, and on the other hand, the positive evaluations attribute to their intermediate functions in local governance and the recent active roles in disaster management. In this section, we see the historical description of NHAs in Japan based on the former scholarly studies.

5.3.1. Definition of NHAs in Japan

Using Pekkanen's definition, NHAs are formed by residents of a certain neighboring area, and organize and exercise varied activities relating to the area (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009; 18). The definition and expected function of NHAs in Japan are mostly the same or very similar to what is explained as the general characteristics of NHAs in other countries. Still, Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto add that the Japanese NHAs often maintains close contacts with local authorities to fulfill the role of agency between authority and

residents, furthermore, Japanese NHAs have dense and frequent cooperation with other local institutions and associations (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 30). For these reasons, NHAs is indispensable organizations in Japan (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009; 19)

5.3.2. Actual State of NHAs in Japan, Social Capital and Political Participation

Until recently, there were numerous studies on NHAs in Japan by adopting quantitative individual research, an integrated and extensive research has been lacking. In this regard, the work by Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto (2009) is one of the first studies on NHAs that examined them quantitatively. They carried out the survey from August 2006 to February 2007 by mailing survey questionnaires to NHAs in all Japan. The sampling size was 33.438 and the recovery rate was 55.0%. There are various names in Japanese referring to NHAs (such as jichi-kai, chōnai-kai, ku, chō-kai, buraku-kai, ku-kai, etc.), but this research includes all those who identified themselves as NHAs (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 32-36).

According to their findings, almost a half of answered NHAs did not know the origin and foundation date of their NHAs. Yet, in general, NHAs in small cities, towns and villages tend to have longer history than those of larger cities in which most of NHAs were formed after World War II (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 47). In addition, smaller cities without record of date of foundation also tend to be small-sized NHAs with less than 100 household members (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 51). The larger NHAs obviously have more financial resources, yet when membership fees are compared, members of smaller NHAs pay more (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 54-55).

5.3.3. Social Capital and Japanese NHAs

When it comes to the generation of social capital, Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto

(2009) find that the participation in NHAs strengthen the personal connections among neighbors through events organized by NHAs, and furthermore, those also promote the smooth transmission of local information (100). The deepness and closeness of neighborhood ties in NHAs are higher among small-sized cities and towns and it is also accompanied by the high rate of activity participation. Yet, as a new trend, recently some NHAs in urban or new NHAs have been recording more active participation although their neighborhood relationships remind low ((Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009: 98-99). All in all, huge differences among varied places are notable, thus it is difficult to state a single clear tendency of social capital of NHAs.

5.3.4. Political Participation and Japanese NHAs

Thus, social capital promoted by NHAs appears to be important, according to Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto. How about the positive influence of civil association over politics? In the case of Japanese NHAs, rather it is often evaluated as the negative product of collusive relationship between NHAs and local politicians or local authorities. For instance, Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto introduce facts that NHAs are traditionally bases for conservative politicians and they often help the election campaign of *Jimin tō* (Liberal Democratic Party) (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009; 178). Yet, at the same time, their empirical study shows that NHAs are no longer strong supporter of conservative powers, and in addition, the connections between local politicians and NHAs are decreasing recently. Due to these changes, recent NHAs can only influence local politics by contacting local public administration and not through politicians or elections (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto, 2009 176-187). Still, they also affirm the vast diversity of NHAs in whole Japan. Hence, it is probably not correct to describe Japanese NHAs as a homogenous entity.

These were an overview on NHAs studied by Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto. In

the following section, we examine the background history of NHA formation to know the trajectory that lead the actual state described above.

5.3.5. History of NHAs

5.3.5.1.   Origin of NHAs

Historically speaking, something similar to NHAs appeared through the ages in Japan. Some scholars find written documents on them in the medieval age named *Sōson* (Tanaka, et al., 2008: 14) or back to 15th century just after the turmoil of the *Ōnin* War (*Ōnin no ran*) (Iwasaki, 1989: 4). These communities were not formed by the administrative zones ordered by the authorities but rather they were formed by the people living there together, basically to fight against violence and to maintain the security mutually, or in other words, to pursue the common goal of neighborhood self-defense and self-governance (Iwasaki, 1989: 4). When *Oda Nobunaga*, a famous *shogun* of the era of Edo took the power, he used the structure of NHA to govern and control the people. In Edo era, *Gonin gumi* were institutionalized by the Tokugawa government, and the NHAs were already functioning as the subsidiaries of the central government (Iwasaki, 1989: 4-5).

In the Meiji era, NHAs encountered a critical change due to the establishment of prefectures, cities, towns and villages. Small blocks were made within the towns and villages, and each block held a primary school. This rather artificial modification did not reflect the residents' needs and customs, hence several problems appeared. Then, in order to fill the distance between the administrative borders and persistent original communities, NHAs were promoted. It is also interesting to mention that the number of NHAs increased drastically just after the Kantō Great Earthquake in 1923 (Iwasaki, 1989: 5), which may show a possible deep relationship between NHAs and natural disasters in Japan, but we will come back to discuss

about it later in this chapter.

5.3.5.2. NHAs During and After World War II

NHAs underwent crucial moments during the World War II because they were used by the military government and blamed as the cause of mass mobilization for a series of wars against neighboring countries and the World War II. During this periods, the government obliged communities to establish neighborhood self-reliance based on the structure of NHAs, and ordered the duties to solve varied mental, social, economic, political and communicational difficulties by themselves (Yoshihara, 2000: 14). For this reason, after the defeat of Japan, General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (GHQ) wanted to abolish the NHAs and prohibited their activities. Yoshihara doubts about the objectivity of GHQ's preliminary research, because this report was prepared by the biased sights toward them and they were described as the agencies controlled by the state. As a result, the report lacked the view on their positive aspect of mutual aids function (Yoshihara, 2000: 15). In fact, there were some non-Japanese academics tried to find the potentiality of NHAs for the establishment of democracy in Japan, such as Barbanti (1948), and others who simply evaluate the indispensable role of NHAs as neighborhood administrator (Masland, 1949). In any case, NHAs were marked aggressively as bad, unhealthy, undemocratic and non-modernized entities, so there were banned. However, informally, unofficially and secretly, at the community level, the structure of NHAs survived by changing names to something like Cultural Committee or Committee of Education. As a matter of fact, they were useful and necessary for the maintenance of people's ordinary lives (Tanaka, et al., 2008: 14; Iwasaki, 1989: 6). The evaluation of NHAs' survival during the period of prohibition is often resumed in the debate between the modernization theory and culture theory (Torigoe, 1994: 18-24). The modernization theory reflects the arguments proposed by the GHQ and the

Western or Westernized scholars to claim that NHAs were already outdated due to their traditional, conservative, feudalistic and undemocratic characters. The cultural theory maintained the posture against the modernization theory by providing the argument that the modernization theory cannot explain the survival of NHAs after the World War II. Therefore, the reason of NHAs' survival is the collectivist and communal spiritual climate that Japan holds. The recent mainstream researches maintain more neutral positions concluding that the existence of NHAs throughout the pre and post war eras is due to the mixture of cultural background and NHAs' struggles for democratization (Torigoe, 1994; Yoshihara, 2000; Haddad, 2010). Eventually, the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951 freed NHAs officially and the number of associations increased dramatically since then.

5.3.5.3.   NHAs from 1950s to 1990s

Yet again, NHAs faced difficult moments around the 1950s and the 1960s due to the rapid economic growth and the introduction of the principle of capitalism and individualism into the Japanese society. Changes in people's life style and sense of values made them difficult to survive. Furthermore, during these decades, the academia in Japan was dominated by the scholars who were for the modernization theory and against NHAs (Torigoe, 1994: 1, 2, 6). The generally accepted criteria of NHAs are 1) the membership is given to a household and not to an individual, 2) a NHA dominates and controls a limited area, 3) the participation in NHAs are said to be voluntary but practically and actually obliged, 4) NHAs are in charge of taking care of almost every aspects of daily life of the community, and 5) NHAs serve as branches of local governments (Yamazaki, 1999: 30-31; Torigoe, 1994: 9). Still, particularly during the period of postwar democratization and recuperation o individual dignity accompanied by the quick economic development and radical change of values and ethics in Japan since 1950s, these

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traits appeared to be too traditional, pre-modern, conservative, and undemocratic, hence NHAs were unwanted.

However, around the 1970s, such value and life changes brought Japan some serious social problems such as neighborhood insecurity, solitary death, conflicts among neighbors, aging society, and so on. Accordingly, the Japanese government started to include the policy towards community development into the political agenda for the first time in 1969. In the following year the first provision towards community named "*comyunithi (kinrin shakai) ni kansuru taisaku yōkō (an)* (proposed action plan on community (neighborhood society) (draft)" was announced by the Ministry of Home Affairs. At this point, even the term "community" was not widely used in Japan and "*komyunithi* (community)" were introduced for the first time by borrowing from English. In fact, during the studies carried out in 1969, the committee members were referring to "community" as the "new local society", "civil local society" or "modernized local civil society". Committee members tried to construct the concept and image of "community" to develop a model of environment to restore local human connections and the sense of solidarity that Japan already has lost during the period of economic growth (Miura, 2007: 149). At the same time, the committee members put special emphasize on the environment of free choice of participation and openness of community. It was done on purpose to mark the clear distinction between new form of community and old, conservative, closed and traditional ways of local associations represented by NHAs (Miura, 2007: 150). Having such projection, the Ministry of Home Affairs as well as local governments at prefectural and city level launched the own community development projects by choosing model community districts. In other words, although existing, NHAs were alienated intentionally from the mission of local revival.

Since then, many community developing studies and project were carried out. In 1971, the "Community Study Group" was set up by the Ministry of Home Affairs. Yet, in the meetings,

the target of the discussion was dominated by the superficial matters of community facility equipment rather than studying about other fundamental factors such as the identity of community members and their capacity building of mutual help. Miura sees that the Ministry of Home Affairs had to take such policy to show public the concrete and physical image of community to convince them the advance of community model areas and show the headway (2008; 154-156). In the progress report published in 1973, the materialistic tendency was corrected slightly, and the creation of human capital, empowerment of community members and the sense of shared responsibility for own community were stared to gain more attention. During the 1980s, more model community wards were chosen in promotion of community development. Meanwhile, the bubble economy was almost exploded, and the escalation of individualism led Japan to lose interest in human connections and values of helping each other. Thus the community development policy has lost its substance.

In early 1990s, the bubble economy was burst and additional social problems such as unemployment and suicide rate increased to a serious level. However, the government had no more fund to spend, and massive financial cuts were done to every aspect of national expenditures, needless to say, including the community development projects. In order to allocate less funding to them, the strategic change was taken and programs to train the community leaders were promoted rather than expanding community facilities. Meanwhile, the traditional NHAs, which had been survived in some wise during these years of community project domination, recovered their roles. After all, they had been served as the source of neighborhood self-reliance throughout the tough moments for NHAs, and finally, the government and study groups recognized its importance at long last. The revision of Local Autonomy Law in 1991 enabled NHAs to obtain the corporate status to carry out property registration, which eventually widened the capacity of NHAs.

5.3.5.4.   NHAs and Hanshin Awaji Earthquake (1995)

On 17 January 1995, the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake happened. More than 6,000 people died and 40,000 injured. The rescue operations of victims and recovery works faced serious problems and difficulties caused by the malfunction of government-lead actions. This natural disaster taught Japan the lesson that the total dependence on the public help was not efficient to save lives of disaster victims. The crucial role of community ties such as represented by NHAs was recognized. Yet, who hold the center stage of rescue and recovery from the disaster this time were volunteers from all over Japan and the world. Since voluntary activities were not very common in Japan at that time, the Japanese people stared to be interested in such actions. The boom of voluntary activities was even named as "*Boranthia gannen* (the first year of volunteering)". It may be also true that the individualism-based thought over the years of bubbly economy was still dominant in the Japan of 1990s and so as the principle of social action. Therefore, the introduction of Western-like voluntary associations attracted people with will of mutual help but not traditional organizations like NHAs. In order to facilitate activities by voluntary groups, the government established the NPO (Non-Profit Organization) law to enable them to get the corporate status. However, the introduction of new NPOs did not solve all problems on their own, rather, the collaboration of new and old associations such as NHAs was the key factor for successful disaster operations especially when it came to the post-disaster assistance like management of evacuation areas. For instance, Yokomichi reports that in the areas where NHAs were playing important role before the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, the disaster management operations were done more smoothly than those without the presence of NHAs because the members of NHAs already shared a community spirit, and that facilitated the operations (2009, 10).

5.3.5.5. NHAs in 2000s

In the 2000s, the recession kept and the escalation of aging society as well as the decrease of population had no way to stop. The government kept pushed the policy of "from central to local state", "from public to private sectors", and "local matters done by locals" (Aichi Prefecture, 2009: 20). Since 2005, the Ministry of Internal Affairs has started to set several study groups and published a number of reports ("Community Study Group" in 2007, "Study Group for New Way of Community" in 2008, "Study Group of Urban Community" in 2012, to name a few). The general tendency of community policy since the 2000s can be summed up that community-based self-reliance should be done by the cooperation of all kinds of local-based entities including NHAs, NPOs, NGOs, university institutions as well as individuals, in association with private sectors and public administration. In this sense, NHAs are no longer excluded, rather they have been getting more important roles in the society once again.

5.3.5.6. NHAs and Higashi Nihon Earthquake (2011)

The earthquake and huge tsunami happened on 11 March 2011. It was doubtlessly one of the most terrible natural (and human) disasters in the history of Japan. It is also said to be the biggest earthquake occurred near Japan since the record of earthquake started in the country. More than 158,000 people died, 6,000 injured, still about 2,600 are missing[14], and approximately 174,000 are not being able to go back home yet[15], mainly due to the on-going problem of radioactive contamination by Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station trouble.

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[14] Keisatsu chō (National Police Agency). "*Heisei 23 nen Tōhoku chihō taiheiyō oki jishin no higai jōkyō to keisatsu sochi* (Damage situation and measures taken by the National Police Agency about the Higashi Nihon Earthquake)." Available at: March 2016. https://www.npa.go.jp/archive/keibi/biki/higaijokyo.pdf [accessed: 7 March 2016].

[15] Fukkō chō (Reconstruction Agency). "*Zenkoku no hinansha hado no kazu* (Number of Evacuees in Whole Country)." Available at: http://www.reconstruction.go.jp/topics/main-cat2/sub-cat2-1/20160226_hinansha.pdf [accessed 7 March 2016].

Compared with the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake when voluntary activities were paid much attention, the survival and reconstruction from Higashi Nihon Earthquake has been carried out by the campaign of "*Kizuna* (bonds of human relationship)", emphasizing the ties of families and neighbors. The following three points are worthwhile to mention to compare these two biggest earthquakes of Japan in the recent history.

First, the volunteer activities were there in Higashi Nihon Earthquake, yet it was no longer remarkable because since the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, such activities had been developed and structured well. At the moment of Hanshin Awaji Earthquake, volunteers were not frequent, and for the first time of Japanese history, the necessity and important of such helping style was introduced. Therefore, it was noticeable and symbolic. At the same time, the lack of cooperation among voluntary associations came to the surface, thus much effort was made to improve the smooth operation among voluntary groups since then. As a result, when Higashi Nihon Earthquake occurred, voluntary associations could act quickly and effectively, yet it was also taken as granted.

Second, Hanshin Awaji Earthquake happened mainly in the urban area including one of the largest cities, Kobe, where neighborhood relations were already thin. On the other hand, Higashi Nihon Earthquake attacked intensively the rural areas of Tōhoku region, where traditional relationship among neighbors was still abundant. Therefore, it was natural for the people there to help each other to escape from the disaster at the first stage, then to recover from the tragedy by using the networks of NHAs. Of course, not all communities of affected regions functioned through the neighborhood channels. In fact, some communities did not have enough human resources, and unfortunately these areas suffered from more difficulties for survival and restoration than those which had tighter neighbors' relations (Isago, 2011; 87-88). Thus, on the occasion of worst disaster of Higashi Nihon Earthquake, the communal self-reliance

based on NHA structures played an important role and it was marked as the symbol of overcoming from the disasters.

Third, in order to survive and recover from the natural disasters and other difficulties caused by them, it has been observed that the effective cooperation among voluntary associations and NHAs is indispensable. Some articles mention the facts that NGOs and other volunteer groups offer their support more easily to the communities where the NHAs have been functioning well. For instance, Chūnichi Newspaper reports the case of temporary houses in Ishinomaki City (Miyagi Prefecture) where the dissolution of NHAs cause some serious issues regarding the communication and daily life of the neighbors. Intrinsically, NHAs in areas of temporary dwellings are organized provisionally, because those who live in such houses move out once they find the new residences. That means that sooner or later NHAs disappear consequently. Yet, while people are living there and trying to survive and overcome the tragedies, NHAs play important roles by connecting new neighbors, organizing administration, and coordinating the offers of supports by voluntary associations to meet their needs. At the same time, for voluntary associations, it is easy and more effective to send their supports to places where NHAs are well organized. Therefore, the existence of NHAs is very meaningful for the better communication among voluntary associations and victims. The director of NPO "Network for Ishinomaki Reconstruction Assistance" explains that, "volunteers tend to send their efforts and aids to places where trustful NHAs with responsible NHA presidents exist", because otherwise, volunteer associations have to do the preliminary survey to know the needs of victims of disasters, which cost them more money and time, and consequently the arrival and efficiency of help supply go slowly (Ueda, 2014: 29).

5.3.6. NHAs and Disasters in Japan

It is curious and worthwhile to exam the relationship between natural disasters and NHAs in Japan. Is it only a coincident or is there more concrete causality between the development of NHAs and natural disasters? As far as examples described above, the role of NHAs has been evaluated positively and reaffirmed again and again after big natural disasters occurred; the number of NHAs increased after the Kantō Great Earthquake, the importance of NHAs was mentioned after the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake although NGOs took the center stage, and finally Higashi Nihon Earthquake showed the indispensable existence of NHAs. In addition, although it has not been paid much attention, NHAs after earthquakes serve as the mechanism to take neighbors' collective decisions (such as whether accept the offers of NGOs or other voluntary groups, how to communicate and support each other, etc.) in the very democratic and deliberative ways without intervention by the local or central authorities. In this sense, the NHAs on the occasion of natural disasters exhibit their democratic potentiality as well. To sum up, what we can learn from the written materials is that the Japanese NHAs have been playing an important role usually as the intermediate between individual and state, but sometimes as the very genuine form of democratic organization especially when disasters happen.

Okada, Fang and Kilgour analyze that Japan has developed its own "disaster culture" as a hidden culture gene, and that helps to develop the neighborhood-based mutual aid system (2013, 47). Borrowing the theory developed by Gregory Butten (2010), Okada, Fang and Kilgour continues that because Japan has long been suffering from serious disasters such as earthquake and tsunami, the neighborhood-based mutual help with the form of cooperative or collaborative mechanism has been created and it represents ample positive examples of effective community management (2013, 51). The also remark Japanese "sense of being first and foremost responsible to the community" (2013, 47) to mention the importance and centrality of community in the Japanese lives. Thus, this Japanese particular situation, namely the

cyclical-based natural disasters and following emergency situations caused by them has driven Japan to construct a form of neighborhood-based self-reliance mechanism to prevent, protect and overcome from such catastrophes. Positively, NHAs play a crucial role for it.

Yamashita (2012) also emphasizes the importance of neighborhood-based disaster management. He compares the role of voluntary associations with that of community. To him, volunteers who come to the aftermath of catastrophe are merely "strangers" in the end. In addition, their overmuch intervention has the danger of lowering the capacity of independence or self-sustainability of neighborhood-based associations (2012: 29). He is also conscious about the risk of "institutionalization of volunteers". What he means by this term is that, when voluntary organizations start helping the recovery from disasters, they are normally recognized by the authorities to be the official agencies for reconstruction. Yet, once official contracts among authorities and voluntary associations are made, and sometimes grants by authorities are handed, many restrictions are charged, the original aims and purposes are forgotten, and eventually the disaster survivors are left behind (2012; 29). Hence, for the country of disaster culture like Japan, the optimal mechanism for disaster management is the system of neighborhood-based self-support.

These arguments about the importance of neighborhood-based disaster management/ prevention are the very reason of the continuous existence of NHAs in Japan. As described above, historically speaking, NHAs were recognized their roles whenever huge disasters occurred. Moreover, recent studies have been revealing that they are actually meaningful and necessary from the disaster management point of view. Although there are many other countries with risks of natural disasters in the world and in this sense Japan should not be an exception, yet still, the debate of culture theory on the Japanese NHAs may have some connection with its disaster culture. In addition, the negative aspects of Japanese NHAs, concretely household

membership instead of individual personal membership, geographically closed membership offering, practically obliged membership participation, too much intervention into individuals' lives, and subordination to state authorities, often appear to be pre-modern, closed, and undemocratic association which go against the development of healthy democracy. Still, it may be assumed that such features are sometimes necessary to maintain the local ties to be always prepared for the disasters and to work effectively in the case of emergency.

5.4. Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter, we studied about NHAs in general, and furthermore extended it to the NHAs in Japan concretely. We first picked up the common features of NHAs in the world although it appeared that NHAs differed considerably from one place to another. We paid special attention to the relationship between NHAs and public authorities in different countries and places. Then, we focus on NHAs in Japan to acknowledge the particular traits and history they have passed through. The close relationship between local and sometimes even national authorities have been seen problematic in Japan for a long time, especially before and during the World War II. In the post-war era, NHAs have been struggling to establish their status as one of civil associations, yet the deep and dense interdependence with public authorities remain considerably in many NHAs in many aspects, due to the authority-lead policy toward NHA activation and the presence of danger of natural disasters in Japan. Consequently some conservative, undemocratic and closed practices and customs have not been changed very much. In spite of that, the reaffirmation of importance of NHAs has been even stronger since the Higashi Nihon Earthquake in 2011. Thus, the roles, expectations and participation means of NHAs have been challenged to respond the situation of contemporary Japanese society. We will examine those changes in the latter part of this work by using quantitative and qualitative resources.

Chapter 6: Research Framework

6.1.   Introduction

In this chapter, we explain the basic research framework used in this study. As it is shown from the selection of literature review presented in the former chapters, this study is treated under the wide field of political culture studies, more specifically speaking, the study of civil society, social capital and, and even more narrowly NHAs studies. We have seen various studies and theories based on those study fields, and this research aims to explore and reflect the findings of former studies using our research target: Japanese society. First, we present the justification of this research to state the importance and novelty of this study. Then we introduce the research objectives and hypothesis, and our research questions will help us to clarify the aims. The following sections are the explanations of research methods adopted for this research, concretely the quantitative and qualitative research methods. Before concluding, we note some limits and difficulties this research faces, and then, we conclude this chapter with a brief summary.

6.2.   Justification of the Research

As learnt from the previous studies reviewed in the former chapters, there exists a vast amount of studies on political culture, civil society and social capital covering immense societies and groups of the world as if there is no room left for the future research. Studies on NHAs have carried out massively as well to cover wide range of countries, and broad areas of a country. Still, we believe that this research can give a new sight and some significance for the development of those research fields. There are mainly two reasons that this study can be considered new and

important.

First, there are abundant study of political culture using the examples of European and American societies, yet non-Western societies are still less explored and the studies on those are still under development or not being exposed to test the theories established by the Western scholars. Our research target is the Japan society, which has the mixture of Westernized and traditional Confucian, Asian, and Japanese own cultures and customs. This particular feature may turn out to be interesting to challenge the generally accepted theories, or in an opposite manner, the regional particularism often argued by the non-Western scholars may appear to be exaggerated. In this regard, this research can be striking to observe the universality of theories and limits of exceptionalism.

Second, as it will be explained below, this research aims to study the role of NHAs in Japan quantitatively as well as qualitatively. Normally speaking, the studies of NHAs in Japan are dominated vastly by the case studies and historical development descriptions such as Applbaum (1996), Braibanti (1948,) Iwasaki (1989), Tanaka (2000), Torigoe (1994), Yamazaki (1999), Yoshihara (2000). The voluminous number and the long history of NHAs in Japan may has been making it difficult to grasp the whole nature of NHAs quantitatively.

However, this preference of case study sometimes make it difficult to test the universality of hypothesis. The lack of quantitative studies has been notable especially in the field of NHAs studies in Japan. Yet, the dominance of qualitative studies does not mean the total absence of quantitative studies for NHAs. The most famous and sizable research by Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto (2009) gives a new sight in the field of Japanese NHAs studies, and certainly it helps us to discover the mainstream traits of Japanese NHAs.

Still, the quantitative parts of this study differ from their research design for two reasons. First, Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto set the NHAs as their target units, and not the

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individual members of NHAs. Therefore, their findings and results drew from the statistic operation are to show the characteristics and capacity of each NHA. On the other hand, this research is interested not only the remarkable features and natures of Japanese NHAs as an civil association, but also the individual members of NHAs influenced and trained by participating in NHAs to examine whether they are useful to generate social capital (mutual trust, reciprocity, etc.), political efficacy, interest in politics, democratic culture, and so forth. Thus, we add the individual level for our analysis. Secondly, the data used in this study includes some newer ones than that of Tsujinaka, Pekkanen and Yamamoto (2009), notably some of them are collected after the Nigashi Nihon Earthquake in 2011. The literature reviewed earlier talk about the possible growth of NHAs and change of their roles after big disasters. Viewed in this light, this study using the data obtained after the disasters of earthquake and consequent accidents may be able to unveil the new trend and significance of NHAs in Japan.

Even so, we have to remember that the investigations depending only on the quantitative analysis may overlook some crucial events and overgeneralize the social phenomenon. Taking the earthquake and NHAs in Japan for example, it is reasonable and possible to think that the change of roles of NHAs happen in the earthquake affected areas but not in other places. Or against the assumption, the change might observed in nation-wide, yet looking at results of numbers would not tell the reasons why such incidence occur.

In order to overcome the shortcomings of qualitative and quantitative method and explore the NHAs in Japan as much as possible and as many different angles as possible, this research employs both quantitative and qualitative research methods. By doing so, it may serve to add new insight and findings to the field of NHAs studies in Japan.

To sum up, the significance of this study is to challenge the universality of theories or restrain of exceptionalism, and to advance the research on the roles of NHAs in Japan by

applying the quantitative and qualitative research methods.

6.3. Research Objectives and Research Questions

The general objective of this research is to examine the role of NHAs in Japan. Following the previous studies and theories, we assume that the associations of civil society have the positive roles of generating social capital (trust and reciprocity) and educating the members to acquire the democratic values and civil and political skills and that is also true for the Japanese civil society. Since NHAs are also a part of such associations, we expect them to transmit such values and skills to the members of NHAs as well. However, other literature points out the negative effects and values generated by the Japanese NHAs such as closeness, authoritative cultures and undemocratic cultures due to their particular history, the interdependent relationship with central and local authorities, the lack of voluntarism for participation, and so on. Recognizing such two opposite positions, this research aims to observe the NHAs and their member individuals to test the assumptions and to observe the current situation of NHAs in the Japanese society.

Since the range of study objectives are wide and study materials are ample, we consider that the production of concrete hypothesis is not adequate for this research. Putting in different way, this study is considered to be in the research stage before preparing hypothesis. By doing so, it may enable us to stretch our research interest to broad functions of Japanese NHAs and leave us the margin and freedom to observe and analyze the diverse roles of them from varied angles.

Still, we need some basic inquiry to ease and guide this research. Therefore, the followings research questions are listed:

Table 6.1: List of Research Questions

NHAs and volunteers	1	Does wilfulness to participate in voluntary associations matter to raise political interest of people in Japan?
	2	Are NHAs truly voluntary associations in Japan?
	3	Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?
	4	If not why people participate in NHAs?
NHAs, society and Japanese political	5	How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?
	6	What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?
Functions of NHAs	7	What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?
	8	Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?
NHAs and fostering democratic values	9	Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?
	10	Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?
	11	Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?
	12	Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

6.4. Methodology

In the previous chapters, a varied and substantial collection of former studies is reviewed. We now need some adequate methods that facilitate the analysis of NHAs in Japan and help us the better understanding of them. As stated before, this research challenges to study NHAs quantitatively and qualitatively to make the best use of data and evidence collected so that it also gives some progress in the field of Japanese NHAs studies. Landman explains that quantitative methods can show "differences in number" whereas qualitative method show "differences in kind" (Landman, 2008: 20). In accord with Landman's comment (Landman, 2008: 21), we believe that the use of quantitative or qualitative methods depends on the data and evidence available and both aim to peruse the better possible inferences. Since this research is fortunate to obtain both quantitative and qualitative information, it seems proper to adopt both methods.

6.4.1. Quantitative Analysis

A quantitative analysis needs official aggregate data often available by governmental

publications, social surveys, opinion polls, market research, etc. In this study, 4 social survey

data sets are obtained to do quantitative analyses. The detail explanations and descriptions of

each data is offered in the next chapter in each section. In this space, some brief introductions of

data are presented.

Table 6.2: Summary of Social Survey Data

	Survey Name	Organization	Year
1	National Survey of Lifestyle Preferences	Cabinet Office, Government of Japan	2012
2	Report on the Studies for Future Community Policy in Urban Areas	Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications	2014
3	JGSS	Japan General Social Survey	2000-2012
4	ABS	Asian Barometer Survey	2003-2011

First one is the data collected by the Cabinet Office of Government of Japan called

"National Survey of Lifestyle Preferences". It is the result of social survey done in 2012 and has

the variables to measure the willfulness of participation in voluntary associations. Second is the

data provided in the report on the NHAs in urban areas done by the study group of NHAs of

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2014). Unfortunately the raw data of this report

is not available anymore since the study group is dissolved already[16], therefore advanced

statistical methods are not possible. Still, some simple statistic operations are used to analyze

the data. Third, we use the Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) data from 2000 to 2012. It is a

nation-wide social survey normally done every two years. JGSS is interesting and valuable for

our study since recent surveys contains variables relating to NHAs specifically. The most

updated data from 2012 is going to be the significant one because it may be able to examine the

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[16] The author has contacted the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications on March 16 2016 to ask for the raw data. Unfortunately the person in charge answered that they did not file the raw data but only the paper reports.

influence of the earthquake and following disasters of 2011 in relation with the roles of NHAs. Yet, the reforms of Personal Information Protection Law make it difficult to be reachable for individual researchers, and only the limited report is obtainable at the present moment[17]. Finally, Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) Wave 3 offers the full usage for statistical operations. ABS is an Asian-wide social survey and Japan has been participating since 2003 Wave 1. Wave 3 is the most recent one and the survey was carried out in Japan in November 2011 just after the earthquake. It recorded some problem of low rate of data collecting caused by the social situation at that time. Still, it is one of the most interesting and important data as it incorporates the social opinions of post-earthquake as well as the availability of data without constrains.

Due to the different characteristics and restriction of three data sets, adequate statistic methods should be chosen to maximize the use of them. In accordance with the quality of variables, there are mainly three statistic methods to be adopted.

6.4.1.1. Descriptive Statistics

It is used essentially for the survey of NHAs in urban areas and JGSS-2012. The uses of data from those two are considerably restrained, yet they certainly contain some interesting and valuable variables to analyze for the better understanding of NHAs in Japan. For this reason, several descriptive statistical analyses are done to facilitate the understanding of variables together with the visualization process using graphs and tables.

6.4.1.2. Cross Tabulation

Cross Tabulation or contingency table analysis allows us to test the existence of correlation between two or more variables. Since generally speaking most of social surveys are

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[17] The author contacted the JGSS Research Center by E-mail, and told that the possibility and mean of JGSS-2012 data publication was still under discussion.

consisted of categorical or nominal variables predominately and our data available in this research are not exceptions, Cross Tabulation is useful to see whether two variables are correlated or no. In order to see the strength of correlation, we use the Cramer's V which takes the value range from 0 (no association between variables) to 1 (strong association between variables).

6.4.1.3. Linear Regression

Some of our variables, especially ABS Wave 3 can be used directly or modified to numeric variables that permit us to take a step forward for regression analysis. It can be used to explain the relationship between a dependent variable and one or more independent variables. It will be used to examine the degree of interest in politics (dependent variable) and the influence of NHAs and other civil associations (independent variables) in addition to the demographical variables to control their effects.

6.4.2. Qualitative Analysis

After a number of quantitative analysis on listed data sets, Chapter 8 is devoted for a qualitative analysis. It seems coherent and necessary to do so, because the quantitative analysis in Chapter 7 will give us the features and characteristics of NHAs in Japan at the aggregate level. They may include the tendency of changes or adversely the persistence traits of Japanese NHAs, as well as the correlated variables or phenomena. Yet, they may not appear to be enough to explain the causes and reasons behind for such effects. In order to fill this gap, this research adds one more chapter devoted for the qualitative analysis. Qualitative analysis is designed to study a small number of specific cases by collecting and analyzing the rich and dense information (Crasnow, 2012: 657). Due to the time and resource limits, one concrete case is

deeply studied and analyzed in this chapter. Therefore, it adopts the case study method of qualitative analysis.

6.4.2.1.   Case Study

Understanding the domination of quantitative methods in the field of political science but claiming that there is no "gold standard" of methodology, Crasnow maintains the argument saying that "cases can tell us something about causality that quantitative methods cannot" (Crasnow, 2012: 665). This is precisely the reason to adopt case study method in this research in the later chapter to find the events, condition, circumstances, reasons and causes of evidences found in the quantitative analyses. Or perhaps, the case study might indicate some exceptions that quantitative studies would have ignored. In order to study an actuality in depth, we take the case of NHAs in a Mizutake Town in Gamagōri City of Aichi Prefecture, in which traditional and typical rural area's beauty of tight personal connections are reflected in the ways of NHAs, yet at the same time, the serious problems of modern developed society such as the lack of young manpower caused by the aging population and the fade out of trust and working together culture among new comers are observed. This chapter would give us good opportunity to give thought on the results and evidences obtained from quantitative analyses and offer possible reasons and causes of them.

6.5.   Limits and Difficulties of the Study

Though this research tries to maximize the usage of information and data obtained, and employed two different methods, it cannot deny some limits and difficulties that this study faces. First, although there are three data sets for quantitative analyses that will permit us to cover an ample range of social incidents and aspects of NHAs, they are not collected as a single social

survey, therefore the sampling methodologies and aggregating processes are different and sometimes not comparable. In addition, the dates of survey differ and it also makes it difficult to compare one data to another for the influence of social events at the time. The lack of data accessibility caused by the law changes and governmental administrative matters give up even a harder obstacle for our statistical operation. Still we believe that all data sets provide us valuable and sufficient information to grasp the spacious parts of Japanese society, and the selection of adequate statistical operations enable us to overcome these difficulties. By combining those, a better understanding of this society will be made possible. Second, even the employment of quantitative methodology should not constrain the number of cases analyzed, our case study that treat only one small town in Japan may be seen as a lack of cases taken. Mizutake Town may have very particular features compared to other cities and town in Japan, it may represent typical rural town but not comparable with those of urban cities, or it may differ from other parts of Japan (for example the Northern or Southern regions) due to its history, geography, industry, etc., and those cannot be found if one or more cases to be compared are not supplied. Yet, the objective of this research is the approximation to the NHAs in Japan and not a more ambitious mission like formulating hypothesis or theories. Therefore, even a single case study will be advantageous for further understanding of roles of NHAs in Japan. Finally, the application of quantitative and qualitative methods, or some scholars call "multimethod" research can be advantageous as explained above, at the same time it is sometimes attacked by opponents of such research method. Crasnow is one of them and maintains that this mixed method approach is ambiguous (Crasnow, 2012: 656) because "evidence of average causes and evidence for singular causation are simply not directed at the same end" (Crasnow, 2012: 664). She opposes to the multimethod basically because it cannot draw the causality to prove hypotheses. In the case of this research, it does not intend to test any hypotheses, rather tries to widen and deepen

the study of NHAs and their roles in Japan. Thus we think the employment of quantitative and qualitative methods is beneficial for the achievement of this research's objectives.

6.6.   Summary of the Chapter

This chapter explained the general framework of this research. In the first section, the meanings and importance of this research were presented to justify the study. Then main objectives and research questions were introduced. Later the research methods employed in this study were explained together with the reasons of adaptation. Finally, some of limits and difficulties that this research face were mentioned and how they were seen and were to be managed.

The following two chapters offer the quantitative and qualitative analyses on the roles of NHAs in Japan to try to answer the research questions.

Chapter 7: Quantitative Analyses on Civil Associations and NHAs in Japan

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, we explore the role of civil associations and particularly of NHAs in Japan for the creation of better society and democracy, by using the quantitative data and methods. In the last chapter, an overview on the issues relating to the research framework and methodology was discussed to clarify the research objectives and to justify the use of diverse research methods. This chapter focuses on the quantitative research and we present several analyses done by using four different data sets. Each section offers the concise explanation of survey, the use of statistical methods, findings of the analysis and observations in relation to the research questions stated in the previous chapter. This chapter will be concluded by providing a summary to collect up the reflections of each section.

7.2. Analysis on Willfulness of Participation in Civil Associations and Interest in Politics Using National Survey of Lifestyle Preferences (NSLSP)

This data analysis is useful and interesting to answer mainly the first research question presented in the chapter 6; whether willfulness and no willfulness to participate in civil voluntary associations influence the growth or decrease of political interest or not. In this analysis, we focus on the civil associations in general and no specific separation between NHAs and other civil associations is made due to the number of samples and variables available.

Table 7.1: Research Questions for NSLSP

NHAs and volunteers	1	Does wilfulness to participate in voluntary associations matter to raise political interest of people in Japan?
	2	Are NHAs truly voluntary associations in Japan?
	3	Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?
	4	If not why people participate in NHAs?
NHAs, society and Japanese political system	5	How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?
	6	What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?
Functions of NHAs	7	What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?
	8	Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?
NHAs and fostering democratic values	9	Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?
	10	Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?
	11	Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?
	12	Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

Before start examining the data, it is convenient to note shortly a complex theme of the "willfulness" of participation in voluntary associations. In the field of political science, there exist two types of theory: normative and empirical. Some of the literature and theories reviewed in the former chapters are categorized into the normative theory which study and specify "how things in society *ought to be*" (Landman, 2008: 16) by providing the philosophical reasons and values. Social capital theory and civil society theory normally fit into this normative theory, and in this regard, the willfulness of participation in voluntary associations should not be questioned because members are regarded to be associated by the free will and not by external reasons such as social pressure, contracts, family obligation, tradition, etc. Especially Western scholars from liberal tradition may not worry too much about this issue because each person has his right and freedom to associate and it is clearly defended in the modern liberal society. In addition, practically speaking, it is also difficult to determine when people join civil associations truly voluntarily or not because it is often influenced by other factors such as education, family orientation, voluntary work experience, religiosity, spirituality, and so forth. Moreover, the will of

participation may be changed over time (for example, at first a person participates voluntarily but later the will decrease due to the organizational environment or personal problem, etc.) That is to say, oftentimes the question of willfulness and no willfulness for voluntary association participation is vague.

However, this study also has referred to the researches and philosophies developed in the non-Western contexts. Particularly, we have seen that in the East Asian society where the priority to social obligation and family more than the individual right is widely observed and rooted, which actually pressures members of the society to be involved in varied civil associations (Bell, 2006; Bell, 2016; Beng-Huat, 1999; Tu, 1996). Some former studies mention about the Japanese NHAs as the representative of such civil associations united by the social pressure rather members' free will (Yamazaki, 1999: 30-31; Torigoe, 1994: 9).

Therefore, even understanding the position and argument of normative theory and liberal tradition, we still believe the importance and originality of the analysis on the influence of willfulness or no willfulness of civil association participation. Hence, this section tries to use one of rare data sets that includes directly the question about willfulness and no willfulness of participation.

7.2.1. Brief Description of the Survey

National Survey of Lifestyle Preference (NSLSP) (*kokumin seikatsu senkō do chōsa*) has been carried out by the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan since 1995. The main topics of survey vary in each survey to reflect the Japanese citizens' interests of the time as well as the social environments[18]. This analysis uses the newest survey done in March 2012 and published

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[18] The summary of surveys done can be found in the following web page (available in Japanese only): http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/senkoudo/senkoudo.html

in June 2013[19]. It is remarkable and interesting because it includes the variables that ask the willfulness and no willfulness of participation in civil activities directly, and in this way we do not have to worry about the philosophical, theoretical or practical issues presented above. The NSLSP-2013 focuses on the public opinion expressed by the Japanese citizens about the "new public common *(Atarashii kōkyō)*" in an effort to survey the current state of civil society and activities within it. It uses the stratified random sampling method, and the sampling population is 4.000 Japanese men and women of age between 15 and 80. They are visited and interviewed individually. It has been carried out by the private agency (Research Survey Center Co., Ltd.) delegated by the Cabinet Office. 2.802 persons have completed the questionnaires and the collected answer rate is 70.1%.

7.2.2. Analysis Design and Justification

In order to see the effect of willfulness and no willfulness over the interest in politics, we choose several variables to execute the statistical operation. The independent variable is the participation in civil activities, in addition to other demographic variables. Since our dependent variable is numeric variable that take the range of 1 to 4, we employ the lineal regression method.

7.2.3. Variables

The followings are the explanation on used variables and the questions in the survey.

Dependent Variable

Interest in Politics

Q: "I am interested in social and political issues more than other persons."

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[19] The author is grateful to the Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan for providing her with the raw data of ENPEV 2012.

1- Totally agree.

2- Partially agree.

3- Partially disagree.

4- Totally disagree.

<u>Independent Variables</u>

Participation in Civil Voluntary Activities

Q: Do you participate in the following voluntary activities, NPO activities, or civil activities by participating directly, by using services or by donation? If you participate in some of those forms mentioned, please mark all activity numbers. If you do not participate at all, please mark "14. None". (Please mark all participations, use of service or donation done during the year of 2013. Moreover, please note that the forms of participation are not limited those without compensation, but also those received real cost or monetary compensations.)

	(a) Direct participation	(i) Use services	(u) Donation
1. Education			
2. Child Care			
3. Community Development			
4. Crime and Disaster Prevention			
5. Elder Care and Welfare			
6. Health Promotion			
7. Academic, Sports, Culture & Art Activity Promotion			
8. Environment and Measures Against Global Warming			
9. Disaster Rescue & Recovery, International Cooperation			
(Within 9. Relating to Higashi Nihon Earthquake)			

10. IT Promotion			
11. Work Capacity Development			
12. Consumers' Interest Protection			
13. Others			
14. None			

From this survey question, we produce a new variable to measure the intensity of activity participation by adding all activities marked and all forms of participation chosen, which is named as the variable of "Participation in civil activities".

Willfulness or no willfulness for Activity Participation

Q: (Only those who mark whichever from 1 to 14 in the former question, please answer the following.)   What are the reasons for participation? (Those who participate in various activities of varied areas, please mark all reasons applicable.)

1- Because it gives me a motivation in my life.

2- Because I want to contribute to the society.

3- Because I enjoy participating.

4- Because I can make friendship.

5- Because we have to help each other.

6- Because I want to increase my salary.

7- Because it is a social obligation or the duty comes by rotation.

8- Others. (Please specify   )

From this question, we make two dummy variables to measure the willfulness and no willfulness to participate in civil voluntary activities. The criteria to be used to divide reasons into "willfulness" and "no willfulness" is in accordance with the definition of voluntary association membership

presented by Ellis and Campbell (2005: 4) and Burns, Scholzman and Verba (2001: 4). Hence, the reasons for participation 1, 2, 3 and 4 are modified into a dummy variable of "willfulness", and the reasons 5, 6 and 7 into a dummy variable of "no willfulness".

Control Variables

As control variables, some socio-demographic variables are chosen. Specifically, they are variables of age, gender, annual family income[20], marital status, number of children, profession and type of work contract.

7.2.4. Analysis and Results

7.2.4.1.   Participation in Civil Associations and Interest in Politics

First of all, before going to the analysis over the influence of willfulness, we first test the basic theory of civil society that evaluate positively the participation in voluntary associations and their activities and the rise of interest in politics. The table 7.2 shows the result.

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[20] Annual family income is categorized as follows: 1= less than 2.000.000 yen, 2- less than 4.000.000 yen, 3= less than 6.000.000 yen, 4= less than 8.000.000 yen, 5= less than 10.000.000 yen, 6= less than 12.000.000 yen, 7= less than 14.000.000 yen, and 8= more than 14.000.000 yen.

Table 7.2: Linear Regression of Interest in Politics (VS. Participation in Civil Activities) (2013)

(Independent Variable)		
Participation in Civil Activities	0.072	***
	(0.004)	
(Control Variables)		
Sex	0.14	***
	(0.034)	
Age	0.278	***
	(0.001)	
Family Income	0.105	***
	(0.01)	
Married	-0.008	
	(0.056)	
Number of Children	-0.074	**
	(0.019)	
Children Under 6 Years Old	0.04	
	(0.06)	
Director, Executive or Highly Skilled	0.117	**
	(0.096)	
Full-time Contract	0.134	*
	(0.091)	
Part-time Contract	0.059	
	(0.103)	
Housewife/Househusband	0.092	
	(0.097)	
Student	0.067	
	(0.115)	
Without Job	0.119	**
	(0.096)	

F=20.746***
Adjusted R^2=0.093
Standard Error=0.754
n=2492

Personal compilation based on NSLSP. Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets.
***$p<0.01$, **$p<0.05$, *$p<0.10$

As shown, first of all, the value of R^2 is 0.093, which means this model has relatively weak explanation power. Our independent variable, which is the participation in civil activities is positively correlated with the rise of interest in political and social issues. That means, the more participation in civil activities observed, the more interest in politics expected. Still, it should be noted that the standardized coefficient of the regression is not very strong (0.072). Among social,

economic and demographic variables, sex, age, family income, labor situation (concretely those who with higher labor position (director, executive or highly skilled), full time contract and without job) turn out to be significant ad positive for the rise of political interest, moreover all with more notable regression coefficients. On the other hand, number of children also results significant but to the negative direction. These results affirm the civil voluntariarism's SES-model, which claims that those who with more resources like money (more family income or persons with full time contract that assure the economic stability), civil skills (supposedly those who with higher job positions such as executives and directors are more advantageous in this regard) and free time (we can assume from this result that those who without job are mainly older people who retired from work, therefore have more spare time, yet quite the opposite, those who with more children are busy taking care of them and lack time to spend freely), are more likely to express more interest in politics. The most significant variable is the age and the possible explanation for this is the free time. Because most of older people are already retired, and they enjoy the free time to read, collect information, talk and think about politics that all lead to be interested in politics. Finally, gender also shows an important role in this result. It tells us that males are more interested in politics than females in Japan. To summarize, participation in civil activities shows the positive influence over the increase of interest in politics, but only a limited level, and other control variables mark stronger coefficients.

7.2.4.2. Willfulness and No Willfulness of Participation in Civil Associations and Interest in Politics

Second, we add the factor of willfulness and no willfulness into the analysis of participation in civil activities and the degree of political interest. We now insert the dummy variables of willfulness and no willfulness created before. Here, we introduce tree different

models based on the one use in the previous section. The model 1 is the basic model of lineal regression with civil participation variables and variables of willfulness and no willfulness as the independent variables. The result is shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3: Linear Regression of Interest in Politics (VS. Willfulness and No Willfulness) (2013)

(Independent Variables)	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
Participation in Civil Activities	0.097	**	0.056		0.144	**
	(0.011)		(0.015)		(0.017)	
Willfulness for Participation	-0.016		-0.011		-0.144	
	(0.081)		(0.115)		(0.017)	
No Willfulness for Participation	-0.064		-0.128	**	0.004	
	(0.065)		(0.91)		(0.094)	
Sex	0.139	***				
	(0.069)					
Age	0.389	***	0.365	***	0.394	***
	(0.003)		(0.005)		(0.004)	
Family Income	0.137	***	0.160	**	0.104	*
	(0.019)		(0.027)		(0.026)	
Married	-0.092		-0.101		-0.080	
	(0.133)		(0.192)		(0.192)	
Number of Children	-0.184	***	-0.215	***	-0.153	*
	(0.038)		(0.055)		(0.054)	
Children under 6 Years Old	0.067		0.122	**	0.007	
	(0.116)		(0.167)		(0.163)	
Directore, Executive or Highly Skilled	0.180	*	0.378	**	-0.028	
	(0.209)		(0.297)		(0.301)	
Full-time Contract	0.261	**	0.457	**	0.064	
	(0.204)		(0.295)		(0.286)	
Part-time Contract	0.080		0.082		-0.069	
	(0.216)		(0.379)		(0.287)	
Housewife/Househusband	0.172	*	0.209	**	0.007	
	(0.208)		(0.353)		(0.277)	
Student	0.127	*	0.178	*	0.068	
	(0.274)		(0.391)		(0.389)	
Without Job	0.151		0.339	**	0.068	
	(0.209)		(0.306)		(0.389)	
F	7.754***		4.004***		3.638***	
Adjusted R^2	0.145		0.121		0.113	
Standar Error	0.721		0.745		0.695	
n	597		307		290	

Personal compilation based on NSLSP. Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets.
***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

As observed, R^2 of these models are 0.145 (model 1), 0.121 (model 2) and 0.113 (model 3) respectively, which mark slightly stronger explanation powers than the former model of Table 7.2. Participation in voluntary activities keeps turning out to be positive and significant. Furthermore, the rest of social, economic and demographic variables also continue to be influential over the increase of interest in politics as we obtained from the result of table 7.2. However, we are interested in the effect of willfulness and no willfulness but those two appear not

to be significant and the coefficients are very low. Therefore, no effect of willfulness or no willfulness of civil activity participation over the interest in politics is observed.

Yet, the result from Table 7.2 demonstrate the notable difference between men and women regarding political interest and some former research also find out the important gender difference on political interest in general (Burns, Schlozman and Verba, 2001; Schlozman, Burns and Verba, 1994; Verba, Burns and Schlozman, 1997) and specifically in Japan (Masuyama and Yamada, 2004; Ōyama 2002; Takeda, 2010). Therefore we test the influence of willfulness and no willfulness separately to male and female samples. Following the technic used by Burns, Scholzman and Verba (2001), we produce model 2 to examine the men's case only and model 3 for women, because it may be able to reflect the heterogeneity within those two different groups, and even more it may be considered that the difference of social process sometimes affect only men but not women or vice versa (Burns, Scholzman and Verba, 2001:39). Hence, we do the lineal regression on men (model 2) and women (model 3) separately with the civil activity participation, willfulness and no willfulness as independent variables, and political interest as dependent variable. The results show that in the model 2, the variable of no willfulness for the civil activity participation turns out to be significant to the negative direction although it should be noticed that the influence power is not the strongest (coefficient is -0.128) compared with other control variables. This means that in the case of men, the more degree of no willfulness expressed for the participation in civil voluntary activities, the less interest in political matters observed. Whereas, in the model 3 for women, neither willfulness nor no willfulness appear to be significant. As for the rest of variables, for the case of model 2, those demonstrate significance are almost the same as we have obtained from the model 1, namely the social, economic and demographic variables. On the other hand, in the case of model 3, hardly are there variables to be influential to explain the increase of interest in politics and it does not support the SES-model

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either. It may suggest the indifference in political matters among the Japanese women, which have been claimed by Masuyama and Yamada (2004), Ōyama (2002) and Takeda (2010) is confirmed in this analysis also. To sum up, the influence of willfulness has not been confirmed in this analysis, but no willfulness observed for the participation in civil voluntary activities shows some importance for the decrease of interest in politics in the case of men.

