

A BRIDGE BETWEEN CIVIL SOCIETY AND ELECTORAL
POLITICS? POLITICAL INTEGRATION OF WOMEN IN THE
JAPANESE NON-PROFIT ORGANIZATIONS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of
Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Nanaho Hanada, M.A.

Graduate Program in Political Science

The Ohio State University

2009

Dissertation Committee:

Anthony Mughan, Advisor

William Liddle

Craig Jenkins

Copyright by
Nanaho Hanada
2009

Abstract

I tackle the issue of under-representation of women in legislative body in Japan. In spite of its stand in economy, Japan lags behind other western democracies in the women's representation. Scholars have argued structural, cultural and political opportunity explanations for the women's under-representation. However, these theoretical explanations take women's political efficacy for granted and fail to explain why and how women become politically efficacious in the first place. This step has to be examined since even though the structural, cultural or political barriers are removed, women will not entertain the idea of running for office if they are not politically efficacious. I argue for the importance of non-profit organizations (NPOs) in raising political efficacy of the Japanese women since they are currently active participants in these organizations. This, in turn, can translate into the consideration to run for office by the female members.

Contrary to a popular scholarly claim that civil society organizational participation raises political efficacy of the members, and the members become politically active outside the organizations, I hypothesize that the effect on the members' political efficacy depends on the NPO-Government relationship. Focusing on female members, I specifically hypothesize that NPOs which provide their members with opportunities to have face-to-face interaction with government officials through organizational activities are more likely to raise their political efficacy and act as a bridge between civil society and electoral political sphere than NPOs that do

not provide such opportunities. This is critical since the NPO-Government relationship has transformed in Japan since the late 1990s. I test the hypothesis using the Japan General Social Survey of 2003 and conducted semi-structured interviews with 62 women from 41 NPOs in Osaka to shed light on mechanism in which women become political efficacious in the organizations.

Dedication

Dedicated to my mother, Miyuki Hanada—the greatest woman in the world

Acknowledgment

I wish to thank my adviser, Dr. Tony Mughan, for his support, constructive criticism and encouragement. His critical comments enriched my dissertation, which I greatly appreciate. I also thank Dr. William Liddle and Dr. Craig Jenkins as committee members who helped me finish this dissertation by providing me a series of thoughtful comments.

Special thanks go to Brian Janssen, Byungwon Woo, Charlie Smith, and Jennifer Tung, and Yoon-Ah Oh. Brian Janssen, Charlie, and Jennifer spent considerable time on proofreading and provided valuable comments and criticism. I could have not finished this without frequent visit to Charlie's office to vent and occasional visits to coffee shop on campus with him to discuss my dissertation. Byongwon and Yoon-Ah were both generous with their time and assisted me with statistics.

I am very thankful for all the participants of the study. They spared good amount of time for my interviews even if they were considerably busy with their organizational work and family responsibilities. They encouraged and inspired me as a woman. You all showed by your action that it is important to keep going even though it is sometimes seems very difficult.

I want to thank my family: mom, brother, sister-in-law, and two nephews. Photos, emails, and packages from home were something I looked forward to, especially when I was having a

hard time. Your understanding and generosity meant a lot to me. Suimei and Yosui, your smiles and innocent giggles were always my reason to get up in the morning. I wish nothing less than the best for you.

Finally, special thanks to Brian Krantz. You encouraged me and provided comfort to me even when you were going through a tough time as a soldier in Iraq. You have never lost faith in me and you always made sure that I have a potential. Thank you for your kindness and thank you for your service for the country. I cannot wait to share this dissertation with you when you come home.

Vita

December 13, 1976.....Born – Osaka, Japan

1997.....A.A. English and American Studies,
Kansai Gaidai College

1998- 1999.....Rotary International Scholarship

2003.....B.A. Political Science,
Montana State University

2007.....M.A. Political Science,
The Ohio State University

2003- 2009.....Graduate Teaching and Research Associate,
The Ohio State University

Publications

1. Fuse, Kana and Nanaho Hanada. 2009. "Political Distrust and Gendered Attitudes: The Japanese State and Women." *Sex Roles* 60: 843-853.

Fields of Study

Major Field: Political Science

Table of Content

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iv
Acknowledgment.....	v
Vita	vii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Introduction.....	1
Chapters Ahead	4
CHAPTER 1	7
Theoretical Background.....	7
Introduction	7
Political Efficacy and Modes of Political Participation.....	9
Factors Explaining Low Women’s Representation in Legislative Offices.....	13
So Why Don’t Women Run? Three Strands of Explanations	14
Social-Structural Explanation.....	14
Cultural Explanations.....	16
Political Opportunity Explanations.....	17
How We Should Conceptualized the Issue	19
Search for Factors that Affect Women’s Political Efficacies	23
Civil Society Organization and Political Efficacy.....	24
Literature on Social Capital and Its Effects	32
NPO-Government Relationship: Importance of “Partnership/Complementary Relationship”	38
Why Japan in a Good Case to Study	40
Conclusion.....	43
CHAPTER 2	45
Background Information.....	45
Introduction	45
Civil Society Legal Framework Before 1998	46