7.2.5. Summary

This study using the survey data from NSLSP leaves three findings. First, the argument of civil society theory which claims that the participation in civil activities foster interest in politics is confirmed in the case of the Japanese society, too, with the data from NSLSP-2013. Yet, it should be added that the explanation power is not among the strongest, and other socio-economic-demographic variables turn out to be more influential. Second, the factor of willfulness or no willfulness to participate in civil voluntary activities does not exhibit much importance for the degree of political interest in general in Japan. However, thirdly, when the samples are divided into the groups of male and female, although the willfulness does not expose any relevance, the variable of no willfulness manifests its influence slightly to the level of interest for politics in the case of men and confirms its negative effect to reduce political interest. Hence, answering to the research question 1, it appear that willfulness does not affect the interest in politics, and no willfulness may have some limited influence but only confirmed with the case of men.

7.3. Analysis on NHAs in Urban Areas Using Data From Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC)

In the last section, we examine the effect of willfulness of participation in civil voluntary

associations in general over the interest in politics. In this section, we start focusing on one type

of the Japanese civil associations and the one with the widest membership and participation as

well as with considerably large number of organizations: the NHAs. The former studies on NHAs

are discussed already in the chapter 5. In this section as well as the following sections, we

examine about them quantitatively, and additionally from different angles by using varied social

surveys. This analysis helps us to examine the questions related to the voluntary aspect of NHAs,

NHAs in relation with the Japanese society and politics, as well as the functions of NHAS.

Table 7.4: Research Questions for NHAs in Urban Areas

NHAs and volunteers	1	Does wilfulness to participate in voluntary associations matter to raise political interest of people in Japan?
	2	Are NHAs truly voluntary associations in Japan?
	3	Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?
	4	If not why people participate in NHAs?
NHAs, society and Japanese political system	5	How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?
	6	What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?
Functions of NHAs	7	What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?
	8	Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?
NHAs and fostering democratic values	9	Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?
	10	Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?
	11	Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?
	12	Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

The first analysis is concentrated on the state of NHAs in urban areas. The reports and

data provided by the MIC facilitate us to explore the particular forms and typical problems that

NHAs in urban areas hold. The reports and data are collected and written by the study group for

NHAs in urban areas called "*Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru*

kenkyūkai (Study Group for Future Community Policy in Urban Areas (SGFCPUA)", one of the

study groups structured by MIC. SGFCPUA was first formed in July 2012 with the purpose of

discussing on the problems and difficulties such as aging population and thin personal connection that urban areas hold, in order to examine the solutions and community policies to be prepared for the future, especially for the possible natural disasters like occurred in the Northern part of Japan in 2011[21]. It was consisted of 8 experts and professors mainly from universities and mass media. After having 8 study sessions, SGFCPUA was closed by publishing the "*Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūka Hōkokusho* (Report on the Studies for Future Community Policy in Urban Areas (RSFCPUA)", which contains data collected from questionnaire surveys and hearing surveys. Although its focus is on the communities in the urban areas, in actuality, the study was about the situations of NHAs in urban areas basically, since as we have seen in the chapter 5, the Japanese community policies have been developed tightly with the presence of NHAs. For this reason, this report supplies us a wide and interesting data on the NHAs in urban areas.

7.3.1. Brief Description of the Survey

The data included in the RSFCPUA were collected by the questionnaire and interview surveys done in urban areas of Tokyo in 2012, and additionally in other urban areas from outside Tokyo in 2013. Originally 5 areas from Tokyo and 5 cities and areas outside of Tokyo are surveyed, yet the quantitative questionnaire-used survey was carried out only in 4 areas (wards) of Tokyo and 3 areas from other cities. The Table 7.5 shows the brief description of surveyed areas with their geographical and social particularities.

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[21] The summary of SGFCPUA mission can be found in the following web site (in Japanese only): http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000171485.pdf

Table 7.5: Summary of Survey Areas

Area	No. Household	% NHAs participation	Description	N
2012				
Tokyo, Minato Ward A (Apartment)	Approx. 870	-	· High-rise apartment built in 2007 with about 2,800 residents, mostly two-income families in their 40s. · Whole apartment participate in NHA, and the activities are done mainly by the apartment's association board. It has been able to maintain good relationship with NHA since it joined it even when the apartment was still under construction.	347
Tokyo, Minato Ward B (Apartment)	Approx.3,800	Obliged	· High-rise apartments built in 2007 and consisted of several towers but form a single NHA on their own. · Regarding the relationship with other NHAs in the area, works as supporting association and pays fee. · NHA organizes monthly events for residents and they are organized and involve all apartment residents. · NHA tries to constitute a mutual-aid system for elder residents to replace them to the safer and lower apartments in case of earthquake and stop of elevators.	240
Tokyo, Minato Ward C	Approx. 3,000	Approx. 60 %	· One of the biggest NHAs in Minato Ward hosting 3,000 households. · Yet, some apartment in the area do not participate in it, and the total participation is 1,870 households. · Active recruiting of NHA members is done by the board members. · Some special agreements are concluded with some apartments towers to use their underground storehouses to stock disaster emergency items for NHA members. · NHA is conscious about the need for care of elders and disabilities. Yet privacy protection makes it difficult to search the needs.	423
Tokyo, Katsushika Ward A	Approx. 1,060	Approx. 52 %	· Has 60 years history and the total participation is 557 households. · About 60 - 80% are single building house ownership without frequent turnover of residents, many live for years. · The decline of NHA participation rate is due to aging population and sneak thieves are the main concern of the NHA. · Deep contact and collaborations with public schools, PTAs, and other organizations to recruit new young NHA members.	325

Table 7.5: Summary of Survey Areas (Continue)

Area	No. Household	% NHAs participation	Description	N
2013				
Sendai City, Area A	Approx. 850	Approx. 90 %	· Historically centered and important residence area with a few small-scaled business offices. · Even before the Earthquake, some emergency aid measures were already prepared, consequently quick supports for elder people and single-person households were provided when the earthquake happened. No Tsunami damage, but two small landslides recorded. · Active recruitment advertisements for newcomers are done. · Main NHA's activities are disaster prevention, area patrol for crime prevention and caring childrens.	187
Sendai City, Area B	Approx. 1,100	Approx. 70 %	· Former farming area converted to residence area, consequently about 90 % of residents moved newly. · Dominated by single and collective housing with a few small-scaled business offices. · Though dominated mainly by new residents, common interest of majority of residents in disaster prevention has enabled NHA to work actively even before the earthquake.Consequently, the autonomous management of evacuation center was carried out successfully. · Learnt from the earthquake, active disaster drills are organized for NHA members as well as non-members of apartment residents.	421
Kobe City, Area A	Approx. 500	Approx. 90 %	· Area consisted of residence, small-scaled factories, and small-scaled business offices. · One of the most affected areas by Hanshin Awaji Earthquake and about 80 % buildings were collapsed, half-collapsed or burnt. ·Today reconstructions are mostly finished. Frequent turnover among residents of rent housing, consequently about 30 % are moved in and out after the Earthquake. · Disaster prevention trainings lead by NHA were already active before the earthquake. Consequently, institutionalization and management of evacuation centers and other settings were carried out smoothly and successfully. · After the earthquake, NHA is trying to include and mix new and old residents to form an unified community.	233

(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b: 8-10, 18-25)

7.3.2. Analysis Design and Justification

Unfortunately the raw data used in the RSFCPUA is not available as SGFCPUA has already conclude in March 2014[22,] thereafter advanced statistical operations are not possible. Still it is interesting to review the data shown in the RSFCPUA to grasp the situations of NHAs in differed and varied areas of Japan, because each area has its own local particularities that are important for the comparisons. Thus, the quantitative analysis on the data from SGFCPUA is basically by using the descriptive analysis method.

7.3.3. Analysis and Results

First of all, we look into a little bit further about the content of Table 7.3 so that a better understanding of surveyed areas can be offered. There are mainly four important traits to consider comparing among these sampled areas. First, Tokyo has two very different housing styles. Minato Ward A and B of Tokyo represent the busy urban life style of Tokyo, in which people live in high-rise tower apartments, and the residents' turnover is frequent, which makes it difficult to form NHAs on their own. Yet, taking the Japanese collectivist or Groupist culture into account, the relationship with local community cannot be ignored. As an alternative solution, the real estate agency or private agency-lead association board assume the responsibility of NHAs but in exchange the NHAs fees are included directly into the monthly or annual rent fee. Understanding such situation, perhaps it is easily assumed that the personal relationships among residents are thin. Second, on the contrary to Minato Ward A and B, Tokyo still holds some traditional and old residence places as shown by Katsushika Ward A. In such areas, the single building houses are more common instead of apartments, and people live there for long

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[22] The author has contacted by telephone the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications on March 16 2016 to ask for the raw data. Unfortunately the person in charge answered that they did not file the raw data but only the paper reports.

time. Thus, it is assumed that many residents know each other. On the other hand, the problem of aging population makes it difficult to maintain the high rate of NHA participation. Minato Ward C is something between Minato Ward A and B and Katsushika Ward A. In addition to the originally-lived residents, the population increases thank to the apartment constructions. Still, not all newcomers of apartments are willing to participate in the NHAs. Third, as far as the comparison between urban areas and rural cities are considered, Tokyo, Sendai and Kobe mark different features regarding the housing styles, population turnover, population age, and so on. Even Kobe and Sendai are one of big cities in Japan, the size is not comparable with Tokyo, less turnovers and aging populations are observed in these areas. Fourth, Sendai and Kobe, the two selected areas out of Tokyo, are where enormous earthquakes happened. Kobe suffered and still is suffering from the Hanshin Awaji earthquake in 1995, and Sendai from the Higashi Nihon Earthquake in 2011. These natural disasters brought some change in people's sense of values and ways of relating to each other. The modes of NHAs in those areas also show such differences in some ways. Taking these factors into consideration, we begin to examine the data.

7.3.3.1.   Participation in Local Activities

First of all, we start with the participation rate of different associations. From the data available in the report, we calculated the total percentage of "regularly participate" and "have been participated" in local activities to see the participation rate of each organization.

Figure 7.1: Participation in Local Activities (Sorted by Organizations)

PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL ACTIVITIES
(sorted by organizations) (multiple choice)

- ■ NHA
- ■ PTA, Women's Association, Elders' Association, Children's Association
- ■ Voluntary Association
- ■ Local Authorities' Association
- ■ School's Association, Volunteer Fire Company, Social Welfare Corporation
- ■ Private Companies
- ■ Hobby Circles

	NHA	PTA...	Voluntary	Local Auth.	School's...	Private	Hobby
MINATO A	35.2%	16.2%	12.1%	18.7%	18.1%	12.2%	22.0%
MINATO B	42.5%	17.9%	12.1%	19.2%	24.6%	16.3%	27.5%
MINATO C	36.1%	15.8%	14.0%	17.9%	20.6%	12.5%	24.8%
KATSUSHIKA A	46.5%	28.0%	9.8%	17.0%	25.5%	8.6%	24.9%
SENDAI A	63.1%	32.1%	20.3%	21.4%	27.3%	14.4%	34.7%
SENDAI B	77.6%	54.8%	15.7%	25.4%	41.3%	12.6%	37.1%
KOBE A	64.0%	45.0%	17.6%	16.8%	30.4%	8.6%	38.2%

(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

As shown, the most participated association in all 7 areas is NHA, although the rate ranges from the 77.6% in Sendai B (the highest rate) to 35.2% in Minato A (the lowest). Generally speaking the areas where earthquakes have hit record higher NHA participation rate than others. The followings are PTA, Women's Associations, Elders' Association and Children's Associations, and all of them are community based, and often NHA-related or organizations working in association with NHA. This means that, as far as the data available is concerned, the most frequent and active associations in Japan in general are mainly local or community based associations, in both urban and rural cities. It is also worthwhile mention that where NHA participation is high, the participation in other community based associations such as PTA, Women's Associations, Elders' Association and Children's Associations tend to be high as well. It is assumed that the frequent collaborations and exchange of information, membership, activities and so forth among local based associations raise the participations of such associations mutually. The similar relationships are observed at the participation in School Association, Voluntary Fire Company, and Social Welfare Cooperation also since they are also deeply rooted to the local communities. The engagement in more autonomous and newly introduced voluntary associations do not appeared to be remarkable, which maintains between 12 to 20 % of participation throughout Japan. The associations categorized into this group are probably the ones often referred as the "school of democracy" type of voluntary associations in civil society theories, and the lack of presence of such associations seen in our date here as well may give the image of inactive civil society in Japan. Finally, Hobby Circles keep relatively stable participation in every area, and surprisingly in three areas of Tokyo (expect Katsushika A), they are the secondly active associations. Probably they represent the Tokyo's metropolitan individualistic life style. Overall, the tendency of less active participation in civil society associations in general is obvious in Tokyo areas, especially urban Tokyo such as Minato A and

C.

Regarding NHAs, areas of Tokyo clearly show the less participation in comparison with the rest of Japan. Particularly the urban Tokyo areas such as Minato A and C expose the worst NHA participation rates. On the other hand, Katsushika A marks slightly higher NHA participation even it is also located in Tokyo. The reason is simple and obvious; Katsushika is one of the oldest areas in Tokyo, it still holds the traditional living style of mutual help among neighbors, meanwhile the aging population makes it difficult to maintain the NHA active. A clear contrast is evident between places with experience of mortal earthquakes and those without them. For one hand, we have four areas of Tokyo with less than 50 % of NHA participation, and on the other side, there are Sendai A, B and Kobe A where huge earthquake hit in recent years and NHA participation record higher than 60 %. It is true that these three are not located in the capital city, still both Sendai and Kobe are classified into the government-designated 12 major cities in Japan (*seirei shitei toshi*) with more than half a million population. Therefore, it is very probable that the experience of earthquake works as the prime factor to promote NHAs.

7.3.3.2. Membership in NHAs

Figure 7.2: NHA Membership
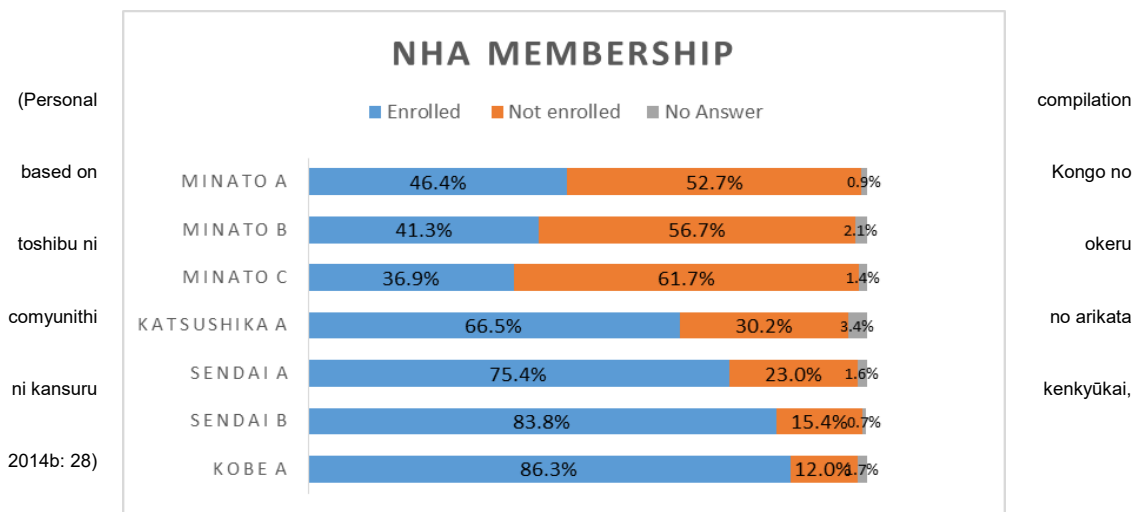
The figure 7.2 shows the NHA participation rate in each area. Before analyzing, one might feel uncomfortable with the difference of participation rates showed in Figure 7.1 and Figure 7.2. This disaccord comes from the distinct ways of NHA participation; as explained before, the participation rates in Figure 7.1 is calculated by the total percentage of "regularly participate" and "have been participated", whereas the numbers in Figure 7.2 show the enrollment rate, or putting it simple, whether paid or not the NHA fee. Every area holds some membership on paper although it ranges quite widely. For example, Kobe A records 86.3% of NHA membership rate in Figure 7.2 but 64.0 % in Figure 7.1, which means that approximately 22 % members only pay the NHA share but virtually no engagement of other activities at all. In this case, NHA is probably not working as the source of social capital, trust, mutual aid, civic responsibility and other positive virtues that voluntary associations are said to generate.

Another point to be mentioned is the fact that as explained before, there are many places in Japan where NHA membership is almost imposed by social pressures, and our data also includes something similar to this situation. Take Minato B for example, where NHA enrollment is supposed to be obliged as demonstrated in the Table 7.3. Yet, in reality, Minato B records one of the lowest NHA enrollments. This means that even the community rules cannot control the people's way of life, especially in the busy urban areas.

Having said that, as general observation, the tendency of low NHA enrollment is very clear in the urban Tokyo areas (Minato A, B and C). Still, probably it is not right to define that the absence of NHA in urban cities is common in all big cities, since Kobe and Sendai are also large cities. Rather, what makes NHAs more enrolled is the experience of huge earthquakes, as observed from the enrollment rates of Sendai A, B and Kobe A.

7.3.3.3.   Frequency of Participation in NHAs

Next, we focus on the frequency of participation in NHAs. As shown in Figure 7.3, even enrolled in NHAs, many people engage in them only from time to time in all areas, and a minority of people participate them regularly. In accord with the NHA enrollment rate, where people enroll more, active engagement in NHA observed. The tendency of higher involvement in NHAs in earthquake-experienced areas is observed in this figure as well.

Figure 7.3: Frequency of NHA Participation
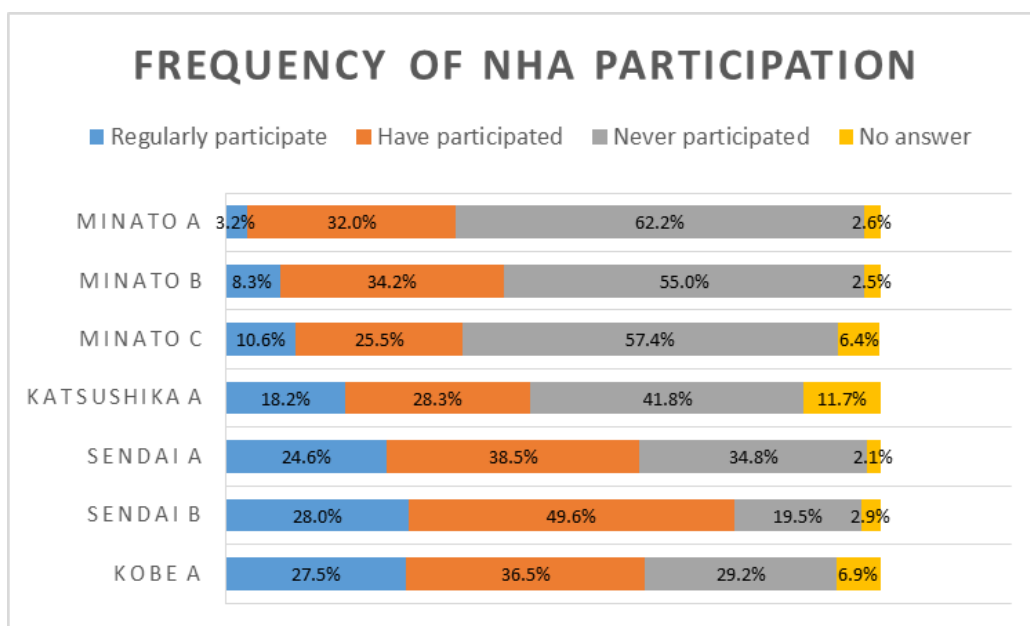
(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b: 222)

Still, there might be other reasons for NHA participation or no participation. Thus, we further explore the causes of participation variation.

7.3.3.4.   Frequency of Participation in NHAs by Age

Figure 7.4: NHA Participation Rate (By Age)

Figure 7.4 shows the participation comparison among different age groups. First of all, what is notable is that in Minato A, B and C, neither young people of 20s nor elder people older than 70 years old are living there4 very much. In these areas, a weak tendency of more active participation in older generations is observed, although in general engagement in NHAs is not remarkable in all age groups. Residents of these areas are mostly working and form nuclear families, some of them with kids. Such conditions probably leave not much time to dedicate for communal matters like NHAs. Secondly, Katsushika A is also consisted of relatively young population (no residents older than 70 years old), but the NHA participation is slightly more than other areas of Tokyo in all age groups, and the older the more participation in NHAs. The historical and traditional environment as well as the dominance of independent housings may promote the higher participation in NHAs in Katsushika. Third, presence of all age groups is observed in Sendai A, B, and Kobe A with relatively high participation rates in every generation, but particularly in elder groups. Less remarkable representation is seen in age groups of 20s, 30s and 40s in all three areas, and the assumed reasons are similar to what are listed in urban Tokyo areas; little time available for community life due to work, child caring and study in the case of those of 20s. To the contrary, it looks that when people retire from work they start to be involved in NHAs more, since participation rates rise for groups of 60s, 70s and 80s.

Thus, generally speaking, all areas show that the participation in NHAs gets higher in older age groups.

7.3.3.5.   Reasons for Joining NHAs

There are questions asking directly the causes for joining or not joining NHAs. Figure 7.5 shows the reasons for joining.

Figure 7.5: Reasons for Joining NHA

REASONS FOR JOINING NHA (single choice)

Legend:
- Voluntary
- Recommended by members
- Recommended by authorities
- Recommended by families or friends
- Occupacy condition
- Others
- No answer

(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

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This figure is interesting because it exposes the ambiguous existence of Japanese NHAs as theoretically speaking "voluntary associations" yet also practically speaking "membership-obliged association", but the degree of voluntary or compulsory enrollment varies drastically from one place to another. Take two extreme samples from our date for example. On one hand, Minato A reflects the impelling characteristics, as 96.3% answer that they enroll NHAs because it is the residence occupancy condition. On the other side, Katsushika A represents the NHA as an association by voluntary will trait. 49.1% state that they belong to NHAs because they want and 18.1% say they do so due to members' recommendation. Regarding other areas, Minato B and C mark the occupancy condition as the main cause of NHA enrollment (78.8% and 44.2% respectively). To our surprise, Sendai A and B also list the occupancy condition as the principle reasons for NHA membership (45.4% and 48.2% respectively). It is interesting because previous figures and analysis mainly exposed the distinction between urban Tokyo and earthquake-experienced cities. Thus, as far as the reason of NHA enrollment is concerned, not only urban Tokyo but also other cities even with experiences of serious natural disasters maintain the NHA membership rather by the compulsory mean. Still, Kobe A, which is one of the urban cities and at the same time experienced the mortal earthquake, demonstrates another model of NHA composed by the people united mainly by their free will (voluntary is 44.3% and occupancy condition is 26.9% which is the lowest among 7 areas). Therefore, the reasons of belonging to NHAs actually vary from place to place and the experience of natural disasters is not always the cause to revitalize NHAs from within.

7.3.3.6.   Reasons for Not Joining NHAs

So what about the reasons for not participating in NHAs? Figure 7.6 answers to this

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question, which looks like showing that there is a more universal cause of lack of involvement.

Figure 7.6: Reasons for Not Having Participated in NHA
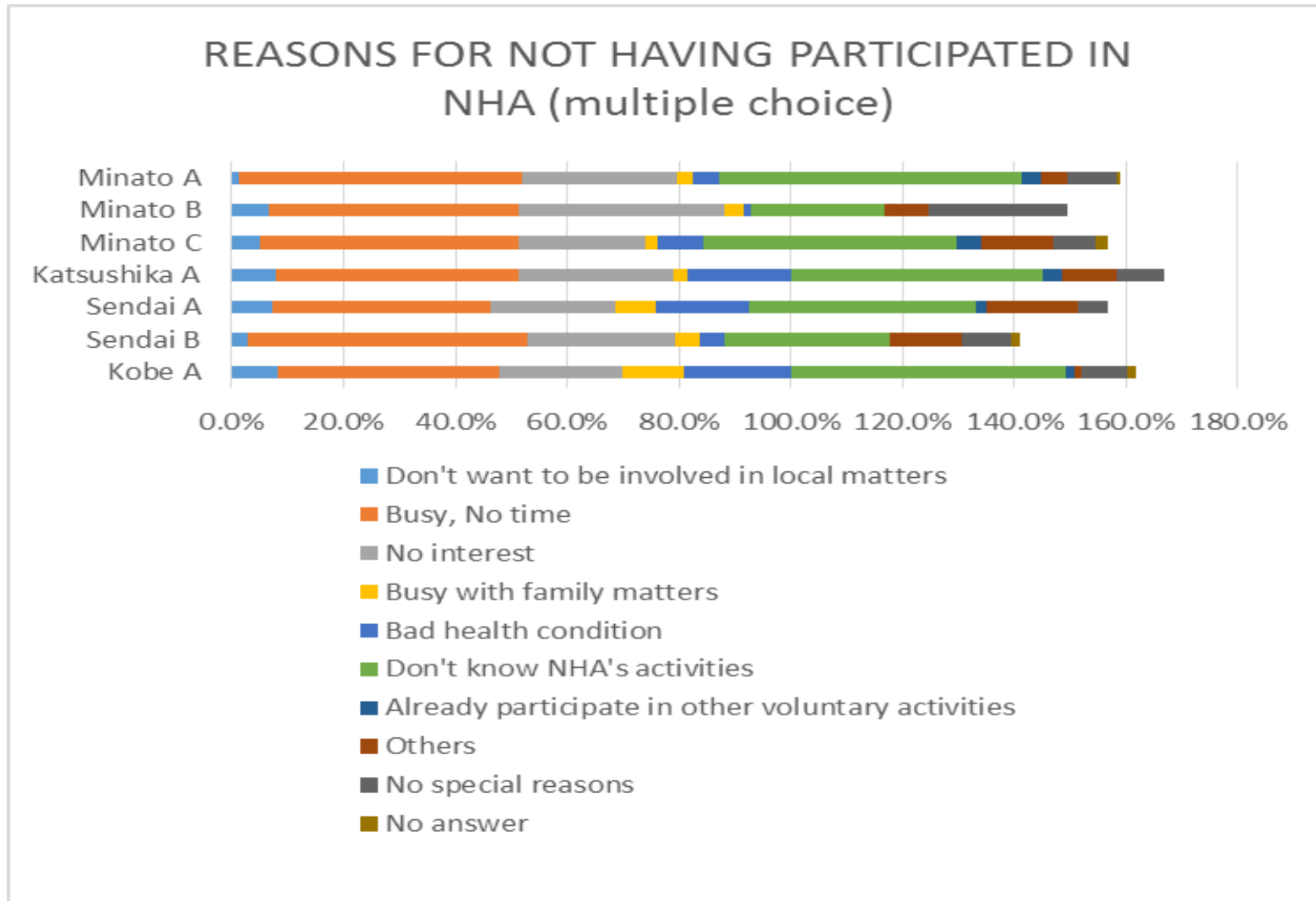
All 7 areas record the "busy, no time" as the principal reason for NHA abstention (Minato A 50.7%, Minato B 44.7%, Minato C 46.5%, Katsushika 43.5%, Sendai 38.9%, Sendai B 50.0% and Kobe A 39.7%). In general, it appears that people are not refusing to be involved in the community and local affairs since "don't want to be involved in local matters" is one of the least reasons listed, but rather they do not participate in NHAs because they cannot due to lack of time ("busy, no time", "busy with family matters" or "bad health condition"). Another main reason expressed is "don't know NHA's activities", in other words, lack of information. This one is possible to overcome by providing better information. Yet, it may also affirm the Pekkanen's argument that Japanese voluntary associations such as NHAs lack the professional staff to promote and strengthen their activities, since NHAs are, after all, gatherings of neighbors of varieties of professions and backgrounds. If NHAs are expected to be one of crucial associations to promote democracy or prevent damages from natural disasters, there may be something to do in this regard. Finally, answer of indifference expressed by "no interest" is not considerably high, yet constant in all seven areas and at worry-some level. The general tendency of individualism is present in all over Japan, therefore, it is acute to consider this issue seriously.

7.3.3.7. Opinion Changes Towards Neighborhood Relations After Higashi Nihon Earthquake

On March 11, 2011, the Higashi Nihon Earthquake happened in the extensive Northern part of Japan. As described before, ever since this earthquake, the Japanese government has been strongly pushing the policy of NHA promotion. At the same time, it looks that the Japanese people also come to realize the importance of personal connections with their neighbors. Therefore, we now try to figure out whether there are changes of attitudes of

people living in the sampled areas towards neighborhood relations and NHAs after the

earthquake.

Figure 7.7: Opinion Change Towards Neighborhood Relations after Earthquake
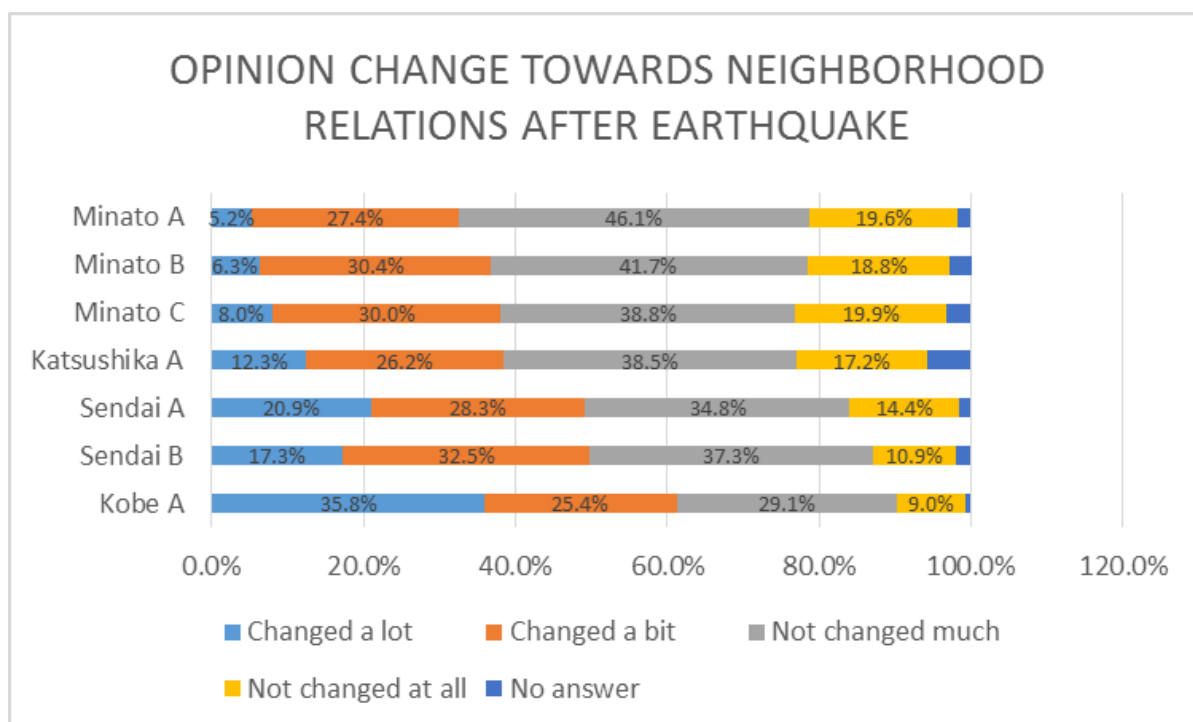
(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

To begin with, Figure 7.7 shows the opinions towards neighborhood relationship after

the earthquake. The question asked is "After the Higashi Nihon Earthquake, do you think your

way to relate to your neighbors has changed or not?" The result seems to be divided into two

groups. For one hand, Minato A, B, C and Katsushika A hold people who do not think the

change happened. In these areas, the total of "not changed much" and "not changed at all"

mark more than 50%. On the other hand, we have the group of areas where experienced

severe earthquakes: Sendai A, B and Kobe A. In these areas, the result shows slightly higher

percentage of "changed a lot" and "changed a bit" than other areas, expect Kobe A where

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people express the need of stronger neighborhood relations. On the whole, no drastic change of opinion can be observed from this figure, except Kobe A. It may be so because Kobe experienced the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake and Higashi Nihon Earthquake worked to bring their bitter memory back to realize the necessity of communal mutual help once again. It may also that recognizing the importance of collaborations among neighbors happens in the long run, thus Sendai A and B is still the way to do so.

7.3.3.8.   Measures Taken After the Earthquake

People's opinion change is observed only in the limited areas. Still, some of individual Japanese seem start taking some actions for the possible future disasters. The following figures show the measures taken by them after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake. We examine Tokyo areas and other areas separately.

7.3.3.8.1.   Tokyo Areas

Figure 7.8: Measures Taken After Earthquake (Tokyo Areas)
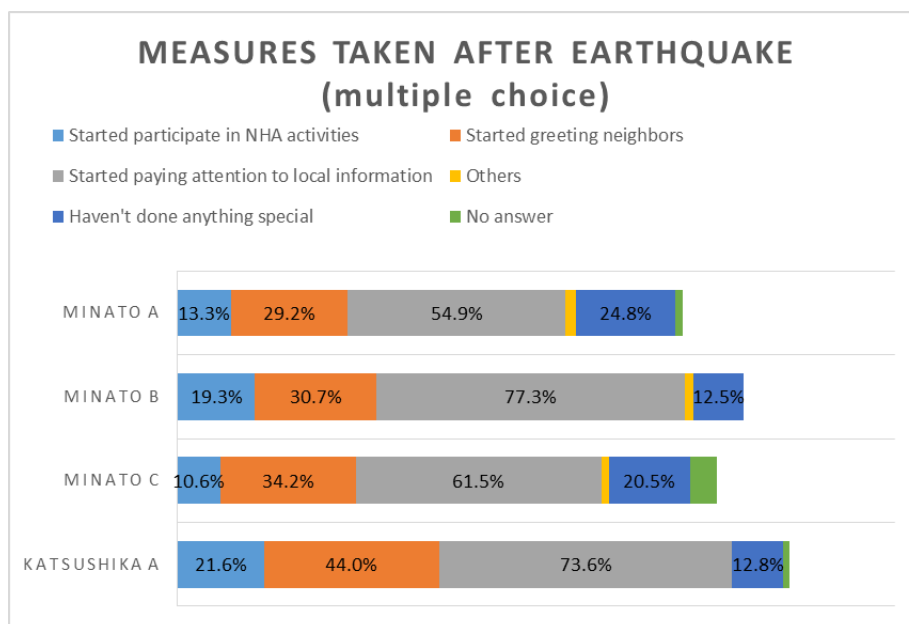
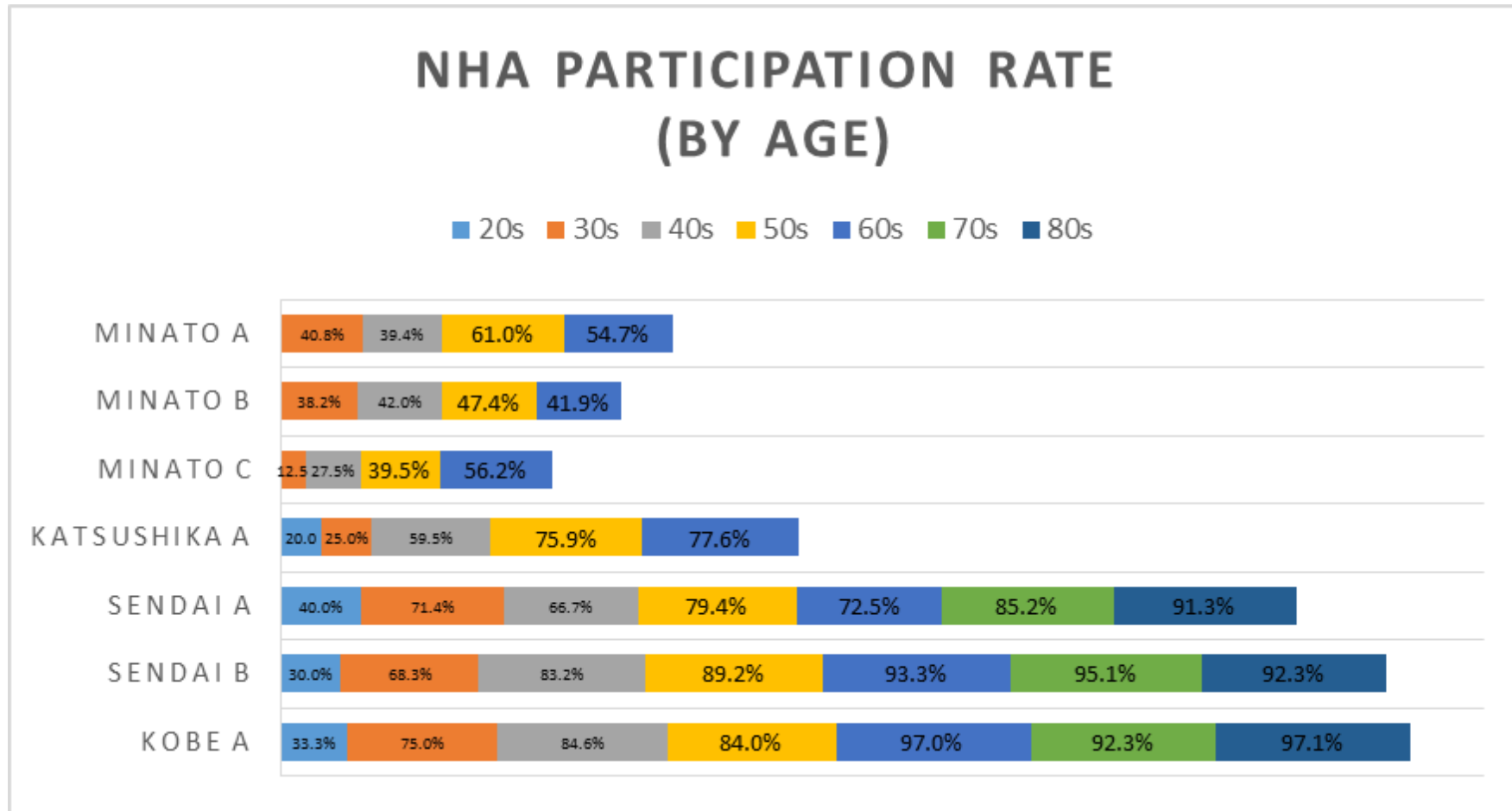

(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

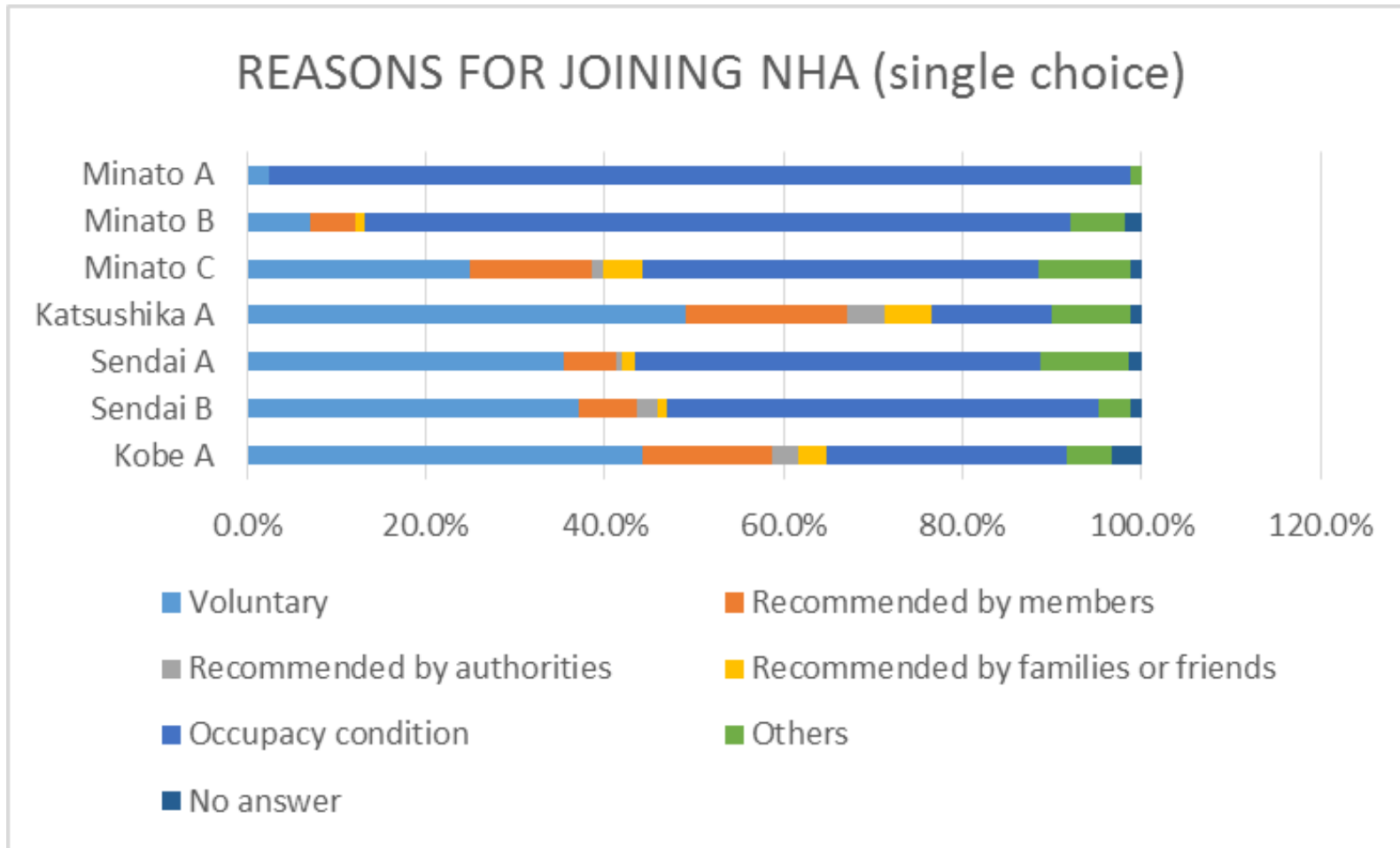In Figure 7.8, the behavior changes can be observed in the areas of Tokyo. Although the former figure showed not much change of attitudes towards neighbors, each individual seems to start some actions to be prepared for the possible disasters. The most frequent answer is "started to pay attention to local information", and it looks in accord with the behaviors observed in the previous figures because collecting local information can be done on the base of individual action and no need to involve neighboring connections. The second is greeting neighbors, which means at least people begin to take though of others. As for the NHAs, against the policy taken by the government and local authorities, it appears that not so many people started to participate in NHAs taking this occasion.

7.3.3.8.2. Earthquake Affected Areas

With regard to the disaster-handled areas, in comparison with areas of Tokyo, more people started to take some actions after the earthquake, and these are more on the neighborhood based. In these three areas, the most common response is to start greeting neighbors, and paying attention to local information comes the next except Kobe A. Kobe A marks the high percentage of "started circular the notice board without delay". The notice board is very common in all Japan, which normally contains the papers of local information, community notice, invitation to local events, etc. and it should be handed over to the next door once all papers are read. In this way, a community saves the cost to provide information to the neighboring people individually, as well it is supposed to promote the neighboring ties. When it comes to the NHAs, there are more people started to be involved in the NHAs in some ways.

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More than one third of people from these areas say they now participate in the NHA activities more, and some people begin to be involved in the operation and management of NHAs (Sendai A 13.0%, Sendai B 11.4%, and Kobe A 22.0%). Therefore, the measures taken by people of these areas are more to do with neighborhood and neighboring persons, rather than the individual base, and neighborhood activities become more active.

Figure 7.9: Measures Taken After Earthquake (Earthquake Affected Areas)
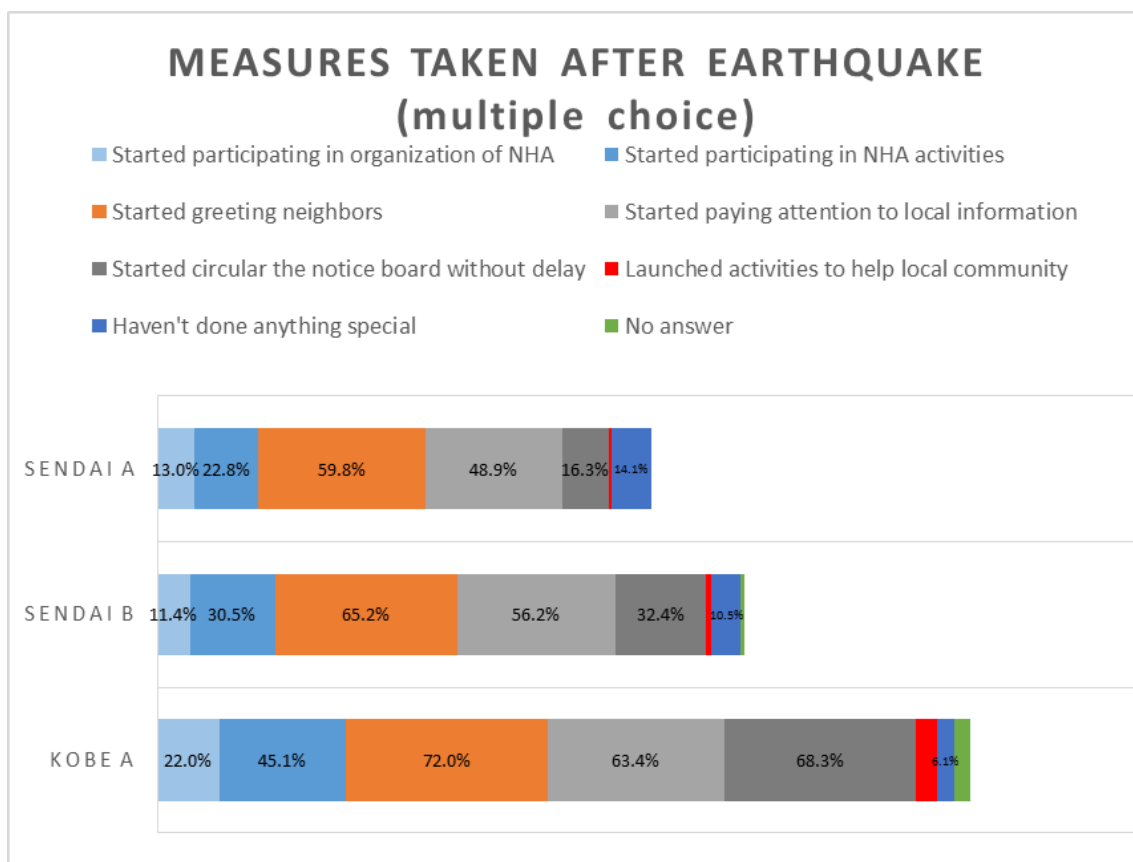
(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

7.3.3.9.   Rise of Importance of Local Ties

Although the previous figures discovered that the different patterns of people from Tokyo areas and other areas with regard to the neighborhood relations and preparation to disasters, the vast majority do think that the local ties are important as shown in Figure 7.10. In all seven areas, almost 90% believe that the local connections are very or more or less important.

Figure 7.10: Importance of Local Ties
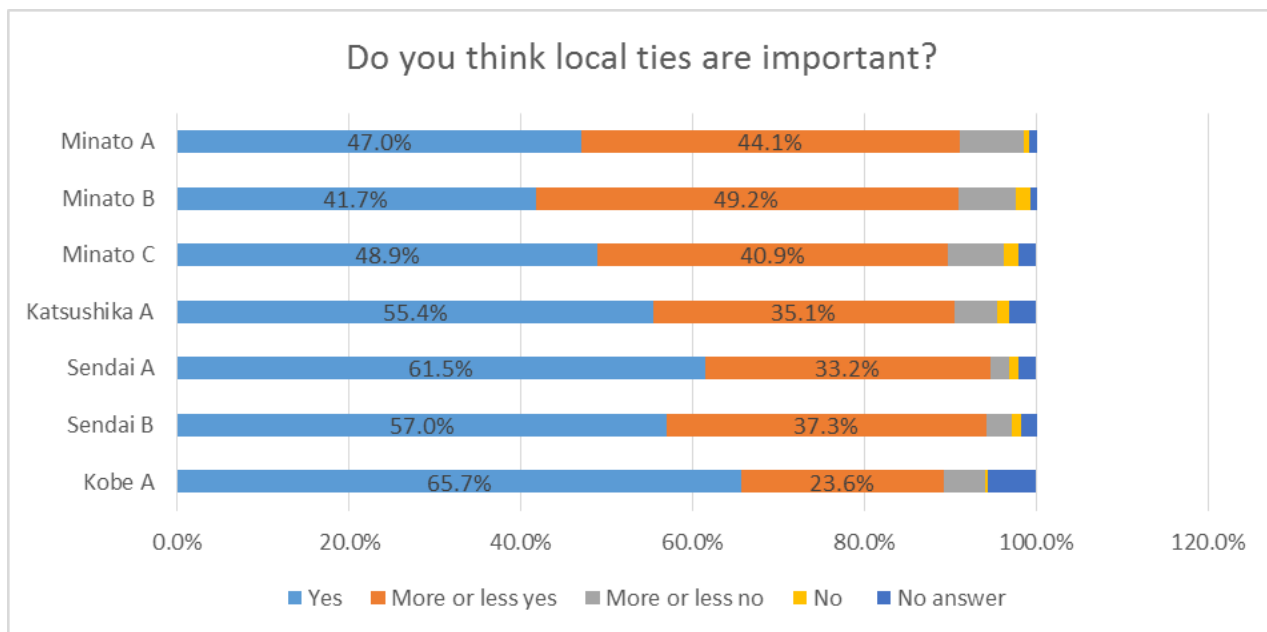
(Personal compilation based on Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai, 2014b)

7.3.3.10.   Expectations Towards NHAs for the Future

Thus, after the earthquake, the Japanese begin to prepare for disasters mainly on their own, still come to realize again the importance of local ties, although the participation in NHAs appears not to be altered very much. So what are the role of NHAs in the future? What people expect them to do?

Figure 7.11: Expectations Towards NHAs
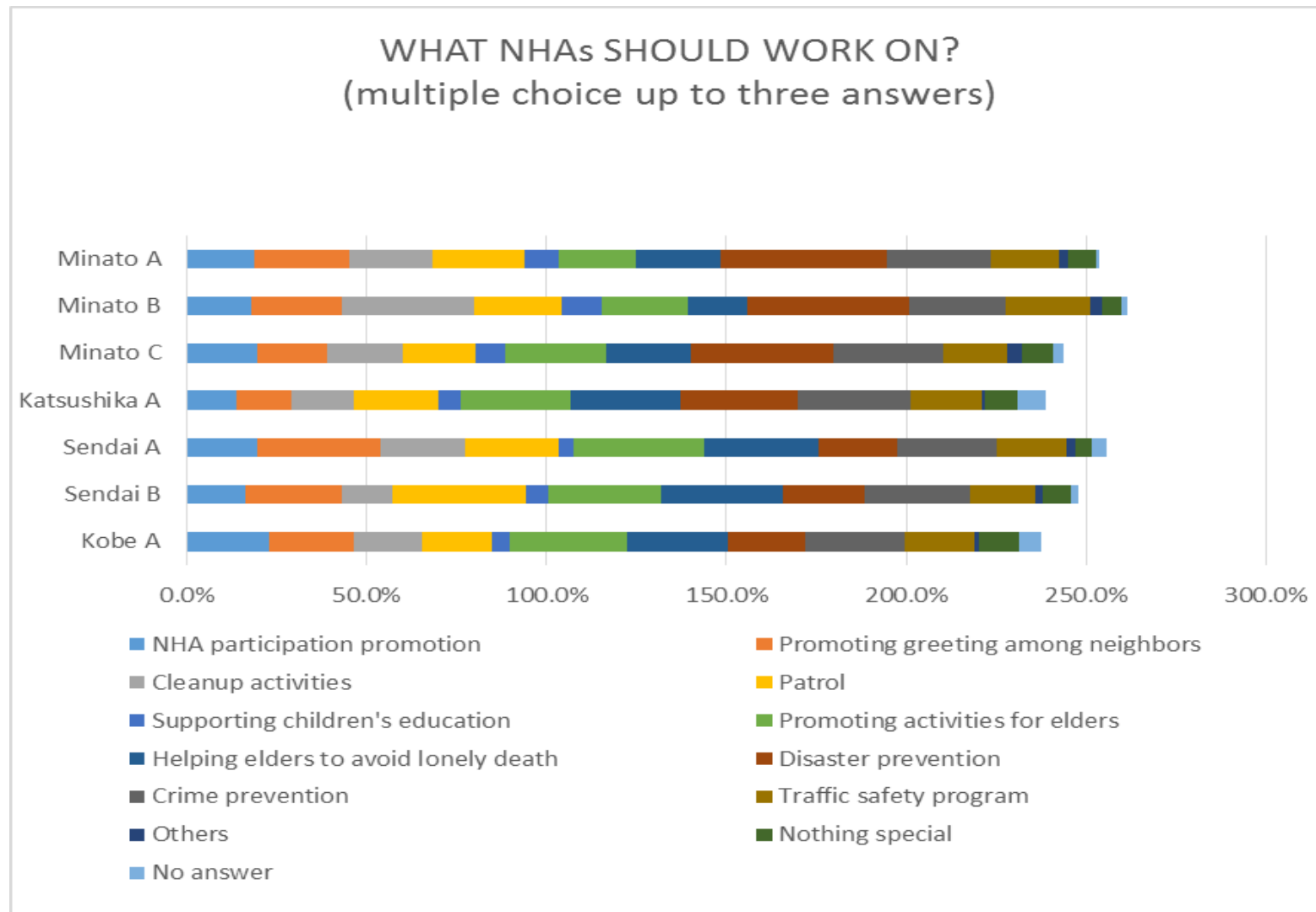
WHAT NHAs SHOULD WORK ON?
(multiple choice up to three answers)

Figure 7.11 is the result of question "what do you want NHAs to work on?" In Tokyo areas, the most demanded activity is the disaster prevention (Minato A 46.1%, Minato B 45.0%, Minato C 39.5%, and Katsushika A 39.5%), which means a large number of people in metropolitan areas think that the principal role of NHAs is to prepare for disasters and manage community on the occasion of disasters. On the other hand, the rest of areas have "promoting activities for elders" (Sendai A 36.4%, Sendai B 31.4%, and Kobe A 32.6%) and "helping elders to avoid lonely death" (Sendai A 31.6%, Sendai B 33.7%, and Kobe A 28.3%) as the most frequent answers. There may be two reasons. First, the activities by NHAs to prevent disasters in these disaster-experienced areas are already active and abundant, thus no more demand to promote it more. And second, it has a lot to do with the aging population in these areas where graying is the major social concern and NHAs are expected to take the leading role to help elder neighbors. Other answers also gain quite a lot of votes and NHAs' work area looks considerably wide and varied. Yet, we already have studied that the crucial problem of NHA is the lack of presence of younger generations who have less time available for communal affairs or shows less interest in those. In this sense, in order to respond the expectation of people for NHAs, one of the essential clues for the activation of NHAs is how to recruit and promote the participation of young people in NHAs.

7.3.4. Summary

To sum up, from this analysis, it may be able to say that, a large number of Japanese evaluates the importance of communal and neighborhood connections, but they, particularly the younger generations do not want to be restrained by belonging associations such as NHAs. This tendency is stronger in the urban areas especially in Tokyo. The disaster-affected areas are conscious about the unavoidable necessity of some institutions to coordinate the

collaborations and mutual helps among neighboring people. The NHAs are designed to be the center of communal survival, but the cooperation among neighbors cannot be done smoothly if there is no previous condition for mutual aids. Therefore, even the almost obligatory enrollment to NHAs appears to be undemocratic and conservative, it is required to set the preconditions to prevent and manage the possible natural disasters. At the same time, we have to consider the point that NHAs need the young power to maintain their activities as well as to meet the expectation of community members. Recent young people tend to evaluate the free choice of belonging and atmosphere of open and liberal association. They also have less time available to spend for neighboring issues. In this context, probably it is also true and indispensable to democratize the way of NHAs to attract and include more people of all generations. Searching the right balance between those two aspects is the key for the survival of NHAs.

As far as our research questions are concerned, this analysis offers some stimulating discussions on the role of NHAs and their nature of silently forced participation. Referring to the questions on the willfulness of participation in NHAs (research questions 2 and 3), from the perspective of Liberal Western concept, the way of associate NHAs members in Japan may not be truly voluntary united. In fact, many of interviewees of this survey express the unwillingness of participation, yet they do so because it is the system and otherwise they cannot live in the place they want (research question 4). The busy life style that the majority of people living in urban areas makes it difficult to devote time for the NHA-related activities also. In addition, the aging society has been challenging the Japanese society to maintain civil activities without sufficient young human resources (research question 7). But at the same time, the residents of surveyed areas mostly understand the crucial role of NHAs, especially after the earthquake in 2011 when people came to realize the pivotal importance of local ties (research question 8). All these bring us to the point that the Japanese NHAs face the dilemma between the recognition

of their central role to promote mutual aids among neighbors in the face of aging population as well as continuous danger of natural disasters, and the reality of modern individualistic democratic society which believes the value of association as a result of free and voluntary election of individuals as well as the protection of private life.

From this analysis on the data from RSFCPUA, a deep study on the situation of NHAs in urban areas and the influence of Higashi Nihon Earthquake has been done. Next section explores NHAs in Japan nation-widely.

7.4. Analysis on NHAs in General in Japan Using Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) Data

The previous analysis focused on the NHAs in urban places. This section aims to observe the situations of NHAs in all Japan statistically. By doing so, we may be able to encounter different problems, issues, or advantages of NHAs in rural areas as well. In order to complete this objective, we use the data from Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS) 2000 to 2012[23]. These data facilitate us to find some answers to the research questions on the

voluntariness and NHAs and the role of NHAs for the growth of democratic skills and values.

Table 7.6: Research Questions for JGSS

NHAs and volunteers	1	Does wilfulness to participate in voluntary associations matter to raise political interest of people in Japan?
	2	Are NHAs truly voluntary associations in Japan?
	3	Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?
	4	If not why people participate in NHAs?
NHAs, society and Japanese political system	5	How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?
	6	What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?
Functions of NHAs	7	What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?
	8	Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?
NHAs and fostering democratic values	9	Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?
	10	Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?
	11	Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?
	12	Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

7.4.1. Brief Description of the Survey

Modeling General Social Survey (GSS) of the United States, one of the well-known social surveys in the world, JGSS conducts surveys to research the attitudes and behavior of the Japanese people. JGSS has been carried out since 2000, once in two years (except some years when surveys were done annually), and it is a nationwide survey. The sampling population is men and women of 20-89 years of age who live in Japan, and the size of sampling is about 8,000. The survey variables change from one year to another. Still the basic variables are maintained in all surveys. JGSS covers many topics like issues related to work, living condition, composition of home, leisure activities, political attitudes, social capital, etc. Since they have a wide range of questions and variables, in addition they have been carried out on a regular basis, these enable us to see the correlations among varied variables as well as to do

distributed by SSJ Data Archive, Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo.

the time-series analysis.

7.4.2. Analysis Design and Justification

JGSS is a nation-wide comprehensive social survey data, which enables us the use of advanced quantitative methodology. Having said that, the variables of interest for this research, especially regarding NHAs from JGSS are often nominal characteristics. Moreover, as we will see later in this section, no strong correlations on our variables of interest have been found, which limit us to remain at the basic statistical method level. Therefore, we adopt mainly the methods of descriptive analysis and cross tabulation analysis for the study of JGSS data.

We also have to announce here that dataset of JGSS-2012 was expected to be released in January 2015. However, due to the reforms of Personal Information Protection Law, it is not reachable yet and expected date of publication is not decided[24]. JGSS-2012 is interesting to analyze because this survey was done after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake, therefore, it may show the changes of people attitudes towards voluntary associations, especially NHAs. In this respect, it is very unfortunate that we cannot access the raw data. Still, there are two short preliminary reports written by the JGSS Research Center. Hence, later in this section, some parts will be devoted to study the data available from these reports.

7.4.3. JGSS-2000~JGSS-2010 Data Analysis and Results

We first check the data from JGSS 2000 to 2010 to collect the questions and variables with regard to NHAs.

From 2000 to 2008, there are no specific questions asking about the participation in NHAs; there are only a few which mention about the activities relating to NHAs. For instance,

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[24] The author contacted the JGSS Research Center by E-mail in February 2016, and told that the possibility and mean of JGSS-2012 data publication was still under discussion. In September 2016, the Web page of JGSS (Japanese version only) announced the deposit of JGSS-2010 data to the Social Science Japan Data Archive (SSJDA) on 10 August 2016 (http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/introduction/int_schedule.html). Yet, SSJDA has not published the data at the date of October 2016.

JGSS-2003 has a question on "activity in NHA" as one of political experiences, in JGSS-2005 participation in neighborhood or senior association has been asked as one of options for the retired-life activities, and in 2006, the participation of activities normally coordinated by NHAs such as local clean-up activities and collection of recyclables is asked. On the other hand, questions on the voluntary activities are included from JGSS 2000, especially opinions toward international cooperation have been deeply surveyed in 2006. These show that the social surveys also reflected the trends and interests of the research stream of the time, and it may be able to say that around this time, volunteer activities attracted more consideration whereas NHAs were not paid much attention yet.

7.4.3.1. Household Affiliation to NHAs and Frequency of Activity Participation

In JGSS-2010, variables on NHAs appear for the first time, which ask the participation and frequency of activities in NHAs. We analyze the JGSS-2010 in depth to get the idea of state of NHAs around 2010. It is important to mention that the analysis on JGSS can give us the situation of NHAs in general in all Japan, and is valuable to compare with what we have observed from the analysis about the data from RSFCPUA in the last section, which are limited to the urban areas.

First, we start with the enrollment status. As seen from Table 7.3, NHAs in Japan hold a high percentage of participation, which is the similar tendency observed in the previous study on urban NHAs. The same dataset includes the question on participation in other voluntary groups, and in comparison with them the massive participation (or at least membership holding) is clear (cf. membership of political associations 2.8%, trade associations 7.5%, social service groups 8.4%, citizens movement 2.2%, religious groups 7.2%, sport groups 18.9%, hobby groups 15.6%, cooperative society 18.0%). This is also in accord with the previous analysis of

RSFCPUA. Hence, although JGSS does not include the direct question asking the motivation of joining NHAs, it implies that the membership is practically obligatory in many areas in Japan, which also affirms one of the repulsive and undemocratic aspects of NHAs.

Figure 7.12: Household Affiliation to NHA (JGSS-2010)
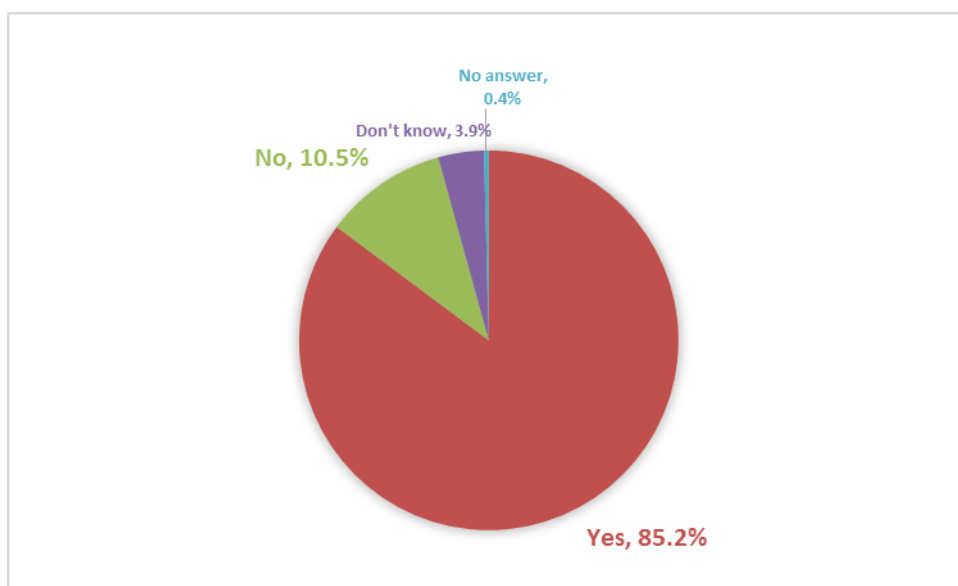
(Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010)

Yet, as far as the frequency of participation is concerned, as observed in the Table 7.4, people normally participate in the activities only several times a year at most. That shows that the active members in the NHAs are very limited, and a large majority only hold the membership probably by paying corresponding fees or attending a general meeting once a year and so on. The result is also similar to what we found in the RSFCPUA. Therefore, it appears that the low active participation rate for NHAs is common both in urban and other parts of Japan.

Figure 7.13: Frequency of Activity at NHA (JGSS-2010)
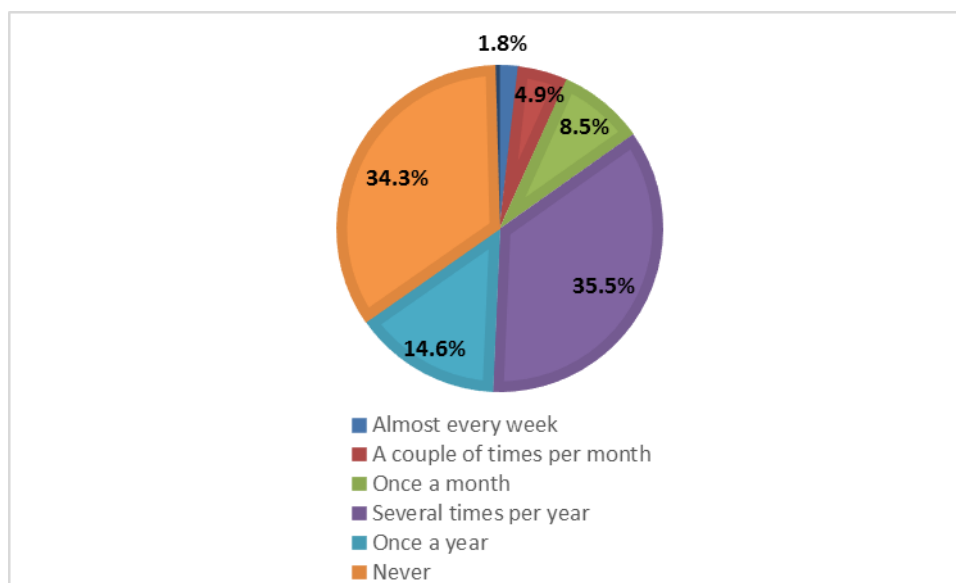
(Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010)

7.4.3.2.   Patterns of Participation by Prefecture

Next, the table 7.7 is the cross tabulation of prefecture by household affiliation to NHAs. As the broad features, as expected, the affiliation is more common in the rural areas, which marks about or more than 90% of affiliation except some prefectures such as Tokushima, Kōchi, Miyazaki and Okinawa. Generally speaking, the Northern Japan holds higher affiliation rate than the South. The metropolitan area of Kantō (Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma, Saitama, Chiba, Tōkyō and Kanagawa) has low participation, and Tōkyō is considerably low (65.8%), which is most likely due to the busy and individualistic life style. On the other hand, the second largest city Ōsaka and its surrounding areas mark relatively high affiliation rates (Ōsaka 83.6%, Hyōgo 83.3%, and Kyōto 98.1%). It may be able to be explained by the consequence of Hanshin Awaji Earthquake that made people of these areas recognize the importance of neighborhood-based mutual supports.

Table 7.7: Cross Tabulation of Household NHA Affiliation VS. Prefecture (JGSS-2010)

		Household Affiliation to Neighborhood Association/Self-governing Body							Household Affiliation to Neighborhood Association/Self-governing Body				
		Yes	No	Don't know	No answer	Total			Yes	No	Don't know	No answer	Total
Prefecture Name (frequency) (%)	Hokkaido	101	18	2	0	121	Prefecture Name (frequency) (%)	Shiga	26	2	1	0	29
		83.50%	14.90%	1.70%	0.00%	100.00%			89.70%	6.90%	3.40%	0.00%	100.00%
	Aomori	33	3	1	0	37		Kyoto	52	1	0	0	53
		89.20%	8.10%	2.70%	0.00%	100.00%			98.10%	1.90%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Iwate	18	1	0	1	20		Osaka	127	18	7	0	152
		90.00%	5.00%	0.00%	5.00%	100.00%			83.60%	11.80%	4.60%	0.00%	100.00%
	Miyagi	51	4	1	0	56		Hyogo	75	13	2	0	90
		91.10%	7.10%	1.80%	0.00%	100.00%			83.30%	14.40%	2.20%	0.00%	100.00%
	Akita	22	2	0	0	24		Nara	28	2	0	0	30
		91.70%	8.30%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%			93.30%	6.70%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Yamagata	37	2	0	1	40		Wakayama	24	0	1	0	25
		92.50%	5.00%	0.00%	2.50%	100.00%			96.00%	0.00%	4.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Fukushima	31	1	1	0	33		Tottori	13	0	1	0	14
		93.90%	3.00%	3.00%	0.00%	100.00%			92.90%	0.00%	7.10%	0.00%	100.00%
	Ibaraki	42	1	1	0	44		Shimane	5	1	0	0	6
		95.50%	2.30%	2.30%	0.00%	100.00%			83.30%	16.70%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Tochigi	52	2	0	0	54		Okayama	43	4	1	0	48
		96.30%	3.70%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%			89.60%	8.30%	2.10%	0.00%	100.00%
	Gunma	40	5	1	0	46		Hiroshima	34	6	1	0	41
		87.00%	10.90%	2.20%	0.00%	100.00%			82.90%	14.60%	2.40%	0.00%	100.00%
	Saitama	108	11	8	0	127		Yamaguchi	26	3	2	0	31
		85.00%	8.70%	6.30%	0.00%	100.00%			83.90%	9.70%	6.50%	0.00%	100.00%
	Chiba	100	15	4	1	120		Tokushima	14	6	3	0	23
		83.30%	12.50%	3.30%	0.80%	100.00%			60.90%	26.10%	13.00%	0.00%	100.00%

Table 7.7: Cross Tabulation of Household NHA Affiliation VS. Prefecture (JGSS-2010) (Continue)

Prefecture Name (frequency) (%)							Prefecture Name (frequency) (%)						
	Tokyo	127	48	18	0	193		Kagawa	24	1	1	0	26
		65.80%	24.90%	9.30%	0.00%	100.00%			92.30%	3.80%	3.80%	0.00%	100.00%
	Kanagawa	118	20	6	0	144		Ehime	19	1	1	1	22
		81.90%	13.90%	4.20%	0.00%	100.00%			86.40%	4.50%	4.50%	4.50%	100.00%
	Niigata	51	2	4	0	57		Kochi	19	5	0	0	24
		89.50%	3.50%	7.00%	0.00%	100.00%			79.20%	20.80%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Toyama	33	1	0	0	34		Fukuoka	87	14	1	1	103
		97.10%	2.90%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%			84.50%	13.60%	1.00%	1.00%	100.00%
	Ishikawa	18	2	0	0	20		Saga	14	2	0	0	16
		90.00%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%			87.50%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Fukui	21	3	0	0	24		Nagasaki	26	1	1	1	29
		87.50%	12.50%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%			89.70%	3.40%	3.40%	3.40%	100.00%
	Yamanashi	15	3	1	0	19		Kumamoto	37	2	1	2	42
		78.90%	15.80%	5.30%	0.00%	100.00%			88.10%	4.80%	2.40%	4.80%	100.00%
	Nagano	46	1	3	0	50		Oita	23	3	2	0	28
		92.00%	2.00%	6.00%	0.00%	100.00%			82.10%	10.70%	7.10%	0.00%	100.00%
	Gifu	38	2	3	0	43		Miyazaki	23	5	0	1	29
		88.40%	4.70%	7.00%	0.00%	100.00%			79.30%	17.20%	0.00%	3.40%	100.00%
	Shizuoka	83	4	5	0	92		Kagoshima	34	5	1	0	40
		90.20%	4.30%	5.40%	0.00%	100.00%			85.00%	12.50%	2.50%	0.00%	100.00%
	Aichi	131	11	10	1	153		Okinawa	10	6	0	1	17
		85.60%	7.20%	6.50%	0.70%	100.00%			58.80%	35.30%	0.00%	5.90%	100.00%
	Mie	36	0	2	0	38		Total	2135	263	98	11	2507
		94.70%	0.00%	5.30%	0.00%	100.00%			85.20%	10.50%	3.90%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.184, χ2=250.718, df=138, p<.001

Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

7.4.3.3. Patterns of Participation by Age

When we consider the age effect over the participation in NHAs, as Table 7.8 indicates, the elder become, the more affiliation of NHA they hold. It is also the similar tendency observed in the RSFCPUA. Those who are in their 20s express "don't know" quite a lot, that is probably because the majority of them still live with their parents and do not have much occasion to know about such associations. The unbalanced age proportion of NHAs affiliation may also produce their negative image as conservative, closed or traditional organizations, and probably appears to be unattractive for younger generations who have more preference for the liberal individualistic life style. Although it is not clear from this table, it may be assumed that the younger people have less free time to spend for civil activities such as NHAs since mostly they are working or taking care of families.

Table 7.8: Cross Tabulation of Household NHA Affiliation VS. Age (JGSS-2010)

		Household Affiliation to NHA/Self-governing Body				
		Yes	No	Don't know	No answer	Total
Age (Frequency) (%)	20-29	146	51	40	0	237
		61.60%	21.50%	16.90%	0.00%	100.00%
	30-39	297	77	23	3	400
		74.20%	19.20%	5.80%	0.80%	100.00%
	40-49	400	54	11	1	466
		85.80%	11.60%	2.40%	0.20%	100.00%
	50-59	410	29	10	2	451
		90.90%	6.40%	2.20%	0.40%	100.00%
	60-69	495	29	11	1	536
		92.40%	5.40%	2.10%	0.20%	100.00%
	70-79	293	17	1	4	315
		93.00%	5.40%	0.30%	1.30%	100.00%
	80-89	94	6	2	0	102
		92.20%	5.90%	2.00%	0.00%	100.00%
	Total	2135	263	98	11	2507
		85.20%	10.50%	3.90%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.183, χ2=252.679, df=18, p<.001
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

7.4.3.4.   NHA Affiliation and Social Capital

Next, we step forward to test the assumption of social capital theory. It supposes that the more personal connections observed, the more trust and norm of reciprocity recognized, the more people become responsible for their nearer community, the more democratic values shared and appreciated, and finally the more interest in social and political issues expressed. From the availability offered by the variables in JGSS-2010, we choose the topics of estimation of human nature to measure the degree of general trust, the political efficacy that is supposed to be gained and trained through the civil association participation, and the voting as one of the forms of political interest and participation.

7.4.3.4.1.   Estimation of Human Nature

First is the trust. Regarding variables typically used to analyze social capital and trust, the question asking about the estimation of human nature is included in the JGSS-2010 and we use it to test the social capital.

Table 7.9: Cross Tabulation of NHA Affiliation VS. Estimation of Human Nature (JGSS-2010)

		Estimation of Human Nature								
		1, Human nature is basically evil.	2	3	4	5	6	7, Human nature is basically good.	No answer	Total
Household Affiliation to NHA/ Self-governing Body (Frequency) (%)	Yes	40	73	199	697	514	351	240	21	2135
		1.90%	3.40%	9.30%	32.60%	24.10%	16.40%	11.20%	1.00%	100.00%
	No	13	13	39	76	58	42	18	4	263
		4.90%	4.90%	14.80%	28.90%	22.10%	16.00%	6.80%	1.50%	100.00%
	Don't know	8	6	10	33	17	11	9	4	98
		8.20%	6.10%	10.20%	33.70%	17.30%	11.20%	9.20%	4.10%	100.00%
	No answer	0	0	1	6	1	2	0	1	11
		0.00%	0.00%	9.10%	54.50%	9.10%	18.20%	0.00%	9.10%	100.00%
	Total	61	92	249	812	590	406	267	30	2507
		2.40%	3.70%	9.90%	32.40%	23.50%	16.20%	10.70%	1.20%	100.00%

Cramer V=.090, χ2=60.426, df=21, p<.001
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

Table 7.10: Cross Tabulation of Frequency of NHA Participation VS. Estimation of Human Nature

(JGSS-2010)

		Estimation of Human Nature								
		1, Human nature is basically evil.	2	3	4	5	6	7, Human nature is basically good.	No answer	Total
Frequency of Activities at Neighborhood Association /Self-governing Body (Frequency) (%)	Almost every week	1	3	2	10	12	9	7	0	44
		2.30%	6.80%	4.50%	22.70%	27.30%	20.50%	15.90%	0.00%	100.00%
	A couple of times per month	3	2	7	38	23	23	26	0	122
		2.50%	1.60%	5.70%	31.10%	18.90%	18.90%	21.30%	0.00%	100.00%
	Once a month	3	9	14	64	54	40	29	1	214
		1.40%	4.20%	6.50%	29.90%	25.20%	18.70%	13.60%	0.50%	100.00%
	Several times per year	11	15	89	307	212	151	99	7	891
		1.20%	1.70%	10.00%	34.50%	23.80%	16.90%	11.10%	0.80%	100.00%
	Once a year	8	13	40	108	90	69	33	4	365
		2.20%	3.60%	11.00%	29.60%	24.70%	18.90%	9.00%	1.10%	100.00%
	Never	35	50	95	283	197	112	72	16	860
		4.10%	5.80%	11.00%	32.90%	22.90%	13.00%	8.40%	1.90%	100.00%
	No answer	0	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	11
		0.00%	0.00%	18.20%	18.20%	18.20%	18.20%	9.10%	18.20%	100.00%
	Total	61	92	249	812	590	406	267	30	2507
		2.40%	3.70%	9.90%	32.40%	23.50%	16.20%	10.70%	1.20%	100.00%

Cramer V=.089, $\chi 2$=118.599, df=42, p<.001
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

From Table 7.9 and Table 7.10, the results appear not to be very significant both with participation and frequency of participation since both Cramer V show considerably little explanation power. This means that although the affiliation to NHAs is notably high throughout whole Japan, the actual frequency to participate in them are not quite active, and consequently the general trust is not developed even participating in NHAs. Hence, participation in NHA does not look as the key factor to generate the trust.

7.4.3.4.2.　Political Efficacy

How about the acquisition of civil and political skills? The researchers of civil society argue the possible role of civil associations as the training places of civil and political skills. Regarding NHAs, they normally treat a wide range of social, cultural and political issues in their

activities, and by participating in them, the members are able to learn and develop those

essential skills necessary for the democratic citizens. Therefore, we now evaluate the effect of

NHAs participation over the development of sense of political efficacy.

In the JGSS-2010, there are some questions to measure the sense of political efficacy.

First, we analyze the ones of internal political efficacy. There is a question asking, "people like

me don't have any say about what the government does" and another saying, "politics and

government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on". The results of cross

tabulation are the bellows.

Table 7.11: Cross Tabulation of Frequency of NHA Participation VS. Internal Political Efficacy 1

(JGSS-2010)

		Frequency of Activities at NHA/Self-governing Body							
		Almost every week	A couple of times per month	Once a month	Several times per year	Once a year	Never	No answer	Total
People like me don't have any say about what the government does. (Frequency) (%)	Agree	7	19	38	191	79	191	2	527
		1.30%	3.60%	7.20%	36.20%	15.00%	36.20%	0.40%	100.00%
	Somewhat agree	10	46	88	319	121	320	6	910
		1.10%	5.10%	9.70%	35.10%	13.30%	35.20%	0.70%	100.00%
	Somewhat disagree	13	35	56	277	124	235	0	740
		1.80%	4.70%	7.60%	37.40%	16.80%	31.80%	0.00%	100.00%
	Disagree	10	17	27	89	34	90	1	268
		3.70%	6.30%	10.10%	33.20%	12.70%	33.60%	0.40%	100.00%
	No answer	4	5	5	15	7	24	2	62
		6.50%	8.10%	8.10%	24.20%	11.30%	38.70%	3.20%	100.00%
	Total	44	122	214	891	365	860	11	2507
		1.80%	4.90%	8.50%	35.50%	14.60%	34.30%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.071, χ2=50.904, df=24, p<.005
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

Table 7.12: Cross Tabulation of Frequency of NHA Participation VS. Internal Political Efficacy 2

(JGSS-2010)

| | | Frequency of Activities at Neighborhood Association/Self-governing Body | | | | | | | |
		Almost every week	A couple of times per month	Once a month	Several times per year	Once a year	Never	No answer	Total
Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on. (Frequency) (%)	Agree	7	24	44	155	77	188	2	497
		1.40%	4.80%	8.90%	31.20%	15.50%	37.80%	0.40%	100.00%
	Somewhat agree	9	50	89	408	144	385	6	1091
		0.80%	4.60%	8.20%	37.40%	13.20%	35.30%	0.50%	100.00%
	Somewhat disagree	13	28	47	249	97	187	1	622
		2.10%	4.50%	7.60%	40.00%	15.60%	30.10%	0.20%	100.00%
	Disagree	11	16	29	65	41	78	0	240
		4.60%	6.70%	12.10%	27.10%	17.10%	32.50%	0.00%	100.00%
	No answer	4	4	5	14	6	22	2	57
		7.00%	7.00%	8.80%	24.60%	10.50%	38.60%	3.50%	100.00%
	Total	44	122	214	891	365	860	11	2507
		1.80%	4.90%	8.50%	35.50%	14.60%	34.30%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.084, χ2=71.469, df=24, p<.001

Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

As for the influence of NHA engagement over internal political efficacy, neither Table 7.11 nor Table 7.12 appear to be strong supports for positive correlations between involvement in NHAs and internal political efficacy development as Cramer V are not very significant (.071 and .084 respectively). In order to give some explanation on this tendency, considering the findings shown from the former study of RSFCPUA and other references mentioned in the theoretical development part, it can be assumed that the although some members of NHAs are involved more frequently than others, often they do so because of the system of appointment of leading positions by rotation. Under such condition, probably a large number of NHAs participants only fulfill their duty without extending their interests to the further social or political- related issues. In this way, participation in NHAs does not lead to the rise of sense of internal political efficacy.

Table 7.13 correspond the influence of NHA participation on the sense of external political efficacy. The question used is "generally speaking, Diet members no longer consider the people once they are elected." Here again, no positive and strong effect of NHA

engagement over the political efficacy is observed as confirmed by the low point of Cramer V (.069). It suggests that although NHAs deal with an ample range of issues relating to politics, and even in some places and cases opinion exchanges with city councils members and national parliament members happen through NHAs, these do not help to rise the sense of external political efficacy either.

Table 7.13: Cross Tabulation of Frequency of NHA Participation VS. External Political Efficacy (JGSS-2010)

		Frequency of Activities at Neighborhood Association/Self-governing Body							
		Almost every week	A couple of times per month	Once a month	Several times per year	Once a year	Never	No answer	Total
Generally speaking, Diet members no longer consider the people once they are elected. (Frequency) (%)	Agree	23	46	89	354	159	397	3	1071
		2.10%	4.30%	8.30%	33.10%	14.80%	37.10%	0.30%	100.00%
	Somewhat agree	7	38	81	369	138	316	4	953
		0.70%	4.00%	8.50%	38.70%	14.50%	33.20%	0.40%	100.00%
	Somewhat disagree	8	21	25	96	36	87	2	275
		2.90%	7.60%	9.10%	34.90%	13.10%	31.60%	0.70%	100.00%
	Disagree	4	15	15	58	26	35	1	154
		2.60%	9.70%	9.70%	37.70%	16.90%	22.70%	0.60%	100.00%
	No answer	2	2	4	14	6	25	1	54
		3.70%	3.70%	7.40%	25.90%	11.10%	46.30%	1.90%	100.00%
	Total	44	122	214	891	365	860	11	2507
		1.80%	4.90%	8.50%	35.50%	14.60%	34.30%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.069, χ2=48.262, df=24, p<.005
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

7.4.3.4.3. Voting

Finally we examine the participation in NHAs and its influence on one of the acts of political participation: voting. We use the question asking "many people vote at elections, so it doesn't matter if I don't".

Table 7.14: Cross Tabulation of Frequency of NHA Participation VS. Voting Duty

| | | Frequency of Activities at Neighborhood Association/Self-governing Body | | | | | | | |
		Almost every week	A couple of times per month	Once a month	Several times per year	Once a year	Never	No answer	Total
Many people volte at elections, so it doesn't matter if I don't. (Frequency) (%)	Agree	0	1	8	22	9	41	0	81
		0.00%	1.20%	9.90%	27.20%	11.10%	50.60%	0.00%	100.00%
	Somewhat agree	3	4	19	67	37	130	1	261
		1.10%	1.50%	7.30%	25.70%	14.20%	49.80%	0.40%	100.00%
	Somewhat disagree	4	33	50	257	110	258	3	715
		0.60%	4.60%	7.00%	35.90%	15.40%	36.10%	0.40%	100.00%
	Disagree	35	83	130	534	203	410	5	1400
		2.50%	5.90%	9.30%	38.10%	14.50%	29.30%	0.40%	100.00%
	No answer	2	1	7	11	6	21	2	50
		4.00%	2.00%	14.00%	22.00%	12.00%	42.00%	4.00%	100.00%
	Total	44	122	214	891	365	860	11	2507
		1.80%	4.90%	8.50%	35.50%	14.60%	34.30%	0.40%	100.00%

Cramer V=.099, χ2=93.674, df=24, p<.001
Personal compilation based on JGSS-2010.

The effect over the sense of voting duty is slightly more significant than the cases of political efficacy (Cramer V=.099), still not very influential. Therefore, again, the participation in NHAs appears not to be very influential to foster the sense of citizen's political duty.

Other variables often used to measure political behaviors such as voting action and writing or signing petitions are not included in JGSS-2010, still, these variables used above are probably enough to show the weak relationship between NHA participation and political attitudes.

7.4.3.5.   Summary

Unfortunately JGSS-2010 does not have variables with regard to natural disasters, therefor correlations between NHA participation and disasters cannot be tested directly. Yet, with what we have seen from JGSS-2010 analysis, two major findings should be summarized. First, the fact that the NHAs affiliation is high even in nation-wide, yet the frequency of participation is not very dense. The tendency and reasons of participation (and not participation)

are quite in accord with the findings from the former sections. Yet, secondly, as far as the assumptions of civil society and social capital are concerned, the supposed positive influence of participation in civil associations, in this case NHAs, cannot be observed, at least by using the data from JGSS-2010. There would be a variety of reasons to explain this, yet taking the findings stated in the previous sections, probably the main reason is the passive participation for NHAs and lack of time to devote to them, and that prevent members of NHAs from the chance for acquisition of civil and political skills and the development of sense of civic responsibility.

7.4.4. JGSS-2012 Data Analysis and Results

As noted before, unfortunately the dataset of JGSS-2012 has not been available at this moment. Still, there are two short preliminary reports written by the JGSS Research Center. In this section, we make a brief summary of these reports in relation with the topics and variables of NHAs.

Lamentably, variables of NHAs regarding the political attitudes analyzed above (participation and frequency of participating in NHAs) are not reported in those preliminary reports. Therefore, other variables close to neighborhood-based mutual help system and voluntary activities are overviewed here.

7.4.4.1.   Participation in Voluntary Activities (Comparison between JGSS-2010 and JGSS-2012)

To begin with, we compare the change of participation in voluntary activities observed in JGSS-2010 and JGSS-2012.

Table 7.15: Participation in Voluntary Activities (JGSS-2010 and 2012)

	JGSS-2010 (N=2,473)	JGSS-2012 (N=2,280)
Activities to improve town (e.g., cleaning streets and parks, planting flowers along streets, revitalizing the town)	22.8%	25.6%
Activities to protect the nature and environment (e.g., protecting forest and greenery, recycling products, reducing garbage)	15.1%	18.2%
Activities to maintain safety of life (e.g., patrolling the neighborhood for prevention of crime, promoting disaster prevention, promoting traffic safety)	10.3%	12.8%
Activities associated with sports, culture, art, and/or scholariness (e.g., sport coaching, promoting traditional culture, providing technical knowledge and/or skill)	9.8%	9.6%
Activities associated with elderly (e.g., assisting daily life of elderly, attending recreational events for elderly)	8.8%	7.5%
Activities associated with children (e.g., managing child association, providing child care support, consulting by phone with children who are bullied)	8.4%	9.9%
Other volunteer activities	3.7%	1.6%
I didn't participate in any volunteer activities	55.7%	54.5%

(Personal compilation based on JGSS Research Center 2012a: 3)

The result of comparison of these two dataset (Table 7.11) demonstrates that the participation rate in voluntary activities has not been changed very much before and after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake. When the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake happened, participants in volunteer activities increased and the boom last for several years at least. However, from this table, such notable change is not observed after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake. On the other hand, NHA-lead activities such as improving town or maintaining safety of the residence area have been increased. Taking previous studies into consideration, we assume that the community-based or NHA-based voluntary activities have been promoted since the Higashi Nihon Earthquake and this result reflects that tendency.

7.4.4.2. Voluntary Activities Done after Higashi Nihon Earthquake

Next, Figure 7.14 shows the kinds of activities people participated when the Higashi Nihon Earthquake occurred.

Figure 7.14: Activities Associated with Disaster Done Within Last One Year
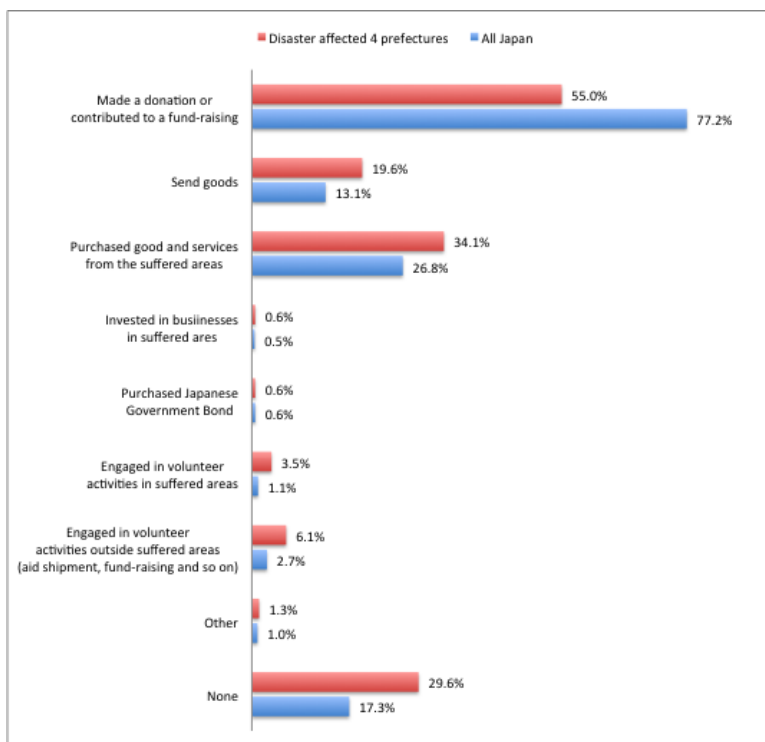
It demonstrates that the majority of people in Japan did something to help the disaster victims and their recovery at least, yet, it was done not through the association channels, but on the individual base, such as making economic contribution or sending goods. In fact, the estimated number of people volunteered at the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake is 1,400,000 whereas at the Higashi Nihon Earthquake is 1,180,000. The obstacles such as the radioactive contamination, the shutoff of transportation, lack of gasoline and the extensiveness of damaged areas are possible reasons to constrict the volunteers (JGSS Research Center 2012b, 3). Learnt from the previous experience of Hanshin Awaji Earthquake when the lack of coordination among volunteers caused chaos and problems instead of smooth recovery supports, people may have chosen to stay home and search other means to support. In any case, it may be able to

conclude that the styles of supporting disaster-damaged areas have changed.

7.4.4.3.   Importance of Neighborhood Ties

Finally, Figure 7.15 shows the increasing consciousness of importance of neighborhood-based mutual help for the disaster management. The people in disaster affected prefectures, namely, Fukushima, Miyagi and Iwate strongly believe in the need and capacity to overcome disasters by neighbors mutually helping each other, and it goes without saying that this comes from the experience of Higashi Nihon Earthquake. Contrary, Kantō area seems have developed weaker neighborhood relations to survive disasters together. It is the area where NHAs affiliation was considerably low in JGSS-2010 and probably JGSS-2012 as well. Hence, these places may need to take some measures of either developing neighborhood relations more, or otherwise, find alternative ways to protect themselves from disasters. Another curious point observed from this figure is the variety of rage marked in different regions. For example, the Northern parts of Japan (Hokkaidō, Aomori, Akita, Yamagata, Fukushima, Miyagi, Iwate, Ibaragi and Chiba) record the wider range although their average of the belief in collaboration ability among neighbors are higher than the rest of Japan except Hokkaidō. It is difficult to understand this phenomenon only by viewing this figure, but the possible explanation would be the existence of large difference between people struggling to establish the good and tight neighboring network and others who rather show the indifference in the creation of collaboration ability. Filling the gap between those two groups may be another issue to be discussed to promote and strengthen the atmosphere of mutual help. Finally, the low average of Hokkaido is worry-some. It may be better to research about the causes and solutions to overcome this matter. Overall, 68% of the Japanese think that they can cope with natural disasters by neighbors working collaboratively (JGSS Research Center 2012a, 14).

Figure 7.15: Consciousness on Neighborhood-based Disaster Prevention
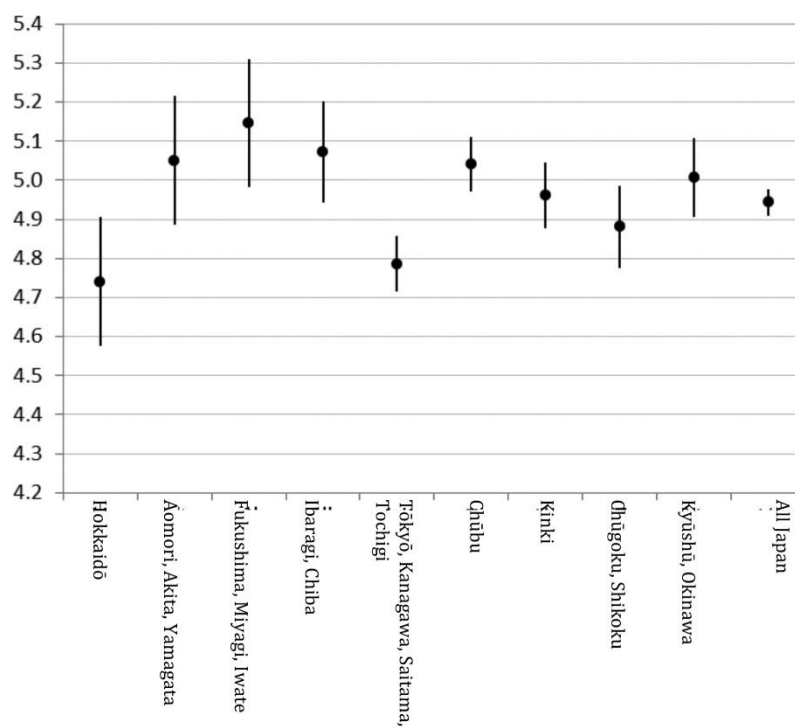
Question: To what extent do you agree that people in your residential community are able to collaboratively

cope with the situation caused by a natural disaster? (A. Strongly agree, Agree, Somewhat agree, Neither

agree nor disagree, Somewhat disagree, Disagree, Strongly disagree)

(Personal compilation based on JGSS Research Center 2012b: 4)

In comparison with the findings of RSFCPUA, it can be observed in both analysis the tendency

of disaster affected area to recognize the importance of neighbors' relationship to promote the

mutual aids in the case of emergency, whereas big cities represented Tokyo maintains the life

fashion of thin personal connection.

7.4.5. Summary

This section has offered the analysis using the data sets provided by JGSS project.

JGSS-2010 helps us to understand the general situation of NHAs in Japan. From our study, the ample NHAs affiliation in all Japan is observed, although when it comes to the density of participation, no active engagement is exposed. This passive attitude of NHA participation leads to the reduction of positive role of civil organization participation to train their members to be skillful and responsible citizens. Regarding the changes caused by the Higashi Nihon Earthquake, the local- based cooperation has been recognized its importance more than before, and consequently the personal connections among neighbors has been also gaining the attention. This trend may lead the possibility of vitalization for NHAs, yet taking the social problems of modern Japanese society such as lack of young population and aging society as well as the penetration of liberal and individualistic values, some reforms of culture, structure and system of NHAs may be unavoidable.

Regarding the research questions noted in the beginning of this analysis, the issue of NHAs voluntary participation was not indicated clearly but easily assumed to be not because of the controversy of high affiliation rate but low participation rate. In addition, although it could not be able to demonstrate directly from the accessible variables and data analysis done, it seems that indirectly the question of willfulness of civil association participation, in this case NHAs, and its effect over the interest in politics has been examined. In other words, actual low participation in NHAs (although the affiliation rate was considerably and widely high) caused by the membership obligation promoted by the social force or system of duty rotation leads the decrease of willfulness of participation, and consequently engagement in NHAs does not contribute to the acquisition of civic and political skills of NHAs members. On the other hand, what appears to be clear was the negative correlation between NHA participation and rise of social capital as well as civil and political skills. In this regard, it might be also difficult to demonstrate the further concern which is the role of NHAs in promotion of Japanese democracy

since the fundamental democratic values such as civil responsibility and interest for politics do not be fostered by the NHA engagement.

7.5. Analysis on NHAs in General in Japan Using Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) Data

The former analysis has presented the overall situations of NHAs in Japan and some clues to the effects of Higashi Nihon Earthquake that altered the behavior of Japanese to some extent. The following section also tries to grasp the general aspects of NHAs in all over Japan by using another data set. Distinct data sets have different questionnaires and varied points of view. By comparing them, we may be able to study about the Japanese NHAs from other angles. For this purpose, we analyze Asian Barometer Survey (ABS).

ABS has the full availability of use that permit us a number of statistical operations for the further understanding of NHAs and their role in the Japanese society. ABS's major objective and concern is the question related to the democracy in Asia fundamentally. Therefore this analysis will help us to answer the research questions relating to the functions of NHAs for the creation of better democratic society in Japan.

Table 7.16: Research Questions for ABS

NHAs and volunteers	1	Does wilfulness to participate in voluntary associations matter to raise political interest of people in Japan?
	2	Are NHAs truly voluntary associations in Japan?
	3	Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?
	4	If not why people participate in NHAs?
NHAs, society and Japanese political system	5	How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?
	6	What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?
Functions of NHAs	7	What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?
	8	Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?
NHAs and fostering democratic values	9	Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?
	10	Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?
	11	Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?
	12	Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

7.5.1. Brief Description of the Survey

ABS, which is consisted of two program networks (South Asia Barometer that covers India, Bangladesh, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka) and East Asia Barometer that embraces Taiwan, Mainland China, Japan, South Korea, Mongolia, Hong Kong, Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Singapore, Malaysia, Vietnam, Cambodia and Myanmar, has been carried out since 2001. ABS aims to explore the Asians' attitudes and values toward politics, political and institutional powers, social reforms, democracy and people's political actions. Specifically, ABS is interested in the matters of support for democracy in comparison with other political regimes, trust in formal institutions and authorities, political participation and interest, evaluations on one's country's economic performance, Asian traditional values and religion. In addition, it tries to collect reliable data to make it possible to compare nations in Asia. ABS has been surveying periodically approximately every 4 years (depending on the countries). Currently ABS is conducting the Wave 4 (2013-2016).

First survey on Japan was done in 2003 as a part of ABS Wave 1[25] and the Wave 2[26] in 2007. The most recent one possible to access is the Wave 3, which is a part of the package "Comparative Research Project on Values, Trust, Participation and Democracy in Japan Including WVS, ABS, CSES, and Social Network Survey, 2010-2013"[27]. This project was conducted in order to gather the data for three major comparative surveys (World Value Survey, Asian Barometer Survey and Comparative Study of Electoral Systems) as well as an additional survey named the Social Network Survey into a single panel survey. According to the project description, the same respondents are repeatedly interviewed by using face-to-face interviews. Taking those social surveys listed above into consideration, we are interested in the ABS because it is the only one that includes variables of NHAs specifically as one of belonging formal organizations, as well as other variables in regard with political behaviors.

ABS Wave 1 was conducted from January to February 2003 with 1481 valid cases out of 2000 samples (response rate 70.9%). The target population is the voting age population in whole Japan. ABS Wave 2 was done between February and March 2007 with 1067 valid cases out of 2500 samples (response rate 42.7%). The lowing tendency of response rate has been seen as one of serious problems to conducting social surveys in Japan. ABS 2 Technical Report states that it is due to the law regulation changes in 2006 to prohibit commercial surveys from

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[25] Data analyzed in this thesis were collected by the East Asia Barometer Project (2001-2003), which was co-directed by Profs. Fu Hu and Yun-han Chu and received major funding support from Taiwan's Ministry of Education, Academia Sinica and National Taiwan University. The Asian Barometer Project office (www.asianbarometer.org) is solely responsible for the data distribution. The author appreciates the assistance in providing data by the institutes and individuals aforementioned. The views expressed herein are the author's own.

[26] Data analyzed in this thesis were collected by the Asian Barometer Project (2005-2008), which was co-directed by Professors Fu Hu and Yun-han Chu and received major funding support from Taiwan's Ministry of Education, Academia Sinica and National Taiwan University. The Asian Barometer Project office (www.asianbarometer.org) is solely responsible for the data distribution. The author appreciates the assistance in providing data by the institutes and individuals aforementioned. The views expressed herein are the author's own.

[27] The data for this secondary analysis, "Comparative Research Project on Values, Trust, Participation and Democracy in Japan Including WVS, ABS, CSES, and Social Network Survey, 2010-2013," was provided by the Social Science Japan Data Archive, Center for Social Research and Data Archives, Institute of Social Science, The University of Tokyo.

using the voters' lists or resident registries as well as the long questionnaire prepared for ABS (ABS Technical Report, 2007: 1, 2). ABS 3 for Japan was done in November 2011 and it was a nationwide survey. The sampling population is men and women of 20-89 years of age who live in Japan with the size of 5407 but recovery rate is 35.2%. The even lower rate of response compared to those of previous waves is seen problematic. Still, the project team thinks it was due to the social situation after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake (Ikeda, 2014: 4). All three waves adopt the sampling method of stratified two-stage random sampling. The main survey variables referring to political attitudes, democracy, economic situation, etc. are maintained throughout three waves. In addition, in the case of Wave 3 there are some particular variables relating to the effects and changes caused by the Higashi Nihon Earthquake including issues on the radioactive pollutions by Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Plant and evaluations on political performance during and after the earthquake.

7.5.2. Analysis Design and Justification

In order to take the maximum advantage of the data from ABS adopting the characteristics of appropriate variables for the analysis of NHAs in Japan, we use the descriptive analysis method, cross tabulation and linear regression analysis.

7.5.3. Analysis and Results

7.5.3.1.   Participation in Civil Associations (Comparison among ABS Wave 1, 2 and 3)

We start with the change of participation in NHAs and other civil associations that can be observed from those three waves of ABS. ABS uses the question "are you a member of any

organization or formal groups? If yes, please tell me the three most important organizations or

formal groups you belong to" throughout three waves to record the organizational affiliation. The

table below shows the change of affiliations.

Table 7.17: Affiliation Record in ABS-1, ABS-2 and ABS-3

| | Wave 1 | | | | | | Wave 2 | | | | | | Wave 3 | | | | | |
| | 1st | | 2nd | | 3rd | | 1st | | 2nd | | 3rd | | 1st | | 2nd | | 3rd | |
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
NHAs	731	51.6	4	0.3	0	0.0	385	36.1	75	7.0	26	2.4	663	35.3	259	13.8	119	6.3
PTA	36	2.5	119	8.4	0	0.0	40	3.7	55	5.2	10	0.9	68	3.6	64	3.4	27	1.4
Occupation Group	21	1.5	66	4.7	10	0.7	9	0.8	8	0.7	9	0.8	38	2.0	22	1.2	25	1.3
Professional organization							12	1.1	15	1.4	8	0.7	44	2.3	34	1.8	14	0.7
Business association							2	0.2	5	0.5	1	0.1	8	0.4	11	0.6	9	0.5
Farmer/Agricultural/Fishing Associatio	6	0.4	14	1.0	11	0.8	23	2.2	44	4.1	10	0.9	46	2.4	52	2.8	40	2.1
Labor Union	8	0.6	33	2.3	7	0.5	46	4.3	19	1.8	6	0.6	60	3.2	41	2.2	25	1.3
Producer Cooperative	31	2.2	36	2.5	11	0.8	4	0.4	10	0.9	9	0.8	26	1.4	17	0.9	23	1.2
Consumer Cooperative	22	1.6	74	5.2	30	2.1	17	1.6	30	2.8	21	2.0	34	1.8	54	2.9	39	2.1
Volunteer Group	17	1.2	46	3.2	11	0.8	28	2.6	24	2.2	29	2.7	59	3.1	41	2.2	38	2.0
Citizen Movement Organization	6	0.4	10	0.7	12	0.8												
Religious Group	12	0.8	29	2.0	21	1.5	30	2.8	9	0.8	6	0.6	84	4.5	24	1.3	9	0.5
Alumni Association	32	2.3	75	5.3	75	5.3	23	2.2	62	5.8	61	5.7	55	2.9	120	6.4	105	5.6
Candidate Suport Organization	0	0.0	8	0.6	9	0.6	4	0.4	3	0.3	11	1.0	4	0.2	14	0.7	14	0.7
Political Party	1	0.1	2	0.1	7	0.5	15	1.4	6	0.6	0	0.0	31	1.6	14	0.7	14	0.7
Sports or Leisure Club	21	1.5	48	3.4	94	6.6	109	10.2	81	7.6	13	1.2	162	8.6	135	7.2	50	2.7
Culture organization							6	0.6	6	0.6	3	0.3	113	6.0	82	4.4	67	3.6
Charities							4	0.4	5	0.5	4	0.4	15	0.8	28	1.5	16	0.9
Public Interest Group							3	0.3	14	1.3	2	0.2	16	0.9	26	1.4	16	0.9
Others	5	0.4	3	0.2	6	0.4												
Not applicable/Not a member	467	32.9	467	32.9	467	32.9	295	27.6	584	54.7	826	77.4	347	18.5	347	18.5	347	18.5
No Answer	2	0.1	384	27.1	647	45.6	12	1.1	12	1.1	12	1.1	7	0.4	495	26.4	883	47.0
Total	1418	100.0	1418	100.0	1418	100.0	1067	100.0	1067	100.0	1067	100.0	1880	100.0	1880	100.0	1880	100.0

Personal compilation based on ABS-1, ABS-2 and ABS-3.

The enrollment in NHAs is relatively high in all three waves. It is the highest as the most important organization in all waves (which reaches more than 50% in wave 1 and about 30% in wave 2 and 3), and the second most in Wave 2 and 3. Once again, it probably confirms with ABS data the unseen social pressure of obligatory manner to make residents to be involved in NHAs, like other social surveys we analyzed previously. When we focus on the change before and after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake, which supposedly brought a sense of necessity to be involved in the neighborhood matters and strengthen the community tie, ABS data does not show the dramatic shift between wave 2 and 3. Still, those who think NHAs as the second and third most important group increase notably in wave 3. Hence, it may be able to say that in general, the Japanese has been giving more importance on NHAs since Higashi Nihon Earthquake. When it comes to the other associations, PTA and sports or leisure clubs are the most frequently referred organizations. On the other hand, it is also true that considerably large population does not belong to any associations or formal groups throughout the period of three waves (although the rate is not comparable in an appropriate manner as the matter of member or not member has been asked differently in three waves, and consequently the results show the mixed response), which demonstrate the declining tendency of civil engagement.

7.5.3.2. Participation in NHAs and Democracy

Now, we want to go further to see whether the involvement in NHAs helps to strengthen the theory of social capital. As we have already studied, when social capital is abundant, it is supposed that the trust among people increases and citizens become more responsible for their own living place. When the society is full of trust, norms of reciprocity and responsibility, people get to be interested in the politics of their near community as well as the further political issues. By being involved in the associational life, people also gain the civil skills

and start taking political actions to make the society better. Consequently their sense of political efficacy grows. However, some other academics, especially those who study the NHAs in Japan, cast doubt about the potentiality of NHAs to foster and encourage citizens to be interested in politics more because of their closed, conservative, traditional and undemocratic traits. Hence, it is also worthwhile to examine the values that people participating in NHAs hold.

7.5.3.2.1. Trust

Throughout three waves ABS constantly ask the questions on general trust ("generally speaking would you say that most people can be trusted or you can't be too careful in dealing with them?"), and more specific trust in wave 2 and 3. We are interested in the role of NHAs in particular because of their enrollment size as well as the peculiar feature of social pressure to be involved in them. Therefore, we study the possible relationship between the involvement in NHAs and trust. In order to make the best of variables available from ABS, the variable "NHA enrollment" is created by combining the survey results that answer NHAs as the most, the second most, and the third most important organization. Using this variable, we first examine the correlations between the participation in NHAs and general trust. From the results of cross tabulation, we can only find a very weak or almost no meaningful correlation between those two variables in Wave 1 and 3 (Wave 2 turns out to be not significant).

Table 7.18: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in NHAs VS. General Trust (ABS-1)

			Most people can be trusted	You must be very careful in dealing with people	Cannot choose	Total
NHAs Enrollment	No	Count	22	20	0	42
		%	52.4%	47.6%	0.0%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	221	442	0	663
		%	33.3%	66.7%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	243	462	0	705
		%	34.5%	65.5%	0.0%	100.0%

Cramer V=.095, χ2=6.344, df=1, p<.005
Personal compilation based on ABS-1.

Table 7.19: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in NHAs VS. General Trust (ABS-3)

Enrollment in NHAs * General Trust Crosstabulation (Wave 3)

			Most people can be trusted	You must be very careful in dealing with people	Do not understand the question	Cannot choose	Total
NHAs Enrollment	No	Count	301	526	0	12	839
		%	35.9%	62.7%	0.0%	1.4%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	427	602	0	12	1041
		%	41.0%	57.8%	0.0%	1.2%	100.0%
Total		Count	728	1128	0	24	1880
		%	38.7%	60.0%	0.0%	1.3%	100.0%

Cramer V=.053, χ2=5.285, df=2, p<.01
Personal compilation based on ABS-3.

To compare with those, we produce the same cross tabulation but this time using the simple membership question ("are you a member of any organization or formal group?") instead of enrollment in NHAs. The following Table 7.20, 7.21 and 7.22 are the results of this operation.

Table 7.20: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in Civil Associations VS. General Trust (ABS-1)

			Most people can be trusted	You must be very careful in dealing with people	Do not understand the question	Cannot choose	Total
Membership any organization or formal	No	Count	103	312	0	0	415
		%	75.2%	24.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	304	560	0	0	864
		%	35.2%	64.8%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	407	872	0	0	1279
		%	31.8%	68.2%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%

Cramer V=.104, χ2=13.885, df=1, p<.001
Personal compilation based on ABS-1.

Table 7.21: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in Civil Associations VS. General Trust (ABS-2)

			Most people can be trusted	You must be very careful in dealing with people	Do not understand the question	Cannot choose	Total
Membership any organization or formal	No	Count	67	221	1	6	295
		%	22.7%	74.9%	0.3%	2.0%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	254	495	1	10	760
		%	33.4%	65.1%	0.1%	1.3%	100.0%
	Decline to Answer	Count	8	4	0	0	12
		%	66.7%	33.3%	0.0%	0.0%	100.0%
Total		Count	329	720	2	16	1067
		%	30.8%	67.5%	0.2%	1.5%	100.0%

Cramer V=.096, χ2=19.493, df=6, p<.005
Personal compilation based on ABS-2.

Table 7.22: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in Civil Associations VS. General Trust (ABS-3)

			Most people can be trusted	You must be very careful in dealing with people	Do not understand the question	Cannot choose	Total
Membership any organization or formal	No	Count	107	235	0	5	347
		%	30.8%	67.7%	0.0%	1.4%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	618	890	0	18	1526
		%	33.4%	65.1%	0.1%	1.3%	100.0%
	Decline to Answer	Count	3	3	0	1	7
		%	42.9%	42.9%	0.0%	14.3%	100.0%
Total		Count	728	1128	0	24	1880
		%	38.7%	60.0%	0.0%	1.3%	100.0%

Cramer V=.074, χ2=20.821, df=4, p<.001
Personal compilation based on ABS-3.

In all three waves, the results turn out to be significant and Cramer V are weak but stronger than those of NHAs (Wave 1: Cramer V=.104, Wave 2: Cramer V=.096, Wave 3: Cramer V=.074). This means that, the belonging to any organization promotes the generation of general trust at a weak level, but the involvement in NHAs alone is not particularly strong enough to explain the formation of general trust. Moreover, although the engagement in NHAs has risen after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake and general trust has incremented slightly, still the Cramer Vs show that the correlation with NHAs enrollment lowered. Therefore, this natural disaster has not influenced very much over the general trust despite the growing sense of NHAs as important organizations.

Next, although NHAs are not quite strong factor to explain the promotion of general trust, they may generate limited trust. Hence, we test the variables of specific trust. ABS Wave 2 and 3 have the survey questions "how much trust do you have in your relatives, your neighbors, and in other people you interact with?" and we cross the variable of NHA engagement with them. The results of cross tabulation appear to be that the trust in relatives and other people in contact

do not demonstrate correlations, yet, the trust in neighbors turns out to be positively correlated to

the NHAs engagement as shown in the tables below.

Table 7.23: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in NHAs VS. Trust in Neighbors (ABS-2)

			How much trust do you have in your neighbors?					
			None at all	Not very much trust	Quite a lot of trust	A great deal of trust	Cannot choose	Total
NHAs Enrollment	No	Count	16	151	327	71	16	581
		%	2.8%	26.0%	56.3%	12.2%	2.8%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	3	96	306	73	8	486
		%	0.6%	19.8%	63.0%	15.0%	1.6%	100.0%
Total		Count	19	247	633	144	24	1067
		%	1.8%	23.1%	59.3%	13.5%	2.2%	100.0%

Cramer V=.123, χ2=16.203, df=4, p<.005
Personal compilation based on ABS-2.

Table 7.24: Cross Tabulation of Enrollment in NHAs VS. Trust in Neighbors (ABS-3)

			How much trust do you have in your neighbors?						
			None at all	Not very much trust	Quite a lot of trust	A great deal of trust	Cannot understand question	Cannot choose	Total
NHAs Enrollment	No	Count	21	233	498	72	0	15	839
		%	2.5%	27.8%	59.4%	8.6%	0.0%	1.8%	100.0%
	Yes	Count	9	181	696	146	1	8	1041
		%	0.9%	17.4%	66.9%	14.0%	0.1%	0.8%	100.0%
Total		Count	30	414	1194	218	1	23	1880
		%	1.6%	63.5%	22.0%	1.6%	0.1%	1.2%	100.0%

Cramer V=.165, χ2=51.303, df=5, p<.001
Personal compilation based on ABS-3.

Although the Cramer Vs. in both waves are not very strong, still NHA participation and trust in

neighbors are positively correlated. In addition, Cramer V increase in Wave 3 when the Higashi

Nihon Earthquake happened and the participation in NHAs expanded. In this sense, this natural

disaster has brought the change in neighbors' ties, and that has reinforced the trust among them.

7.5.3.2.2. Interest in Politics

We have observed that the participation in NHAs is wide in Japan in general, and the situation has strengthened after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake. Although this tendency does not contribute to the generation of general trust, it helps to widen the trust among neighbors. Now, does it support the rise of political interest or not? We analyze this in this section.

ABS continuously surveys the interest in politics but the details of questions change from one wave to another except some core questions like "how interested would you say you are in politics?" Because the general tendency regarding interest in politics remains the same throughout three waves, and moreover, the Wave 3 has more relevant questions to study the political interest, therefore in this section, we choose some variables from Wave 3 only to analyze the issues relating to the NHAs participation and politics.

First, we examine the most basic variable of interest in politics.

Table 7.25: Linear Regression of Interest in Politics (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

(Independent Variables)	
Political Party	0.06 ***
	(0.094)
NHAs	0.01
	(0.035)
Religious Group	0.089 ***
	(0.067)
Sports or Leisure Club	0.035
	(0.042)
Cultural Organization	0.035 **
	(0.047)
Volunteer Group	0.035 *
	(0.094)
Public Interest Group	0.035
	(0.094)
Labor Union	0.035
	(0.067)
Agricultural Association	0.035
	(0.063)
Professional Organization	0.035
	(0.075)
Business Association	0.035
	(0.134)
PTA	0.035
	(0.061)
Producer Cooperative	0.035
	(0.089)
Consumer Cooperative	0.035
	(0.064)
Alumni Association	0.035 *
	(0.046)
Candidate Support Organization	0.035 **
	(0.125)
Other Occupational Organization	0.035
	(0.078)
Other Voluntary Organization	0.035 *
	(0.062)
(Control Variables)	
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.158 ***
	(0.034)
Age	0.287 ***
	(0.001)
Study Years	0.171 ***
	(0.008)
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.019
	(0.050)
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.054 **
	(0.046)
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	0.05 *
	(0.049)
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.044 *
	0.054)

F=13.503
Adjusted R^2= .143
Standard Error= .690
n=1868

Personal compilation based on ABS-3.
Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

As can be seen from the table, first of all, the involvement in NHAs does not contribute to the rise of interest in politics. On the other hand, as expected, groups and organizations oriented to the politics such as political parties and candidate support groups show the positive correlation with political interest although not particularly strong. To our surprise, the religious organizations turn out to be the most influential association regarding the interest in politics. Unfortunately it is not clear the reason for this from our data. Our control variables have stronger explanation power. Gender (male), age, and total year of receiving formal education are all positive, especially age. The household annual income also correlates when it gets higher. All of those have much stronger power than the types of organizations involved. Therefore, affiliation to some associations has some explanation power in regard with interest in politics but at a very limited level. And our interest of research, which is the involvement in NHAs, does not show the sign to rise the interest in politics. Rather other socio-demographic variables are more influential to it.

However when it comes to the local affair, things appear to be slightly different. ABS-3 includes the question asking the frequency of giving voices to the interests and concerns in local affairs[28]. The same regression operation with this as the dependent variable has done and the results are shown as below.

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[28] The question is "In your neighborhood or community, do people voice their interests and concerns in local affairs?" and the possible answer options are 1. Most people, 2. Quite a lot of people, 3. Some people, 4. Few people, 7. Don't understand the question, 8. Can't choose, and 9. Decline to answer.

Table 7.26: Linear Regression of Interest in Local Politics (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

(Independent Variables)		
Political Party	0.025 (0.091)	
NHAs	0.106 (0.034)	***
Religious Group	0.035 (0.064)	
Sports or Leisure Club	0.055 (0.040)	**
Cultural Organization	-0.004 (0.046)	
Volunteer Group	-0.004 (0.091)	
Public Interest Group	-0.009 (0.090)	
Labor Union	-0.008 (0.064)	
Agricultural Association	0.039 (0.061)	
Professional Organization	-0.014 (0.072)	
Business Association	0 (0.129)	
PTA	0.057 (0.058)	**
Producer Cooperative	0.022 (0.086)	
Consumer Cooperative	0.006 (0.062)	
Alumni Association	0.001 (0.045)	
Candidate Support Organization	-0.04 (0.120)	*
Other Occupational Organization	-0.015 (0.077)	
Other Voluntary Organization	0.006 (0.060)	
(Control Variables)		
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.008 (0.033)	
Age	0.06 (0.001)	**
Study Years	-0.041 (0.007)	
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	-0.01 (0.049)	
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.024 (0.045)	
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	-0.044 (0.048)	
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.028 (0.052)	

F=2.918
Adjusted R^2= .026
Standard Error= .663
n=1832

Personal compilation based on ABS Wave-3.
Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

This time, the involvement in locally-based associations contribute to the raise of interest in community and local issues of politics. Especially NHAs shows the strongest coefficient and others with significance like PTA and sports clubs also hold strong relationship with local communities. In addition, in this table, the control variables do not turn out to be influential. Therefore, it appears that those associations with deep local and communal connections help to increase the interest of people in local political matters. To sum up, although associations not oriented to the politics directly do not contribute to increment the interest in politics, locally based organizations such as NHAs do promote the development of interest in local politics.

7.5.3.2.3. Political Participation

Having observed the contribution of NHAs for the growth of interest in local affairs, we want to go further to examine whether this interest in politics has been actually shown as some real actions. For this purpose, we test the variables of civic political participation, political participation, and voting.

ABS-3 includes several questions on civic political participation such as to get together with others to solve a local issue, to get together to talk about problems and sign a petition, to participate in a demonstration or protest march, or the extreme end is to use force or violence for a political purpose, defining that there are some actions that good citizens should be involved. The table below shows the results of lineal regression of those as dependent variables and participation in civil organizations as independent variables. The use of force or violence should be excluded from our analysis as its F value turns out to be insignificant (due to the small number of example corresponded). In addition, adjusted R^2 of participation in demonstration or protest march marks a very low, which means that this model has a notably weak explanation power.

Therefore, we only concentrate on other two variables to analyze deeply.

Table 7.27: Linear Regression of Civic Political Action (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

	Got together with others to try to resolve local problems.	Got together with others to raise an issue or sign a petition.	Attended a demonstration or protest march.	Used force or violence for a political cause.
(Independent Variables)				
Political Party	0.044 **	0.042 *	0.040	0.021
	(0.098)	(0.103)	(0.030)	(0.011)
NHAs	0.145 ***	0.093 ***	-0.024 *	-0.014
	(0.036)	(0.038)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Religious Group	0.063 ***	0.079 ***	0.006	0.017
	(0.070)	(0.074)	(0.022)	(0.008)
Sports or Leisure Club	0.065 ***	0.086 ***	0.029	0.021
	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.014	(0.005)
Cultural Organization	0.027	0.061 ***	0.040 *	0.054 **
	(0.0500	(0.052)	(0.015	(0.005)
Volunteer Group	0.014	0.052 **	0.024	0.022
	(0.099)	(0.104)	(0.031)	(0.011)
Public Interest Group	0.019	0.059 ***	0.049 **	-0.011
	(0.098)	(0.103)	(0.030)	(0.011)
Labor Union	0.004	0.058 **	0.104 ***	-0.011
	(0.070)	(0.074)	(0.022)	(0.008)
Agricultural Association	0.042 *	0.002	0.025	0.022
	(0.067)	(0.0700	(0.021)	(0.007)
Professional Organization	0.054 **	0.033	0.030	-0.026
	(0.079)	(0.083)	(0.024)	(0.009)
Business Association	0.018	0.057 **	0.040 *	0.042 *
	(0.141)	(0.148)	(0.044)	(0.016)
PTA	0.086 ***	0.099 ***	0.015	0.001
	(0.064)	(0.067)	(0.020)	(0.007)
Producer Cooperative	0.063 ***	0.060 ***	-0.035	-0.012
	(0.094)	(0.098)	(0.029)	(0.010)
Consumer Cooperative	-0.007	0.001	-0.008	-0.009
	(0.068)	(0.071)	(0.021)	(0.007)
Alumni Association	0.016 *	0.033	0.043 *	0.027
	(0.048)	(0.051)	(0.015)	(0.005)
Candidate Support Organization	0.026	0.037	0.023	-0.011 **
	(0.132)	(0.139)	(0.041	(0.015)
Other Occupational Organization	0.010 ***	0.038 *	-0.020	0.051
	(0.083)	(0.087)	(0.025)	(0.009)
Other Voluntary Organization	0.080 ***	0.075 ***	0.009	-0.021
	(0.065)	(0.069)	(0.020)	(0.007)
(Control Variables)				
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.144 ***	0.004	0.029	0.038
	(0.036)	(0.173)	(0.011)	(0.004)
Age	0.209 ***	0.101 ***	0.074 ***	0.023
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Study Years	0.019	0.096 ***	0.076 ***	0.041
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.012	0.013	-0.017	-0.034
	(0.053)	(0.056)	(0.016)	(0.006)
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.008	0.004	-0.017	-0.009
	(0.049)	(0.051)	(0.015)	(0.005)
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	0.068	0.071 ***	-0.005	-0.041
	(0.052) ***	(0.054)	(0.016)	(0.006)
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.933	0.056 **	0.040	-0.032
	(0.057)	(0.060)	(0.018)	(0.006)
F	11.635	7.726	3.198	not significant
Adjusted R^2	.125	.083	.029	.004
Standard Error	.725	.763	.225	.080
n	1866	1866	1868	1867

Personal compilation based on ABS Wave-3.

Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

In general, all variables of civil organization participation have small explanation power; the most

meaningful variable is age. In fact, as far as getting together to talk about local issue is concerned, it shows that the older the more participation observed. Still, there are some sign that the involvement in those associations promotes the civic political actions. For instance, when it comes to the petition signing and meeting to propose issues, the engagement in most of listed associations turn out to be significant although their coefficients are not too strong. Regarding to the actions taken to talk about local matters, the locally-rooted associations such as sports clubs and PTA appear to be significant, yet again, with weak coefficients. When we focus on NHAs, it does demonstrate that the participation in them foster the actions to take care about local and community problems. Therefore, it seems that the interest in local topic delivered from the former analysis can be also observed in this test of civic political actions.

Next, we move to more general political participation. Some of the most frequently referred political actions are to communicate to public officials, governmental agencies, politicians and other influential persons. ABS-3 also includes a few questions on the communication with different types and levels of those people.

Table 7.28: Linear Regression of Political Communicative Action (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

	Contacated news media.	Contacted other influential people outside the government.	Contacted elected officials or legislative representatives at any level.	Contacted officials at higher level.	Contacted officials.
(Independent Variables)					
Political Party	-0.023	0.066 ***	0.039 *	0.017	0.026
	(0.047)	(0.070)	(0.078)	(0.075)	(0.110)
NHAs	0.043 *	0.082 ***	0.072 ***	0.059 **	0.067 ***
	(0.017)	(0.026)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.041)
Religious Group	0.041 *	0.079 ***	0.130 ***	0.068 ***	0.085 ***
	(0.034)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.053)	(0.079)
Sports or Leisure Club	0.012 **	0.033	0.027	0.029	-0.006
	(0.021)	(0.031)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.049)
Cultural Organization	0.027	0.064 ***	0.054	0.026	0.052 **
	(0.024)	(0.036)	(0.040) **	(0.038)	(0.056)
Volunteer Group	0.031	-0.005	0.047 **	0.037	0.040 *
	(0.047)	(0.071)	(0.080)	(0.075)	(0.111)
Public Interest Group	0.087 ***	0.051 **	0.018	0.034	0.004
	(0.047)	(0.070)	(0.079)	(0.075)	(0.110)
Labor Union	-0.045	-0.045 **	0.009	-0.001	-0.020
	(0.033)	(0.050)	(0.056)	(0.053)	(0.078)
Agricultural Association	0.005 *	0.017	0.068 ***	-0.002	0.030
	(0.032)	(0.047)	(0.053)	(0.051)	(0.074)
Professional Organization	0.101	0.110 ***	0.054 **	0.078 ***	0.005
	(0.038)	(0.056)	(0.063)	(0.060)	(0.089)
Business Association	0.029	0.061 ***	0.036	0.021	0.035
	(0.067)	(0.101)	(0.113)	(0.107)	(0.158)
PTA	0.004	0.003	0.046 **	0.024	0.046 *
	(0.030)	(0.046)	(0.051)	(0.048)	(0.071)
Producer Cooperative	0.049 **	0.048 **	0.005	0.045 *	0.036
	(0.045)	(0.067)	(0.075)	(0.071)	(0.105)
Consumer Cooperative	-0.015	-0.018	-0.019	-0.019	-0.042 *
	(0.032)	(0.048)	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.076)
Alumni Association	0.070 *	0.041 *	0.040 *	0.047 **	-0.006
	(0.023)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.037)	(0.054)
Candidate Support Organization	0.025	0.050 **	0.140 ***	0.074 ***	0.018
	(0.063)	(0.094)	(0.107)	(0.100)	(0.147)
Other Occupational Organization	-0.007	0.045 **	0.025	0.028	0.015
	(0.0390	(0.059)	(0.066)	(0.062)	(0.092)
Other Voluntary Organization	0.065 ***	0.119 ***	0.119 ***	0.072 ***	0.033
	(0.031)	(0.046)	(0.052)	(0.039)	(0.073)
(Control Variables)					
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.091 ***	0.147 ***	0.152 ***	0.145 ***	0.063 *
	(0.017)	(0.025)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.040)
Age	0.043	0.086 ***	0.100 ***	0.103	0.022
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Study Years	0.067	0.032	0.037	0.046	0.064
	(0.004) **	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.009)
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	-0.011	-0.020	0.023	-0.005	0.005
	(0.025)	(0.038)	(0.042)	(0.040)	(0.059)
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.012	0.030	0.016	0.042	-0.008
	(0.023)	(0.035)	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.054)
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	-0.008	0.065	0.034	0.034	0.015
	(0.025)	(0.037)	(0.041)	(0.039)	(0.058)
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.27	0.055	0.043	0.059 **	-0.012
	(0.027)	(0.041)	(0.046)	(9.943)	(0.064)
F	4.983	10.124	11.039	7.090	2.771
Adjusted R^2	.051	.109	.119	.076	.023
Standard Error	.347	.517	.579	.551	.881
n	1867	1863	1866	1865	1869

Personal compilation based on ABS Wave-3.
Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

Again, all independent variables show limited coefficients and the R^2 are generally low. As well,

the strongest variables come not from our independent variables but of the control ones; all in all,

men appear to be more active in communicating with relevant political agents. The contribution

of involvement in civil associations is not clear from this data, expect some organizations like religious groups, professional organizations, candidate support organizations and other voluntary associations which probably have more routes to reach influential people. As far as NHAs are concerned, they looks also positive to promote such actions, probably the personal connections fostered in NHAs make it easy to make contacts with those persons (most likely at local level limited, yet it is not possible to know that far from this data). By and large, communicating with relevant political agents can be encouraged by being involved in civil association to some extent, but this is not the most potential variable to explain such action.

Finally, the most representative political participation in the democracy is going to vote in elections. ABS-3's question on the frequency to go voting enables us to examine the correlation between civil organization participation and voting action.

Table 7.29: Linear Regression of Voting (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

(Independent Variables)	
Political Party	0.034
	(0.100)
NHAs	0.062 ***
	(0.037)
Religious Group	0.035 *
	(0.072)
Sports or Leisure Club	0.046 **
	(0.045)
Cultural Organization	0.017
	(0.051)
Volunteer Group	0.028
	(0.101)
Public Interest Group	0.009
	(0.100)
Labor Union	0.021
	(0.072)
Agricultural Association	0.049 *
	(0.068)
Professional Organization	0.020
	(0.080)
Business Association	0.010
	(0.144)
PTA	0.059 ***
	(0.065)
Producer Cooperative	-0.010
	(0.096)
Consumer Cooperative	0.002
	(0.069)
Alumni Association	0.039 *
	(0.049)
Candidate Support Organization	0.013
	(0.134)
Other Occupational Organization	-0.025
	(0.084)
Other Voluntary Organization	0.075 ***
	(0.067)
(Control Variables)	
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.078 ***
	(0.036)
Age	0.420 ***
	(0.001)
Study Years	0.065 ***
	(0.008)
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.008 ***
	(0.054)
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.010
	(0.050)
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	0.004
	(0.053)
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.003
	(0.058)

F=18.589

Adjusted R^2= .191

Standar Error= .740

n=1866

Personal compilation based on ABS-3.

Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

In the case of vote, it is obvious from the results that the age matters more than any other variables; its coefficient is higher than other variables, and it is in accord with major voting rate reports[29]. Only a few associations turn out to be significant, therefore, it is hard to say that the engagement in civil activities strengthen the voting action. When it comes NHAs, the coefficient is not very notable although significant. Hence, as a result, the most influential factor regarding voting is age, and participation in civil association hardly demonstrate the correlation with it.

To sum it up, the involvement in civil associations encourage the political participation on some level, and NHAs also promote it yet to the limited extent, concretely the local and community matters.

7.5.3.2.4. Political Efficacy

Having seen the tendency of interest in politics and political participation, we now want to know whether participation in varied civil organizations helps the development of sense of political efficacy, which means people recognize and are assured their ability to participate in politics. For this reason, we pick up a question from ABS-3 on the internal political efficacy, "I think I have ability to participate in politics".

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[29] For example http://www.soumu.go.jp/senkyo/senkyo_s/news/sonota/nendaibetu/

Table 7.30: Linear Regression of Sense of Political Efficacy (VS. Civil Activity Participation) (ABS-3)

(Independent Variables)	
Political Party	-0.008
	(0.116)
NHAs	-0.011
	(0.043)
Religious Group	0.029
	(0.082)
Sports or Leisure Club	-0.012
	(0.051)
Cultural Organization	0.036
	(0.058)
Volunteer Group	0.078 ***
	(0.117)
Public Interest Group	0.007
	(0.115)
Labor Union	0.028
	(0.082)
Agricultural Association	0.012
	(0.078)
Professional Organization	0.012
	(0.092)
Business Association	0.041 *
	(0.165)
PTA	0.051 **
	(0.074)
Producer Cooperative	-0.028
	(0.109)
Consumer Cooperative	0.005
	(0.079)
Alumni Association	0.035
	(0.056)
Candidate Support Organization	0.044 *
	(0.156)
Other Occupational Organization	0.006
	(0.096)
Other Voluntary Organization	0.023
	(0.076)
(Control Variables)	
Sex (Dummy Male)	0.165 ***
	(0.042)
Age	0.056 **
	(0.001)
Study Years	0.178 ***
	(0.009)
Annual Family Income 2.000.000~3.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.068 ***
	(0.062)
Annual Family Income 3.500.000~5.500.000 yen (Dummy)	0.030
	(0.057)
Annual Family Income 5.500.000~8.000.000 yen (Dummy)	0.033
	(0.061)
Annual Family Income 8.000.000~ yen	0.031
	(0.067)

F=7.525

Adjusted R^2 = .081

Standard Error= .846

n=1854

Personal compilation based on ABS-3.

Note: For each variable standardized regression coefficient shown and standard error in brackets. ***p<0.01, **p<0.05, *p<0.10

As shown in the table, our variables of interest does not mark significant coefficients in general, which means that the supposed contribution of associational participation for the rise of political efficacy appears to be failed. Only voluntary associations look to be slightly notable. The control variables (gender, age and total year of education) demonstrate stronger coefficient again, particularly the more years one receive the formal education the more one feels capable for politics. Hence, in the case of political efficacy, NHAs seems have no positive effect to foster it.

7.5.4. Summary

From this analysis on ABS in this section, we could draw some findings on the functions of NHAs in relation with the creation of environment for democracy. First, as far as the NHA participation before and after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake is concerned, no drastic change has observed. Still, a very moderate increase of importance of NHAs is noticed from the descriptive analysis. Second, it has been noted that although NHAs are not contributing for the generation of general trust, participation in them appears to be positively correlated with the rise of level of trust among neighbors. This finding lead the third conclusion that, the participation in NHAs also promote the increase of interest not in politics in general but in politics on local issues. Fourth, the political actions preferred by participants of NHAs are the communication with public officials and other governmental representatives. Finally, in spite of positive results obtained from these analyses, the sense of political efficacy among NHAs participants does not look confirmed, rather other factors such as gender and education level appear to be rational to explain the political efficacy.

Hence, referring to the research questions, the analysis no ASB shows that, participation in NHAs does not contribute wholly to the upturn of social capital, or more concretely general trust, yet it shows the strong support for the trust among people from neighboring areas. This

limited trust encourages the growth of interest in politics, but again, not the politics in general but the politics of local affairs. Therefore, the civil and political skills possibly gained by participating in NHAs are narrowed to the communication channels with locally-based public officials or politicians, and not other political means such as attending political protest movements or contact mass media. The reserved attitude of NHAs members toward political interest as well as political and civil actions does not seem train the sense of political efficacy. Therefore, NHAs surly contributes to the nurturing of Japanese democracy to some extent, precisely the democracy in local space. Still, it is hard to confirm their active role for the strengthening of democracy at the nation-wide level.

7.6. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter explored quantitatively the role of civil associations and especially of NHAs for the growth of better democratic society. Four different data sets were used to approach the research questions introduced in the previous chapter, and to each analysis the adequate research methods were adapted to make the most of data and find possible answers.

The analysis on NSLSP gave some clues for the question of willfulness of civil association participation and interest in politics (research question 1). The result did not demonstrate the explanation power of willfulness for women but to a limited support for the case of men.

RSFCPUA as well as JGSS data descriptively explained the various research questions such as the associative nature of NHAs in Japan (research question 2, 3 and 4), and the roles, problems and changes observed within them (research question 6, 7 and 8). The cultural and social factors that push people to join NHAs in Japan were unveiled from these analyses, but at the same time, the indispensable roles of NHAs to maintain the functioning of local communities as well as to prepare for the frequent natural disasters most notably for earthquakes were

discovered. Their importance was remarkably identified when the Higashi Nihon Earthquake happened. Therefore, it appears that the Japanese accept the obliged participation because they recognize the need and importance to do so. Still, there are some other external factors like aging population and liberal individualistic cultures shared among young generations that urge NHAs to adjust to what the modern society demands.

Finally, JGSS and ABS offered substantial findings about the role of Japanese NHAs in promotion of better democracy, which was addressed in the research questions 9, 10, 11 and 12. Briefly speaking, NHAs and other civil associations do not seem to encourage neither social capital, civil and political skills, growth of interest in politics nor strong background for democracy in Japan. Yet, as far as locally limited issues and space are concerned, it appears that NHAs do contribute to the increase of social capital, interest in local politics, participation in some forms of political actions, and possibly some environment for stronger democratic culture for the future.

In the next chapter, we will study about NHAs qualitatively by taking a specific case to answer further the research questions and to pursue the rest of unanswered ones. Furthermore, the qualitative research may be able to offer us the background and hidden reasons of the findings obtained in the qualitative analyses in this chapter.

8. Chapter 8: Qualitative Analysis on NHAs in Japan: Case of NHA in Mizutake Town

8.1. Introduction

In the last chapter, we studied about the civil associations, especially about the NHAs quantitatively by using the diverse data sets. By doing so, we could draw a general picture on NHAs as well as give an overall understanding on the states of recent NHAs. Still, the quantitative analyses only are not enough to grasp the backgrounds of modern NHAs or to explain the causes and reasons of what quantitative analyses show. Therefore, in this chapter, we try to examine NHA qualitatively. First we give a little justification of the use of qualitative study method, concretely the case study. Then, we introduce the brief descriptions on the research target place called Mizutake Town, in Gamagōri City, Aichi Prefecture of Japan. After giving the basic information on the town, we explore the system of self-governance in Gamagōri City as well as in Mizutake Town. Following, we present the descriptions on the traits, functions, problems, advantages, disadvantages and more on the NHA in Mizutake Town also by giving some examples of events organized by it. Finally, we give some observations and evaluations on the role of NHA in Mizutake Town. The research question proposed in the chapter 5 will be reviewed to answer some of them. Furthermore, try to connect the findings of this chapter with those of the former chapters.

8.2. Analysis Design and Justification

As stated before, this chapter is devoted for the qualitative research. The former chapter on the quantitative analyses have given us the features and characteristics of Japanese NHAs at the aggregate level, which made us easy to understand the tendency of changes as

well as the persistence traits that NHAs hold. Yet, they are rather the "facts" we find in the statistical numbers, and may not be enough to explain the causes and reasons existed behind these phenomena. To pursue the possible reasoning and explanations, we adopt the qualitative methodology in this chapter by studying deeply with rich and dense information on a limited small number of case. In this way a better and holistic understanding on the roles and problems of NHAs for the Japanese society and democracy can be expected.

In order to accomplish the mission, we have chosen the Mizutake Town, which is located in the northern part of Gamagōri City, Aichi Prefecture. The principal reason for this selection is that the author could find abundant personal contacts that facilitated the research. Yet, even more than that, cities in Aichi Prefecture are good examples to study the new challenge of NHAs in Japan such as the problem of aging population, lack of young manpower, profound interdependence with state agencies and local community, the inclusion of foreigners for the sake of smooth and stable NHA management as well as disaster prevention, etc. And Gamagōri City perfectly represent one of such cases. In addition, Mizutake Town is particularly interesting place within Gamagōri City due to its substantial local and communal identity and strong ties among Mizutake residents, NHA in Mizutake and other public or formal institutions such as public schools and Shintoism shrines. By observing community events and activities of this NHA, we can explore the unique characteristics of NHA in this town, as well as verify the hypothesis such as the question of degree of willfulness of involvement, independence of NHAs and role of social capital generated within NHAs introduced in the former chapter. Therefore, we believe that the selection of Mizutake Town for our case study material is adequate and appropriate.

The data and information are collected since April 2012 to October 2016 by the author living and participating in the activities of NHA and related entities. This long period of study enables the author to establish the good contacts with people living in the area as well as to

conduct interviews in a frank and familiar atmosphere. At the same time, the author has been trying to review the written documents and notices on Mizutake NHA and analyses them to observe the official and public functions. All these facilitate us to learn varied angles and faces of NHA in Mizutake, and collect a wide, dense and satisfactory data for the qualitative analysis.

This chapter enables us to answer most of the research questions listed in the chapter 6, such as "2. Are NHAs truly voluntary associated in Japan?" "3. Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?" "4. If not why people participate in NHAs?" "6. What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?" "7. What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?" and "8. Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan". Particularly, we are interested in the question 5 "how much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?" since this question has not been challenged in the former chapter yet. In addition, the characteristics of NHA in Mizutake Town hold some interesting and stimulating facts to examine this question.

8.3. Brief Description of Gamagōri City, Aichi Prefecture

8.3.1. Aichi Prefecture

Aichi Prefecture is famous for its car industry, mainly represented by the factories of Toyota. Consequently a considerably big number of people living in Aichi works for something to do with the automobile production. Yet, Nagoya City, which is the prefectural capital, or Toyota City where the headquarters of Toyota is, are not big enough to hold the huge population. Therefore, the population fluidity in Aichi among neighboring cities is very active; many people sleep in surrounding small cities and towns at night and work in major cities like Nagoya, Toyota and Toyohashi. The nearby cities also serve as much dormitory suburbs as the places for the affiliated factories of Toyota. As a result, Aichi prefecture has the capacity and needs to host workers for automobile related companies and offices, and it is still left with the possibility of

population growth.

Working population supply only by the Japanese nationals is not enough to meet the demand in Aichi prefecture. Thus, Aichi also attract many foreigners as well. The number of foreigners in Aichi is 203.698 in 2015 that records some 2.73% of the total population of Aichi prefecture[30]. It is the third largest in Japan after Tokyo and Osaka[31]. The major origins of foreigners are Brazil (23.1%), China (22.3%), South and North Korea (17.1%), the Philippines (14.8%), Vietnam (5.4%), Peru (3.6%) and others (13.7%). Nagoya hosts 68.114 foreigners (2.98% of Nagoya population) and other cities and towns also receive higher numbers of foreign population compared to that of Nagoya and other cities in Japan. For example, the average of percentage of foreign population in Japan is 1.03%[32], but Toyota marks 7.1% and Toyohashi 7.0%. Minor cities like Chiryū City records 6.34% which is the highest among cities in Aichi, and follows Takahama City with 5.32%, Komaki City, 5.25%. Gamagōri is the 15th with 2.87%[33].

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[30] http://www.pref.aichi.jp/soshiki/tabunka/0000088876.html
[31] http://www.moj.go.jp/content/000108880.pdf
[32] http://www.stat.go.jp/data/kokusei/2000/gaikoku/00/08.htm
[33] http://www.pref.aichi.jp/soshiki/tabunka/0000088876.html

Figure 8.1: Map of Aichi Prefecture and Gamagōri City

(Source: Gamagōri City.

Available at http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/unit/gyosei/introduction.html **[accessed: 11 November 2016]).**

8.3.2. Gamagōri City

Gamagōri City is situated in the central zone of Japan, in the Aichi Prefecture. In the south, Gamagōri has the coast, which covers about 47 km, and in the north there are mountains. Traditionally Gamagōri is famous for its textile industry. Still, the demands of Japanese society as well as the quick growth of international market make Gamagōri difficult to maintain the textile industry, and consequently small textile factories have been obliged to close their business. In addition to the textile industry, Gamagōri has developed the agriculture, specifically the mandarin production, thanks to the adequate climate as well as the technological struggle to improve the breeding and greenhouse use. Of course, due to its long coast, fishing is also one of its traditional and major sources of income. Moreover, Gamagōri promotes the fiber rope industry, which was developed as a part of textile industry and to be used for the fishing. Recently, the tourism industry in Gamagōri has recovered its popularity as a result of city's promotion policy. In fact, historically speaking, Gamagōri has been known for one of the famous *Onsen* (hot springs)

places in Japan. Thus, tourism also has been contributing to the Gamagōri's economy[34].

The total population of Gamagōri in 2015 is 81.150, and it records the 15th biggest city out of 37 cities of Aichi Prefecture. In the 1980s it enjoyed the growth of population, yet, since the number of residents decrease notably due to the bubble economy collapse, aging population and the increase of nuclear families is the serious problem for Gamagōri although the total number of households continues growing[35]. As mentioned before, many minor cities and towns in Aichi prefecture serve as the bed towns of big cities such as Nagoya, Toyota and Toyohashi cities. Gamagōri is not an exception. Indeed, some 16 thousand people work or study outside of Gamagōri every day and come back to sleep. This fact is important to mention here, since population flow out during daytime and the changes of life style, especially that of younger generations, inevitably causes some inconveniences and problems for the activities of NHAs in Gamagōri, as we will observe later in this chapter.

As well, Gamagōri, like other cities in Aichi, hosts an important number of foreigners. Its foreign population in 2015 is 2.265 people[36]. There has been a small growth of Latin communities from Brazil and Peru in the late 1990s due to the change of immigration law that enabled Brazilian and Peruvian of Japanese decedents (*Nikkei*) to obtain permanent resident visa. However, Lehman Shock in 2008 made them difficult to maintain their work posts, thus the Latin population keeps decreasing since then. Instead, the Philippines and Chinese population grow every year in Gamagōri[37]. There is a reason to mention about the foreigners in Gamagōri here. Because, the foreign population occupies an important part of Gamagōri's demographic structure, yet, the policy of foreigners' inclusion is not well developed yet in Gamagōri. The situation is similar in the NHAs in Gamagōri as well, and it may provoke conflicts among

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[34] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/unit/gyosei/introduction.html
[35] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/35970.pdf
[36] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/35970.pdf
[37] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/35970.pdf

neighbors and needs of structural changes in the future. We will discuss about this matter later in this chapter.

8.4. System of Self Governance and NHAs in Gamagōri City

Gamagōri started to function as a city and built the recent administrative scheme in 1954. In accordance with the Local Autonomy Act, Gamagōri has the city council with 20 council members elected by elections[38].

Figure 8.2: Structure of NHA in Gamgōri City
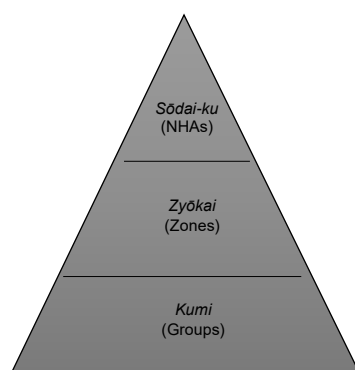
(Source: Personal compilation)

With regard to the system of local and community self-governance managed by the voluntary actors, that is to say, the NHAs, three different levels can be identified in the case of Gamagōri. First of all, there is *Sōdai-ku*, which lies on the top of self-governance system. The representative of *Sōdai-ku* is named as *Sōdai*. Then *Sōdai* unites the different *Zyōkai*, which are smaller zones within a Sōdai that are created to facilitate the self-governance. The leaders of *Zyōkai* are called *Chūzaiin* or sometimes *Zyōkaichō*. Finally, at the bottom of the structure, there are many *Kumi* (Groups) that are the smallest unity of NHA system in Gamagōri, and *Kumichō*

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[38] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/site/gikai/

are the chief of each *Kumi*.

Generally speaking, *Sōdai*, the representative of NHA and *Chūzaiin*, the leaders of *Zyōkai* are appointed by the election, whereas *Kumichō* who are the chiefs of *Kumi* are designated by rotation[39]. Still, according to the interviews the author conducted, it can be observed that in numerous NHAs in Gamagōri City, *Sōdai* and *Chūzaiin* are also selected by nomination or by almost-obliged rotation due to the lack of human resources caused by the modern labor and family conditions as well as decreasing of younger and adequate persons.

As far as the number of NHAs is concerned, there are some 48 *Sōdai-ku*, 199 *Zyōkai*, and about 24.000 *Kumi* in whole Gamagōri City. Normally the division of NHAs is in accordance with elementary school district in Japan as we have studied before. Thus, there are approximately three *Sōdai-ku* per an elementary school in average.

All *Sōdai* in Gamagōri forms the "Gamagōri's Federation of *Sōdai*" where *Sōdai* receive administrative information distributed by the Gamagōri City Hall officials. In fact, the federation office is situated within the administration section of Gamagōri City Hall. According to the information offered by the federation, the federation itself as well as all *Sōdai* in Gamagōri are independent and autonomous from Gamagōri local government, and the interactions and collaborations such as to provide city information to their members are done because of the special contract signed between Gamagōri and the federation. In addition, the federation and *Sōdai* receive the fund and financial support by the city[40]. The support functions ordered by the Gamagōri City to the *Sōdai* are the followings[41]:

1) Circulate monthly newspaper of city's public information to their member residents.

2) Promote and motivate their members to be prepared for the disasters, and organize

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[39] http://gamagori.fc2web.com/p2-3-1.htm
[40] http://gamagori.fc2web.com/p2-3-1.htm
[41] http://gamagori.fc2web.com/p2-3-2.htm

disaster prevention and evacuation trainings as well as store the equipment and

accessories for disaster prevention.

3) Help to facilitate the administrative processes related to the public health.

4) Help to distribute and collect surveys and notices that Gamagōri City provides.

5) Distribute information on general, prefectural and local elections.

6) Promote the national road protection campaigns.

7) Collaborate to the city's local development.

8) Work on other issues approved by the federation that demand the administrative

coordination with the city.

Thus, the Sōdai in Gamagōri, or for the convenience, we call it as NHAs from now on, work

basically on the matters debated in the federation, although the activities vary slightly in different

places because they probably face distinct local problems. In addition, theoretically speaking,

each NHA is independent from local authority and has its autonomy to decide the activity plan[42].

Having said that, apparently the NHAs in Gamagōri look impossible to deny the strong

connection with Gamagōri City and its officials, in addition to some degree with the national

authority (in the case of election promotion) because of the interdependence relationship

observed with the city in terms of financial, administrative and political issues. Therefore, the

point raised in our research question on the degree of NHA's independence can be seen

questionable in the case of NHAs in Gamagōri.

8.5. NHA in Mizutake Town

Mizutake Town (*Mizutake-cho* in Japanese) is situated in the northern part of Gamagōri

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[42] http://gamagori.fc2web.com/p2-3-1.htm

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City. There are many agricultural lands for mandarin cultivation, as well as old and new resident areas. It also hosts a public day-care center (Hokubu Kindergarten), a public primary school (Hokubu Primary School) and a public junior high school (Chūbu Junior High School). There is only one NHA (*Sōdai-ku)* in Mizutake. The below is the description of the town and the NHA.

Figure 8.3: Map of Gamagōri City and Mizutake Town
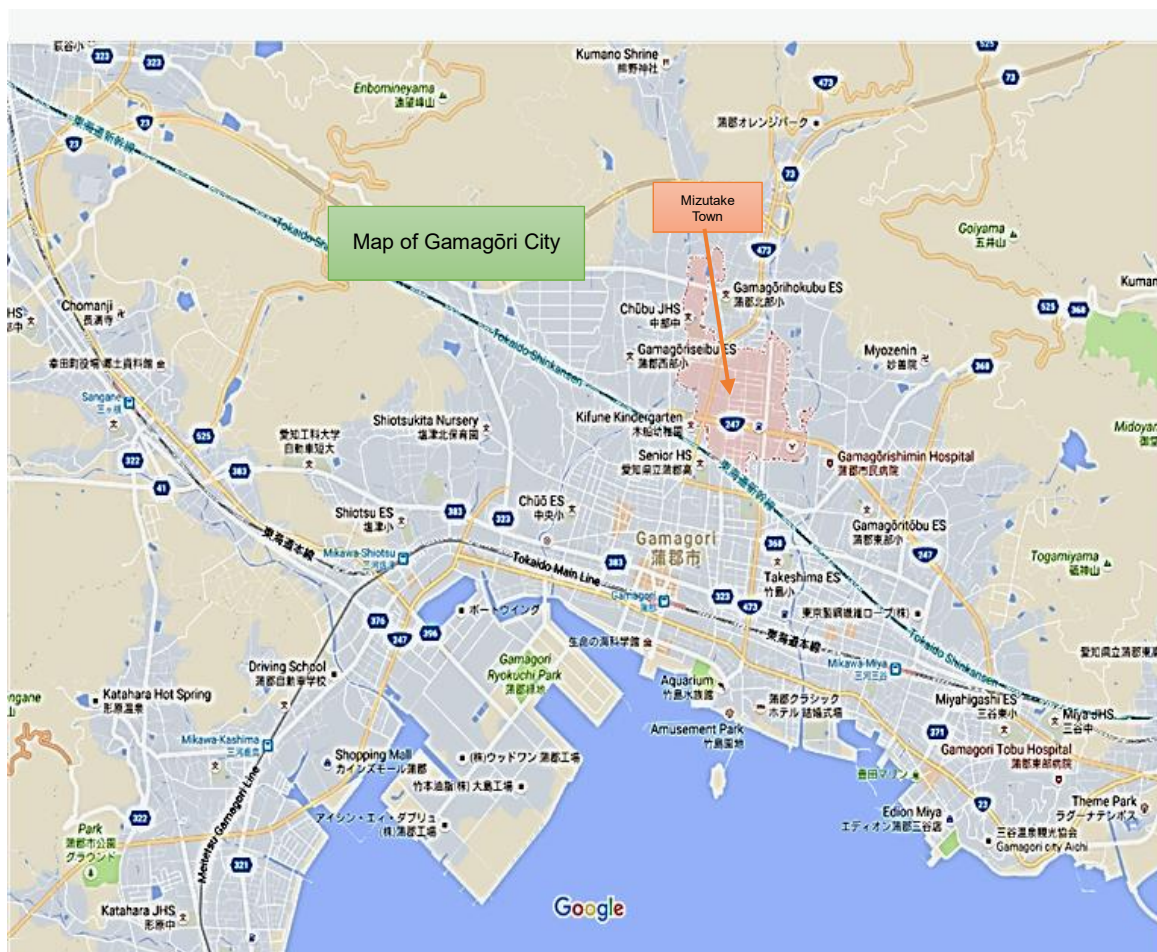
(Source: Google Map)

8.5.1. Brief Description of Mizutake Town

Mizutake Town's population is 3.282 and the number of houses are 1.192 at the date of 1 June 2016[43]. The size of the town is about medium within Gamagōri City, and it has been growing gradually thanks to the new residential zones that have been recently constructed by replacing the unused agricultural lands. In fact, when the populations by age groups in Mizutake Town are compared, the largest age group is from 40 to 44 years old[44], which means the Mizutake Town's population is relatively young in comparison with other areas of Gamagōri City

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[43] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/35764.pdf
[44] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/34542.pdf

with more crucial problem of aging population. There are 38 foreigners living in Mizutake Town, and this number is low contrasting with other areas of Gamagōri City[45], probably due to the lack of factories where most of foreigners in Gamagōri City work.

8.5.2. NHAs and Its Structure in Mizutake Town

Mizutake Town has one NHA named "Mizutake *Sōdai-ku"*. Under this NHA, there are five zones (*Zyōkai)*: *Noborijima, Higashiwakijima 1, Higashiwakijima 2, Kudarijima 1 y Kudarijima 2.* Moreover, beneath these five zones, there are numerous groups *(Kumi* or *Ku)*, which is the smallest units of NHA in Mizutake. The number of groups varies depending on each zone. The following figure shows the whole structure of NHA in Mizutake with supporting sections and relating groups.

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[45] http://www.city.gamagori.lg.jp/uploaded/attachment/35767.pdf

Figure 8.4: General Structure of NHA in Mizutake Town

General Structure of NHA (Sōdai-ku) in Mizutake

Noborijima Zyōkai (Zone)
- President (Chūzaiin)
- Vice President (Fuku Chūzaiin)
- Environment Section
- Funeral Section
- Electoral Promotion Section
- Traffic Section
- Disaster Prevention Section
- Volunteer Fire Company
- Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Chūbu J.H.S PTA
- Children's Association
- Women's Section
- Sports Promotion Section
- Sports Section

Higashiwakijima 1 Zyōkai (Zone)
- President (Chūzaiin)
- Vice President (Fuku Chūzaiin)
- Environment Section
- Funeral Section
- Traffic Section
- Disaster Prevention Section
- Volunteer Fire Company
- Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Chūbu J.H.S PTA
- Children's Association
- Women's Section
- Sports Section

Higashiwakijima 2 Zyōkai (Zone)
- President (Chūzaiin)
- Vice President (Fuku Chūzaiin)
- Environment Section
- Funeral Section
- Traffic Section
- Volunteer Fire Company
- Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Children's Association
- Women's Section

Kudarijima 1 Zyōkai (Zone)
- President (Chūzaiin)
- Vice President (Fuku Chūzaiin)
- Environment Section
- Funeral Section
- Traffic Section
- Volunteer Fire Company
- Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Chūbu J.H.S PTA
- Women's Section
- Sports Section

Kudarijima 2 Zyōkai (Zone)
- President (Chūzaiin)
- Vice President (Fuku Chūzaiin)
- Environment Section
- Funeral Section
- Electoral Promotion Section
- Traffic Section
- Volunteer Fire Company
- Chūbu J.H.S PTA
- Women's Section

10 Ku (Groups) 10 Leaders (Hanchō)

10 Ku (Groups) 10 Leaders (Hanchō)

14 Ku (Groups) 14 Leaders (Hanchō)

19 Ku (Groups) 19 Leaders (Hanchō)

15 Ku (Groups) 15 Leaders (Hanchō)

Source: Heisei 28 nendo Mizutake-cho Yakuin Meibo, translated and modified by the author.

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8.5.3. Positions and Sections Within NHA

Studying the general structure of NHA in Mizutake Town, there are several points that we need to pay special attention. They will be analyzed in detail in the following sections.

First of all, it is remarkable that within the framework of zones (*Zyōkai*), there are numerous positions and different sections. In accordance with the delegated missions from the city hall, the majority of sections is structured in response to these objectives to organize related activities. For example, the electoral promotion section does the work to encourage the members of NHA to go to elections. The traffic section is in charge of supervising the security of state routes and roads as well as to maintain them. The environment section treats the matters of collecting garbage and recycling them. One of interesting sections is the funeral section that facilitate members of the NHA circulate the notice of funeral of their family members or support the administrative process when members of NHA pass away. The volunteer fire company trains regularly to be able to help the professional fire fighters. They have been receiving much reputation because they know their living town as well as their neighbors much better than the professional fire fighter. Therefore, they can act more efficiently when a fire or other disasters such as earthquake or flood occur. Their deep understanding of geography of the town, in addition to the neighbors' life styles and even in some cases the structures of damaged house and roads are advantageous for the quick and efficient rescues. In fact, there was one case while the author was studying about this town, when a well-known old Buddhist temple burned down on a windy day. Unfortunately it was also the day when a famous traditional festival was held in other town in Gamagōri, thus some of professional fire fighters were called for duty there and they were away from the fire station. Consequently it costed them much time to gather members to rush into the burning temple. Yet, fortunately the volunteer fire company of Mizutake Town was

training in the park near the temple and they could react before the disaster quickly. Their knowledge on the geography near temple including the wind direction and housings near the temple helped to stop the damage widening. The major problem was the equipment and the limit of manpower the volunteer fire company had; they holds only small scale fire trucks and the lack of volunteer fire company members is the continuous problem despite of the growing population of young people in Mizutake. In any case, the knowledge and personal connections rooted in the neighborhood area make it easy for the quick and efficient rescue operation. It seems that for these reasons the volunteer fire companies are included under the organization of NHA. The *Kumichō,* the position of chief of *Kumi*, which comes to all member households in turns once for a few years, is in charge of collecting the NHA fee once a year (normally in April when the work and academic calendar starts in Japan, and the price of membership fee is decided by the house size and members' social status (for example, those who run business in this area pay more than other members or widows pays less), yet most of the members do not know who and how the exact price has been decided), attend a general meeting of all *Kumichō* and *Chūzaiin*, prepare the *Kairanban* (notice board) with the information newspaper (provided by city hall and delivered to Chūzaiin, then Chūzaiin brings hand them out to the *Kumichō* in his *Jōkai*) and start circulating it, attend the disaster prevention workshop organized by the Gamagōri City a few times a year, visit newcomers to promote NHA participation, etc. Although it sounds a lot of responsibility and work, in reality, a little more burden than a normal NHA member is given during the mandate of the task. Yet one of the *Kumichō* interviewed told about her complains, especially on the general meeting with other *Kumichō* and Chūzaiin, which last long and run very inefficiently. Because practically all members gathered there are not professionals of organizing or administrating the groups, rather those who take the charge by rotations (no matter whether they want or not), and even Chūzaiin are mostly retired people with time but often without the experience of leading

groups or associations, consequently, the meetings are often organized badly and unproductively, although there are nothing special to discuss about, but only repeat the same theme as every year. In this respect, position appointment by rotations save time and cost of election as well as assure the successor for the coming years. Yet, in accordance with the argument of Pekkanen, the lack of professionals leads the lack of skillful organization of an association, in this case the NHA. What is more, in this manner, less or almost no civil or political skills are expected to be acquired by taking the leading positions in NHA. For these reasons, it would not be very possible that the NHA in Mizutake offers the occasion to work as the "school of democracy" except some situations that drive members to debate and discuss over an issue (for example to initiate some protest movements against new road construction in their territory, solve environmental issues, etc.) and encourage them to develop the ability to take some civil and political actions.

When it comes to obstacles of maintenance that some of Jōkai face, sadly, there are zones like *Higashiwakijima 2, Kudarijima 1 and Kudarijima 2* that do not hold capacity to preserve some of the posts and sections due to the lack of human resources. These are the zones with old houses and elder residents without enough spaces available for the new construction of home for young families. Consequently some of the sections and posts like children's association (which is normally in charge of cleaning and maintaining parks and other public spaces) or the sports section (that organize and promote sports activities) disappear. It looks that, on one hand, the lack of young population and the lack of communal work make it less attractive for the new people to meet the satisfaction of living condition in those areas. On the other hand, these also cause the problems for the remaining residents of these areas to be over burdened by the communal responsibilities of NHA and other local associations, because they have more possibility for frequency of position appointments by rotations.

Another issue observed in relation with the post maintenance and the aging population is

the absence of young people in the town during the day. There are some families in the area who run their family operated business at home, hence they stay in Mizutake during the day. Yet, the majority works outside Mizutake Town or sometimes outside Gamagōri City and comes back home at night to sleep only. Usually the activities related NHA take place on weekends when people are supposed to have days off and stay at home, which should not cause a lot of problem of participation by those people. Yet, when some incidents such as fire, earthquake, flood or other disasters occur, the volunteer fire company may not be able to work if some of its members are not in Mizutake. Or persons in charge of disaster prevention section may not be able to coordinate the neighbors to work together to evacuate endangered places if their working places are not near to Mizutake. In addition, the younger generations prefer going out on off days for relaxing and refreshing. Hence, they may not be near Mizutake on the occasion of needs of manpower. Thus, the population mobility in modern society is also challenging the functioning of NHA.

In this regard, what we have observed from the former quantitative analyses about the negative effects of aging society over the activities of NHAs in general is also viewed in the case of Mizutake Town, too.

8.5.4. System of Concurrent Posts

Next, we analyze the way to appoint posts of the NHA and related sections in addition to other local institutions. As we have been seeing continuously from the previous studies and analyses, the lack of human resources, especially those of younger generations is the common problem of NHAs everywhere in Japan. The case of Mizutake Town is not an exception. Moreover, not only the NHA but also other civil associations and volunteer-based semi-public institutions such as PTA and sports clubs need members as well as those who can take the posts

with higher responsibilities. At the same time, those who are expected to be leaders, that is to say, young or middle-aged generations (around 30s to 50s) are also busy with their work and family matters. Taking such circumstance into consideration, the process of position appointments for NHAs and other civil organizations is always complicated and worry-some. And again, Mizutake Town holds the same headache.

In order to manage this problematic assignment mission, Mizutake Town has developed the system of concurrent posts. Under this structure, a person in charge of a post of NHA is not exclusively responsible for the position, but rather he also has to take the duty of another post in NHA or of different organizations. For instance, Family F who moved into the zone of *Noborijima* two years ago had to take the responsibility of the *Kumichō* (chief of *Kumi*) in 2015 because the duty came by rotation and the turning order was already fixed. The following year, this family has automatically nominated to the head of women's section of *Noborijima* zone. It also shows that generally speaking, it is almost impossible to escape from the appointments of NHA and related sections' posts once people decide to move into Mizutake Town, especially when one build a single house (in the case of apartment or rent flat, things look slightly different as described later), because the order of post nomination is also already decided, not formally by written documents, but rather by the custom of the area. It is also worthwhile to mention the curios assumption behind this practice that all households are supposed to be consisted of men and women, preferably with children. Because otherwise a family with the charge of *Kumichō* in one year cannot send anyone for the head of women's section in the next year if the family does not have female members of adequate age.

As for the concurrent posts across the local institutions, the most notable example is the case of concurrent posts of PTA and NHA or other locally-based institutions. In the case of Mizutake area, a person who are elected as the class representative of PTA from the public

primary school or junior high school, he or she also often have to take another position in NHA and local organizations automatically. The positions given for them are generally posts related to the school and local activities so that they can be a good connection between schools and community. Some examples are shown in the figure 8.4 and 8.5. In this case, the presidents of PTA of public schools are spontaneously appointed to the members of Community Center Committee at Hokubu Community Center, in addition to the representative of PTA at his Zyōkai. This relationship between parents of school children and the local community institutions is very important in the case of Mizutake Town, because Mizutake is proud of the atmosphere of collaboration among local people as well as school personnel, which can be observed frequently in the speeches and writings of school principals and representatives of the community. Mizutake also organize an annual sports event in collaboration with public schools, NHA, and the community center (which we will analyze later in this chapter), and this kind of celebration can be observed nowhere in other towns of Gamagōri but only in Mizutake. All these show the tight connections among NHA, PTA and local institutions that are even strengthened by the system of concurrent positions.

At the same time, the question on the independence of NHA and other civil voluntary associations from the influence of state or local authorities is very ambiguous once the system of concurrent post is established. It is clear that what is public (such as public primary school) and what is supposed to be private (theoretically speaking NHA, Children's Association, and other sections) are mixed up so much to the degree that there is no visible borders among all locally-based institutions. Just like NHA, although PTA is an association of parents of school children voluntary united, in reality, in Japan they are almost always obliged to be involved (Tanaka, 2016), and the activities are ordered and scheduled by the school teachers as a part of

school curriculum[46]. In this regard, all activities and positions related to NHA, PTA and other local associations appear to be half-private and half-public without real autonomy and initiative of each organization. The uncertain status of civil associations and intricate system of concurrent positions make it even more difficult to see the independence and autonomy of different organizations.

Moreover, the increase of work for the persons with concurrent posts is even harder for the younger generations in comparison with older people due to their professional work and housework including child caring. According to some of those people interviewed, they feel a sort of injustice and fatigue since their burden expands once they are appointed one of charges of local associations. This tendency is even more obvious in the areas with a small number of children and young population. This circumstance definitely discourage people to be involved in those association actively, rather they prefer being engaged as less as possible.

The unequal distribution of young population within Mizutake Town also provoke another issue, which is the unequal administration of information and other resources. In *Higashiwakijima* 2 and *Kudarijima* 2 area, there are not sufficient primary school and junior high school children, therefore it is impossible to send the representative of these schools to their zone (*Zyōkai*) meetings. Consequently they receive less information and communications regarding schools.

To sum up, the problems caused by the aging society have been shown by the quantitative analyses in the former chapter, have been confirmed in the study of Mizutake Town. What is more, when we study the issue in depth, we have figured out the effect and consequences of aging population over the smooth function and maintenance of NHA. Concretely, what can be observed here is that, both being overloaded by various posts of the community institutions or school associations, and not being able to maintains some sections of NHA due to the lack of

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[46] The author participated in the PTA committee meetings at Hokubu Primary School and circulated calendar produced and provided by the school was made in accordance with the school curriculum prepared by the Japanese government.

adequate population, risk the better function of NHA as well as the fluent collaboration with other institutions. In this regard, the Japan's unbalance population distribution is really a crucial problem, and NHAs also have been facing the survival phase.

8.5.5. NHA's Strong Relationship with Other Institutions

In this section, we consider the profound relationship among NHA and other local community institutions. In the former sections, it has already been observed the fact that the collaborations and cooperation among those entities are indispensable for their maintenance as well as for the system of self-governance in Mizutake Town. We have already mentioned about the relationship among NHA, PTA of public schools, Community Center, etc. In addition, in the case of Mizutake, the Shintoism shrine also play important roles. The figure 8.4 shows not only the general structure of NHA in Mizutake, but also the related institution in the upper part of the chart; there are Hokubu Kindergarten, Hokubu Primary School, Chūbu Junior High School, Hokubu Community Center, Mizutake Shrine and Otome Shrine. All listed except two Shintoism shrines are public institutions maintained by the tax and grants given from Gamagōri City. Theoretically speaking, two shrines are private bodies following the principle of separation of state and religion though they receive preferential treatment such as tax. Yet, all of these institution are working very closely on a regular bases no matter whether they are public or private bodies. The former figure shows the relationship among local entities putting the Mizutake NHA at center, and the following figure 8.5 demonstrate the relationship and posts structure from the Hokubu Community Center's assorting.

Figure 8.5 General Structure of Hokubu Community Center

Hokubu Community Center

Board of Directors
- Former Mizutake Sōdai
- Former Seida Sōdai
- Former Sakamoto Sōdai
- Former Center President
- President of Elders' Association
- Chūbu J.H.S Director
- Hokubu P.S. Director
- Hokubu K. Director
- Hokubu P.S. PTA President
- Gamagori City Council Member (Adviser)
- Gamagori City Council Member (Adviser)
- Former Center President (Adviser)

(Notes)
Chūbu Junior High School (J.H.S)

Hokubu Primary School (P.S)

Hokubu Kindergarten (K.)

Management Steering Committee
- Center President
- Center Director
- Center Secretary
- Head of Sports Section
- Vice Head of Sports Section
- Mizutake Sōdai
- Seida Sōdai
- Sakamoto Sōdai
- Mizutake Vice Sōdai
- Seida Vice Sōdai
- Sakamoto Vice Sōdai
- Hokubu P.S. Vice Director
- Representative of Zone Sports Committee
- Representative of Culture Committee
- Representative of Sports Club Committee
- Representative of Children's Association
- Secretary General of Traffic Section
- President of Kusunoki Club
- Head of Women's
- Vice Head of Women's Section

Executive Committee (Chūzaiin)
- Chūzaiin from Sakamoto
- Chūzaiin from Hacchi
- Chūzaiin from Shinya
- Chūzaiin from Nakaoka
- Chūzaiin from Shimoseida
- Chūzaiin from Hashizume
- Chūzaiin from Noborijima
- Chūzaiin from Kudarijima 1
- Chūzaiin from Kudarijima 2
- Chūzaiin from Higashiwakijima 1
- Chūzaiin from Higashiwakijima 2

Community Center Committee (Institutions)
- Head of Volunteer Fire Company
- Elders' Group President
- President of Chūbu J.H.S PTA
- President of Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Vice President of Chūbu J.H.S. PTA
- Vice President of Hokubu P.S. PTA
- Representative of Voluntary Patrol for Crime Prevention
- Vice Secretary General of Traffic Section

Community Center Committee (Representative of Children's Associations)
- from Nakaoka
- from Shinya
- from Hashizume
- from Shimoseida
- from Higashiwakijima
- from Noborijima

Sports Committee (Zone Representatives)
- from Sakamoto
- from Shinya
- from Nakaoka
- from Shimoseida
- from Hashizume
- from Noborijima
- from Higashiwakijima
- from Kudarhijima

Sports Committee (Club Representatives)
- Kid's Baseball
- Volleyball
- Unihock
- Grand Golf
- Elder's Grand Golf
- Gate Ball
- Mini Basketball

Culture Committee
- Elder's Singing
- Flower Arrangement
- Calligraphy
- Singing
- Recreation Dance
- Sword Dance
- Elder's Association
- Kusunoki Club
- Talk Meeting
- Tea Meeting
- Haiku
- Photography
- Gardening
- Chrysanthemum Club
- Elder's Japanese Harp
- Painting
- Game of Go
- History Club
- Body Exercise Club
- Japanese Harp

Source: Hokubu kōminkan dayori Heisei 28 no.1, translated and modified by the author.

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The Hokubu Community Center is located next to the Hokubu Primary School and it is in charge of covering more ample geographic zones including the territories of Mizutake NHA and other two NHAs (*Seida* NHA and *Sakamoto* NHA). Therefore, the directive organization and relating posts are more broad and complicated that what we have seen in the general structure of Mizutake NHA. Still, figure 8.5 also indicates the framework of interdependence among NHAs and their sections, PTAs of public schools and the community center. Furthermore, their firm linkages are even strengthen by applying the system of concurrent posts. For example, the members of NHAs with the duty of *Sōdai* (head of NHA) or *Chūzaiin* (leader of zone) are automatically appointed to the members of the Managing Steering Committee or the Executive Committee of Hokubu Community Center. Moreover, those who assumed the position of *Sōdai* in previous year are expected to take another duty in the Hokubu Community Center in the following year. That means that once one is elected to a position of community institution, generally speaking other posts come together automatically and the period of responsibility extends for some years in distinct organizations.

In addition, regarding the structuring of Hokubu Community Center, the integration of personnel from public schools into the body of center is very extraordinary and could be seen problematic due to the too much mixture of private and public spaces. Take the example of Chūbu Junior High School director and Hokubu Primary School director for example. Teachers of public schools, including directors are working at schools with the official contract and hired by the state (in this case by the Gamagōri City). Therefore, they are supposed to work for what is related to the school education and during their working hours. However, the directors of Chūbu Junior High School and Hokubu Primary School are appointed and included into the Board of Directors of Hokubu Community Center. In the case of Hokubu Community Center, meetings of committees are usually hold on weekends, which are off days for public school teachers. Some

of teachers may live within Mizutake Town and do not matter being involved in the community work if they want to assume the responsibility as a local community member. Yet, this case will be very rate considering the fact that in Japan teachers are not allowed to work for the school where their family members go, and they cannot work at the same school more than ten years. Moreover, teachers of Hokubu Primary School and Chūbu Junior High School live not too far from their school, which means they most likely live in other places of Gamagōri City, where the practice of NHAs and community engagement is not too different from what Mizutake Town has. Therefore, they have their community duty of their living places, but if they devote too much for the community of working place, possibly not much time is left to dedicate for the issues and events of the community around the living place. In this regard, teachers of Mizutake Town and area of Hokubu Community Center may have been suffering from the triple responsibility of official work, community work of working place and community work of living place. If so, it is too much and it is not adequate from the perspective of separation of public and private space and time.

As far as the issue of ambiguous border between public and private space and time is concerned, something similar happens to the case of Shintoism shrines. In Mizutake Town, there are two Shintoism temples: Mizutake Shrine and Otome Shrine. The Otome Shrine is a small one and the family living next to it is in charge of taking care of it for generations. Yet, in the case of Mizutake Shrine, which is bigger than Otome Shrine and needs more volunteer persons to take care of the building itself as well as maintain its function. For this reason, the positions of taking care of Mizutake Shrine are generally rotate within the members of NHA in Mizutake. Each Zone (*Zyōkai*) send six or seven persons in charge for this task. What appears to be questionable here is the separation of private and supposed to be secular and neutral association and the question of religion. Obviously not all members of NHA believe in Shintoism

and not all may want to be involved in the religious matters. Still, under this traditional custom, some sort of involvement of religious work may not be able to avoid if participate in the NHA.

Therefore, it appears that the actual practice of NHA in Mizutake as well as the structure and functioning of Hokubu Community Center is an interesting case to consider the question of uncertain lines between private and public spaces and time as well as secular and religious issues.

8.5.6. Recruitment of New Members

Up to now, we have observed the structures of NHA in Mizutake Town and that of Hokubu Community Center, in this section the recruitment process of new members for NHA is focused. The system of position promotions within the NHA and other community organizations supported by the practice of concurrent posts and by rotations has been already studied. Yet, there must be the first step to recruit a new member into this structure of NHA and community entities, otherwise the preservation of those organizations is impossible. Therefore, the process of newcomer recruitment is analyzed in this section.

To begin with, as we have studied repeatedly in the former chapters, participating in NHAs in Japan are often almost forced by the social pressure and sometimes being integrated as a part of housing administration process. This is also the case in Mizutake Town, and most of Japanese people who are willing to move into this town are conscious about it. In this regard, it is not so difficult for NHA to invite newcomers to be the member. On the other hand, as we will devote another section later, in the case of foreign residents who have not share this unwritten but very widely-accepted Japanese culture, in addition often come from other cultural backgrounds with more liberalist perspective, it is rather complicated to persuade them to be involved in the NHA. In this section, we concentrate on the case of Japanese new residents.

Generally speaking, in Mizutake Town, when one person or a family moves in, residents next door or landlords inform informally who is the *Kumichō,* the chief of the area at this moment to initiate a process of enrollment. One of interviewees said that in her case, she was asked to contact *Kumichō* by an administrator at the city hall when she went to submit the resident registration. In this situation, the considerable connection between the city administration and NHA is very obvious. Then, the representatives of NHA (normally *Kumichō* or sometimes *Kumichō* with *Chūzaiin*) visit the new house directly to give the information on NHA and encourage participation. However, since Mizutake Town still remains a sort of rural small town and the exchange of population is not quite dynamic, hence in fact, during the research period who have newly moved into the area were often relatives of someone already living in Mizutake Town (for example, a young family build a new house next to his parents' place and move in with his wife and children). In this case, people of NHA already know the newcomers and make it even easier to bring them into the NHA, and the new residents also feel comfortable to be involved since they already know the members. Some others who were totally strangers in this town looked not being confused to be invited the NHA, probably because they have also taken the process for granted. After the acceptance, *Chūzaiin* and *Kumichō* then include the new residents into the member list of NHA and add them to the order of *Kairanban* (sharing notice board) rotation and collect the membership fee.

Some local events with the participation of NHA appeared to be a good occasion to get to know the new members of NHA and encourqge them for the further involvement in the activities of sections. Later in this chapter, we will present the description of Hokubu Sports Festival, and this event looks especially favorable to invite the new members to the activities of NHA, particularly the young persons, because the event gives the opportunity to participate in the races competed among all *Zyōkai* teams. Due to the lack of young participants, new young

members are very welcomed to be in the team. It seemed to be a great chance for icebreaking for new comers as well as promote communications among NHA members.

Once they take a part of NHA, the sections of NHA also start to recruit the new members. For instance, the volunteer fire company always faces the lack of members, thus new young residents are very desirable. (Still, it also requires a good physical condition as well as the time for frequent and regular training. Hence, it sounds not so easy to recruit new members.) Some of the NHA members interviewed have told that the deep and familiar personal contacts and connection really make it easy to recruit members for the NHA sections. For example, Mr. O from *Noborijima* was the person in charge of the sports section and had been struggling to collect enough members to participate in the races of the Sports Festival. Even with the help of *Chūzaiin* and visiting houses with him one by one on several weekends, it was difficult to get sufficient number of participants because both Mr. O and the *Chūzaiin* were relatively new to the zone and did not know much about the residents and their family members. However, Mr. O was also invited and participated to be a member of *Yakudoshikai* (the group of men of climacteric years[47]) that was organized by the Mizutake Shrine and made a lot of personal contacts there, he was finally able to form teams for the Sports Festival thanks to the connections through *Yakudoshikai*. In this way, in numerous occasions, personal connections created through the participation in local and community organizations including NHA help the process of recruitment of persons for related associations and groups.

8.5.7. Advantages and Disadvantages of Participation in NHA

After having studied the structuring of NHA in Mizutake as well as the Hokubu Community

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[47] In Japan, there are some age periods that are marked as the climacteric years. In the case of men, 25, 42 and 61 years old are the climacteric years although they are varied in different areas and regions, and especially in rural areas, men of these ages go through some Shintoism ceremonies to take bad luck away. In the case of Gamagori and Higashi Mikawa region, generally men of climacteric years produce handholding artificial fires and dedicate them at the local Shintoism festival.

Center, which showed us the particularities of concurrent position system and profound inter-relationship among community-based organizations including public schools, in this section we try to examine the advantages and disadvantages to participate in NHA in Mizutake Town. In other words, we want to know why most of residents in Mizutake Town participate or in NHA, and what do they expect NHA? Are they some others who do not belong to the Mizutake NHA and why? These questions come into mind because the custom and tradition as well as the social pressure to be involved in NHA in Mizutake Town is so clear as we have seen already in this chapter. Still, we have also observed the considerable burden to be a member of NHA due to the member's duty, position assignation by rotation, concurrent positions, continuous and long term of position appointment, etc. Therefore, it seems rational to think that some of the residents may have dilemma whether to be involved in the NHA or exercise his freedom to not to choose to be in such association, which should be guaranteed under the system of liberal democracy.

To begin with, as for advantages to participate in the NHA or other local associations, the first and foremost reason seems the creation of personal connections. When one live in the rural and small area like Mizutake Town, it means he has to live in the very communitarian or Groupist environment and the neighboring ties are very important to be able to spend life in happy neighboring environment. It supposes a lot of time dedication, complicated personal relationships, gender gaps, sometimes unjust and undemocratic practices, responsibilities, etc. Yet, not just only for him but also for his family members, smooth and familiar atmosphere with neighbors would results advantageous than living alone in the individualistic way. For example, if a person has schooling age children, in the case of Mizutake Town, the NHA and community associations connect to the public school, too. And the good relationship with these organization may facilitate children's happy school life as well (although the mixture of public and private can be seen problematic from the point of liberal tradition). In fact, in Mizutake Town the primary

school children go to school and come back home by walking without accompanied by their parents (which is quite common in Japan for public school in general). In the morning, there are a lot of eyes of neighbors watching and assuring the safety of kids while taking garbage away to collecting spots or cleaning entrances. In the afternoon, in order to guard them from traffic accidents or crimes, the volunteers of traffic section from NHA take and watch children from school to their home so that they arrive home safely and also save the work of each parent to pick kids up from school. In this regard, parents of school children owe NHA a lot, and they would feel fair enough to return it by participating in other activities of NHA.

Also, although the author could not document any special training to prepare for earthquake or other natural disasters in Mizutake NHA while researching, a good neighboring environment probably facilitate the mutual aids in the case of disaster survival and profound personal connections will make it easy for residents to cooperate and work together. Eventually, all communal events and practices to encourage the deepening of human ties in Mizutake NHA are designed to prepare the capacity for mutual help and self-governance of Mizutake Town. And for this reason, it seems that members of NHA are convinced to be engaged in it, though it is also true that the cost of participation is immense.

Finally, there is a lot of information accessible only if one participates in NHA. The *Kairanban* (notice board), which is circulated regularly provides information given not only by the Gamagōri city but also the NHA, Mizutake Shrine, Clean Center (garbage collecting center), City Hospital, Police Station, Hokubu Primary School, Elders' Association, and more. Without it, it would be very inconvenient and difficult to live in Mizutake area without them.

As far as the disadvantages are concerned, the predominant issue would be the responsibility and price of participation. One has to be prepare to accept any position that comes at least once for a while by rotation, time required to participate in events and activities,

sometimes bothering-some personal relationships, conservative and traditional customs, and so forth. All these are situated at the opposite end of liberal life style. For these reasons, it is also understandable that for the young generations with more liberal and democratic culture, the participation in NHA has a lot of obstacles and difficulties to overcome.

In addition, to those who live in Mizutake but work outside of the town and spend only limited hours a day may have less necessity to be involved in it. In reality, these people are also very busy with their work and have very few spare time to spend for the communal matters. Therefore, not just because they do not want to, but also quite often they cannot afford time to do so.

8.5.8. Temporary Residents and Foreigners' Participation in NHA

It looks that almost everybody living in Mizutake Town joins the NHA, yet there are some who do not. The majority of these without NHA belonging are those who live temporary in this area and the foreigners.

A large number of residences in Mizutake Town are single building houses, and a few rent flats exist. Some people living in such housing participate in the NHA, but some others seem not to be interested in NHA. It is also justifiable because those who live in the rent flats are often young single persons, and they are essentially living in Gamagōri but working outside Gamagōri. Consequently they spend less time in their living area and not too interested in developing personal relationships with the neighbors. The young generation with the tendency of liberal life style probably also refrain them from participating in NHA. From the observation during the research, it looked that the very necessary and important information were delivered from Gamagōri City directly by post or by the renter of apartments. Those without NHA affiliation are more similar to the people of urban areas and the low participation of these people is caused by

the same reasons as we have already observed in the previous chapters basically. Even so, at the same time, they are the young manpower that NHA needs to include for the maintenance and well-doing of its activities. Therefore, NHA in Mizutake probably has been facing the necessity of changing to some degree to look for the point of compromise between the traditional and modern conditions.

When it comes to the case of foreigners, the things appear to be more complicated for several reasons. First, the Japanese language is not easy for most of foreigners to master in a short term, and even if participate in NHA and receive the notice board or attend meetings and so forth, it is probably extraordinary complicated to get the sufficient information in Japanese only. If they participate in the NHA and face the duty of taking some positions in the sections coming in rotations, there will be a lot of papers to read and administrate, which seems too much work and not fair for a non-Japanese residents. Therefore, the advantage of engaging in NHA looks not very much. Second, a large majority of foreigners in Mizutake Town are young single persons with busy life style and likes for free individual time. They would prefer using their spare time for their own purpose, thus not much interest in NHA participation is expected. And third and probably the most importantly, the practice of being so close to the belonging community may not be easily accepted by the all nationals, especially those who come from more liberal tradition. The young Japanese who show more inclination towards liberal thinking are, after all, still Japanese who are born in this culture and educated in it. Hence, although some of them do not like to be constrained by the traditional conservative ways of NHA, they know why it is so and how to handle it somehow. However, for the foreigners who are not born in the collectivist or Groupist society, sometimes the Japanese NHA appears to be too undemocratic, and even might feel the repression of their individual rights. Considering these factors, it is comprehensive that there is almost no presence of foreigners in NHA. In fact, during the research, there has not been

observed any foreigner participating in the activities, except some who had children of the age of schooling and came to the events because they were a part of school schedule. Yet, the lack of contact, presence, information and exchanges among foreigner residents and NHA or the Mizutake community as a whole can lead the foreigners' isolation even more. Neither is it desirable to have them marginalized in terms of disaster management, for instance, in the case of natural disasters or other critical incidents that can risk their lives. Unfortunately in the case of Mizutake Town there is only a small number of foreign population and this research could not go further to investigate the obstacles for foreigners and NHA to be more inclusive and open for everyone. Still, in any case, the NHA in Mizutake, and perhaps in all Japan, have to change some practice and make it more accessible and comprehensive for the people from different cultures.

8.5.9. Examples of Activities Lead by NHA and Other Institutions in Mizutake Town

In order to give some examples of events organized by the NHA and other community organizations to grasp the picture of their activities, in this section two examples are given and described: Shintoism shrines visiting and Hokubu Sports Festival. They are good cases to study especially to figure out the inter-dependence of local institutions including NHA, and the vague separation of public and private as well secular and religious spheres.

8.5.9.1. Shintoism Shrine Visiting Event on New Year's Day

Every year on the first day of January (New Year's Day in Japan), Mizutake Town celebrates the "*Minna de arukō kenkō zukuri taikai* (Shintoism Shrine Visiting Event)". It is actually organized by the Hokubu Community Center. It aims to promote the health consciousness among people in Hokubu area by encouraging visiting four shrines (Mizutake

Shrine, Akiba Shrine, Ishiyama Shrine and Kumano Shrine) situated within the area. In Japan, it has the practice of visiting Shintoism temples during the three first days of January (*Hatsumoude*) to pray for the luck and safety for the year, and this event is held on this day following this tradition. It has the tradition of more than 30 years in this area, but some of other places in Gamagōri City organize similar event. Normally there are more than 300 people participated, and the traits of participants are from small children with their parents, school kids with their friends, young and middle age residents to elder people. It starts at 6:00am and the gathering place is the ground of Hokubu Primary School. After the greeting of the representatives of participating organizations such as Hokubu Community Center, teachers of Hokubu Primary School, some from NHA, etc. and worming-up exercise lead by the representative of sports section of NHA, the participants walk about two hours following the 7.5 Km route that covers four shrines. NHA members with appointed posts like sports section representative, women's section, traffic section, and so forth have their task to carry out this event. For instance, the sports section is in charge of lead the route, the traffic section sends members for traffic control, volunteer Fire Company prepares for the case of emergency and women's section cooks and serves the hot sweet sake and sweet soup at four shrines. Moreover, the executive board members of PTA of Hokubu Primary School set the stage and administrative office at the ground of Hokubu Primary School as well as present small gifts for the participants, and the director of Hokubu Primary School gives the last speech to conclude the event. Every year one or more city council members from this area also present there to give public speech, too.

It looks as a great opportunity to revitalize the community and promote the communication and exchange of neighbors of the zones across the generations and institutions. Yet, when referring and challenging the theories of civil society of liberal tradition, it should appear to be a very interesting but complicated example of community development. First of all, there is

practically no borders between the private organizations (NHAs and PTA) and public institutions (Hokubu Primary School and Hokubu Community Center). For instance, if the involvement of Hokubu Primary School is only by renting their facility (ground and school equipment), there should be a lot of such cases in general and this case should not appear to be remarkable. Yet, in the case of this event, the director of Hokubu Primary School (who is paid by the government to educate children but no to serve for the community) is expected her attendance and to give a greeting speech. In addition, there are the mixture of secular entities (NHA, PTA, Hokubu Community Center and Hokubu Primary School) and religious places (four shrines) that take parts of this event. What happens if the members of NHA or PTA with the some responsibilities listed above are believers of different religions other than Shintoism? Are they still expected to fulfill their communal duty before maintaining their faith? On top of that, the politicians of local governance level are given the space to give speech at the (theoretically speaking) non-political and event at non-political place (public school), which does not sound quite right from the perspective of public event setting.

Hence, this event is, without doubt, an excellent occasion to promote and deepen the community development. Still at the same time, the separations of what is public and private, shat is secular and religious, and what is political and neutral are very ambiguous, which put the healthy state of civil society into question. Taking these into consideration, this case is very interesting for our analysis.

8.5.9.2. Hokubu Sports Festival

In Japan, practically all public schools hold the sports festival at least once a year, and some places there is also another sports festival hosted by the community. In the case of Mizutake Town, or better to say in the Hokubu area in which Mizutake is situated, the school

festival day is celebrated together with the community sports day. It is a very rare case, and in fact, Hokubu Primary School is the only school in Gamagōri City to have this practice. For this reason, the sports festival in Hokubu Primary School is always on a Sunday in May and from around 9:00 am until afternoon like 16:00 pm (because of the number of races carried out by the school and the community), whereas other primary schools do them on Saturdays and normally only in the morning. Perhaps it shows the particularly strong relationship between public schools and the community in this area. The place is, of course, the schoolyard of Hokubu Primary School. There are dances and gymnastics as well as sprint races performed by the primary school children for one hand, and other competitions such as ground golf race and obstacles race competed by the residents of this area on the other. In addition, there are also other races operated by the school kids and neighbors together like ball-toss game. There is also a race to roll the structure of bicycle's tire with a stick, which is competed among the schoolteacher's team, PTA team, volunteer fire company team, Hokubu Community Center team, and elders' association team. A safe-traffic promotion march is also done by the representatives of traffic section and school children including those from neighboring Hokubu Kindergarten. One of participants' favorites is the tug-of-war games competed by the all *Zyōkai* teams of the Hokubu area, in which school kids are also included in their corresponding *Zyōkai* teams. The climax of the festival is the *Zyōkai*-match relay competition in which the competitors are selected one from 1st and 2nd grade children of each *Zyōkai*, one from 3rd and 4th, one from 5th and 6th, one from Chūbu Junior High School students of the *Zyōkai*, one from high school aged residents, one from residents in their twentieth, one from in their thirtieth, and one from in their fortieth. Those *Zyōkai* that cannot afford the competitors from the corresponding category cannot form a team, and therefore not possible to participate in the race. There are some *Zyōkai* without enough young generations, so send some runner of their forties or even older to replace them and maintain the

team formation. The preparation, the coordination during the event, and the tidy up of the set up are done by all participated institutions: school teachers and students, PTA, members of NHA, and representatives of Community Center. The competitions and stages performed by the school children are led by the schoolteachers but others participated by the community groups are directed by the members of sports section of NHA. Volunteer Fire Company, which is always suffering the lack of manpower brings the fire truck with uniformed members so that school children can enjoy taking picture with them during the lunch break, and performs the soliciting speech during the event to try to recruit new members. It is truly a community attraction for all residents of the area and serves to promote the interactions among local institutions and people to foster the community networks.

However, here again, when it is analyzed more objectively, it is the very example of mix of private and public territories. The situation for the schoolteachers is a good example to explain it. They are government employees and educate their students following the official curriculum indicated by the Ministry of Education of the Japanese government. At the same time, they are also expected to work together with the staffs from NHAs who are, theoretically speaking, forming a part of civil society, which is normally not included into their job tasks. This joint sports event also last longer when it is compared with the ordinal school sports festival due to the number of races performed, and it needs more coordination with persons from outside of school environment, therefore, more difficulties and problems. One of teachers actually expressed her fatigue although she also told the feeling of fulfillment once it finished. The same happens to those from NHA side, who are not the specialists of students caring or event coordination. Therefore, the management of sports festival is really a severe challenge. A person who was a member of sports section talked about this frustration, especially to bring school students into line with elder people from NHA for a competition. He said because he was not a teacher, he was

not able to yell a command at students. But also he is younger than elder race participants, therefore, he had to respect them and could not order them either. Furthermore, theoretically speaking he is merely a volunteer from a civil organization (NHA) but he has to do the same work as paid schoolteachers do. In this regard, this example of sports festival is a really valuable case to analyze the vague separation of "public" and "private" observed in Mizutake Town and Hokubu area.

8.5.10.　　　　Summary and Observation of the Case Study

This case study gives us numerous interesting points and findings to answer the research questions. In this last section, those observations are examined and reflected by answering the research questions except question 1 which does not appeared to be appropriate for the analysis of this case study.

First, we examine the question 2 and 3 which ask about the NHA's voluntariness of association and the willfulness of NHA members to participate in it. As far as the NHA in Mizutake Town and other NHAs in Gamagōri City, the fact that these receive grants from the city as well as the mode of functioning as a sort of subsidiary entities of the city, in addition to the long history and tradition of interdependent relationship with the local authority appear to be sufficient to deny partially the voluntariness of association. This also leads us to consider the question 5 "how much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?" Though it seems not quite correct to reject the independence of Mizutake NHA totally as theoretically speaking a margin of capacity to develop its own program is left. Yet a considerable degree of its activities are driven by the purposes proposed by the local authority, and the depending structure can be seen oftentimes here and there. In fact, no original and typical activity exclusively done by NHA in Mizutake Town is observed during the research, except the Hokubu Sports Festival, which rather

demonstrate the profound relationship with public sphere and private association more than other areas of Gamagōri. Therefore, the interdependence is very strong, and the lack of voluntariness of association is observed in the case of Mizutake NHA. Regarding the member's willfulness of participation in Mizutake, the unseen social pressure and practice of participating without deep deliberation and reflection is very noticeable. Still, it is also true that there a plenty of advantages provided by the participation in NHA, and they appear to be more than disadvantages. In this case, it can be said that the people participate in NHA voluntarily to some degree. However, it is also important to remind that this is the case of Japanese residents who are born in the collectivist and Groupist culture. They can justify the advantages before the disadvantage of participating in NHA (that can be summarized by the constraining of some liberal values such as free time and protection of privacy). In the case of foreign residents, it may not be so easy to accept such social culture, and probably that is one of the reasons for the low or almost none participation of foreigners in NHA in Mizutake.

The former leads us to give a possible answer to the question 4 about the reasons for not participating in NHAs. Both for the Japanese and foreigners, the foremost reason is the difficulty of accepting too much social responsibility and burden given by engaging in NHA, which are quite opposite of the values praised by the liberalistic values. At the same time, it is also true that the modern busy lifestyle makes it impossible to dedicate moment for the community matters, and those who work far from his residence have really no time left to be involved in the NHA even he wants. Perhaps if the NHA changes internally and search the ways to reduce the duty of members or offer other options to lessen the burden such as work-sharing with another member may open the participation of busy people. Otherwise, the involvement of NHA seems to be an all-or-none game and no compromise options are offered. The possibility of such option is good for both NHA for its maintenance and expansion and for community members to receive the

advantage of engagement as much as possible.

As for the question 6 that examine the functions of NHA, as far as the case of Mizutake NHA is concerned, essentially NHA serves to develop the local community and promote the communication and exchange of neighbors through various events and festivals organized or co-organized by them. In this respect, it also completes the function of generating social capital as proposed in the research question 9. By participating in the events of NHA, trust are generated and norms of reciprocity are strengthened among the members for sure. Furthermore, the NHA also contribute to link the people of different local institutions by the system of concurrent positions. This contributes to the development of Mizutake area definitely. In terms of the role of NHAs for the prevention and survival of natural disasters that has been promoted by the government since the Higashi Nihon Earthquake, in the case of Mizutake Town, no notable movements or activities specialized for this purpose has been observed. However, the creation of social capital as well as the reinforcement of ties among neighbors looks the very base for the mutual help, which eventually leads to the better preparation for disasters and the capacity to cope with them. In this regard, NHA in Mizutake has been taking the indirect but indispensable part for the disaster prevention and management. Still, the demographic situation of Mizutake Town makes it difficult to maintain the role of NHA, and those who are already involved in it have been suffering from overload of positions and responsibilities. Once again, some ways to decrease the burden of members should be discussed and searched to make the situation better while maintain the positive function of NHA.

This issue extends to answer the next research question "7. What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?" The principal answer is the lack of young population mainly for two settings: first for the recruitment of new NHA members, and second for the maintenance of NHA activities. To preserve the NHA active, it needs new and young members who are willing to be

involved in it. Yet, to begin with, there are lesser and lesser young population in Japan in general, so the actual number of candidates is getting small. Then, those young people are busy with their work, family matters, hobbies, etc., thus less time available for NHA engagement. Finally, they are also the generation who are born in more liberal culture and show their likes for more open, modern and democratic values without too much privacy and time constrains. Some of them also prefer to live alone and maintain the social status as single that is quite incompatible can cannot meet the long-last-exiting prerequisite of NHA members to be able to assume the wide range of positions from chief of group, head of women's section to responsible of children's association. These are also applicable for the case of foreigners living in Japan, who can be the perfect candidates for new NHA members since the can provide the young manpower to preserve and even strengthen NHA, and for the foreigners they can establish their presence and importance within the Japanese society. Still, unfortunately, the actual NHAs are not up-dated enough to adopt the modern condition to incorporate people from different generations and cultures. Probably it also needs a huge but painful restructuring of NHA, besides it requires a long time span. Hence, the obstacle that NHAs in Japan and in Mizutake are facing is complicated and not easy to find the solution.

When it comes to the question 8 about the alternation of roles of NHAs, both in case of Mizutake NHA and those of other parts of Japan appear to have been increasing their tasks. Yet, this change does not seem to be caused due to the growth of NHAs' capacity but rather because they are forced to assume more responsibilities that are originally city's or other public institutions' work because those authorities have less and less budget to spend for those, consequently they remove their duty to volunteer manpower. For example, cleaning public parks should be done by city office hiring some personnel. Yet in the case of Mizutake Town, members of children's association are mobilized for it, although it is undeniable that caring their

neighboring playground is a good way to educate children to be responsible for their society. The disaster prevention is another example. Traditionally the state or local authority is thought to be the leading institutions to assure the security of their people. However, they have been recognizing their financial and capacity limits to cover such massive work task, so they are trying to delegate those charges to the local institutions. It is also a part of process for the decentralization of power that promotes and strengthens the community's self-governance. Still, what can be seen questionable is the availability of scope capacity of local institutions, in this case NHA, which has been suffering the lack of membership, consequently shortcoming of manpower, time and fund available. In other words, the public authority is at the marginal state, but NHA is also in a saturated condition. In this situation, increasing roles of NHA rather looks inappropriate and only makes NHA more difficult to develop in a proper way.

The lack of manpower and time is not good for NHA to serve as the "school of democracy" mentioned in the research question 10, either. As far as NHA in Mizutake is concerned, those members who are appointed to some positions are supposed to have opportunities to talk in public, prepare official documents, discuss about the local issues, cooperate with other members and sometimes lead them to conclude a project, etc. Yet, in reality what are observed is rather busy people who are elected to assume positions no matter willingly or not, and struggle only to complete their task assigned by following the ways that former members have done repeatedly so that the time and expense costed can be as small as possible. The arrangement of position appointment by rotations also makes it difficult to promote the development of civil and political skills, because the mandate period which is normally one year is too short. Learning new job and get used to it requires for a while, but in the case of NHA by the time persons with position start handing the task, the work period is already finished and no further occasion available to achieve the level to initiate improving his civil skills. Developing civil and political skills costs time and

demand stable environment and patient. The rushing atmosphere of position engagements in Mizutake NHA does not seem facilitate the member's acquisition of civil and political skills.

The possible contribution of NHAs for the growth of interest in politics looks negative in this case study, too. Although the wide range of activity done by Mizutake NHA has a lot to do with education, environmental issues, local politics, disaster prevention, concerns on aging society, etc., people of NHA talk and discuss about them practically never while working or participating in the activities. Improving regular activities or initiating new projects are not of their interest, besides no time and human resources available to spend for it. If any, they will be used to foster the personal connections and community communication, but not to debate on political issues. "Do what one should do, no more but no less" attitude is observed everywhere in Mizutake NHA. In such atmosphere, the development of interest in politics seems impossible to be expected.

Finally, we want to analyze whether NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan. In the case of NHA in Mizutake Town, the answer is, it has the basic structure, margin and capacity to develop the democratic values among members, however in reality, there are too many obstacles that constrain the positive schemes. Despite the interdependence with local authorities and deep connections with public institutions, there are still some space left for NHA for the use of improvement of self-governance and democratic values generation. However, the problem is the undemocratic cultural practices and tradition, as well as the complex conditions that modern society suffers. The Japanese collectivist and Groupist culture is not always compatible with liberal democratic norms. Aging population makes NHA difficult to maintain the activities and lack of young people in NHA even foments unwanted and sometimes undemocratic rules like position appointment by rotation and concurrent posts. Lack of members and lack of time leaves no room for members to develop either their civil and political skills, or interest in

politics. On top of that, the danger of natural disasters and the needs of mutual help in those cases of emergency justify the importance of neighbors' tie, thus forced involvement in NHA. Taking those into consideration, from this case study of NHA in Mizutake Town, NHA is not playing the central role to promote the democracy, rather it has been serving for other purposes such as strengthening personal connections and neighborhood ties.

8.6. Summary of the Chapter

This chapter analyzed qualitatively the roles of NHA. We picked up one case of NHA in Mizutake Town in Gamagōri City, Aichi Prefecture, to add more details to the general picture on NHAs we gained from the quantitative analyses in Chapter 7, and to find possible causes and reasons for the findings of quantitative studies. By describing the inner system of self-governance in Mizutake NHA, we found several particular traits that this NHA holds, concretely the position assignment by rotations and concurrent posts system. Externally speaking, the deep relationship among Gamagōri City authority, local institutions including public schools and NHA was remarkable. Yet, we figured out that the aging society is a crucial issue in the case of Mizutake NHA, as well as the recent modern tendency toward preference of liberalistic values endanger the persistence and further development of NHA. Those obstacles also keep NHA away from functioning as the "school of democracy" or generator of democratic value, although it is indispensable for the creation and deepening of personal ties among neighbors. This chapter enables us to learn both positive and negative factors of NHA in Mizutake Town.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

9.1.   Introduction

This research aimed to study the role of NHAs for the promotion of democracy with quality in Japan. It has taken steps to consider the theories to develop a better democratic society, produce several research questions on the basis of former studies, and test them by analyzing empirically data sets quantitatively as well as exploring a case qualitatively. In this final chapter, a brief review of what this work has done and the evaluation remarks are presented to conclude the research.

The first part of this study from chapter 2 to chapter 5 was devoted for the theoretical framework. We started to overview the history, philosophy and theories of democracy. Plentiful scholars have given a lot of thoughts on democracy; some from the view point of philosophy of democracy, some by studying the conditions to arrive and consolidate democracy, and some by looking at the ways to deepen democracy. This study has concentrated on the approaches for democratic improvement from the bottom to upper level, and they are examined carefully one by one in chapter 2. In addition, we considered the nexus between liberalism and democracy as well as the questions of relationship between state and civil society by studying the arguments on communitarianism. This operation served to acquire a good theoretical foundation of democracy, and at the same time gave us opportunity to contemplate the assumptions of cultural background these theories hold, namely the Western liberal culture. To challenge this premise and approaches for the improvement of democracy from the different point of view, we have chosen the Asian perspective, concretely East Asian mind set, and evaluated the influence of Confucianism over democracies in East Asia in the chapter 3. Several studies and descriptions

on East Asian societies are presented to explore the importance of community, and consequently priority of community before individual, responsibility before rights and preference of harmony rather conflict, were described in this chapter. In order to reduce our research target more, we have picked up the case of Japan and its democracy in the chapter 4. The basic information as well as the particularities of Japanese democracy were presented. The case of Japan appeared to be interesting because of its own democratic evolution, influence of both Western liberalism and Asian Confucianism, in addition the culture of so called "Groupism" which can be described as the middle of Western liberal and Asian Confucian practices. The following chapter 5 institute to study about neighborhood associations (NHAs) that is one types of civil organizations, to study further the possible roles of civil society for the creation of better democracy. This chapter on NHAs also has served to narrow down the applicable theories for this study so that the objective of this research become even clearer and more definite, and at the same time to give more focus on the question of relationship between private liberal individual, public authoritative entities and community that lies between those two spheres. The general description and definition on NHAs were presented first and the details of NHAs in Japan followed to give us the basic knowledge on them in this chapter.

After providing the theoretical part, the second half of this study was about the empirical research. First, the research framework was given in chapter 6 to determine the research objectives and to list the 12 research questions, which would be reviewed and answered in this conclusion part later. All questions were to reflect the theories and previous researches presented in the first part, furthermore, to concentrate on the analysis of NHAs in Japan. Then, the adaptation of research methods, concretely the quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis were explained to justify the used data sets and cases as well as each methodology. Following two chapters (chapter 7 and 8) were the main bodies of empirical studies of this work. First, the

chapter 7 treated four different data sets that enabled us to explore the Japanese civil associations and NHAs in particular quantitatively. The data from National Survey of Lifestyle Preferences (NSLP) by the Cabinet Office of Government of Japan tested whether the willfulness of participating in civil voluntary associations influenced the rise of interest in politics, and found out the negative correlation between no-willfulness of participation and the degree of political interest in the case of Japanese males. The second resource was the Report on the Studies for Further Community Policy in Urban Areas (RSFCPUA) provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communication (MIC) enabled us to carry out the various descriptive analyses on wide range of topics about NHAs in Japan's urban areas. It demonstrated the remarkably high rate of NHAs participation in comparison with other civil associations even in urban areas. Yet, at the same time, it unveiled the frequent and strong atmosphere of social pressure or obligation for the NHA involvement, which left us to cast doubt about the assumption of free and voluntary association of NHAs. It also showed some changes of opinion towards NHAs and ties among neighbors, basically revaluation of the role of NHAs and the recognition of the importance of community connections after the experience of Higashi Nihon Earthquake. The third analysis was on the Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) data from JGSS-2000 to JGSS-2012. It helped us to grasp the general traits of NHAs in Japan, and furthermore, the question about the role of NHAs for the development of social capital and political behavior such as sense of political efficacy and voting. As for the tendency of NHA involvement, JGSS data also showed the high enrolment in NHA when compared with other civil organizations. Still, when it came to social capital and politics, no relevant positive role of NHAs over these variables were observed. JGSS-2012's preliminary reports facilitated us to observe some opinion changes towards neighborhood ties, which was in accord with the findings of analysis on RSFCPUA. Finally Asian Barometer Survey (ABS) offered us the possibility to carry on several regression

analyses to measure the role of NHAs on social capital, rise of interest in politics and political participation. It discloses the limited but positive role of NHAs to increase the level of trust among neighbors, the degree of interests for local politics, and the frequency of some of locally-based political actions. Thus ABS helped us to identify the role of NHAs for the specific issues relating to politics. Lastly, the chapter 8 was assigned for the quantitative analysis. Concretely it treated a case of NHA of Mizutake Town of Gamagōri City, Aichi Prefecture. It enabled us to study a particular case in depth to not just collect the rich and dense information on that NHA, but also to search the possible causes and reasons for some of findings gained from the quantitative analyses as well as the issues mentioned in former studies. By describing the NHA in Mizutake Town, some of interesting practices and customs to maintain the functioning of Mizutake NHA were found. Particularly we concentrated on the analyses of position appointment by rotations, system of concurrent posts and profound and interdependent relationships with other public and private local institutions including public schools, Shintoism shrines, and Community Center. The silent social pressure to be involved in NHA was observed in the Mizutake case, too. Moreover the ambiguous or sometimes no borders among private and public institutions that might appear to be the intervention of public authority into the private space of individual citizens were recognized frequently. All these threw many questions on the assumptions free choice of association that theories of civil society and social capital maintained. At the same time, we could understand some of the causes and backgrounds for these realities such as the communitarian or Groupist Japanese culture that lead to the vague separation of public and private, or private, state and religious spheres, and the modern social problems such as aging population, lack of young people, inclusion of foreign residents and penetration of liberal values. It enabled us to recognize the difficulty and complexity of issues around the roles, functioning, traditions, and changes of NHA in the modern society.

The following sections of this chapter have tried to resume the findings of this research. We begin with answering the research questions.

9.2.   Answers to Research Questions

1.   *Does willfulness to participate in voluntary associations matters to rise political interest of people in Japan?*

The direct answer drown from this study is the findings from NSLP analysis, which confirmed the weak but negative influence of no-willfulness of voluntary activity participation over the growth of interest in politics. Still, other analyses, especially the qualitative analysis added some observations on the willfulness of civil activity participation and the interest in social and political matters. As far as the NHA involvement in Mizutake Town is concerned, the foremost reasons to have no-willfulness of participation appeared to be the social pressure of NHA engagement, preference for liberal values, and the lack of time to devote for such activity. Under these circumstances, what have been observed was that, the people participate in NHAs without much will because they were obliged to enroll, moreover to take responsible positions by rotation or other reasons, so they tried to be involved as less as possible. This attitude constrained them to only fulfil their assigned duty but no further than that. Consequently, taking actions to develop or improve their NHA, their closest belonging social unit, is out of question, let alone to be interested in larger issues such as politics in general. The lack of interest in politics is a common problem in other modern societies, which is probably caused partially by the inclination toward liberalism, too. Still, what appeared to be more characteristic for the Japanese society, especially for the rural areas such as Mizutake Town is the persistent social obligation for community issues

that take the willfulness of NHA involvement away. In addition, the lack of time caused by the busy lifestyle as well as the shortfall of young manpower is serious both in rural and urban places in Japan, and that also expedite the no-willfulness of NHA participation, and consequently indifference for politics of community, eventually politics in general. In this regard, a little bit of leeway for matters relating to NHA, for instance the margin of choice, scope of action and time allowance for participation may increase the willfulness of NHA participation, and accordingly the rise of interest in politics.

2. Are NHAs truly voluntary associated in Japan?

Several findings of this research unveil that in many cases in different places NHAs are organized not very voluntary but rather because of state promotion, social rule, community tradition or other involuntary reasons. Legally and officially speaking, NHAs are associated voluntary by the free will of members. However, historically speaking they were mobilized by the central government for the sake of facilitating administration and later controlling Japanese citizens for the wars. In the post-war era, NHAs have lost their role for a while. Yet during and after the babble economy, they regained the presence but rather artificially manipulated by the central and local authorities to serve as their subsidiaries once again although not controlled totally by them as once had been during the war. This history of NHAs also live along with the long-lasting perpetual Japanese culture of Confucian communitarianism and Japanese Groupism, which is still seen as the silent social pressure for the NHA enrolment. At the same time, there must be reasons for the survival of Japanese collectivist culture, consequently the continuity of NHAs, and one of the reasons is the continuous danger of natural disasters represented by the mortal huge earthquakes. This nation's natural condition demands neighbors

to cooperate and work together to prepare, handle and overcome the disasters. Symbolically NHAs stand the center of a community to unite residents for this purpose. When people recognized this function of NHAs, they may be associated more voluntary collecting the free will of neighboring residents. Still, at this moment, it seems that other involuntary factors predominate the means to organize NHA, therefore, the voluntariness of association is still hard to be proved.

3. *Do the Japanese people participate in NHAs willfully?*

The involuntariness of NHA organization also lead members of NHAs to be involved in them not willfully. According to the results of this research, the remarkably high percentage of NHA involvement comes not from the will of people but rather by the social pressure or by other involuntary factors such as resident occupancy condition, etc. The local authorities also strongly promote the NHA participation for those who recently move into the new areas. Thus, there are numerous elements that deny the willfulness of NHA participation in Japan. Still, on the other hand, from this study, we have also observed some occasions when people participate in NHAs willfully, especially it is remarkable after the Higashi Nihon Earthquake that gave the Japanese opportunity to recognize the importance of local and neighborhood ties. Although the most of quantitative analyses of this research demonstrated almost no or only slight change of NHA enrolment rates before and after this natural disaster, this discreet yet important alternation of consciousness is valuable to mention. After all the statistical numbers only showed the number of NHA membership and not the degree of willfulness of participation. There might be some changes of feeling to belong to NHA among the NHA already-participating members in recent years; some could increase the sense of willfulness of NHA participation by noticing the

importance of NHA and proud of being in it. In fact, the willfulness is something changeable. One may start engaging NHA without much will at first, but later this negative and passive attitude toward involvement may be altered to a positive and active advocacy by some circumstances such as making good friends within NHA, being able to extend ties with neighbors to his business chance, obtaining securer living place, or being able to survive natural catastrophe thanks to the help of NHA. NHAs have this potential to increase the willingness of participation, and they should develop this capacity for their maintenance and improvement.

4.   If not why people participate in NHAs?

From the findings of this work, it appeared that the foremost reason for the unwilling participation in NHAs appeared the social pressure and local practice of NHA engagement that most of places in Japan maintain. If these are unwritten social framework, the recent and modern environment that drive people to be engaged to NHA is more legal and materialistic, and the symbolic case is represented by the written resident occupancy condition. Although theoretically speaking NHAs are voluntary association that cannot force people to join them, oftentimes NHAs work a sort of local authorities' subsidiaries and being delegated the responsibility of social service such as collecting garbage and cleaning parks. Practically all people need to discard rubbish, or take a walk in park for refreshing, but they may not be allowed to do so if they are not NHA members or NHAs that are in charge of these services may be able to deny the access of non-NHA members. In these cases, residents have no option but to accept to be a NHA member because the living condition oblige to do so. The structure of shifting social service responsibility from local authority to NHA produce such cases, and thus, there are numerous reasons to be involved in NHA in Japan, no matter willfully or not.

5. How much are NHAs in Japan independent from state or local authorities?

Maybe one of the most peculiar and particular traits of Japanese NHAs is the fact that have very profound connections with the state or local authorities. From the literature review on NHA history and policies relating to them, in addition the results of quantitative and qualitative studies, this research confirmed the inseparable depending relationship among NHAs and the state as well as local authorities. Furthermore, as far as the case of Mizutake Town ins concerned, not only the authorities, but also the public institutions work very closely and tightly with NHAs, to the degree that the border of these institutions are already hard to identify. Thick connections and frequent collaboration among locally-based institutions such as NHA, schools, local associations, religious temples etc. are good for the development of community, and especially for the occasion of disasters survival. Yet, excessive intermingling of public and private interests, particularly when it is done for the purpose of cost cutback does not look beneficial for the community improvement or creation of healthy civil society. Unfortunately, as far as the observations gained from this work is concerned, the rigid relationship between NHAs and authorities are rather the latter reason, therefore, not favorable for the promotion of robust civil society with the potential to be the "school of democracy".

6. What are main functions of NHAs in the Japanese society?

The principal functions of NHAs in Japan look, in short, positively speaking the heart of community, but negatively speaking the branch of local authority. NHA covers a wide range of works and issues relating to the local community from the garbage collection, election promotion,

transmission of civil information, disaster prevention, caring of vulnerable people such as elders and children, and more. In these years, the weight for the disaster prevention and management sounds increasing within the listed functions of NHAs, and it is due to the experience of Higashi Nihon Earthquake. The tendency of increasing of NHA responsibility had confirmed from our analyses, and it looks like coming from the financial and capacity limit of public authorities to handle these issues. For this reason, the NHA's function of "subsidiary of public authority" has been reinforced. Apparently this shift should be welcomed because it promotes the independence of NHA, enhance the capacity of community's self-governance, and train the NHA members to be more responsible for their living community, but only if a NHA holds the margin of development and sufficient resource for capacity enlargement. These conditions are indispensable for the true improvement of NHA. Yet unfortunately, generally speaking, no NHAs in Japan afford this quality at this moment due to some serious social and cultural problems, which will be explained by answering the next question.

7.   *What are problems NHAs in Japan facing currently?*

Basically, there are two problems that NHAs in Japan are suffering: the social problem and cultural problem. As for the social problem, the central problem is the aging population, and consequently the lack of young manpower. The young generations are naturally busy with their study or job. In addition, in the modern society, people are not necessary living and working in the same town, therefore the commuting time consumes the free time to spend for other purposes such as community involvement. Besides, the liberal and competitive market promote the flexible working time and day, which also drives some people to work on Saturday, Sunday and holidays, which are traditionally days off for everyone and when NHAs' activities were held.

On top of that, the activities of NHAs are still design under the assumption that all households are consisted of a working father living close to his office, a housewife mother available to attend meetings on weekdays and assuming the charges of women's association, with some children to participate the children's association activities, and desirably their grandparents living close to the young family to take care of family members when the father or the mother has to work for NHA on days off even in early morning or late evening. But such family condition is not real anymore; the dominant family model is the two incomes nuclear families without or only one child, and single person or single parent household are not rare any longer. Taking these into consideration, not just because young people do not want to but also they cannot to be involved and completed duties in the NHAs. There is no longer new membership available, but the amount of responsibilities and work NHAs hold increase more and more. The small number of young members in NHA undergo the overloading of tasks. Accordingly this situation either discourage a few new member candidate to join NHA or strengthen the undemocratic and conservative manner of membership obligation. This social condition is making NHAs difficult to maintain the original practice nowadays. As far as the cultural issue is concerned, the penetration of values of liberalism is unavoidable in the modern Japanese society. People from new generations claim strongly individual's fundamental rights more than older generations, therefore the unconditional acceptation of communal duties for the sake of collective good is not always acceptable for them. They prefer to enjoy their rights to associate people they want when they need. Moreover, those who share this tendency is not the Japanese youth, but also the increasing number of foreign newcomers who resident in Japan. Ultimately this is the complex conflict of the tradition of liberalism that values the individual rights more against the practice of Asian Confucian communitarianism which search the harmony of community. However, the most difficult part of this argument for the case of Japanese society is the continuous danger of natural

disasters, most notably earthquakes, which is, at this moment, much more than the control ability of human beings. These cannot avoid by the use of science or advancement of liberal values, and the only way to minimize the damage and pains caused by them is to associate with near people to help mutually, not only among family members but also with their neighbors. This is the very reason NHAs still exist despite of their contra-liberal, conservative, traditional, closed and undemocratic practices and structures. NHAs need to pursue the balance between rights and responsibility, individual and community, as well as freedom and discipline in order to fulfil their function in the modern Japanese society.

8.   Are there changes of role of NHAs in Japan?

From this research, no tremendous changes of role of NHAs are observed both in local area and nationwide level. However the slight changes towards more responsibilities for NHAs were notable also in both environments. They are facing challenges to assume more tasks from public authorities that cover practically all aspects of life of residents of different generations; child caring for little kids and their parents, traffic control for school kids, taking care of elder residents, security patrol and fire controlling for all residents of the area, etc. On top of that, NHAs are expected to act as the principal leader to prepare, prevent and manage natural disasters. In reality all these tasks are much more than a NHA can afford. Because after all, NHA is only a voluntary associated organization consisted by non-professional but only normal people just happened to live next door. In order to complete the old and new roles that NHAs assume by the available members, an appropriate allocation of task as well as the active recruitment of new young members seems indispensable.

9.   Do NHAs promote social capital in Japan?

From the quantitative and qualitative analyses, it appeared that NHAs serve to generate social capital to some extent, concretely locally-limited social capital. In some NHAs, their activities promote the communication among neighboring residents, increase the level of trust, and at the same time train them to accept the norms of reciprocity. Yet, they are rooted too deeply to the local or community issues, which does not take them out to other geographical, social or political dimensions. Hence, it appeared that the range of interest and consciousness in important issues that NHA members care, remain at the communal and local level, or city level at most. It also looks that the lack of time to devote for NHA activities does not contribute to make the best of the potential that NHAs have to promote social capital.

10.   Do NHAs promote civil and political skills in Japan?

Similar to the pervious observation, the contribution of NHAs for the acquisition of civil and political skills looks limited. Members of NHAs may be able to develop the civil and political skills such as talk in front of a small audience (through NHAs meetings) and collaborate with others (by organizing events). Yet, their activities do not go beyond their original tasks that are handed over every year to complete the same schedule and same work. Therefore, actually there is no need to discuss on new issues to improve the NHA activities or the organization itself. In addition, NHA members are normally busy with their work or family business, thus they are not so willing to spend extra time to initiate changes or involved in the NHA deeply anyway. Under such circumstance, it sounds that the acquirable kinds of civil and political skills are limited.

11. Do NHAs contribute to the growth of interest in politics in Japan?

The answer to this question is also comparable with the former questions. The participation in NHAs helps to increase the interest in politics to some degree, specifically what is related to the local or communal politics. Yet it is not enough to extend interest to the level of politics of whole nation or international sphere drastically. It is actually a shame because as we have observed, NHAs treat a wide range of social and political issues deeply connected to our day by day life, therefore there are many common issues debated in the national politics such as childcare and schoolings, caring of elder people, strategies of disaster prevention, etc. There should be plenty of opportunity to discuss about them among members when they get together. In fact, some of our analyses demonstrated that people gain the interest in local politics by participating in NHAs, which means that they have been offering the chance to touch local affairs and probably opportunity to discuss about them with other members, too. So why not to go beyond and caring about the further issues to include more topics on politics of national or international level? One of the possible reasons appears to be the lack of time as we have mentioned over and over. A bit more time to spend for the community matters, NHA activities and to share time with members to exchange opinions and discussions might be beneficial for the Japanese society to awaken people's interest in politics and revitalize the stuck politics.

12. Do NHAs contribute to the fostering of democracy in Japan?

The straightforward observation for this final research question, which is also the main theme of this research, is that theoretically and internally NHAs in Japan have the potentiality to foster the democracy. Yet the advantages are not appropriately or sufficiently taken. In addition,

there are some external factors that have been obstacles for the promotion of democracy. Regarding the internal potentiality, despite the considerable interdependent relationship with public authorities that cast doubt on the autonomy of NHA as one of civil organizations, NHAs in Japan are eventually a voluntary associated local-based organization with the acceptable structure equivalent to other civil voluntary associations. They are supposed to treat a wide range of social and sometimes even political issues that would be advantageous to call members' interests in those matters as well as train them to acquire social and political skills necessary for a responsible citizen. In addition, theoretically speaking they offer the ideal settings for the generation of social capital. The types of members affordable are can be as wide and varied as possible because the only condition to be NHA members is that they live in the same area; they can be from young to older people, with family or single, from diverse professions and not only Japanese but also other nationalities. The frequency of meeting due to the distance closeness of residents would be favorable to deepen the personal connections that would lead the development of trust as well. In short, presumably the Japanese NHAs has possibility to foster the democracy in Japan. Despite that, there are several external factors that affect negatively and constrain the prospect of NHA for making of better democracy. For one hand, some social problems like aging population and lack of young people makes it impossible for NHAs to develop themselves on their own, but rather to depend more on the public authorities or vice versa. Lack of human resource force members to bear more activity burden and responsibility, hence no time and margin to develop social capital further, being trained to acquire more social or political skills, or being involved deeply to cultivate interest in bigger political and social issues. Therefore, the assumed positive chain civil society theory or social capital theory claim do not work under the condition that Japanese NHAs live. For the other side, ultimately some part of Japanese culture still hold a strong root in the Asian communitarian or Japanese Groupist way of

behavior. Members of NHAs are already get used to try to fulfil their communal duties instead of enjoying exercise their right to free association. Social harmony must be maintained even the privacy of members are sometimes intervened by the NHA. The internal atmosphere of NHA remains closed and conservative ways; there are practically no dynamics but to repeat the same tasks at same schedule of every year so that the already-made harmony will not be interrupted. The background of members can be actually varied and differed generation often sit together to carry out events and meetings. Yet, the true communication and exchange of opinions are very rare, and the atmosphere of closed and hierarchical order does not contribute to promote the internal democracy either (members will not bother changing it because they are busy with tasks anyway). Those who do not like this kind of unchangeable or undemocratic environment refrain from joining NHA and they are normally young generations with more liberalistic mind or foreigners who do not share the Groupist tradition. Therefore, no new stimulation to democratize the NHAs internally enter and they remain as they are. From these two reasons, it is rather difficult to evaluate positively the contribution of NHAs for the strengthening of healthy democracy.

Still, NHAs in Japan also have the most important mission, which is to function as the core institution for preparation, survival and management of natural disasters. To complete this function, ironically speaking, perhaps the traditional and conservative Groupist discipline is rather useful and preferable to maintain the social order on the occasion of crisis. In this case, the suitability of democracy to the Japanese society may need to be discussed, yet it seems too much and it goes much further than what this research aims.

To finish answering the last research question by suggesting some solution so that NHAs can contribute for the fostering of democracy, it seems that some internal development will be possible and favorable. Realistically speaking, to overcome the social problem of aging society is

unmanageable by normal citizens and the cultural problem of crash of liberalism and Groupism needs a lot of thoughts and debates that would last for decades. The margin and reachable option left is to change the internal practice and atmosphere of NHA little by little so that the unenrolled young people can feel comfortable to be in NHA. Some ideas such as task sharing, shortening of position period, or flexible schedule for NHA activities and events may be able to attract the new members. Some actions to welcome foreigners are also needed, for instance, information written in easy Japanese or other languages would be helpful. The incorporation of office or factory workers of the area to the local NHA is also an idea to vitalize NHA as well as to include more the young human resources. From the perspective of disaster management, it is also very beneficial because natural disasters can happen any time anywhere (not only on weekends or holidays) and the new plan to receive workers of the corresponding area and cooperate together among not only residents but also workers is indispensable. By adding the new trend into NHAs, the democratization of NHAs would progress little by little and would be able to find the proper balance between the good values of liberalism and positive practice of Asian communitarianism.

9.3. Contribution of the Research

This research has contributed to advance the study of democracy and NHAs for mainly three reasons.

First, it challenged the assumptions of theories of democracy improvement that are mostly developed within the Western Liberal tradition. A vast majority of former researches are also done by using the empirical data from Western materials and non-Western societies are less tested. In this sense, this study has contributed to examine the universalism of theories, or other way round, the limit of regional particularism or exceptionalism. Putting in other words, it is also a

crash of Western Liberalism and Asian communitarianism, or further Japanese Groupism. The findings have demonstrated the both features. For one hand, to some extent the what the theories of civil society claims, namely the possible positive role of civil voluntary associations for the creation of better democracy, have been proved using the data from Japan to some degree. On the other hand, some other parts of these theories, especially the question of individual's free will to participate in a civil association or the independence of voluntary association from the state authority appeared to be inappropriate for the case of Japan. The preference to community harmony than claiming rights for private life has also been observed. In this case, the regional exceptionalism is better fit to analyze the Japanese society. In any case, being able to observe a society from two different viewpoints strengthen the validity and advantage of this study.

Secondly, this work analyzed the Japanese NHAs both quantitatively and qualitatively. Until recently, studies on NHAs in Japan are dominated primary by case studies and only a few quantitative researches have been done. It is still difficult to find appropriate quantitative social survey data for the use of academic research, especially those which include the relevant variables to study about the NHAs and democracy. In this regard, although this research had to adopt the findings from various bits of different data sets, it has been able to give a lots of important sights around the theme of NHAs and democracy in addition to other topics such as natural disasters. The use of quantitative analysis could strengthen and deepened the findings from the quantitative analyses to explore the backgrounds of results of quantitative analyses. By combining two different methodologies, it also enabled us to grasp the overall reality of NHAs in Japan and promote better and integrated understanding of them. A qualitative study on NHAs from the perspective of politics and democracy was also something different from the most of previous descriptive case studies, thus in this sense this research also contribute to explore the new field to the case study on NHAs.

Finally, this research examined the influence of Higashi Nihon Earthquake over the NHAs, or more widely the relationship between NHAs and natural disasters in Japan. Periodical yet unpredictable catastrophes have been shaping and changing the customs of Japan, and these also affect the practice of NHAs. They sometimes have stronger power than value trends or culture to explain a social phenomenon. The cost and damage brought by the Higashi Nihon Earthquake in 2011 was tremendous and serious enough to cause several social change and the alternation of expectation for the roles of NHAs were partially caused by this disaster. It has passed more than five years since then and the changes of NHAs have appeared in the statistical data as well as stable aspects of everyday life of Japanese people. Examining the influence of Higashi Nihon Earthquake to NHAs was timely and appropriate theme to study to re-evaluate the functions and problems of NHAs once again to prepare for the future. Hence, this research has contributed to deepen the study on the mission of NHAs and disaster in Japan.

9.4.　Limits of the Research

Though this research tried to cover a wide range of topics relating to NHAs and democracy from varied angles, it must admit the limit of research. In terms of literature review, the area of civil society and natural disaster has not been discovered enough yet. It might be convenient to widen views to other fields of study such as risk management studies or anthropological approaches. When it comes to the quantitative data, this research could not reach an aggregate potential single data set to examine all variables of interest. Instead, it had to opt to collect bits of analysis results of different data to complement the arguments. The data available did not allow us to complete the analyses of time series variation of NHAs sufficiently either. Yet, what has been done in this work was the only way to overcome the shortcoming of reachable compelling single social survey. Hopefully the importance of potential social survey

data is recognized more and it becomes accessible for further research in the future. Finally, as for the number of cases used, this study concentrated only on the case of Japanese society. However, NHAs exist in numerous societies of diverse countries. By comparing other NHAs from different cultures or customs, the peculiarities of Japanese NHAs might be emphasized more, or contrary the similar practice of NHAs in Japan might be found in different countries. Even within Japan, there should be a variety of NHAs with their own characteristics and problems, yet this work could only provide a case of Mizutake NHA. More case analyses would have been desirable to strengthen the arguments developed in this work; it would unveil more interesting features of studying NHAs as one of civil organizations, and throw new sight to this study field. In terms of NHAs and natural disasters, there are plentiful places in the world that suffer from all sorts of natural disasters like typhoon, hurricanes, flood, wood fire, etc. and different sites might develop their own civil voluntary associations to control and fight against such catastrophes. Supposedly they are also influenced and shaped by their culture, history, geography, philosophy and sets of values, so that the fundamental paradigm used in this research might be useful or other way round not be justified. In addition, by studying different cases, again the advantages and disadvantages of Japanese NHAs might be clearly more and clues to improve them might be found. Unfortunately however, it would also require a lot of work and time. This research could not afford amplifying the research targets more than one country, and we recognize that this is one of lamentable limits of this research.

9.5.　　Needs for Further Research

There are two questions that would be interesting to deepen for the further research. First, the issue over the universalism of theories and regional particularism or exceptionalism is the long-debated theme, which would never end or be sufficiently discussed. Although the world

become internationalized more and more, and consequently the unification of culture and values

looks have been happening in many respects of many countries and cultures. Yet, the frequent

and active exchanges of things and people also sometimes encourage the needs for regression

to their own culture and values, therefore the existence of diversity of values and cultures would

never disappear. Therefore, it is always valuable to reflect the changes in societies and

re-examine or sometimes question the importance as well as the assumptions of established

theories and fundamental philosophy. In this research, we challenged the significance of

Western liberalism and Asian Communitarianism from the frameworks of the theories of

democracy, civil society and social capital, by picking up especially the NHAs. Although the

debates on Asian particularism looks out of fashion and the studies on civil society and social

capital has passed the peak, we believe the re-evaluation of those are always meaningful.

Hence, not necessary active and remarkable but constant and stable researches for established

theories and well-known philosophy should be welcomed from now on, too.

Secondly, as mentioned in the previous section, more researches to extend the variety of

target society and amplify the number of cases to compare with the role of NHAs in Japan will be

valuable, not only to widen the studies on NHAs in general but also in terms of research on

disaster management. This research could only treat the NHAs in Japan quantitatively by a few

sets of data and one qualitative case study. More quantitative study using different data

resources will enable us to learn more about Japanese NHAs, and more case studies

considering different areas, demography, social and political situation and so forth will permit us

to discover different traits of NHAs. In addition, extending the interest in NHAs or similar types of

civil associations in other countries quantitatively and qualitatively will give us opportunity to

stretch the study on social capital and civil society, together with the advancement of search for

better democracy. From the perspective of disaster management, this kind of international

comparison on the role of civil voluntary associations and natural disasters will be very valuable and fundamental in order to lessen the damages and loss caused by them. In short, there seems a lot to do regarding to this research field.

9.6. Final Remarks

This research aimed to study the wide and essential concept of democracy from the approaches of civil society and social capital theories. Yet, it also tried to add the debate of Western liberalism and Asian communitarianism, further, Japanese Groupism into those themes. The empirical studies using the Japanese NHAs as research target showed us interesting findings to confirm the validity of theories for some points, but also captured the particularities of non-liberal society for other aspects, as well as the considerable influence of natural disasters in the case of Japanese society. After all, studying democracy is very complex, hence, the adaptation to each society by taking varied factors is crucial for the better analysis.

Democracy is the most acceptable mean of governing and Japan has achieved to establish it as political system for in a measure. Yet, democracy does not finish once it is installed, rather the journey to pursue the better quality of democracy never ends. It also have to find an appropriate way to incorporate the local and indigenous culture, in addition to search means to compromise the balance between individual rights and collective good. Democracy is also something that should be exercise not only the national politics level but also at the very local and communal level of everyday life. Moreover, it is not only for adult but even children have to learn to handle little fights and quarrel democratically, hence the acquisition of skills for democracy is indispensable for all generation. In essence, democracy is not something strange and of no interest, but it is a basic issue for all of us. By approaching democracy from the grass-root level, hopefully this research has contributed for all types of readers to understand the

principle of democracy and encourage them to be one of actors for the development of better

democracy.

Resumen en español

1. Introducción

Democracia es la forma de gobernación más usada y más aceptada en el mundo contemporáneo. Desde los países occidentales como los de Europa y América, hasta los países no occidentales en Asia, África y otras partes del mundo, la gran mayoría de la población global cree que la democracia liberal es el mejor mundo, o por lo menos, menos malo para vivir, puesto que los derechos humanos fundamentales y las libertades se respetarán, además al mismo tiempo, las promesas de bien común se reconocerán también bajo el sistema democrático.

Sin embargo, en las sociedades contemporáneas, existen problemas sociales graves como indiferencia política, corrupción, individualismo extremo, etc., que hacen que la democracia pierda su dinámica y calidad: democracia vacía. Para que ella esté activa y viva, algunos estudios políticos contemporáneos evalúan el papel positivo de asociaciones voluntarias de sociedad civil como motor de democracia recogiendo la participación y voz de los ciudadanos.

No obstante, la democracia sostenida por valores y culturas favorables varía de un país a otro por estar influenciada por las personas en los que viven, por las propias costumbres, creencias, condiciones sociales, políticas, geográficas y otros factores. ¿En qué medida la democracia liberal es universal? ¿Las formas de las asociaciones civiles voluntarias son iguales? Y si hay variedad, ¿la democracia como consecuencia de los esfuerzos por las asociaciones civiles resulta diferente?

La presente tesis doctoral aborda estas cuestiones seleccionando el caso de la sociedad japonesa y centrándose en analizar el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas.

2. Democracia y la participación civil: el punto de vista occidental y el asiático

La democracia es aplicable en diferentes niveles de la sociedad. Es reconocido más

como la forma de gobernar un país, pero la democracia es realizable e importante en otros niveles sociales, como dentro de una asociación cívica, en el ambiente de trabajo, dentro de un aula escolar, en una comunidad, etc. Las prácticas y costumbres democráticas en los grupos cercanos pueden contribuir a la generación de la cultura democrática, que pueden llegar a generar y mantener una nación democrática. Por lo tanto, los ciudadanos de países democráticos deben tener las habilidades, conocimientos e intereses necesarios para vivir en un ambiente democrático.

No obstante, la democracia no termina su trayecto de desarrollo una vez ha llegado a un país para establecer las reglas democráticas. Más bien, la democracia es algo que tenemos que cultivar día tras día para mantener o incluso profundizar su calidad. A saber, la democracia es una cuestión para todos nosotros y para todos los días. Es un empeño que no tiene fin.

Sin embargo, en la sociedad contemporánea, la democracia "vacía" es un problema grave para muchos países democráticamente consolidados (Crozier, Huntington y Watanuki, 1975). En estos países, aparentemente el estado gira alrededor del sistema democrático y la política y la sociedad están relativamente estables. Pero en realidad, la política democrática se deja en manos de una minoría de personas como son políticos, funcionarios de alto nivel, poderes económicos, entre otros, para conservar lo que hay actualmente, y el resto de la gente se queda desmotivado y desinteresado para poder participar activamente en ella, a pesar de que ese resto también son los protagonistas de la democracia (Mair, 2013). La democracia vacía se puede ser manipulada fácilmente por un grupo de gente concreta y, de este modo, peligra el valor fundamental de la democracia. Es decir, la democracia vacía es un peligro que puede hacer perder la democracia. Este caso no es un ejemplo excepcional, sino que numerosos países democráticos se están enfrentando a una situación crítica; Japón, el objeto de estudio de la presente tesis, también está sufriendo una pérdida de valor democrático.

Numerosos autores han estudiado sobre la democracia desde múltiples perspectivas: desde bases filosóficas hasta aproximaciones empíricas. Este trabajo pretende acercarse a la mejora de la calidad de la democracia basándose en teorías de sociedad civil y capital social, que argumentan que las prácticas democráticas en las asociaciones de sociedad civil, pueden servir como fundamento y motor de la democracia, donde la gente se entrena y aprende las habilidades necesarias para vivir en democracia (Bellah, et al., 1987; Barber, 1984; Warren, 2001). Además, el fortalecimiento de la cultura democrática en el nivel individual de los ciudadanos, puede llegar a la política de nivel superior para mantener un país democrático con dinámica y calidad.

No obstante, aplicar las teorías en el mundo real no es tan simple ni tan fácil. Cada país tiene su propia cultura y alguna de ellas puede ser conflictiva con los valores democráticos. A veces, un país tiene condiciones externas como la geografía o la naturaleza que influyen en la formación de sus costumbres particulares. Tal situación se observa en nuestro país de interés, Japón, donde el origen cultural filosófico no-occidental interviene en el proceso de desarrollo de su democracia. Es decir, la historia, la cultura, la geografía, la naturaleza y otros, también influyen en la generación de teoría política, y a veces es necesario dudar de las suposiciones de algunas teorías y de la universalidad de ellas.

El presente trabajo pretende considerar los asuntos mencionados más arriba, con el fin de estudiar los caminos de desarrollo democrático en Japón, enfocados desde el punto de vista teórico de sociedad civil y capital social. Concretamente, tratamos de cuestionar la universalidad de la teoría democracia participativa, sobre todo la suposición de voluntariedad en las asociaciones cívicas voluntarias. Para este objetivo, nos concentramos en analizar las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, que son las más típicas y extendidas en la sociedad japonesa, pero al mismo tiempo tienen la mala fama de ser antidemocráticas, conservadoras,

tradicionales y cerradas. Existen más de 300.000 asociaciones de vecinos en todo Japón (Pekkanen, 2006: 2) y generalmente la tasa de participación en ellas es la más alta de todos los tipos de asociaciones civiles voluntarias. Con una tasa excepcional, no resulta exagerado decir que las asociaciones de vecinos son las organizaciones más típicas y representativas de la sociedad civil japonesa, y que la cultura del asociacionismo en Japón se genera básicamente en ellas. La enseñanza de la habilidad cívica y la creación de valor democrático en las asociaciones de vecinos pueden influenciar considerablemente la forma de ser de la democracia en Japón. Con este objetivo, esta investigación analiza cuantitativa y cualitativamente sobre las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón en relación con su democracia.

3. Objetivo de la investigación

El objetivo global del presente trabajo es examinar el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón para la mejora de la calidad de la democracia. A fin de cumplir ese objetivo, cada capítulo tiene su meta secundaria para prepararnos a las operaciones analíticas que se realizan en los capítulos 7 y 8, hasta llegar al objetivo final. Concretamente, el capítulo 2 apunta a obtener un fundamento básico de teorías de democracia y considerar las influencias occidentales sobre las teorías. El capítulo 3 cumple la meta de familiarizarnos con los contextos asiáticos del Este y su forma de democracia y sociedad civil, y el capítulo 4 para extender nuestro conocimiento sobre la sociedad japonesa. Finalmente el objetivo del capítulo 5 es darnos un marco teórico de las funciones de las asociaciones de vecinos en relación con la mejora de la democracia en general y en el caso de Japón en particular.

4. Contribución a la investigación actual

Esta tesis contribuye al debate académico en tres aspectos importantes. El presente

trabajo revisa numerosos estudios y asuntos examinados y discutidos ya alrededor de la democracia y su filosofía, además de las teorías de desarrollo de calidad de la democracia. Hasta ahora, se han presentado incontables obras e investigaciones excelentes por los investigadores del mundo, sobre todo de los países occidentales, para examinar sus sociedades y democracias. Sin embargo, la autora cree que la aplicación de filosofía y teorías enraizadas en los contextos históricos, sociales, culturales y occidentales no son siempre compatibles con otras sociedades, puesto que a veces existen conflictos de culturas y costumbres en algunos asuntos. Es por ello por lo que, como primera contribución, la presente investigación desafía la aplicabilidad o universalidad de las teorías desarrolladas y examinadas en los contextos occidentales a las sociedades no occidentales. Japón, que es el país objeto de esa investigación, ha recibido una influencia considerablemente fuerte por los países europeos y americanos, especialmente después de la segunda guerra mundial. Sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, Japón mantiene una cultura muy persistente originada en la tradición del Confucianismo asiático, además de sus costumbres, prácticas y valores que vienen de la historia, religión, geografía y otras condiciones propias de Japón. Se puede resumir en unas palabras simples, que el conflicto observado en la sociedad japonesa es el antagonismo entre liberalismo individualista occidental y comunitarismo autoritario asiático. El debate sobre estos dos polos ya lleva una historia larga y nada nueva, que no tiene fin ni contestación perfecta. Reconociendo la dificultad y complejidad del asunto, el significado de este trabajo es tratar de enfrentarse a esa cuestión partiendo de ambos lados sin negar o ignorar ninguna de las dos perspectivas.

La segunda contribución es el avance que el presente trabajo ofrece al campo de los estudios sobre asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, especialmente por la adaptación de una metodología mixta de métodos cuantitativos y cualitativos. Actualmente, una gran mayoría de estudios sobre asociaciones de vecinos en Japón se basan en los estudios de casos

descriptivos (Applbaum, 1996; Braibanti, 1948; Iwasaki, 1989; Tanaka, 2000; Yamazaki, 1999; Yoshihira, 2000). Los estudios de casos son importantes y válidos para conocer profundamente sobre unos casos limitados, pero no son suficientemente útiles para examinar la universalidad de las teorías (Landman, 2008: 20). Además, generalmente los estudios sobre asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, se centran en analizar sus funciones sociales y no se ha examinado suficientemente su papel desde punto de vista de la política y del desarrollo de la democracia japonesa (excepto Braibanti (1948) y Tsujinaka, Pekkanen y Yamamoto (2009)). Uno de los pocos estudios cuantitativos hecho por Tsujinaka, Pekkanen y Yamamoto (2009) lanzó una visión nueva al campo de estudio de las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas, pero sus variables no llegan a analizar los efectos positivos del asociacionismo civil en el nivel de los individuos. Junto a esto, los estudios cuantitativos nos pueden ofrecer una visión general de un fenómeno y ver las diferencias entre números, pero no llegan a darnos las explicaciones y causas de un fenómeno (Landman, 2008: 20; Crasnow, 2012: 665). Para darle una importancia nueva, el presente trabajo opta por utilizar las dos metodologías, cuantitativas y cualitativas, para analizar las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas desde múltiples ángulos, superando las deficiencias de cada metodología, e igualmente desde el punto de vista socio-político examinando las teorías de sociedad civil y capital social.

Por último, la importancia que ofrece el presente trabajo es la inclusión de observación y evaluación sobre el rol de las asociaciones de vecinos después del gran terremoto *Higashi Nihon* en marzo 2011. Ese desastre natural ha causado miles de muertos y pérdidas extensivas en muchos sentidos. Al mismo tiempo, esta catástrofe ha despertado conciencias de la importancia de las conexiones personales entre los vecinos y el poder de la sociedad civil, para superar la tragedia en un desastre natural. Esta tesis, en nuestra modesta opinión, es un material de estudio oportuno para analizar mejor sobre los papeles de las asociaciones de

vecinos y empoderamiento de las asociaciones civiles y sus miembros, para la mejora de la democracia japonesa. En este sentido, esta investigación contribuye en dar una evaluación puntual del efecto de un desastre natural sobre la sociedad civil y la democracia japonesa.

5. Diseño de la investigación, metodología y datos

El presente trabajo se está diseñado para comprobar las teorías y resultados demostrados en los estudios previos, con datos cuantitativos empíricos de Japón y datos recogidos del estudio de campo. Teniendo la cuenta que el objetivo del estudio es amplio y los materiales para analizar son extensos y variados, la elaboración de hipótesis concretas no es adecuada para esta tesis. Dicho de otra manera, el presente trabajo se considera un proceso anterior para llegar a preparar hipótesis. Además al hacerlo así, nos hace posible extender nuestro interés y objeto de estudio, y se deja margen y libertad de observar las funciones y papeles de las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas desde varios ángulos creativos. Aun así, es necesario formular unas preguntas básicas de investigación para facilitar el análisis. Por lo tanto, las preguntas de investigación son las siguientes y se dividen en cuatro ámbitos: asociaciones de vecinos y miembros voluntarios; asociaciones de vecinos, sociedad y política japonesas; los mecanismos de funcionamiento de las asociaciones de vecinos; las asociaciones de vecinos y la mejora de democracia.

Asociaciones de vecinos y miembros voluntarios

1. ¿La voluntariedad y no voluntariedad importa para aumentar el interés por la política en Japón?

2. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos están asociadas realmente voluntariamente en Japón?

3. ¿Los japoneses participan en asociaciones de vecinos voluntariamente?

4. ¿Si no, por qué los japoneses participan en asociaciones de vecinos?

Asociaciones de vecinos, sociedad y política japonesas

5. ¿En qué medida las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón son independientes de las autoridades central o local?

6. ¿Cuáles son los sistemas de articulación principales de las asociaciones de vecinos en la sociedad japonesa?

Los mecanismos de funcionamiento de las asociaciones de vecinos

7. ¿Cuáles son los problemas a los que las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas se enfrentan actualmente?

8. ¿Hay cambios de papeles de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón?

Las asociaciones de vecinos y la mejora de democracia

9. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas contribuyen al capital social?

10. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos favorecen la adquisición de habilidades cívicas y políticas?

11. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos concurren al aumento de interés por la política en Japón?

12. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos contribuye a la mejora de la democracia japonesa?

En cuanto a la metodología, Landman comenta que el uso de una metodología cuantitativa o cualitativa depende de los datos y evidencias obtenibles, y ambos tienen el fin de obtener las mejores inferencias posibles (2008: 21). Siguiendo su instrucción, para aprovechar

al máximo los datos cuantitativos y cualitativos obtenibles, esta investigación adopta las dos metodologías.

Para realizar los análisis cuantitativos en el capítulo 7, se utilizan cuatro encuestas sociales: *Encuesta nacional sobre las preferencias de estilo de vida* (*kokumin seikatsu senkō do chōsa*) (2012), realizada por la Oficina de Gabinete del Gobierno de Japón; *Informe sobre estudios de la política para el futuro de las comunidades urbanas* (IEPFCU) (*Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūka Hōkokusho*) (2004), realizada por el Ministerio de Asuntos Interiores y Comunicaciones; *Encuesta social general japonesa* (Japan General Social Survey (JGSS)) (2000-2012); *Encuesta Asian Barometer* (Asian Barometer Survey) (2003-2011).

Dentro del marco metodológico cuantitativo, se utiliza la estadística descriptiva principalmente para el análisis de IEPFCU y JGSS-2012 porque el uso de datos de estas dos fuentes es considerablemente limitado por los caracteres de las variables para las operaciones estadísticas de otros tipos. Sin embargo, esas fuentes ofrecen informaciones interesantes y relevantes para este trabajo. Por lo tanto, la adaptación de la estadística descriptiva se hace posible para aprovechar al máximo de los dos datos. El método de tabulación cursada nos facilita examinar la posible correlación entre dos o más variables. Siendo consciente de que la mayoría de las variables de las encuestas sociales son de carácter categórico o nominal, y las fuentes utilizadas para el presente trabajo incluyen estos tipos de variables principalmente, el uso de tabulación cursada es cómodo y relevante en este caso. En cuanto a las variables numéricas, mayoritariamente las del ABS, se utiliza la regresión lineal para medir el grado de influencia de una variable independiente sobre la variable dependiente. Se incluyen las variables demográficas para controlar sus efectos.

En el capítulo 8, se ofrece un análisis cualitativo, concretamente un estudio de caso de un

barrio situado en la ciudad de Gamagōri City, prefectura de Aichi (Japón). Los datos se han recogido durante un estudio de campo desde abril de 2012 hasta octubre de 2016. La metodología cualitativa está diseñada para estudiar unos casos específicos de número limitado para recopilar y analizar informaciones abundantes y densas (Crasnow, 2012: 657). El método de estudio de caso nos ofrece la posibilidad de buscar causas y razones que se hayan mostrado por los hallazgos de los análisis cuantitativos. En la espera de tal posibilidad, se realiza el estudio de caso en el capítulo 8 para encontrar una mejor explicación posible de la actualidad de las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas, aunque se reconoce la limitación de la universalidad de los resultados de estudios de casos.

6. Resumen de los capítulos

La tesis se estructura en nueve capítulos. El primer capítulo es una parte introductoria para dar una breve explicación sobre el tema de la tesis, el significado y la importancia del trabajo, la aclaración del objetivo de la investigación, y la presentación de la estructura de la tesis.

En el capítulo 2, se estudian las teorías de la democracia. A causa de la ambigüedad y simplicidad de la definición, la democracia ha estado durante siglos en el centro de los estudios políticos (Chiba, 2000: iii; Held, 2006: x; Dunn, 1992: v). A pesar de que hay algunas ramas de estudio en la búsqueda de alternativas de gobernar un país (por ejemplo Laclau y Mouffe, 2001: Mouffe: 1993), sigue existiendo uno apoyo considerable hacia la democracia liberal representativa, porque aparenta la opción menos mala (Held, 2006). El presente trabajo se inscribe en el marco teórico de la democracia liberal. Al mismo tiempo, la democracia contemporánea sufre unos problemas causados por condiciones modernas, tales como el individualismo extremo, la indiferencia política, la corrupción, (Crozier, Huntington y Watanuki,

1975; Dagger, 1997), la "balkanización" o "tribulización" de la sociedad (Gutmann, 1998: 172; Rosenblum, 1998: 46). Numerosos autores han estudiado y siguen avanzando los estudios sobre el establecimiento y fortalecimiento de la democracia liberal representativa; las teorías clásicas son por ejemplo la teoría de modernización (Lipset, 1959; Przeworski y Limongi, 1997; Inglehart, 1977), cultura política de Almond y Verba (1963), entre otros.

La teoría de sociedad civil sigue la misma dirección y deja la esperanza de que una sociedad civil activa sostenida por asociaciones civiles altamente desarrolladas, pueda contribuir a una mejor cultura política democrática, porque las asociaciones de sociedad civil ofrecen oportunidades positivas, para que los miembros de las asociaciones participen en los asuntos políticos (Dalton y Shin, 2006: 6). Al mismo tiempo, una sociedad civil viva puede servir como guardia de un estado democrático para vigilar y controlar a los políticos y sus corrupciones (van Deth, 1997: vii). Aunque existen observaciones variadas sobre la definición de sociedad civil causadas por las diferentes distancias entre estado, mercado y sociedad civil que marca cada país, especialmente entre los países occidentales y no occidentales (Hann y Dunn, 1996), varios autores confían en el rol positivo de la democracia sostenida por la participación civil por su contribución a las virtudes cívicas (Bellah, et al., 1987; Dagger.1997; Rosenblum, 1998), por su papel de "escuela de democracia" (Tocquville, 2003, Morales, 2002; Barber, 1984; Warren, 2001). Sin embargo, las asociaciones civiles que puedan cumplir su contribución a la democracia tienen que ser de carácter abierto, inclusivo y libre, es decir, una asociación voluntaria (Verba, Schlozman y Brady, 2002: 1; Putnam et al. 1993; Putnam, 2000). Por otro lado, hay otros que mantienen la posición de que cualquier asociación o ambiente que trasmite los valores democráticos es válido: no importa que sea de carácter voluntario o no (Warren, 2001; Gutmann, 1998; Rosenblum, 1998).

Siguiendo la misma dirección de sociedad civil y los efectos positivos de las asociaciones

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voluntarias, Putnam argumenta que la estructura social construida sobre la base de la confianza, las normas de reciprocidad y las conexiones sociales, favorece la cooperación mutua y la creación de ciudadanos que cuidan de los demás y de los asuntos sociales políticos de su comunidad cercana, hasta de los problemas de nivel nacional o incluso más allá. Esto es fundamental para el buen funcionamiento de la democracia. Su argumento está sostenido por los resultados empíricos de fuerte correlación positiva entre el involucramiento en las asociaciones voluntarias y un mejor funcionamiento democrático con los datos de Italia (Putnam et al. 1993) y de los Estado Unidos (Putnam, 2000). Desde entonces, considerables estudios sobre capital social se han implementado, pero en general la importancia de las asociaciones de carácter voluntario está acentuada en la mayoría de las investigaciones.

No obstante, el énfasis en las asociaciones "voluntarias" para la generación de la sociedad civil y la democracia viva, a veces aparenta exagerada sin profundizar las discusiones suficientemente. Una posible explicación es la tradición y la cultura en que las teorías de sociedad civil y capital social se desarrollan: el entorno del mundo occidental basado en la tradición liberal, a veces tiende al individualismo pero es indispensable para el desarrollo de la humanidad (Kateb, 1992). Sin embargo, la obsesión por tener derechos (Dagger, 1997) está causando un serie de problemas sociales contemporáneos, como se ha mencionado anteriormente, y necesitamos otras ideas alternativas para frenar el liberalismo extremo. La respuesta puede ser el concepto de comunitarismo que hace hincapié en la importancia de la responsabilidad de ser miembro de la comunidad (Delanty, 2003). Aunque existan posicionamientos distintos entre los defensores del comunitarismo, casi todos reconocen la importancia y centralidad del papel de las asociaciones cívicas, ambas voluntarias y no voluntarias. Aun así, las críticas, básicamente por los académicos occidentales hacia el comunitarismo, vienen, mayoritariamente, por sus argumentos que aparentan ser demasiado

conservadores y por falta de respeto a los derechos y libertades de los individuos y su idea central irreal (Bell, 1993; Schmitter, 1995). Por otro lado, para algunos investigadores no occidentales, la idea de comunitarismo parece demasiado occidental, es decir, está basada sobre la creencia del liberalismo, por lo tanto no puede llegar a ser realizable en el contexto occidental (Beng-Huat, 2004).

Con el objetivo de estudiar más profundamente acerca del comentario de Beng-Huat (2004) sobre la incomodidad del asociacionismo basado en el principio de liberalismo occidental, el capítulo 3 trata de ampliar nuestra comprensión sobre comunidad, asociacionismo y democracia en el contexto no occidental. Para el presente trabajo, parece adecuado y relevante considerar el caso del mundo asiático, concretamente Asia del Este con la influencia confuciana, por su carácter social comunitarista y menos deseoso de guardar los derechos de los individuos (Kausikan, 2004), aunque la diversidad dentro de los países de Asia del Este es amplia. Hay tres puntos que se pueden introducir como los aspectos comunes en los países de Asia del Este con influencia de confucianismo. El primero es la importancia y la centralidad de la comunidad. Si las personas occidentales parten su existencia desde un punto de vista individual, los asiáticos del Este nacen en sus comunidades pertinentes y siempre parten de allí (Bell, 2006; De Bary, 1998). Etzioni (2004) le denomina "comunitarismo autoritario" o "comunitarismo asiático de este"; Fukuyama (1995b) lo nombra como "autoritarismo blando", pero Beng-Haut (1995) defiende que no se debe categorizar como autoritarismo, sino que el "comunitarismo asiático" es una alternativa óptima que puede superar los problemas sociales contemporáneos que los países occidentales no llegan a superar (Kausikan, 2004). La base moral ética del comunitarismo asiático es el confucianismo que le da la importancia a la comunidad como el centro de su lección (Beng-Huat, 1999). En este contexto cultural, comunidad o grupo tienen más prioridad que individuo y las relaciones personales son esenciales para la vida de los asiáticos (Tu, 1996);

la enseñanza de la responsabilidad es más importante que los derechos (O'Dwyer, 2003), y los asiáticos prefieren mantener la armonía y evitar conflictos (Fox, 2008). Todos estos dirigen los países asiáticos del Este hacía la democracia asiática, que valora menos los derechos y más el desarrollo económico (Shin, 2013), aunque ellos creen que la democracia es la mejor forma de gobernar un país (Dalto y Shin (eds.), 2006; Chu Diamond et al. (eds.), 2008). Por lo tanto, se puede decir que la democracia que buscan los asiáticos del Este no necesariamente coincide con la que desean los occidentales, concretamente, la centralidad del derecho y la libertad de pertenencia a los grupos o asociaciones, no representa un punto de discusión para los asiáticos del Este, sino que para los asiáticos por su naturaleza como humanos, nacen en la sociedad y en las relaciones humanas, y así pues los humanos participan en los grupos o asociaciones aunque no les gusten porque así es la ley de la naturaleza.

En el capítulo 4, se cierra aún más el objeto del presente trabajo para que sea más concreto y específico. Se opta por el caso de la sociedad japonesa por las siguientes razones. Primero, Japón es un país democrático liberal y tiene la historia democrática más larga en Asia. Segundo, por otro lado, Japón ha recibido una influencia occidental considerablemente fuerte desde la restauración Meiji (1868) y aún más significativa después de la derrota de la segunda guerra mundial (1945) (Chan, 1997: 45). Sin embargo, como tercera razón, Japón mantiene firmemente algunas culturas, prácticas y valores basados en su historia y tradición, que vienen del confucianismo asiático (Haley y Taylor, 2004; Peters, 2006) y de propios factores causados por la creencia, geografía o historia (Watanuki, 1975). Por ejemplo, el confucianismo que ha penetrado en la sociedad japonesa se ha transformado en algo diferente del original, por causa de tener al emperador como el padre de la nación, y como consecuencia la centralidad de la familia en el confucianismo original ha sido sustituida por la importancia del grupo al que uno pertenece (Fukuyama, 1995; Pye y Pye, 1985; Hendry, 2003); algunos investigadores le

denominan el "grupismo" japonés (Harootunian, 2000; McCargo, 2000; Yamagishi, 2010; Komai, 2000; Doi, 2000) Tal cultura grupista crea la sociedad civil japonesa a la que no se puede comparar con la del modelo occidental (Schwartz y Pharr, 2003; Pekkanen, 2004; Pekkkanen, 2006; Hirata, 2002; Ogawa, 2009; Kingston, 2004; Vinken, et al., 2010). Concretamente, las asociaciones de sociedad civil japonesa destacan por ser de carácter no totalmente voluntario (Pekkanen, 2006: 12) y por su vínculo profundo con las autoridades públicas (Schwartz, 2003; Haddad, 2007). Las más representativas de este tipo son las asociaciones de vecinos de las que existen unas 300.000 en todo Japón (Pekkanen, 2006: 2). No obstante, la introducción del concepto de sociedad civil más independiente se ha implantado poco a poco, además, el terremoto *Hanshin-Awaji* en 1995 mostró el límite de la capacidad gubernamental de Japón para controlar los daños y el caos causados por el terremoto, y provocó la necesidad de una sociedad civil autónoma formada mayoritariamente por asociaciones voluntarias (Hirata, 2002). La difusión de la ley de organización sin ánimo de lucro ayudó a la ampliación del registro de las asociaciones voluntarias. No obstante, la intervención gubernamental en la sociedad civil sigue siendo considerable (Ogawa, 2009; Pekkanen, 2004). Aunque sean de carácter menos voluntario, los vínculos creados mediante la participación en asociaciones civiles como asociaciones de vecinos apoyan la creación de capital social ampliamente (Sakamoto, 2010: 293-295). Fukuyama observa que a pesar de que el capital social japonés se desarrolla más en las asociaciones de tipo jerárquico, cerrado y conservador (en el término de Putnam (2000) *bonding type*), siguen siendo asociaciones de miembros variados las que se diferencian de las unidades formadas por las conexiones familiares típicas de la China confuciana: el grupismo japonés apoya la ampliación de redes sociales y la confianza (Fukuyama, 1995: 76). Sin embargo, el capital social extendido no dirige directamente al aumento de interés por la política o la adquisición de habilidades cívicas y políticas. La falta de voluntariedad para la participación

en asociaciones y el vínculo fuerte con las autoridades públicas hacen que los miembros sean pasivos (Fukumoto, 2002: 243), el ambiente de las asociaciones se mantenga tradicional, jerárquico y antidemocrático (Yamagishi, 2003: 294; Nihon Sōgō Kenkyūjo, 2008: 10). Por lo tanto, la sociedad civil y el capital social japoneses no están contribuyendo a activar la democracia japonesa suficientemente. A saber, Fukuyama concluye que hay dos características simbólicas de democracia occidental que no se han extendido suficientemente en la democracia japonesa: el énfasis en el debate político público y el individualismo (1995: 21).

Como último capítulo de la parte teórica de la tesis, el capítulo 5 ofrece una visión general de las asociaciones de vecinos y los conocimientos necesarios sobre las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, antes de comenzar la parte analítica. Las asociaciones de vecinos son un tipo de organizaciones de sociedad civil, pero tienen una importancia significativa en la sociedad japonesa por su gran número y extensión geográfica, que superan mucho más que cualquier otra clase de asociación (Tsujinaka Pekkanen y Yamamoto, 2009). Para algunos autores, las asociaciones de vecinos son las formas de organización de sociedad civil más auténticas (Meyer y Hyde, 2004: 77) e importantes por su papel de puente entre los individuos y la vida pública (Cnaan, 1991: 614). La definición de las asociaciones de vecinos del mundo es una operación complicada, puesto que existen una gran variedad que refleja las estructuras políticas, culturas y sus realidades (Tanaka, 2000: 19). En general son asociaciones locales, mantenidas por voluntarios y de carácter no lucrativo, que buscan los intereses comunes de residentes (Logan y Rabernovic, 1990: 68-69; Cnaan, 1995: 615; Meyer y Hyde, 2004: 77; Austin, 1991: 516; Tanaka, 2000: 18; Oropesa, 1995; 236). En el contexto occidental, un aspecto fundamental para el mejor funcionamiento de las asociaciones de vecinos es la autonomía, para que ellas no estén influenciadas por el control gubernamental (Oropesa, 1995; Cnaan, 1991; Logan y Rabrenovic, 1990), aunque se reconoce que algunas conexiones con instituciones públicas son

necesarias para cooperar en asuntos públicos de las comunidades (Logan y Rabrenovic, 1990: 70). Por otro lado, los investigadores no occidentales evalúan positivamente el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos como agentes intermediarios entre el estado y los individuos (Tanaka, 2000; Yoshihara, 2000; Iwasaki, 1989; Torigoe, 1994). Respecto de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, la relación de interdependencia entre ellas y las instituciones públicas es más común, frecuente, necesaria y indispensable (Tsujinaka, Pekkanen y Yamamoto, 2009: 19, 30). Tal vínculo profundo viene por el trayecto histórico de las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas, porque originalmente han sido formadas por las autoridades locales para facilitar la administración y crear un grupo de autodefensa o auto gobernanza (Iwasaki, 1989). Antes y durante la segunda guerra mundial, las asociaciones de vecinos fueron movilizadas por el gobierno militar japonés (Yoshihara, 2000: 14), y como consecuencia, las fuerzas de ocupación prohibieron las asociaciones de vecinos después de la guerra por ser organizaciones antidemocráticas y regresivas, aunque extraoficialmente continuaron funcionando (Torigoe, 1994, Tanaka, et al, 2008: 14; Iwasaki, 1989: 6). Las asociaciones de vecinos recuperaron sus estados oficiales en 1951 con el tratado de paz de San Francisco, pero la mala fama que se marcó durante la guerra no se recuperó hasta los años setenta, cuando la sociedad japonesa realizó un crecimiento económico milagroso, pero al mismo tiempo se deshumanizó en cierto modo la sociedad. Ante los problemas sociales modernos, el gobierno japonés retomó la política comunitaria inclusiva, aunque al principio no se tuvieron en cuenta las asociaciones de vecinos y en su lugar crearon nuevas asociaciones locales (Miura, 2007). Se tardó unos 30 años más hasta que el gobierno finalmente reconoció el significado de las asociaciones de vecinos y se incluyeron en la política comunitaria, dando la posibilidad de obtener un estado corporativo por la revisión de una ley de autonomía local en 1991. Cuando ocurrió el terremoto *Hanshin Awaji* en 1995, la protagonista de la sociedad civil fueron las asociaciones voluntarias nuevamente

creadas, debido a que algunas asociaciones de vecinos jugaron un papel importante en la gestión del desastre (Yokomichi, 2009: 10). No obstante, el desastre natural más reciente y más crucial que ocurrió en 2011, el gran terremoto *Nigashi Nihon*, que fue mucho más extenso y mortal que el terremoto *Higashi Awaji*, sirvió para que la gente japonesa reconociera nuevamente la importancia de las conexiones personales, sobre todo con las que viven cerca, para ayudarse mutuamente y cooperar a la hora de la supervivencia durante y después del desastre, además de estar preparados juntos para prevenir otras catástrofes (Isago, 2011; Ueda, 2014). La historia, sobre todo la moderna y cercana, de asociaciones de vecinos en Japón marca una relación significativa entre ellas y los desastres naturales, que hace que las asociaciones de vecinos jueguen un papel indispensable para prevenir, gestionar y reconstruir la comunidad local ante las catástrofes naturales, no manejables si los vecinos no cooperan mutuamente. Es la cultura de desastre (Buttten, 2010) la cultura oculta de Japón, que fomenta el sistema de centralidad de comunidad local como núcleo de supervivencia, y los japoneses sienten la responsabilidad más principal ante la comunidad a la que pertenecen (Okada, Fang y Kilgour, 2013). Así pues, la influencia de la naturaleza es un factor clave a la hora de analizar las asociaciones de vecinos.

Considerando el fundamento teórico que se analiza en los capítulos anteriores, el objetivo del capítulo 6 es establecer un marco metodológico para los análisis que se realizan en los capítulos 7 y 8, así como se ha explicado en las secciones anteriores de la parte "Diseño de la investigación, metodología y datos".

En el capítulo 7, los análisis cuantitativos se realizan utilizando las fuentes de datos mencionadas anteriormente. Primero, desde el análisis sobre la encuesta nacional sobre las preferencias de estilo de vida que responde a la pregunta de investigación 1, sobre la voluntariedad de participación en actividades cívicas y el interés en política, el resultado del

análisis no muestra poder exploratorio en el caso de las mujeres japonesas, pero la variable de

no voluntariedad deja un apoyo limitado en el caso de los varones japoneses. Segundo, los

análisis sobre IEPFCU y JGSS explican descriptivamente varias preguntas de investigación

como la naturaleza asociativa de asociaciones de vecinos en Japón (preguntas 2, 3, y 4) y los

papeles, problemas y cambios observados dentro de ellas (preguntas 6, 7, y 8). Los factores

culturales y sociales que presionan a los japoneses para que estén involucrados en las

asociaciones de vecinos como las precondiciones de ocupación residencial, y las prácticas

tradicionales se descubren. Al mismo tiempo, los papeles indispensables de las asociaciones de

vecinos para mantener el funcionamiento de la comunidad local y prepararse ante los posibles

desastres naturales (especialmente terremotos mortales) se reconocen. Los datos muestran

que el gran terremoto *Higashi Nihon* ha marcado un momento significativo para el cambio de

conciencia hacia la importancia de lazos humanos entre vecinos, y como consecuencia,

aparenta que los japoneses aceptan la obligación de participación en asociaciones de vecinos,

al reconocer su importancia para superar los desastres naturales. No obstante, se demuestra

que existen otros factores externos como el envejecimiento de la población y la penetración de

culturas individualistas de las generaciones jóvenes, lo cual urge a que las asociaciones de

vecinos se ajusten a lo que la sociedad moderna demanda. Por último, los resultados de JGSS y

ABS ofrecen hallazgos substanciales sobre los papeles de las asociaciones de vecinos

japonesas para la mejora de la democracia en ese país (preguntas de investigación 9, 10, 11 y

12). Dicho sencillamente, las asociaciones de vecinos y otras organizaciones civiles no

aparentan contribuir a la creación de capital social, adquisición de habilidades cívicas y políticas,

ni al aumento de interés por la política, ni a la mejora de la democracia japonesa. Sin embargo,

en lo que respecta a los asuntos locales, parece que la participación en las actividades de las

asociaciones de vecinos sí apoya el incremento de capital social limitado, el interés por la

política local y la participación en las acciones políticas de formas concretas basadas en un ámbito local. Posiblemente es un inicio de un círculo positivo para la mejora de la democracia en el futuro, pero los hallazgos de los análisis cuantitativos no han podido confirmar hasta allí.

El capítulo 8 analiza cualitativamente sobre una de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón. Se elige una asociación de vecinos en el barrio Mizutake de la ciudad de Gamagōri en la prefectura de Aichi, que se encuentra en el centro de Japón. Además de la facilidad de la investigación que recibe la autora (reside allí temporadas), el barrio de Mizutake es un ejemplo excelente para estudiar la actualidad de las asociaciones de vecinos y ver los nuevos desafíos de esas asociaciones, como son los problemas del envejecimiento de la población, la falta de mano de obra de jóvenes, la relación de interdependencia profunda con las autoridades públicas y las instituciones locales, la dificultad de inclusión de población extranjera, etc. Hay varios sistemas de funcionamiento de asociaciones de vecinos de Miztake que podemos destacar. Entre ellas, el sistema de nombramiento de posiciones por rotación y los puestos concurrentes, son llamativos para evitar problemas de búsqueda de candidatos a un puesto, pero al mismo tiempo sobrecargan a los que están en los puestos. Las observaciones revelan varios puntos interesantes. Primero de todo, tanto la cuestión de voluntariedad de asociación como la voluntariedad de individuos para entrar en la asociación (preguntas de investigación 2 y 3), muestran más bien la obligatoriedad del involucramiento en el caso de las asociaciones de vecinos de Mizutake. El hecho de que la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake reciba un apoyo financiero desde la ciudad de Gamagōri y funcione como un subsidiario del ayuntamiento, además de la larga historia y tradición de relación interdependiente con las instituciones públicas y privadas locales, son suficientes para negar la autonomía. Estos hallazgos nos dirigen a considerar la pregunta 5 sobre la independencia de las asociaciones de vecinos desde la influencia autoritaria. Teóricamente la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake sostiene una

capacidad y margen de desarrollo de su programa de actividades, como se describe en la norma de la "Federación de asociaciones de vecinos de Gamagōri". No obstante, en realidad, sus actividades están concentradas acerca de las agendas propuestas por el ayuntamiento y no se observa ninguna actividad propia creada por la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake. En cuanto a la voluntariedad de participación por parte de los miembros residentes, la presión social y la práctica tradicional de participación en asociaciones de vecinos, sin que tenga deliberación ni reflexión suficientes para la decisión de pertenencia, es muy notable en el caso de la asociación de vecinos en Mizutake, aunque es verdad que las ventajas de pertenencia parecen superar a las desventajas. Se puede decir que es el aspecto cotidiano del grupismo japonés y a los extranjeros les es difícil aceptar esa práctica. De hecho, la participación de extranjeros en la asociación de vecinos en Mizutake es nulo a pesar de la población extranjera registrada. Esta realidad ofrece respuesta a la pregunta 4 sobre las razones de no participar en las asociaciones de vecinos. Para ambos, japoneses de generación joven y extranjeros, la razón principal de no pertenecer a la asociación de vecinos está en la dificultad de aceptar el peso de la responsabilidad social al estar involucrados en la asociación, y la incompatibilidad del valor liberalista al derecho de pertenecer o no pertenecer. Al mismo tiempo, es también cierto que la vida moderna actual de ritmo rápido y ocupado hace imposible dedicar tiempo para los asuntos de la comunidad, porque no se tiene tiempo aunque se quisiera. Para superar este problema, quizá sería importante buscar algunas alternativas como reducir los cargos y responsabilidades de los miembros, mediante un sistema de trabajo y responsabilidad compartidos con otros miembros u ofrecer horarios y agendas más flexibles de actividades. Respecto al papel de la asociación de vecinos, sin duda su rol principal es el del desarrollo de la comunidad local a través de comunicaciones e intercambios frecuentes entre vecinos, principalmente mediante eventos organizados por ella. En este sentido, está sirviendo la creación de capital social

(pregunta 9). No obstante, el rol central de la asociación de vecinos para la preparación de desastres naturales recomendado por la política japonesa, no se ha observado especialmente en el caso de Mizutake. Cuando se consideran los problemas a los que se enfrentan, Mizutake también sufre falta de población joven para mantener y desarrollar sus actividades. Además los miembros relativamente jóvenes son de generaciones ocupadas por sus compromisos laborales o familiares, e incluso se inclinan más a los valores liberales que chocan de vez en cuando contra las prácticas tradicionales y conservadoras de la asociación. Lo mismo pasa a los extranjeros que no han nacido ni criado en el contexto cultural grupista, por tanto, no se puede esperar que de pronto entiendan las costumbres particulares de la asociación de vecinos. En este sentido, parece que la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake se enfrenta a unos obstáculos para su mantenimiento y crecimiento como organización, y algunas reformas internas para abrir las puertas a la generación joven. A pesar de la dificultad, se observan algunos cambios de papel de la asociación de vecinos en relación con lo que se plantea en la pregunta 8, concretamente para mal, porque la asociación asume cada vez más cargos nuevos delegados por la autoridad pública como medida de reducir el presupuesto, aunque la asociación no tiene capacidad suficiente de recursos humanos para asumirlo. Finalmente, respecto del papel de la asociación de vecinos para la mejora de la democracia que se plantea en las preguntas 9, 10, 11, 12, fundamentalmente la falta de recursos humanos y tiempo disponible no ofrecen la mínima condición para que la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake funcione como "escuela de democracia". Los miembros no disponen del tiempo suficiente para desarrollar habilidades cívicas políticas, a pesar de que las ocasiones favorables para desarrollar estas habilidades son abundantes. Los temas en que la asociación trabaja están muy bien relacionados con los asuntos políticos sociales, por lo tanto deben ser una oportunidad de extender su interés por la política, pero no logran aprovechar tal circunstancia a causa de la falta de tiempo. Más bien, lo

que se observa entre los miembros de la asociación de vecinos de Mizutake, es que los miembros sólo se preocupan de cumplir sus responsabilidades de ser miembros, a través de repetir el mismo trabajo de la misma manera que el resto de miembros han hecho hasta ahora, para ahorrar coste y tiempo cuanto más se pueda. El desarrollo de las habilidades cívicas y políticas requiere tiempo y demandan un ambiente tranquilo. El interés por la política se cultiva en una atmósfera de deliberación libre y activa con la disponibilidad de tiempo y energía que necesiten. Pero lo que se observa en la asociación de vecinos en Mizutake es más bien que los miembros van justos de tiempo y con actitud pasiva involuntaria de involucramiento. Al fin y al cabo, a pesar del margen de posibilidad y potencialidad original que tiene la asociación de vecinos para entrenar a los miembros para fomentar y transmitir el valor democrático, la cultura, las prácticas y las costumbres japonesas y las condiciones complicadas de la sociedad moderna no dejan que ella cumpla su función para la mejora de la democracia. La cultura grupista de Japón no es siempre compatible con los valores de la democracia liberal. El problema del envejecimiento de la población añade una dificultad en el mantenimiento de actividades de la asociación de vecinos por la falta de gente joven, y a veces refuerzan las reglas antidemocráticas como los sistemas de nombramiento de posición por rotación y los puestos concurrentes. La escasez de miembros y tiempo no permiten oportunidades de desarrollo de habilidades cívico-políticas, ni ampliar el interés por la política. Junto a todo esto, la continua amenaza de desastres naturales y la necesidad de ayuda mutua acentúan la importancia de lazos entre los vecinos, y como consecuencia, justifican la obligación de involucramiento en las asociaciones de vecinos. Considerando todo esto, como valoración final, la asociación de vecinos en Mizutake no está jugando un papel contribuyente para la mejora de la democracia, sino más bien sirve para otros motivos, como fortalecer las conexiones personales y vínculos entre los vecinos.

Por último, el capítulo 9 resume los hallazgos de los capítulos anteriores que se presentarán en el siguiente apartado.

7. Conclusiones finales

El presente trabajo ha tratado de analizar el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos para la mejora de la calidad de la democracia en Japón. Situándose dentro de la rama de los estudios de democracia liberal, como el marco teórico, se han estudiado varias teorías como sociedad civil y capital social para la mejora de la democracia sostenida por la participación civil, que contribuye a la dinámica de la democracia. Además, se ha tenido cuenta que los contextos culturales, sociales, políticos, geográficos, entre otros, pueden influenciar en la manera de ser de la democracia de un país. Así pues, se han examinado las democracias en los ambientes fuera del mundo occidental, concretamente Asia del Este y especialmente Japón. También, hemos elegido a las asociaciones de vecinos como un ejemplo de asociaciones de sociedad civil, para examinar su posible rol promotor en la mejora de democracia. En la sección de los estudios empíricos, hemos analizado cuantitativamente cuatro fuentes de datos para obtener unos hallazgos en el nivel agregado. A continuación, hemos realizado un estudio de caso para analizar un ejemplo con profundidad, que nos ha permitido encontrar posibles causas y razones a los resultados mostrados desde los análisis cuantitativos. En este apartado, las conclusiones finales se presentan reuniendo todos los hallazgos y contestan a las 12 preguntas de investigación.

1. ¿La voluntariedad y no voluntariedad importan para aumentar el interés por la política en Japón?

La respuesta directa sacada desde el análisis cuantitativo en la encuesta nacional sobre

las preferencias de estilo de vida, confirma una influencia débil pero negativa de no voluntariedad de participar en las actividades cívicas sobre el aumento de interés en política. Aun así, otras observaciones, especialmente sobre el análisis cualitativo, implican la posible influencia de voluntariedad para el grado de interés en las cuestiones sociales y políticas. Por ejemplo, en el caso del barrio Mizutake, las razones principales de no voluntariedad de participación en la asociación de vecinos son: la presión social, la preferencia hacia valores liberales y la falta de tiempo para los asuntos de la comunidad. Bajo tal circunstancia, lo que se observa es que la gente intenta estar involucrada en la asociación lo menos posible. Esta actitud les restringe completar no más allá de sus obligaciones, y como consecuencia, la decisión de tomar algunas acciones para desarrollar la asociación o cuidar a su comunidad más cercana no es una preocupación, mucho menos extender su interés a los asuntos locales, nacionales o política en general. La indiferencia política es un problema común en muchas sociedades modernas, que posiblemente se ha sido causado parcialmente por la inclinación hacia valores liberales también; no obstante, lo que parece particularmente en la sociedad japonesa, especialmente en las zonas rurales como el barrio Mizutake, es una demasiada obligación social persistente para los asuntos de la comunidad, que quita las ganas voluntarias de dedicar tiempo y energía a la asociación de vecinos. Además, la falta de tiempo por causa del ritmo de vida ocupado y la escasez de mano de obra joven, disminuyen la voluntariedad de participación en la asociación de vecinos, y como consecuencia, promueven una indiferencia en problemas sociales cercanos y eventualmente no interés en la política. En este sentido, un poco más de libertad de acción para las cuestiones relacionadas con la asociación de vecinos, por ejemplo un margen de elección para el grado de involucramiento y horarios flexibles de participación, podrían ayudar a incrementar la voluntariedad de participación que puede abrir camino para el aumento de interés por la política.

2. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos están asociadas real y voluntariamente en Japón?

La mayoría de hallazgos de los análisis realizados nos descubren que en muchas ocasiones y en distintos lugares, las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón no se organizan de una manera voluntaria, sino más bien se crean por la política estatal, las reglas sociales, la tradición de comunidad y otras razones involuntarias. Legal y oficialmente hablando, las asociaciones de vecinos se reúnen de manera voluntaria y por decisión libre de sus miembros. Sin embargo, históricamente han sido movilizadas por el gobierno central para facilitar la administración y luego controlar a los ciudadanos para las guerras. A pesar de que se han instalado nuevamente en la era de postguerra con la esperanza de democratizarlas, han sido intervenidas por las autoridades públicas una vez más, para servir como subsidiarias de los ayuntamientos. También, las asociaciones de vecinos siempre han vivido en el contexto cultural del comunitarismo confuciano y grupismo japonés, junto a que la nación de Japón siempre está siendo amenazada por desastres naturales repetidos, que demandan la cooperación entre vecinos y justifican, de alguna manera, la involuntariedad de la asociación de vecinos.

3. ¿Los japoneses participan en asociaciones de vecinos voluntariamente?

Relacionada con la pregunta anterior, la involuntariedad de organizar las asociaciones de vecinos promueve que los miembros de las mismas estén involucrados sin mucha voluntariedad. Los resultados de este estudio han mostrado un porcentaje exageradamente alto de la participación en asociaciones de vecinos en Japón, y ese porcentaje no viene por la libre decisión de sus miembros, sino más bien por la presión social u otros factores involuntarios, como la condición de ocupación de vivienda, etc. Las autoridades locales también promocionan fuertemente la participación en asociaciones de vecinos. En consecuencia, hay suficientes

evidencias para confirmar la falta de voluntariedad de participación en las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón. Sin embargo, también se han observado algunos cambios recientemente, sobre todo después del gran terremoto *Higashi Nihon*, dado que los japoneses empiezan a reconocer la importancia de los vínculos con sus vecinos. Además, vale la pena mencionar que la cuestión de voluntariedad es difícil de medir, y es algo que cambia con frecuencia, por razones como tener mejor amistad dentro de la asociación, poder conseguir trabajo a través de contactos hechos mediante la asociación, etc., conjuntamente a la influencia de los desastres naturales. En este sentido, las asociaciones de vecinos tienen potencia para incrementar la voluntariedad de participación, y ellas deben aprovechar esa capacidad para mantener y aun desarrollar más sus actividades.

4. ¿Si no, por qué los japoneses participan en asociaciones de vecinos?

Desde los análisis, la razón más importante de participar en asociaciones de vecinos es la presión social o la práctica local que en casi todas partes de Japón se mantiene. Son los marcos sociales extraoficiales, pero actualmente también hay reglas oficiales que obligan a la participación como condición de ocupación residencial escrita. Además, en muchos lugares, las asociaciones de vecinos funcionan como subsidiarias de los ayuntamientos y delegan varios servicios sociales indispensables para vivir, por ejemplo, recoger la basura o limpiar los parques. Los residentes de los barrios tienen que utilizar esos servicios, y si los quieren, hay que entrar en las asociaciones de vecinos para poder acceder a ellos. Así pues, el traspaso de servicios y responsabilidades sociales de las autoridades locales a las asociaciones de vecinos, aumenta las razones de estar involucrados en asociaciones de vecinos en Japón.

5. ¿En qué medida las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón son independientes de las

autoridades central o local?

Aparentemente, la característica más llamativa y peculiar de las asociaciones de vecinos es la relación profunda e indispensable con las autoridades públicas. La literatura nos ha mostrado historia y política sobre asociaciones de vecinos, que mantienen vínculos fuertes con ayuntamientos o a veces con el gobierno central. También, los análisis de esta tesis doctoral confirman la relación de interdependencia inseparable entre las asociaciones de vecinos y las instituciones y autoridades públicas. La colaboración ocasional entre diferentes entidades públicas y privadas es importante y necesaria para mejorar una comunidad o un barrio, igualmente para mantener una sociedad civil sana, pero siempre y cuando cada organización mantenga un mínimo de autonomía. Al contrario, la excesiva entremezcla entre intereses públicos y privados no es beneficiosa para el desarrollo de la comunidad o sociedad civil, especialmente cuando se hace con el propósito de reducir el coste del servicio social. Desgraciadamente, lo que se ha observado en este trabajo es una razón negativa, y no parece que la interdependencia entre asociaciones de vecinos y autoridades públicas sea sana para la sociedad.

6. ¿Cuáles son las funciones principales de las asociaciones de vecinos en la sociedad japonesa?

El papel principal de las asociaciones de vecinos es, en síntesis, hablando positivamente, el corazón de comunidad, pero expresado negativamente, son oficinas locales de autoridad pública. Las asociaciones de vecinos cubren amplios trabajos y asuntos relacionados con la comunidad local, desde recoger la basura, promocionar la elección, transmitir información civil, preparar para los desastres naturales, cuidar a la población más vulnerable como los mayores y los niños, etc. Recientemente, el peso de gestionar los desastres naturales ha contribuido al

aumento del listado de funciones de las asociaciones de vecinos, a causa de la experiencia del gran terremoto *Higashi Nihon*. La tendencia del incremento de responsabilidades para las asociaciones de vecinos es obvia, y se debe a la falta de recursos financieros y al nivel de capacidad de las autoridades públicas para ofrecer estos servicios. Por esas razones, el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos como "subsidiarias de las autoridades públicas" se refuerza. Aparentemente, el cambio hacia una mayor autonomía de las asociaciones de vecinos debe ser evaluado positivamente, porque contribuye a la independencia de ellas mismas, incrementa la capacidad de auto gobernanza de la comunidad local, da oportunidad de entrenar a los miembros para ser más responsables ante su comunidad, pero sólo si la asociación misma tiene el margen de desarrollo y recursos suficientes para ampliar su capacidad. Esas condiciones son indispensables para el verdadero desarrollo de las asociaciones de vecinos. No obstante, desgraciadamente, las asociaciones de vecinos en el Japón actual no tienen esa calidad ni esa capacidad en este momento, a causa de los problemas sociales y culturales que se explican con más detalle con la siguiente pregunta.

7. ¿Cuáles son los problemas a los que las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas se enfrentan actualmente?

Básicamente, hay dos problemas grandes que sufren las asociaciones de vecinos actuales en Japón: el problema social y el problema cultural. Primero, el núcleo del problema social es el envejecimiento de la población y, como consecuencia, la falta de mano de obra joven. Los jóvenes están naturalmente ocupados con sus estudios y trabajos, que ya no son de horario fijo de lunes a viernes. A pesar de esa condición, las asociaciones de vecinos siguen manteniendo sus calendarios de actividades iguales a los que se instalaron hace años, diseñados para miembros que trabajan cerca de su casa, de lunes a viernes, con la suposición

de que todos los miembros tienen sus familias tradicionales, con una esposa ama de casa disponible para cumplir las responsabilidades de la asociación de mujeres, los niños para participar en asociaciones de niños, y limpiar jardines públicos, y deseablemente viven junto con los abuelos o cerca, para que puedan cuidar de los asuntos familiares cuando los jóvenes padres tienen que participar en las actividades de la asociación de vecinos. Honestamente, tal condición familiar ya no existe; hay cada vez más solteros, divorciados y familias mononucleares o con pocos niños. Considerando tales situaciones, se puede afirmar que los jóvenes no es sólo que no quieran participar en asociaciones de vecinos, sino que tampoco pueden involucrarse porque no consiguen cubrir sus responsabilidades. Desgraciadamente, si no entran nuevos miembros aumentan las tareas para los que ya lo son, y aun peor, desaniman la participación activa. Infelizmente, las asociaciones de vecinos tienen que reforzar medidas antidemocráticas y conservadoras, como obligar a la participación, nombrar puestos por rotación o preparar puestos concurrentes, para poder mantener su función. Segundo, en cuanto al asunto cultural, la penetración de valores liberalistas es inevitable en la sociedad moderna japonesa. La gente de las generaciones nuevas demanda más derechos individuales y menos obligaciones sociales. Así, la aceptación incondicional de responsabilidad de la comunidad por el bien común no es aceptable siempre. Tal pensamiento no es aplicable únicamente para los japoneses, sino también a los extranjeros que vienen de otras culturas y tampoco tienen por qué aceptar esas reglas sociales japonesas. No obstante, la parte más difícil en el caso de Japón es la amenaza continua de los desastres naturales, que obliga a la gente a trabajar juntos entre los vecinos para sobrevivir al poder de la naturaleza. Es la razón más poderosa que explica la existencia de las asociaciones de vecinos, a pesar de sus prácticas y estructuras antiliberales, conservadoras, tradicionales, cerradas y antidemocráticas. Las asociaciones de vecinos tienen que seguir buscando el equilibrio justo entre derechos y responsabilidades, individuos y

comunidad, y libertad y disciplina, para cumplir sus funciones en la sociedad moderna japonesa.

8. ¿Hay cambios en el papel de las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón?

En este trabajo, no se han observado cambios radicales en los papeles de las asociaciones de vecinos. Aun así, parece que hay una tendencia pequeña hacia más responsabilidades y tareas en las asociaciones de vecinos. Se enfrentan a desafíos de asumir más deberes impuestos por las autoridades públicas, y al aumento de los asuntos al cubrir casi todos los aspectos de la vida de los residentes de generaciones distintas. Además, las asociaciones de vecinos asumen la responsabilidad principal de preparar, prevenir y administrar a la hora de los desastres naturales. En realidad, todos estos trabajos son muchos más de los que las asociaciones de vecinos actuales pueden cubrir. La razón es simple, porque después de todo, las asociaciones de vecinos son una mera organización voluntaria y compuesta por miembros no profesionales y personas normales que sólo coinciden por vivir cerca. Para que se puedan cumplir las antiguas y nuevas funciones de las asociaciones, tiene que pensarse la manera de asignar tareas apropiadamente.

9. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos japonesas contribuyen al capital social?

Desde los análisis cuantitativo y cualitativo, las asociaciones de vecinos aparentemente sirven para generar capital social hasta cierto punto, concretamente capital social limitado al tamaño local. En algunas asociaciones sus actividades contribuyen a impulsar las comunicaciones entre vecinos, incrementar el nivel de confianza entre ellos, y al mismo tiempo, enseñar a aceptar las normas de reciprocidad. Sin embargo, parece que estas interacciones se desarrollan demasiado profundamente dentro de una comunidad local limitada, por lo que no pueden extenderse sus capacidades fuera de su ámbito social y político a un nivel más alto. Por lo tanto, la contribución a la generación de capital social por las asociaciones de vecinos es

limitada.

10. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos contribuyen a adquisición de habilidades cívicas y

políticas?

Similar a la observación anterior, la contribución de las asociaciones de vecinos a la adquisición de habilidades cívicas políticas también es limitada. Los miembros de las asociaciones de vecinos pueden desarrollar algunas de esas habilidades como, hablar en público en pequeñas reuniones, colaborar con otros miembros a la hora de organizar eventos, etc. Pero las actividades que realizan en ellas no van más allá de lo que estaba planeado originalmente y repiten lo mismo todos los años, para completar el mismo calendario y el mismo trabajo. En tal situación, realmente no hay ninguna necesidad de discutir, debatir y hablar sobre un asunto profundamente para desarrollar sus actividades o la misma organización. Justamente este proceso de deliberación es importante para el desarrollo de la habilidad política, pero no llega a realizarse. En tal circunstancia, la contribución de ellas para conseguir las habilidades cívicas políticas está muy limitada.

11. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos contribuyen al aumento de interés por la política en

Japón?

La respuesta para esa pregunta es también compatible con las dos preguntas previas. La participación en una asociación de vecinos puede ayudar a incrementar el interés por la política hasta cierto nivel, específicamente en cuestiones relacionadas con la política de comunidad o locales. No obstante, eso no es suficiente para acrecentar interés por la política de nivel más alto, como política nacional o relaciones internacionales. Es cierto que en las asociaciones de vecinos se tratan asuntos sociales, políticos, culturales e incluso a veces económicos del barrio,

que a veces tienen mucho que ver con la política de alto nivel. De hecho, el análisis cuantitativo de ABS demuestra que la participación en asociaciones de vecinos ayuda a ampliar el interés por la política local más que otros tipos de asociaciones civiles. Pero ¿por qué se detiene ahí y no se puede aumentar el interés por la política en general? La posible razón es la falta de tiempo en la que hemos insistido varias veces. Si los miembros pudieran sentarse tranquilamente y hablar profundamente sobre cuestiones sociales, primero de su comunidad y luego de su país y quizá más allá, la participación en las asociaciones de vecinos podría contribuir a que los japoneses fueran más cuidadosos sobre su política.

12. ¿Las asociaciones de vecinos contribuyen a la mejora de la democracia japonesa?

Finalmente, se contesta a la última pregunta que es el objetivo de esa tesis doctoral. Desde los análisis realizados sobre distintos materiales, la respuesta es que teórica e internamente las asociaciones de vecinos tienen la potencialidad de contribuir a la mejora de la democracia japonesa. No obstante, en este momento, las ventajas que tiene el asociacionismo vecinal no se están aprovechado apropiada ni suficientemente. Además, existen otros factores externos que obstaculizan la promoción de la democracia. Tal es el caso de la potencialidad interna. En efecto, se reconoce que las asociaciones de vecinos son, después de todo, asociaciones voluntarias locales con estructura aceptablemente democrática y equivalente a otras asociaciones civiles voluntarias, a pesar de su alto nivel de interdependencia con las autoridades públicas. Las asociaciones trabajan asuntos variados sociales y políticos, los cuales ofrecen a sus miembros oportunidades para desarrollar habilidades necesarias para crear ciudadanos democráticos responsables. Los miembros no se limitan a un grupo de gente sino a los que viven en el mismo barrio, incluyendo extranjeros y de todas las generaciones, por lo tanto ofrecen una oportunidad ideal para crear capital social y aprender virtudes cívicas como la

tolerancia, la responsabilidad, la negociación, etc. A pesar de todo eso, existen factores externos que afectan negativamente y limitan la prosperidad de las asociaciones de vecinos para contribuir a la mejora de la democracia. De un lado, hay problemas sociales como el envejecimiento de la población y la falta de generaciones de jóvenes que hacen imposible que las asociaciones de vecinos se desarrollen por su cuenta, más bien aceleran la dependencia a las autoridades o viceversa. La falta de recursos humanos obliga a los miembros a asumir cada vez más cargos y responsabilidades, y consecuentemente, no deja margen ni tiempo para desarrollar más capital social, habilidades cívicas y políticas, cultivar interés por la política y preocuparse de la democracia de su país. Por otro lado, como otro factor externo negativo, al fin y al cabo las asociaciones de vecinos en Japón nacen en el contexto cultural de Japón, que se forma por el comunitarismo asiático o grupismo japonés. Los miembros también nacen y crecen en este ambiente, por lo tanto están más preocupados por cumplir sus responsabilidades sociales que de disfrutar el ejercicio de sus derechos de libre asociación. La armonía social tiene que ser mantenida aunque su privacidad esté intervenida por la asociación de vez en cuando. Debido a que los miembros nacen y crecen en esta cultura, aunque haya oportunidad de deliberación en la asociación, en realidad no se observan comunicaciones e intercambios de sentido deliberado, sino que todos están ocupados en cumplir con sus agendas y responsabilidades. Así pues, la dinámica dentro de la asociación no acontece ni la democratización de la asociación se promueve, sino que más bien se conservan las prácticas tradicionales, cerradas, jerárquicas y antidemocráticas. La falta de nuevos miembros jóvenes hace difícil que irrumpan nuevos estímulos para la democratización interna de la organización. Es por ello por lo que, es difícil evaluar positivamente la contribución de las asociaciones de vecinos para la mejora de la democracia en Japón.

No obstante, no hay que olvidarse de la situación particular de Japón y de las

asociaciones de vecinos: los desastres naturales. Las asociaciones de vecinos asumen el rol central para asegurar la supervivencia de los vecinos, Para cumplir esa misión difícil, irónicamente parece que la disciplina sostenida por la mentalidad grupista tradicional conservadora, y en cierto modo antidemocrática, es necesario y preferible para mantener el orden social con ocasión de una crisis. Llegado el caso, quizá pensar en la idoneidad de la democracia u otro tipo de democracia sea inevitable y necesario, pero este tema ya va más allá de la presente investigación y se podría explorar mejor en el futuro.

Para terminar este apartado de conclusión, dejamos algunas propuestas para que las asociaciones de vecinos puedan contribuir más a la mejora de la calidad de la democracia en Japón. Hemos mencionado los factores internos y externos en relación con la democracia. De manera realista, parece extremadamente difícil para nosotros los ciudadanos, personas normales, superar factores externos como el problema social del envejecimiento de la población y el problema cultural del choque entre liberalismo contra grupismo. Esto requiere mucha reflexión y debate que puede durar siglos. En definitiva, el margen que nos queda y las opciones alcanzables son cambiar poco a poco algunas prácticas internas y el ambiente de las asociaciones de vecinos, para que los jóvenes que no se forman parte como miembros de las asociaciones de vecinos, se sientan cómodos y los que ya están puedan participar en las actividades más satisfactoriamente. Algunas ideas como compartir tareas, acortar el período de los puestos con mucha responsabilidad, ofrecer horarios de actividades y eventos más flexibles, etc., pueden facilitar una participación más activa de los miembros. Algunas medidas para incluir a los extranjeros también deben iniciarse. Por ejemplo, informaciones y escritos en otras lenguas o en un japonés informal pueden venir bien. La incorporación de personas de oficinas y fábricas de la zona de cada asociación es otra idea para revitalizar las asociaciones de vecinos y acopiar más recursos humanos jóvenes. Desde el punto de vista de prevención de desastres,

esta idea es muy beneficiosa porque los desastres pueden ocurrir en cualquier momento y en cualquier lugar, así pues, las asociaciones de vecinos deben cooperar con esas personas que trabajan fuera de sus hogares para poder superar los desastres. Por añadir nuevos movimientos e ideas a las asociaciones de vecinos, la democratización de ellas mismas avanza poco a poco para seguir buscando un equilibrio apropiado entre buenos valores del liberalismo y prácticas positivas del comunitarismo asiático.

Japón ha llegado a establecer su sistema político democrático hace más de medio siglo. Pero la democracia no se termina solo por instalar, sino que el viaje de buscar una mejor calidad de la democracia es largo y nunca termina. La democracia japonesa también tiene que buscar maneras apropiadas para incorporar culturas y valores locales indígenas propios de Japón, además de conseguir formas de comprometer el equilibrio entre derechos de los individuos y el bien común. La democracia es algo que se ejerce no sólo en el nivel de la política nacional o internacional, sino también en el nivel de la vida cotidiana, día a día. Asimismo, la democracia es algo no sólo para los adultos, sino que hasta los niños tienen que aprender a resolver sus disputas democráticamente, así pues, la adquisición de la habilidad para la democracia es indispensable para todas las personas de todas las generaciones. En esencia, la democracia no es algo extraño y lejano, sino que es para todos nosotros y es básico para nuestra vida. Desde el punto de vista de una mujer, esposa y madre normal y corriente, espero que el presente trabajo haya contribuido en algo a todos los tipos de público, para entender lo más importante de la democracia y a animarles a ser uno de los actores activos en el desarrollo democrático.

Appendices

Appendix 1

[UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION]

Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities

Promulgated on March 25, 1998
(Including all revisions with the latest made on April 9, 2003)

Chapter I. General Provisions

(Purpose)

Article 1. The purpose of this law is to promote the sound development of specified nonprofit activities in the form of volunteer and other activities freely performed by citizens to benefit society, through such measures as the provision of corporate status to organizations that undertake specified nonprofit activities, and thereby to contribute to advancement of the public welfare.

(Definitions)

Article 2. 1. "Specified nonprofit activities" under this law shall mean those activities specified in the attached schedule, which are for the purpose of contributing to advancement of the interests of many and unspecified persons.

2. "Specified nonprofit corporation" under this law shall mean an organization that has as its main purpose the implementation of specified nonprofit activities, that conforms with each of the following items, and that is a corporation established under the provisions of this law:

  i. an organization that is covered by both of the following items and is not for the purpose of generating profits:
  a. provisions regarding acquisition and loss of qualifications for membership are not unreasonable;
  b. the number of officers receiving remuneration total no more than one-third of the total number of officers;

  ii. an organization whose activities conform with each of the following items:
  a. the activities are not for the purpose of propagating religious teachings, performing ceremonies, or educating or fostering believers;
  b. the activities are not for the purpose of promoting, supporting, or opposing a political principle;
  c. the activities are not for the purpose of recommending, supporting, or opposing a candidate (including a prospective candidate) for a public office (meaning a public office as specified in Article 3 of the Public Offices Election Law [Law No. 100 of 1950]; the same shall apply hereafter), a person holding a public office, or a political party.

Chapter II. Specified Nonprofit Corporations

Section 1. Common Provisions

(Principles)

Article 3. 1. A specified nonprofit corporation must not engage in operations for the interests of a specific individual or corporation or other organization.

2. A specified nonprofit corporation must not be used for a specific political party.

(Restriction on use of name)

Article 4. No entity other than a specified nonprofit corporation may use the words "specified nonprofit corporation" within its name or any wording that can be confused with same.

(Other operations)

Article 5. 1. A specified nonprofit corporation may engage in operations other than those relating to specified nonprofit activities (referred to hereafter as "other operations"), to the extent that said other operations do not interfere with operations relating to specified nonprofit activities. Revenue generated from said other operations, if any, must be used in the specified nonprofit activities.

2. The account for other operations must be separated from the account for operations relating to specified nonprofit activities implemented by said specified nonprofit corporation and administered as a special account.

(Address)

Article 6. The address of a specified nonprofit corporation shall be the location of its main office.

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(REGISTRATION)

Article 7. 1. A specified nonprofit corporation must be registered as prescribed by cabinet order.

2. In regard to matters requiring registration as specified in the preceding paragraph, a specified nonprofit corporation cannot contest claims by third parties until after registration.

(MUTATIS MUTANDIS APPLICATION OF THE CIVIL CODE)

Article 8. The provisions of Articles 43 and 44 of the Civil Code (Law No. 89 of 1896) shall apply mutatis mutandis to specified nonprofit corporations.

(COMPETENT AUTHORITY)

Article 9. 1. The government agency with jurisdiction for a specified nonprofit corporation shall be the governor of the *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* (prefecture or equivalent) in which the main office of the specified nonprofit corporation is located.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding paragraph, the Prime Minister shall be the government agency with jurisdiction for any specified nonprofit corporation that has offices in two (2) or more *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* (prefectures or equivalent).

Section 2. Establishment

(AUTHENTICATION OF ESTABLISHMENT)

Article 10. 1. A person who intends to establish a specified nonprofit corporation must submit an application together with the following documents as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office (or ordinance of a *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* [prefecture or equivalent], in the case of a specified nonprofit corporation other than a specified nonprofit corporation specified in Article 9.2; the same shall apply hereafter, with the exception of Articles 26.3, 44.2 and 44-2) and must obtain authentication of establishment:

i. articles of incorporation;

ii. the following documents concerning officers:

a. a list of officers (meaning a listing of the name, address or residence and indication of paid or unpaid status for each officer);

b. a certified copy of an affidavit from each officer stating that he/she is not covered by Article 20 and that he/she will not violate the provisions of Article 21, and a letter of acceptance from each officer;

c. a document as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office attesting to the address or residence of each officer;

iii. a document listing the names of at least ten (10) members (which for corporate members shall mean the name of the corporation and the name of the representative), as well as their addresses or residences;

iv. a document indicating that conformance with Article 2.2.ii and Article 12.1.iii has been verified;

v. a prospectus;

vi. a certified copy of minutes attesting to a decision of intent to establish a specified nonprofit organization;

vii. an operating plan for the initial fiscal year and the following fiscal year after establishment;

viii. a budget statement of revenue and expenditure for the initial fiscal year and the following fiscal year after establishment.

2. If an application for authentication has been submitted as specified in the preceding paragraph, the government agency with jurisdiction must promptly publish that fact, as well as the matters specified below, and must provide the documents specified in items i, ii.a, v, vii, and viii for public view at a designated location for two (2) months from the date of acceptance of the application:

i. the date on which the application was submitted;

ii. the name of the specified nonprofit corporation related to the application, as well as the name of the representative, the location of the main office, and the purposes specified in the articles of incorporation.

(ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION)

Article 11. 1. The articles of incorporation of a specified nonprofit corporation must specify the following:

i. purposes;

ii. name;

iii. types of specified nonprofit activities to be undertaken and types of operations related to said specified nonprofit activities;

iv. location of the main office and any other offices;

v. matters relating to acquisition and loss of qualifications for membership;

vi. matters concerning officers;

vii. matters concerning meetings;

viii. matters concerning assets;

ix.   matters concerning accounts;

x.   fiscal year;

xi.   matters concerning the types of, and other particulars of, any other operations that are to be undertaken;

xii.   matters concerning dissolution;

xiii.   matters concerning amendment of the articles of incorporation;

xiv.   method of public notice.

2. The initial officers after establishment must be listed in the articles of incorporation.

3. If provision is made in the matters specified in 1.xii above for an entity to succeed to remaining assets, said entity must be a specified nonprofit corporation or another entity selected from those specified below:

i.   the national government or a local public organization;

ii.   a corporation established under the provisions of Article 34 of the Civil Code;

iii.   a school corporation as specified in Article 3 of the Private Schools Law (Law No. 270 of 1949);

iv.   a social welfare corporation as specified in Article 22 of the Social Welfare Law (Law No. 45 of 1951);

v.   a relief and rehabilitation corporation as specified in Article 2.6 of the Relief and Rehabilitation Enterprise Law (Law No. 86 of 1995).

(Criteria for authentication, etc.)

Article 12.   1. The government agency with jurisdiction must authenticate establishment if it is recognized that the application for authentication specified in Article 10.1 conforms with the following:

i.   the procedures for establishment, the application, and the content of the articles of incorporation comply with laws and regulations;

ii.   the specified nonprofit corporation of said application is an organization as specified in Article 2.2;

iii.   specified nonprofit corporation making said application is not to be any of the following:

a. a violent criminal organization (meaning a violent criminal organization as stipulated by Article 2.ii of the Law Concerning the Prevention of Irregularities by Gangsters [Law No. 77 of 1991]; the same shall apply hereafter);

b. under the control of a violent criminal organization or its members (including members of a constituent organization of a violent criminal organization; the same shall apply hereafter) **or a person who has been a member of a violent criminal organization and for whom five (5) years have yet to pass from the date on which said person was no longer a member of a violent criminal organization** (referred to hereafter as "members of a violent criminal organization, etc.");

iv.   the specified nonprofit corporation of said application has at least ten (10) members.

2. Authentication or denial pursuant to the provisions of the preceding paragraph shall be made within two (2) months from the date of expiration of the period specified in Article 10.2 unless there is just and proper reason to the contrary.

3. If the government agency with jurisdiction denies authentication pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1, the government agency with jurisdiction must provide prompt notification in writing to the person who submitted the application, stating the reason for denial.

(Seeking for opinion, etc.)

Article 12-2 The provisions of Articles 43-2 and 43-3 shall apply mutatis mutandis to authentication if application is filed pursuant to provisions of Article 10.1.

(Date of establishment, etc.)

Article 13.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation shall be established through registration of establishment at the location of its main office.

2. A specified nonprofit corporation that has made the registration specified in the preceding paragraph shall promptly submit to the government agency with jurisdiction written notification, together with a certified copy of registration attesting that said registration has been made.

(Mutatis mutandis application of the Civil Code)

Article 14.   The provisions of Article 51.1 of the Civil Code (limited to those sections that concern the time of incorporation) shall apply mutatis mutandis to establishment of a specified nonprofit corporation.

Section 3. Administration

(Officers)

Article 15.   A specified nonprofit corporation shall have three (3) or more directors and one (1) or more auditors as its officers.

(Representation by directors)
Article 16.   The directors shall represent a specified nonprofit corporation in all the business thereof, with the proviso that their power of representation may be restricted by the articles of incorporation.

(Determination of business)
Article 17.   The business of a specified nonprofit corporation shall be determined by majority vote of the directors, unless otherwise specified in the articles of incorporation.

(Duties of auditors)
Article 18.   Supervisors shall perform the duties specified in each of the following items:
    i.   inspect the status of business conducted by the directors;
    ii.   inspect the status of assets of the specified nonprofit corporation;
    iii.   if, as a result of the inspection specified in the preceding two items, improper conduct or important facts indicating violation of laws, regulations, or the articles of incorporation with regard to the business or assets of the specified nonprofit corporation are discovered, report same to a general meeting or the government agency with jurisdiction;
    iv.   if necessary in order to submit a report as specified in the preceding item, convene a general meeting;
    v.   present opinions to the directors on the status of business conducted by the directors or the status of assets of the specified nonprofit corporation.

(Prohibition of dual functions by auditors)
Article 19.   An auditor may not concurrently be a director or staff member of the specified nonprofit corporation.

(Reasons for disqualification as an officer)
Article 20.   No person who is covered by any of the following may become an officer of a specified nonprofit corporation:
    i.   an adult ward or a person under curatorial care
    ii.   a bankrupt who has not been reinstated with his/her rights;
    iii.   a person who has been sentenced to imprisonment or a more severe penalty, and for whom two (2) years have yet to pass from the date of expiration of execution of the sentence or the date on which said person became no longer subject to execution of sentence;
    iv.   a person who has been sentenced to a penal fine as a result of violation of the provisions of this law or the provisions of the Law Concerning the Prevention of Irregularities by Gangsters, excluding the provisions of Article 31.7 of said law or Article 204, Article 206, Article 208, Article 208-3, Article 222, or Article 247 of the Criminal Code (Law No. 45 of 1907) or the provisions of the Law Concerning Punishment of Violent Acts, Etc. (Law No. 60 of 1926), and for whom two (2) years have yet to pass from the date of expiration of execution of the sentence or the date on which said person became no longer subject to execution of sentence;
    v.   a member of a violent criminal organization, etc.
    vi.   a person who was an officer of a specified nonprofit corporation at the time of dissolution thereof, authentication of establishment having been revoked pursuant to the provisions of Article 43, and for whom two (2) years have yet to pass from the date on which said authentication of establishment was revoked.

(Limitations on relatives, etc., of officers)
Article 21.   Officers may not include more than one (1) person who is a spouse or relative within the third degree of consanguinity of any one (1) officer, and said officer and his/her spouse and relatives within the third degree of consanguinity may not constitute more than one-third of the total number of officers.

(Filling vacant offices)
Article 22.   If the offices of more than one-third of the fixed number of directors or auditors fall vacant, they shall be filled promptly.

(Notification of changes concerning officers)
Article 23.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation must promptly notify the government agency with jurisdiction in the event of any change in the name or the address or residence of an officer.
    2. When making the notification specified in the preceding paragraph when a new officer has been installed (excluding instances of reappointment simultaneously with expiration of the term of office), a specified nonprofit corporation shall submit to the government agency with jurisdiction the documents listed in Article 10.1.ii.b and c in regard to said officer.

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(TERM OF OFFICE OF OFFICERS)

Article 24.   1. The articles of incorporation shall specify a term of office of not more than two (2) years for officers. However, reappointment shall not be prohibited.

2. Notwithstanding the preceding item, for specified nonprofit corporations which are to elect their officers at the general meeting as specified in the articles of incorporation, if a successor is not elected to office, the term of office may be extended until termination of the first general meeting from the last day of the previous officer's term of office as specified by the articles of incorporation pursuant to the provisions of the preceding paragraph.

(AMENDMENT OF ARTICLES OF INCORPORATION)

Article 25.   1. Any amendment of the articles of incorporation shall take place by resolution of a general meeting as specified in the articles of incorporation.

2. Any resolution specified in the preceding paragraph must be approved by at least three-fourths of the members present at a general meeting attended by at least one-half of the members, unless otherwise specified in the articles of incorporation.

3. No amendment of the articles of incorporation shall be effective unless approval is obtained from the government agency with jurisdiction, excluding amendments involving the matters specified in Article 11.1.iv (limited to those not involving a change of competent authority), as well as the matters specified in viii and xiv of the same paragraph (referred to in paragraph 6 as "amendment of the articles of incorporation regarding minor matters").

4. If a specified nonprofit corporation wishes to obtain the approval specified in the preceding paragraph, said specified nonprofit corporation must submit an application to the government agency with jurisdiction together with a certified copy of the minutes of the general meeting at which amendment of the articles of incorporation was approved, as well as the amended articles of incorporation. If amendment of the articles of incorporation is related to matters specified in Article 11.1iii or xi, an operating plan and a budget statement of revenue and expenditure for the fiscal year in which the date of amendment is included and the following fiscal year must be attached to the application

5. The provisions of Article 10.2 and Article 12 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the approval specified in paragraph 3.

6. A specified nonprofit corporation must notify the government agency with jurisdiction promptly in the event that it makes any amendment of the articles of incorporation regarding minor matters.

Article 26.   1. The application specified in paragraph 4 of the preceding article for approval of amendment of the articles of incorporation involving a change of government agency with jurisdiction must be submitted to the government agency with jurisdiction after the change via the government agency with jurisdiction prior to the change.

2. In the event of the preceding paragraph, in addition to the documents specified in Article 25.4, the documents specified in Article 10.1.ii.a and iv, as well as the most recent activity report, etc., as specified in Article 28.1 (which for the period from establishment through compilation of said documents shall mean the inventory of assets at the time of establishment specified in Article 14 applying Civil Code Article 51.1, and for the period from a merger through compilation of said documents shall mean the inventory of assets specified in Article 35.1) must be attached to the application.

3. In the event of paragraph 1, if the government agency with jurisdiction approves amendment of the articles of incorporation, the government agency with jurisdiction shall promptly take over administrative work from the prior competent authority as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office.

(ACCOUNTING PRINCIPLES)

Article 27.   Accounts for a specified nonprofit corporation must be kept as prescribed in this law as well as in accordance with the following principles:

i.   repealed*

ii.   account books must be kept accurately, in keeping with the principles of formal bookkeeping;

iii. the inventory of assets, balance sheet, and statement of revenue and expenditure must clearly state the truthful extent of revenue and expenditure and of finances on the basis of the account books;

iv.   the standards and procedures adopted for processing accounts must be followed consistently each fiscal year and must not be changed indiscriminately.

(KEEPING OF ACTIVITY REPORT, ETC., AND VIEWING THEREOF)

Article 28.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation must compile within the first three (3) months of each fiscal year, as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office, an activity report, inventory of assets, balance sheet, and statement of revenue and expenditure (referred to in the following paragraph, Article 29, and Article 43.1 as "activity report, etc.") for the previous fiscal year, and a list of officers (meaning a listing of the names and addresses or residences of all persons who were officers the previous fiscal year and indication of paid or unpaid status for each officer for the previous fiscal year), as well as a document listing the names of at least ten (10) members (which for corporate members shall mean the name of the corporation and the name of the representative), as well as their addresses or residences (referred to in the following paragraph, Article 29, and Article 43.1 as "list of officers, etc."); and said specified nonprofit corporation

must keep these documents at its main office until the last day of the second successive fiscal year after the fiscal year in question.

    2. If a member or other interested party asks to view the activity report, etc. (which for the period from establishment through compilation of said documents shall mean the inventory of assets at the time of establishment specified in Article 14 applying Civil Code Article 51.1 and for the period from a merger through compilation of said documents shall mean the inventory of assets specified in Article 35.1; the same shall apply in Article 29.2), the list of officers, etc., or the articles of incorporation or copies of documents relating to the authentication or registration of same (referred to in Article 29 and Article 43.1 as "articles of incorporation, etc."), said specified nonprofit corporation must allow viewing thereof unless there is just and proper reason to the contrary.

(SUBMISSION AND PUBLIC DISCLOSURE OF ACTIVITY REPORT, ETC.)

Article 29.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation must submit its activity report, etc., list of officers, etc., and articles of incorporation, etc. (limited to articles of incorporation that have been amended, as well as copies of the documents relating to approval and registration of said amendment), once every fiscal year to the government agency with jurisdiction as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office.

    2. If a request is made to view the activity report, etc., or registry of officers, etc. (limited to those submitted within the last three [3] years), or the articles of incorporation, etc., submitted to the government agency with jurisdiction by a specified nonprofit corporation, the government agency with jurisdiction must permit viewing thereof as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office.

(MUTATIS MUTANDIS APPLICATION OF THE CIVIL CODE)

Article 30.   The provisions of Article 54 to Article 57 and Article 60 to Article 66 of the Civil Code shall apply mutatis mutandis to a specified nonprofit corporation. In this case, "the court . . . on the application of any person interested or of a public prosecutor" in Article 56 of the Civil Code shall be read as "the government agency with jurisdiction . . . on the application of any interested party or by the authority of his/her post."

Section 4. Dissolution and Merger

(REASONS FOR DISSOLUTION)

Article 31.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation shall be dissolved for any of the following reasons:
    i.   resolution of a general meeting to that effect;
    ii.   the occurrence of any reason for dissolution specified in the articles of incorporation;
    iii.   the impossibility of successful performance of operations relating to the nonprofit activities that are its objective;
    iv.   absence of members;
    v.   merger;
    vi.   bankruptcy;
    vii.   revocation of authentication of establishment in accordance with the provisions of Article 43.

    2. Dissolution for the reason specified in item iii of the preceding paragraph shall not take effect without the approval of the government agency with jurisdiction.

    3. A specified nonprofit corporation wishing to obtain approval as specified in the preceding paragraph shall submit to the government agency with jurisdiction a document attesting to the reason specified in paragraph 1.iii.

    4. The liquidator shall, when dissolution is effected for the reasons specified in paragraph 1.i, ii, iv, or vi, promptly notify the government agency with jurisdiction to that effect.

(ASSIGNATION OF REMAINING ASSETS)

Article 32.   1. The remaining assets of a dissolved specified nonprofit corporation shall, except in the cases of merger and bankruptcy, be assigned to the entity stipulated by the articles of incorporation at the time of notifying the government agency with jurisdiction of the completion of liquidation.

    2. If there is no provision in the articles of incorporation regarding assignation of remaining assets, the liquidator may, upon receipt of approval by the government agency with jurisdiction, transfer them to the national government or a local public organization.

    3. Any assets that are not disposed of under the provisions of the preceding two paragraphs shall be assigned to the national treasury.

(MERGER)

Article 33.   A specified nonprofit corporation may merge with another specified nonprofit corporation.

(PROCEDURES FOR MERGER)

Article 34.   1. Any merger by a specified nonprofit corporation must be approved by resolution of a general meeting.

2. The resolution specified in the preceding paragraph must be approved by at least three-fourths of the members, unless otherwise specified in the articles of incorporation.

3. No merger shall be effective unless approval is obtained from the government agency with jurisdiction.

4. If a specified nonprofit corporation wishes to obtain the approval specified in the preceding paragraph, said specified nonprofit corporation must submit an application to the government agency with jurisdiction together with a certified copy of the minutes of the general meeting at which the resolution specified in paragraph 1 was approved.

5. The provisions of Article 10 and Article 12 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the approval specified in paragraph 3.

Article 35. 1. A specified nonprofit corporation shall, upon approval by the government agency with jurisdiction as specified in Article 34.3, prepare an inventory of assets and a balance sheet within two (2) weeks from the date of notification of said approval.

2. A specified nonprofit corporation shall, upon approval by the government agency with jurisdiction as specified in Article 34.3, give public notice to creditors within two (2) weeks from the date of notification of said approval that they shall present objections, if any, during a fixed period and further shall give separate notice to the same effect to each known creditor, provided that said fixed period is not less than two (2) months.

Article 36. 1. If no creditor presents an objection to the merger during the period specified in Article 35.2, it shall be deemed that the merger has been consented to.

2. If any creditor presents an objection, the specified nonprofit corporation must satisfy his/her claims or furnish him/her with equivalent collateral or entrust equivalent assets to a trust company or a bank engaged in trust business for the purpose of satisfying said creditor. However, this is not necessary when there is no possibility that the merger will harm said creditor.

Article 37. When a specified nonprofit corporation is to be established by merger, preparation of the articles of incorporation and other matters relating to establishment of said specified nonprofit corporation shall be attended to by joint action of persons selected by each specified nonprofit corporation.

(Effect of merger)

Article 38. A specified nonprofit corporation that continues to exist after merger or a specified nonprofit corporation established by merger shall succeed to all the rights and obligations of the specified nonprofit corporation or corporations ceasing to exist by reason of merger (including the rights and obligations possessed by said specified nonprofit corporation or corporations by virtue of permission and other dispositions granted by the administrative authorities in connection with the business thereof).

(Time of merger)

Article 39. 1. Merger of specified nonprofit corporations shall take effect upon completion of registration at the locality of the main office of the specified nonprofit corporation that continues to exist after merger or of the specified nonprofit corporation that is established by merger.

2. The provisions of Article 13.2 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the registration specified in the preceding paragraph.

(Mutatis mutandis application of the Civil Code)

Article 40. The provisions of Article 69, Article 70, Article 73 to Article 76, Article 77.2 (limited to the portion relating to reporting), and Article 78 to Article 83 of the Civil Code, as well as the provisions of Article 35.2 , Article 36, Article 37-2, Article 136 to Article 137, and Article 138 of the Law of Procedure for Noncontentious Matters, shall apply mutatis mutandis to dissolution and liquidation of a specified nonprofit corporation. In this case, "the competent authorities" in Article 77.2 and Article 83 of the Civil Code shall be read as "the government agency with jurisdiction."

Section 5. Supervision

(Reports and inspection)

Article 41. 1. If there is sufficient reason to suspect that a specified nonprofit corporation has violated laws, regulations, administrative dispositions based on laws or regulations, or the articles of incorporation, the government agency with jurisdiction may have said specified nonprofit corporation make a report concerning the status of its business or assets or have officials of the government agency with jurisdiction enter the office or offices and other facilities of said specified nonprofit corporation and inspect the status of its business or assets or its account books, documents, and other materials.

2. If the government agency with jurisdiction has the inspection specified in the preceding paragraph performed, the government agency with jurisdiction shall have its officials present a document stating the sufficient reason of said paragraph to the officers of the specified nonprofit corporation or other persons with authority to supervise the office or offices and other facilities that are subject to inspection (referred to hereafter in this paragraph as "officers, etc., of the specified nonprofit corporation") and must deliver said document if the officers, etc., of the specified nonprofit corporation demand delivery thereof.

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3. Any official performing the inspection specified in paragraph 1 must carry a certificate attesting to his/her official status and must show it to those concerned.

4. The authority to inspect specified in paragraph 1 shall not be construed as the authority to conduct a criminal investigation.

(ORDERS TO IMPROVE)

Article 42.   The government ageny with jurisdiction may order a specified nonprofit corporation to take such measures as are necessary for improvement within a fixed period if the government agency with jurisdiction deems that said specified nonprofit corporation does not meet the requirements of Article 12.1.ii, iii, or iv or otherwise violates laws, regulations, administrative dispositions based on laws or regulations, or the articles of incorporation or that its operations are materially lacking in propriety.

(REVOCATION OF AUTHENTICATION OF ESTABLISHMENT)

Article 43.   1. The government agency with jurisdiction may revoke its authentication of establishment of a specified nonprofit corporation if said specified nonprofit corporation violates an order specified in Article 42 and the government agency with jurisdiction cannot fulfill the objectives of supervision through other means or if a specified nonprofit corporation has not submitted an activity report, etc., registry of officers, etc., or articles of incorporation, etc., as specified in Article 29.1 for at least three (3) years.

2. The government agency with jurisdiction may revoke its authentication of establishment of a specified nonprofit corporation even without issuing the order specified in Article 42 if said specified nonprofit corporation violates laws or regulations and if it is clear that improvement cannot be expected as a result of such an order and that the objectives of supervision cannot be fulfilled through other means.

3. If a specified nonprofit corporation so requests, efforts must be made to hold public hearings on the dates of hearings concerning the revocation of authentication of establishment as specified in the preceding two paragraphs.

4. If the government agency with jurisdiction does not hold public hearings on the dates of hearings when a request as specified in the preceding paragraph has been made, the government agency with jurisdiction must deliver to the specified nonprofit corporation a written statement of the reason for not holding public hearings.

(SEEKING FOR OPINION)

Article 43-2 If there is sufficient reason to suspect that a specified nonprofit corporation has not complied with the requirements specified in Article 12.1iii or if its officer(s) disqualifies by corresponding to Article 20.v, the government agency with jurisdiction may ask, stating the reason, for the opinion of the Director General for the National Police Agency in the case where the government agency with jurisdiction is the Prime Minister and of the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police or the Chief Commissioner of the Prefectural Police in the case where the government agency with jurisdiction is the governor of a *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* (prefecture or equivalent), (referred to as "Director General for the National Police Agency or Chief Commissioner of the Prefectural Police" in the following section).

(ADVICE TO GOVERNMENT AGENCY WITH JURISDICTION)

Article 43-3 If there is sufficient reason to suspect that a specified nonprofit corporation has not complied with the requirements specified in Article 12.1iii or if its officer(s) disqualifies by corresponding to Article 20.v and there is a need for the government agency with jurisdiction to take appropriate measures as are necessary on the said specified nonprofit corporation, the Director General for the National Police Agency or Chief Commissioner of the Prefectural Police may advise the government agency with jurisdiction to do so.

Section 6. Miscellaneous Provisions

(PROVISION OF INFORMATION)

Article 44.   1. The Prime Minister must deliver copies of documents for viewing as specified in Article 29.2 (excluding copies of documents already delivered pursuant to this paragraph) to the governor of the *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* (prefecture or equivalent) in which an office of a specified nonprofit corporation specified in Article 9.2 is located.

2. A specified nonprofit corporation specified in Article 9.2 must submit copies of the documents specified in the preceding paragraph to the Prime Minister as prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office.

3. The governor of a *to*, *do*, *fu*, or *ken* (prefecture or equivalent) may permit viewing of the copies of the documents that he/she receives pursuant to paragraph 1 as prescribed by ordinance of his/her prefecture or equivalent.

Article 44-2 (Translation left out)

(REGULATIONS FOR IMPLEMENTATION)

Article 45.   In addition to the provisions of this chapter, the procedures for implementation thereof, as well as other particulars necessary for implementation, shall be prescribed by ordinance of the Prime Minister's Office.

Chapter III. Special Treatment Under Tax Law

Article 46.   1. A specified nonprofit corporation shall be deemed to be a public interest corporation, etc., as specified in Article 2.vi of the Corporation Tax Law (Law No. 34 of 1965) for the purposes of application of said law and other laws and regulations relating to corporation taxes. In this event, for the purposes of applying Article 37 of said law, the wording "public interest corporations, etc." in paragraph 3 of said article shall be read as "public interest corporations, etc. (excluding corporations; hereafter referred to as 'specified nonprofit corporations'), specified in Article 2.2 of the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (Law No. 7 of 1998)," and the wording "public interest corporations, etc." in paragraph 4 of said article shall be read as "public interest corporations, etc. (excluding specified nonprofit corporations)"; for the purposes of applying Article 66 of said law, the wording "ordinary corporations" in paragraphs 1 and 2 of said article shall be read as "ordinary corporations (including specified nonprofit corporations)," and the wording "public interest corporations, etc." in paragraph 3 of said article shall be read as "public interest corporations, etc. (excluding specified nonprofit corporations)"; and for the purposes of applying Article 68-6 of the Special Taxation Measures Law (Law No. 26 of 1957), the wording "those corporations deemed" in said article shall be read as "those corporations deemed (which for corporations specified in Article 2.2 of the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities [Law No. 7 of 1998] shall be limited to corporations designated by cabinet order as small-scale corporations)."

2. For the purposes of applying the Consumption Tax Law (Law No. 108 of 1988) and other laws and regulations concerning the consumption tax, a specified nonprofit corporation shall be deemed to be a corporation as specified in Schedule 3 of the Consumption Tax Law.

3. For the purposes of applying the Land Value Tax Law (Law No. 69 of 1991) and other laws and regulations concerning the land value tax (excluding the provisions of Article 33 of said law), a specified nonprofit corporation shall be deemed to be a public interest corporation, etc., as specified in Article 2.vi of the Land Value Tax Law, with the proviso that for the purposes of applying the provisions of laws or regulations concerning exemption from land value tax pursuant to Article 6 of said law, a specified nonprofit corporation shall be deemed to be an organization, etc., without juridical personality as specified in Article 2.vii of said law.

Article 46-2 **If a specified nonprofit corporation meets the requirements of organization and operation as specified in the Special Tax Measures Law and receives approval of the Director General for the National Tax Administration Agency as contributing to the promotion of public benefit, an individual or a corporation contributing or donating a gift to the said specified nonprofit corporation for its specified nonprofit activities shall be considered a special case and exempt from income tax, corporate tax or inheritance tax as specified by the said law.**

Chapter IV. Penal Provisions

Article 47.   A person who violates an order specified in Article 42 shall be liable to a fine not exceeding 500,000 yen.

Article 48.   If a representative or proxy or an employee or other worker of a specified nonprofit corporation commits any violation specified in the preceding article in connection with the business of said specified nonprofit corporation, the specified nonprofit corporation as well as the offender shall be liable to the penalty prescribed in said article.

Article 49.   Directors, auditors, or the liquidator of a specified nonprofit corporation shall be liable to a nonpenal fine not exceeding 200,000 yen in any of the following cases:

i.   registration as specified in the provisions of the cabinet order specified in Article 7.1 has been neglected;

ii.   preparation of an inventory of assets as specified in the provisions of paragraph 1 of Article 51 of the Civil Code, applicable mutatis mutandis to Article 14, has been neglected or matters required to be included in said inventory have not been included or untrue entries have been made;

iii. notification has not been given, in violation of the provisions of Article 23.1 or Article 25.6, or false notification has been given;

iv.   the keeping of the documents specified in the provisions of Article 28.1 has been neglected or matters required to be included in said documents have not been included or untrue entries have been made;

v.   submission of the documents specified in Article 29.1 has been neglected;

vi.   preparation of the documents specified in Article 35.1 has been neglected or matters required to be included in said documents have not been included or untrue entries have been made;

vii. the provisions of Article 35.2 or Article 36.2 have been violated;

viii. application for adjudication of bankruptcy as specified in Article 70.2 or Article 81.1 of the Civil Code, applicable mutatis mutandis to Article 40, has been neglected;

ix.   public notice as specified in Article 79.1 or Article 81.1 of the Civil Code, applicable mutatis mutandis to Article 40, has been neglected or untrue public notice has been given.

x.   **reporting specified in provisions of Article 41.1 has been neglected or untrue, or inspection specified in the same Article refused, disturbed or evaded.**

Article 50.   A person who violates the provisions of Article 4 shall be liable to a nonpenal fine not exceeding 100,000 yen.

Attached Schedule (Article 2)

1. Promotion of health, medical treatment, or welfare
2. Promotion of social education
3. Promotion of community development
4. Promotion of **science**, culture, the arts, or sports
5. Conservation of the environment
6. Disaster relief
7. Promotion of community safety
8. Protection of human rights or promotion of peace
9. International cooperation
10. Promotion of a society with equal gender participation
11. Sound nurturing of youth
12. **Development of information technology**
13. **Promotion of science and technology**
14. **Promotion of economic activities**
15. **Development of vocational expertise or expansion of employment opportunities**
16. **Protection of consumers**
17. Administration of organizations that engage in the above activities or provision of liaison, advice, or assistance in connection with the above activities

Supplementary Provisions
(Law No. 173 of 2002) (Excerpts)

(Enforcement Date)
Article 1.   This law shall be in force and effect from **May 1, 2003.**

(Transitional Measures)
Article 2.   1. The provisions in Article 5.2 of the revised Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (referred to hereafter as the "new Law") are to be applied to operations starting in the fiscal year following that of the date of enforcement of this law (referred to hereafter as the "enforcement date"). For operations in the fiscal year started before the enforcement date, the provisions are to follow precedent cases.

2. In enforcing this law, the provisions in Article 11.1 (limited to those sections that concern xi) relating to other operations specified in Article 5.1 of the new Law (excluding the revenue-generating operations specified in Article 5.1 of the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities before the revision [referred to hereafter as the "old Law"]) of a specified nonprofit corporation shall not be applied until passing of one year from the enforcement date of this law.

Article 3.   1. The provisions relating to the documents to be submitted together with the application for approval specified in Articles 10.1, 25.4 and 34.4 of the old Law before the enforcement date are to follow precedent cases.

2. The criteria relating to the application for approval specified in Article 10.1 of the old Law, application for approval specified in Article 25.4 of the old Law, and application for approval specified in Article 34.4 of the old Law before the enforcement date are to follow precedent cases.

Article 4.   1. In enforcing this law, the provisions in Article 11.1 (limited to those sections that concern item x) shall not be applied to specified nonprofit corporations (including organizations relating to application for authentication of establishment of a specified nonprofit corporation; the same shall apply to the following paragraph) which have not fixed a fiscal year in their articles of incorporation until passing of one year from the enforcement date of this law.

2. In enforcing this law, the wording shall be amended for the purpose of applying Articles 27.4, 28.1 and 29.1 of the new Law and Article 2.1 of the Supplementary Provisions until the day before the start of the initial fiscal year to specified nonprofit corporations which have not fixed a fiscal year:
The wording "every fiscal year," "previous fiscal year" and "two fiscal years hence" in Article 28.1 shall be amended to read "every year," "previous year" and "two years hence." The wording "every fiscal year" in Article 29.1 shall be amended to read "every year." The wording "the fiscal year following that of the date of enforcement of this law (referred to hereafter as the "enforcement date")" shall be amended to read "January 1, 2004 (the date of the initial fiscal year if the initial fiscal year starts before the said date)." The wording "the fiscal year started before the enforcement date" shall be amended to read "December 31, 2003 (the day before the start of the initial fiscal year if the initial fiscal year starts before the said date)."

* Editorial note: Article 27.i, an accounting-related clause, stated that all revenues and expenditures must be based on an initial budget.

[UNOFFICIAL TRANSLATION]
Outline of the 2003 Revision
of the Special Tax Measures Law
(Excerpts of provisions concerning NPOs)
Ministry of Finance

The following revisions are introduced to the system regulating the Approved Specified Nonprofit Corporations eligible for tax-deductible contributions.

(1) The conditions for the approval of Specified Nonprofit Corporations shall be as follows.

i. Measures relating to the public support test (total amount of donations and grants shall make up more than one-third of the total amount of income) are as follows:

a. For the period between April 1, 2003, and March 31, 2006, the ratio shall be eased to more than one-fifth (specified as one-third under the present law in force) the total amount of income.

b. The standard limit per donor not to be counted toward the amount of donations received shall not exceed five (5) percent of the total amount of donations received (presently set at two (2) percent).

c. The standard limit per donor not to be counted toward the total amount of income and the total amount of donations received shall be lowered to under 1,000 yen (presently set at 3,000 yen).

d. The amount of commission grants received from national or local governments and international organizations in which Japan is a member or the amount of subsidies received from international organizations in which Japan is a member shall not be counted toward the total amount of income.

ii. The conditions for approval relating to operations of specified nonprofit corporations conducted in more than one municipality are to be repealed.

iii. If the said corporation remits or transfers money overseas, it shall submit documents beforehand to the National Tax Administration Agency for the amount exceeding 2,000,000 yen. For the amount equaling 2,000,000 yen or less, the information on the said remittance or transfer of money shall be submitted after the termination of the fiscal year.

(2) The amount used for specified nonprofit activities from assets obtained from revenue-generating operations shall be deemed to be donations and the percentage limit of tax deductible amount for said donations shall be twenty (20) percent of the profit.

Source: Japan Center for International Exchange
http://www.jcie.or.jp/civilnet/monitor/npo_law.pdf [accessed: 12 November 2016].

Appendix 2

TECHNICAL DATASHEET NSLSP 2012

Technical Datasheet on National Survey of Lifestyle Preferences 2012
 (Kokumin seikatsu senkō do chōsa)

1. Purpose of the Survey

      This survey aims to understand the changes of awareness of people in long-term regarding attitude towards life in general and welfare, along with the public consciousness concerning the "feeling of well-being" and the "new public".

2. Survey Target

•   Population

Men and women aged over 15 and under 80 year-old, living in all Japan.

•   Sampling Size

4.000

•   Sampling Method

Stratified 2-stage random sampling method.

3. Research Period

      From 21 to 30 March 2012 (10 days).

4. Research Method

      Individual visits by researchers.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency

      Survey Research Center Co., Ltd.

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

      2.802 persons (70.1%)

Source: Personal translation based on Technical Datasheet provided by the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan.

http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/senkoudo/h23/23senkou_01.pdf

Summary of Variables

<u>Dependent Variable</u>

Interest in Politics

Q: "I am interested in social and political issues more than other persons."

1-   Totally agree.

2-   Partially agree.

3-   Partially disagree.

4-   Totally disagree.

<u>Independent Variables</u>

Participation in Civil Voluntary Activities

Q: Do you participate in the following voluntary activities, NPO activities, or civil activities by participating directly, by using services or by donation? If you participate in some of those forms mentioned, please mark all activity numbers. If you do not participate at all, please mark "14. None". (Please mark all participations, use of service or donation done during the year of 2013. Moreover, please note that the forms of participation are not limited those without compensation, but also those received real cost or monetary compensations.)

	(a) Direct participation	(i) Use services	(u) Donation
1. Education			
2. Child Care			
3. Community Development			
4. Crime and Disaster Prevention			
5. Elder Care and Welfare			
6. Health Promotion			
7. Academic, Sports, Culture & Art Activity Promotion			
8. Environment and Measures Against Global Warming			
9. Disaster Rescue & Recovery, International Cooperation			
(Within 9. Relating to Higashi Nihon Earthquake)			
10. IT Promotion			
11. Work Capacity Development			
12. Consumers' Interest Protection			

13. Others			
14. None			

Willfulness or no willfulness for Activity Participation

Q: (Only those who mark whichever from 1 to 14 in the former question, please answer the following.)   What are the reasons for participation? (Those who participate in various activities of varied areas, please mark all reasons applicable.)

1-   Because it gives me a motivation in my life.

2-   Because I want to contribute to the society.

3-   Because I enjoy participating.

4-   Because I can make friendship.

5-   Because we have to help each other.

6-   Because I want to increase my salary.

7-   Because it is a social obligation or the duty comes by rotation.

8-   Others. (Please specify   )

Source: Personal translation based on Technical Datasheet provided by the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan.

http://www5.cao.go.jp/seikatsu/senkoudo/h23/23senkou_04.pdf

Appendix 3

SUMMARY SGFCPUA

Summary of Study Group for Future Community Policy in Urban Areas 2012-2014
(Kongo no toshibu ni okeru comyunithi no arikata ni kansuru kenkyūkai)

1. Purpose of the Study Group

Some community in urban areas have been losing their functions for the following three reasons: 1) frequent population mobility, 2) decrease of local economy, and 3) aging of residents in old house developing areas and mass housing. In addition, the social phenomena of "problem of elder citizens without their location data" emerged since August 2010, which may have been provoked by the changes of family relationship including their children's generation, problem of social isolation, and the weakening of communities in urban areas. Furthermore, the Higashi Nihon Earthquake happened in 11 March 2011 unveiled the difference between areas with community capability to manage disasters and those without it. Thus the function of community, especially in urban areas, has been attracting attention from the view point of disaster management as well. Therefore, this study group aims to understand the actual situation of communities in urban areas, furthermore to discuss about the social policy to revitalize communities.

2. Survey Target
• Survey in 2012
Minato Ward (Tokyo): Area A (apartment), Area B (apartment) and Area C
Katsushika Ward (Tokyo): Area A and Area B
• Survey in 2013
Sapporo City: City Office
Fukuoka City: City Office
Sendai City: City Office, Area A and Area B
Kobe City: City Office and Area A

3. Research Period

From 2012 to 2013.

4. Research Method

Questionnaire survey to residents and hearing survey to city offices.

5. Members of Study Group

Inagaki, Yoshiko (NHK Broadcasting, Chief Producer of Program "Ohayō Nippon"

Itakura, Kako (Rsearcher at Institute of Policy Making at Minato Ward)

Ōsugi, Satoshi (Professor, Shyuto University and Tokyo University)

Okada, Hiroyuki (Journalist, Tōyō Economics Newspaper)

Kawai, Katsuyoshi (Chief) (Professor, Meiji University)

Saitō, Hiroko (Professor, Tōkai University)

Torigoe, Tadashi (Journalist, Yomiuri Newspaper)

Yokomichi, Kiyotaka (Professor, Seisaku Kenkyū University)

Source: Personal translation based on Report Summary provided by Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Japan.

http://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000284163.pdf

Appendix 4

TECHNICAL DATASHEET JGSS 2010

Technical Datasheet on Japanese General Social Survey 2010

1. Purpose of the Survey

The JGSS (Japanese General Social Surveys) Project conducts repeated social surveys to study the attitudes and behavior of Japanese people comprehensively, and aims to promote a variety of academic research by making the data available to those interested in secondary use. Topics surveyed are diverse employment and financial situation, family structure, leisure activities, crime victimization, political consciousness, family customs, and views on life and death --- and survey data have been gathered that can provide answers to a variety of issues. Many survey data have been made available since the start of the project, and these have been very useful in a broad range of research and educational settings.

2. Survey Target

•   Population

Men and women 20-89 years of age living in Japan.

•   Sampling Area

Nationwide

•   Sampling Size

9,000

•   Sampling Method

Two-stage stratified random sampling. Stratified by regional block and population size (number of survey points: 600, and number of subjects at each survey point: 14-16)

3. Research Period

February to April 2010.

4. Research Method

Combination of interviews questionnaire and self-administrated questionnaires.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency

Central Research Service Inc.

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

   Form A- 2.507 (62.18%), Form B- 2.496 (62.14%)

Source:

JGSS http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/introduction/int_jgss_project.html [accessed: 10 November 2016]

JGSS-2010 http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/surveys/sur_jgss2010.html [accessed: 10 November 2016]

Summary of Variables

Household Affiliation to NHA

Q. Does your household belong to a neighborhood association and/or self-governing body?

1-   Yes.

2-   No.

3-   Don't know.

Frequency of Activities at NHA

Q. How often do you participate in activities associated with the neighborhood association and/or self-governing body?

1-   Almost every week.

2-   A couple of times per month.

3-   Once a month.

4-   Several times per year.

5-   Once a year.

6-   Never.

Participation in voluntary Activities

Q. Have you participated in the following volunteer activities in the past year? Please circle <u>all</u> that apply.

1-   Activities to improve town (e.g., cleaning streets and parks, planting flowers along streets, revitalizing the town).

2-   Activities to protect the nature and environment (e.g., protecting forest and greenery, recycling products, reducing garbage).

3-   Activities to maintain safety of life (e.g., patrolling the neighborhood for prevention of crime, promoting disaster prevention, promoting traffic safety).

4-   Activities associated with sports, culture, art, and/or scholarliness (e.g., sport coaching, promoting traditional culture, providing technical knowledge and/or skill).

5-   Activities associated with elderly (e.g., assisting daily life of elderly, attending recreational events for elderly).

6-   Activities associated with children (e.g., managing child association, providing child care support, consulting by phone with children who are bullied).

7-   Other volunteer activities (Please specify   ).

8-   I didn't participate in any volunteer activities.

Estimation of Human Nature

Q. What do you think of human nature? Choose a number from 1 to 7.

1-   Human nature is basically evil.

2-

3-

4-

5-

6-

7-   Human nature is basically good.

Internal Political Efficacy

Q. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "People like me don't have any say about what the government does."

1-   Agree.

2-   Somewhat agree.

3-   Somewhat disagree.

4-   Disagree.

Q. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on."

1-   Agree.

2-   Somewhat agree.

3-   Somewhat disagree.

4-   Disagree.

External Political Efficacy

Q. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Generally speaking, Diet members no longer consider the people once they are elected."

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1-   Agree.

2-   Somewhat agree.

3-   Somewhat disagree.

4-   Disagree.

Voting Duty

Q: Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Many people vote at elections, so it doesn't matter if I don't."

1-   Agree.

2-   Somewhat agree.

3-   Somewhat disagree.

4-   Disagree.

Source:

JGSS-2010 Self-Administrated Questionnaire A

http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/surveys/sur_quest/JGSS2010e_Self-Administered_QuestionnaireA.pdf [accessed: 10 November 2016]

Appendix 5

TECHNICAL DATASHEET JGSS 2012

Technical Datasheet on Japanese General Social Survey 2012

1. Purpose of the Survey

The JGSS (Japanese General Social Surveys) Project conducts repeated social surveys to study the attitudes and behavior of Japanese people comprehensively, and aims to promote a variety of academic research by making the data available to those interested in secondary use. Topics surveyed are diverse employment and financial situation, family structure, leisure activities, crime victimization, political consciousness, family customs, and views on life and death --- and survey data have been gathered that can provide answers to a variety of issues. Many survey data have been made available since the start of the project, and these have been very useful in a broad range of research and educational settings.

2. Survey Target
• Population
Men and women 20-89 years of age living in Japan.
• Sampling Area
Nationwide
• Sampling Size
9,000
• Sampling Method
Two-stage stratified random sampling. Stratified by regional block and population size (number of survey points: 600, and number of subjects at each survey point: 14-16)

3. Research Period
February to April 2012.

4. Research Method
Combination of interviews questionnaire and self-administrated questionnaires.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency
Central Research Service Inc.

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

Form A- 2.332 (59.10%), Form B- 2.335 (58.80%)

Source:

JGSS   http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/introduction/int_jgss_project.html   [accessed: 10 November 2016]

JGSS-2012http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/surveys/sur_jgss2012.html   [accessed: 10 November 2016]

Summary of Variables

Participation in Voluntary Activities

Q. Have you participated in the following volunteer activities in the past year? Choose all that apply.

1-   Activities to improve town (e.g., cleaning streets and parks, planting flowers along streets, revitalizing the town).

2-   Activities to protect the nature and environment (e.g., protecting forest and greenery, recycling products, reducing garbage).

3-   Activities to maintain safety of life (e.g., patrolling the neighborhood for prevention of crime, promoting disaster prevention, promoting traffic safety).

4-   Activities associated with sports, culture, art, and/or scholarliness (e.g., sport coaching, promoting traditional culture, providing technical knowledge and/or skill).

5-   Activities associated with elderly (e.g., assisting daily life of elderly, attending recreational events for elderly).

6-   Activities associated with children (e.g., managing child association, providing child care support, consulting by phone with children who are bullied).

7-   Other volunteer activities (Please specify   ).

8-   I didn't participate in any volunteer activities.

Activities Associated with Disaster Done Within Last One Year

Q. During the last 12 months, did you do any of the following activities related to natural disasters? Choose all that apply.

1-   Made a donation or contributed to a fund-raising.

2-   Send goods.

3-   Purchased goods and services from the suffered areas.

4-   Invested in businesses in suffered areas.

5-   Purchased Japanese Government Bond.

6-   Engaged in volunteer activities in suffered areas.

7-   Engaged in volunteer activities outside suffered areas (aid shipment; fund-raising and so on).

8-   Other (specify   )

9-   None of the above.

Consciousness on Neighborhood-based Disaster Prevention

Q. To what extent do you agree that people in your residential community are able to collaboratively cope with the situation caused by a natural disaster?

1-   Strongly agree.

2-   Agree.

3-   Somewhat agree.

4-   Neither agree nor disagree.

5-   Somewhat disagree.

6-   Disagree.

7-   Strongly disagree.

Source:

JGSS-2012 Self-Administrated Questionnaire A

http://jgss.daishodai.ac.jp/english/surveys/sur_quest/JGSS2012e_Questionnaire_SelfAdministeredA.pdf [accessed: 10 November 2016]

Appendix 6

TECHNICAL DATASHEET ABS-1 (Japan)

Technical Datasheet on Asian Barometer Survey Wave 1 (Japan)

1. Objectives of the Survey

The three main objectives of the Asian Barometer Survey are: 1. to generate a region-wide base of scientifically reliable and comparable data (public opinion data on issues such as political values, democracy, governance, human security, and economic reforms were gathered through face-to-face interviews with randomly-selected pools of respondents that represent the adult population of the country in question. By insisting on strict research standards, we seek to ensure that are data is trustworthy and accurate.), 2. to strengthen intellectual and institutional capacity for research on democracy (the network fosters mutual exchange of expertise by bringing partners and scholars together for planning and analysis at the national, continental, and global levels.) and 3. to disseminate survey results to academics and policy circles (we continually strive for the consistent presentation of our survey results. Using the Globalbarometer Survey (GBS) report as our model, we distribute our data to a wide variety of individuals and organizations, including decision makers in legislative and executive branches of government, policy advocates and civic educators, journalists, academic researchers, international investors, and NGOs concerned with democratic development.)

2. Survey Target
•	Population
Males and females of 20 years and older throughout Japan.
•	Sampling Area
Nationwide
•	Sampling Size
2,000
•	Sampling Method
Two-stage random sampling.

3. Research Period

January to February 2003.

4. Research Method

Interviews questionnaire.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency

Department of Social Psychology, University of Tokyo and Central Research Services (fieldwork).

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

1.418 (70.9%)

Source:

ABS Wave 1 sampling procedure

Summary of Variables

Participation in Civil Associations

Q. Are you a member of any organization or formal groups? IF YES: Please tell me the three most important organizations or formal groups you belong to.

Members of any organization or group

Residential association

Parent-Teacher Association or PTA

Trade association

Agricultural association

Labor union

Producer cooperative

Consumer cooperative

Volunteer group

Citizen movement organization

Religious group

Alumni association

Candidate support organization

Political party

Sports or leisure club

Others, please specify

Not a member of any organization or group

Trust

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Q. Generally speaking, would you say that "most people can be trusted" or "you can't be too careful in dealing with them"?

1- Most people can be trusted.

2- One can't be too careful in dealing with them.

Source: ABS-1 Core Questionnaire

Appendix 7

TECHNICAL DATASHEET ABS-2 (Japan)

Technical Datasheet on Asian Barometer Survey Wave 2 (Japan)

1. Objectives of the Survey

The three main objectives of the Asian Barometer Survey are: 1. to generate a region-wide base of scientifically reliable and comparable data (public opinion data on issues such as political values, democracy, governance, human security, and economic reforms were gathered through face-to-face interviews with randomly-selected pools of respondents that represent the adult population of the country in question. By insisting on strict research standards, we seek to ensure that are data is trustworthy and accurate.), 2. to strengthen intellectual and institutional capacity for research on democracy (the network fosters mutual exchange of expertise by bringing partners and scholars together for planning and analysis at the national, continental, and global levels.) and 3. to disseminate survey results to academics and policy circles (we continually strive for the consistent presentation of our survey results. Using the Globalbarometer Survey (GBS) report as our model, we distribute our data to a wide variety of individuals and organizations, including decision makers in legislative and executive branches of government, policy advocates and civic educators, journalists, academic researchers, international investors, and NGOs concerned with democratic development.)

2. Survey Target
•　　　　Population
Males and females of 20 years and older (voting population) throughout Japan .
•　　　　Sampling Area
Nationwide
•　　　　Sampling Size
2,500
•　　　　Sampling Method
Two-stage random sampling.

3. Research Period
February to March 2007.

4. Research Method

Interviews questionnaire.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency

Department of Social Psychology, University of Tokyo and Central Research Services (fieldwork).

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

1.057 (42.7%)

Source:

ABS Wave 2 Technical Report- Japan.

Summary of Variables

Participation in Civil Associations

Q. Are you a member of any organization or formal groups? IF YES: Please tell me the three most important organizations or formal groups you belong to.

Political parties

Residential & community associations

Religious groups

Sports/ recreational clubs

Culture organizations

Charities

Public interest groups (exc.)

Labor unions

Farmer unions or agricultural associations

Professional organizations

Business association

Parent-Teacher Association or PTA

Producer cooperative

Consumer cooperative

Alumni association

Candidate support organization

Other occupational organizations (etc.)

Other volunteer organizations

Not a member of any organization or group

Decline to answer

Trust

Q. Generally speaking would you say that "most people can be trusted" or "that you must be very careful in dealing with people"?

Most people can be trusted.

You must be very careful in dealing with people.

Do not understand the question.

Can't choose.

Trust in Neighbors

Q. How much trust do you have in each of the following types of people?

Your neighbors

4-   A great deal of trust.

3-   Quite a lot of trust.

2-   Not very much trust.

1-   None at all.

7-   Do not understand the question.

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

Source: ABS-2 Core Questionnaire

Appendix 8

TECHNICAL DATASHEET ABS-3 (Japan)

Technical Datasheet on Asian Barometer Survey Wave 3 (Japan)

1. Objectives of the Survey

The three main objectives of the Asian Barometer Survey are: 1. to generate a region-wide base of scientifically reliable and comparable data (public opinion data on issues such as political values, democracy, governance, human security, and economic reforms were gathered through face-to-face interviews with randomly-selected pools of respondents that represent the adult population of the country in question. By insisting on strict research standards, we seek to ensure that are data is trustworthy and accurate.), 2. to strengthen intellectual and institutional capacity for research on democracy (the network fosters mutual exchange of expertise by bringing partners and scholars together for planning and analysis at the national, continental, and global levels.) and 3. to disseminate survey results to academics and policy circles (we continually strive for the consistent presentation of our survey results. Using the Globalbarometer Survey (GBS) report as our model, we distribute our data to a wide variety of individuals and organizations, including decision makers in legislative and executive branches of government, policy advocates and civic educators, journalists, academic researchers, international investors, and NGOs concerned with democratic development.)

2. Survey Target

• Population

Males and females from 20 to 89 years old throughout Japan.

• Sampling Area

Nationwide

• Sampling Size

5/407

• Sampling Method

Two-stage random sampling.

3. Research Period

2011.

4. Research Method

Face to face 9nterviews questionnaire and leave-behind questionnaire.

5. Survey Implementation Commissioning Agency

     Nihon Research Center.

6. Valid Response (Response Rate)

     1.880 (35.2%)

Source:

SSJDA Direct

https://ssjda.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/Direct/gaiyo.php?eid=0995 [accessed: 10 November 2016].

Summary of Variables

Participation in Civil Associations

Q. On the following card, we have listed various types of organizations that many people belong to. Could you identify the three most important organizations or formal groups you belong to. You can also tell us the name the organizations that you belong to and we can identify the appropriate categories for you.

     1-   Political parties

     2-   Residential & community associations

     3-   Religious groups

     4-   Sports/ recreational clubs

     5-   Culture organizations

     6-   Charities

     7-   Public interest groups

     8-   Labor unions

     9-   Farmer unions or agricultural associations

     10-   Professional organizations

     11-   Business associations

     12-   Parent-Teacher Associations or PTA

     13-   Producer cooperatives

     14-   Consumers' cooperative group

     15-   Alumni associations

     16-   Candidate support organizations

     17-   Other occupational organizations (etc.)

18   Other volunteer organizations (   )

90   Not a member of any organization or group

99   Decline to answer

Trust

Q. Generally speaking, would you say that "most people can be trusted" or "that you must be very careful in dealing with people"?

1   Most people can be trusted.

2   You must be very careful in dealing with people.

7   Do not understand the question.

8   Can't choose.

9   Decline to answer.

Trust in Neighbors

Q. How much trust do you have in each of the following types of people?

Your neighbors

1-   A great deal of trust.

2-   Quite a lot of trust.

3-   Not very much trust.

4-   None at all.

7-   Do not understand the question.

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

(Regression Analyses)

Dependent Variable

Interest in Politics

Q. How interested would you say you are in politics?

1-   Very interested.

2-   Somewhat interested.

3-   Not very interested.

4-   Not at all interested.

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

Interest in Local Politics

Q. In your neighborhood or community, do people voice their interests and concerns in local affairs?

        1-   Most people.

        2-   Quite a lot of people.

        3-   Some people.

        4-   Few people.

        7-   Do not understand the question.

        8-   Can't choose.

        9-   Decline to answer.

Civic Political Action

Q. Here is a list of actions that people sometimes take as citizens. For each of these, please tell me whether you, personally, have never, once, or more than once done any of these things during the past three years?

    A) Got together with others to try to resolve local problems.

        1-   Once.

        2-   More than once.

        3-   Never

        8-   Can't choose.

        9-   Decline to answer.

    B) Got together with others to raise an issue or sign a petition.

        1-   Once.

        2-   More than once.

        3-   Never

        8-   Can't choose.

        9-   Decline to answer.

    C) Attend a demonstration or protest march.

        1-   Once.

        2-   More than once.

        3-   Never

        8-   Can't choose.

        9-   Decline to answer.

    D) Used force or violent for a political cause.

        1-   Once.

        2-   More than once.

        3-   Never

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

Political Communicative Actions

Q. In the past three years, have you never, once, or more than once done the following because of personal, family, or neighborhood problems, or problems with government officials and policies?

A) Contacted and communication with public officials.

1- Once.

2- More than once.

3- Never

8- Can't choose.

9- Decline to answer.

B) Contacted public officials at higher level.

1- Once.

2- More than once.

3- Never

8- Can't choose.

9- Decline to answer.

C) Contacted elected officials or legislative representatives at any level.

1-   Once.

2-   More than once.

3-   Never

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

D) Contacted other influential people outside the government.

1-   Once.

2-   More than once.

3-   Never

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

E) Contacted news media.

1-   Once.

2-   More than once.

3-   Never

8-   Can't choose.

10- Decline to answer.

Voting

Q. Thinking of whether you voted or not ever since you became eligible for voting, how would you describe yourself- have you voted in every election, voted in most elections, voted in some elections or hardly ever voted?

1-   Voted in every election.

2-   Voted in most elections.

3-   Voted in some elections.

4-   Hardly every voted.

5-   First opportunity to vote in the next national election.

0-   Not applicable.

8-   Can't choose.

9-   Decline to answer.

Source: SSJDA Direct

https://ssjda.iss.u-tokyo.ac.jp/chosa-hyo/0995c_ABS_m_e.pdf [accessed: 10 November 2016].

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