Why the Change of Framework?.....	53
Steady Increase in the Number of NPOs with Legal Status	58
The Place of Women in NPOs	61
NPO-Government Partnerships: Overall Picture	62
Efforts to Promote NPO-Government Partnerships	65
Ordinances and Guidelines.....	65
Citizen Participation in the Process	67
Selecting Partnership NPOs	69
NPOs and NPO-Government Partnerships in Osaka.....	70
Japanese Women	73
Conclusion.....	81
CHAPTER 3	83
The Effects of Civil Society Organizational Membership and Face-to-Face Interaction with Government Officials: Analyses from the Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) 2003	83
Introduction	83
Statement of Hypotheses.....	84
Methods and Measurements.....	85
Data	85
Dependent Variables: Political Efficacy	85
Independent Variables	87
Member of civic organizations	87
Face-to-face contacts with government officials.....	87
Organizational membership and face-to-face contacts	88
Control Variables.....	89
LDP Supporter.....	89
Political Discussion.....	90
Education.....	90
Employment Status	92
Age	94
Female	94
Plan of Analysis.....	95
Is Civil Society Organization Membership Associated With a Personal Connection to the Formal Political Sphere?	95
Effect of Face-to-Face Contact with Government Officials Within Civic Organizations on Political Efficacy	97
Multivariate Results.....	102
Conclusion.....	106
CHAPTER 4	109
Interview Methodology	109
Why Interviews?.....	109

Women to be Interviewed	112
Identify Partnership NPOs from the List Provided by the Osaka Prefectural Government	114
Identify Partnership NPOs from Databases and Volunteer Centers' Websites	117
Combining the List from the Government and Results of Keyword Searches	124
Obtaining Contact Information of NPOs and Recruiting Women for the Study	124
Select Non-Partnership NPOs to Recruit Women From	125
Contacting Non-Partnership NPOs	130
Interview Overview	135
Interview Questions	136
CHAPTER 5	140
Personal Bases of Motivation	140
Introduction	140
Overall Picture	142
Return to Society	142
Self-Actualization	148
Self-Actualization: Older Housewives	148
Self-Actualization: Single with Jobs	153
Conclusion	163
CHAPTER 6	165
Effect of Smallness of Organizations	165
Introduction	165
Overall Picture	168
Findings	169
Why legal status? Why partnership?	182
Why Legal Status? – Seeking to Increase Legitimacy and Name Recognition	183
Why Partnership? – Seeking Ways to Increase Organizations' Funding Resources	188
Conclusion	195
CHAPTER 7	197
Different Experiences of the Women	197
Introduction	197
Importance of Belongingness and its Effect on the Women's Political View	198
Women in Non-Partnership NPOs: Belongingness and Inclusiveness	200
Privileged Women	204
Material-based partnerships vs. Knowledge-based partnership	207
Competitive Selection	210
During Partnership	214
Feeling like an Expert	215
Learning About a Large Picture	220
Personalized Relationship	227
Thinking about running for Office?	236

Conclusion.....	246
CHAPTER 8	249
Conclusion	249
Summary of Findings.....	251
Implications	255
Limitations/ Areas of Future Research	259
Conclusion.....	260
Appendix	262
Demographic Information of the Participants	262
REFERENCES.....	263

List of Tables

1.1: Zimmerman's Typology of Political Participation by Political Efficacy.....	12
2.1: The Percentage of NPO- <i>hojin</i> by Areas of Activity as of December 2008.....	60
3.1: Membership and Face-to-face Contacts with Government Officials.....	96
3.2: Ordered Logit Regression Analyses Predicting Respondents' Political Efficacies	106
4.1: Sample of Women from Partnership and Non-Partnership NPOs (Service Delivery/ Advocacy/ Mixed Groups).....	131
4.2: Sample of Women from Partnership and Non-Partnership NPOs (Service Delivery/ Advocacy or Mixed Groups).....	132
5.1: Main Reasons why the Participants Joined the NPOs.....	162
7.1: Types of Partnerships in the Sample.....	207

List of Figures

1.1: Step Model of Women's Representation.....	21
1.2: Political Efficacy Study.....	27
1.3: Volunteer Rate by Gender in Japan (2006).....	29
1.4: Face-to-Face Interaction through NPOs and Political Efficacy (My Model).....	36
2.1: Japanese Civil Society Before 1998.....	52
2.2: Japanese Civil Society After 1998.....	57
2.3: Increase of NPO- <i>hojin</i> Over Years.....	59
2.4: Percent of NPO- <i>hojin</i> Specializing in "Women's Issues".....	61
2.5: The Increase in the Number of Local Governments that Have Ordinance or Guideline on NPO-Government Partnership, 2004-2007.....	67
2.6: NPO-Government partnerships in Osaka, 2004- 2006.....	72
2.7: Women's Labor Force Participation by Age Cohorts (1975).....	75
2.8: Percent of Male and Female High School Graduates Entering 4-Year Colleges, 1960-2005.....	76
2.9: Women's Labor Force Participation by Age (2005).....	78
3.1: Distribution of External Political Efficacy (n=903) and Mean Differences.....	100
3.2: Distribution of Internal Political Efficacy (n=903) and Mean Differences.....	101
6.1: My Model of Political Efficacy through Civic Organizations.....	166
6.2: Percent of NPOs that Were Established After 1998.....	182
7.1: Patterns of Contacts by Partnership.....	219
7.2: Have Thought about Running for Office.....	236
7.3: Asked to Run for Office.....	236
7.4: Percent of Those Thought about Running for Office by Education.....	238
7.5: Percent of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Marital Status.....	238
7.6: Percent of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Organizational Style.....	240

7.7: Percent of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Contact Pattern.....	241
7.8: Percent of Those Who Were Asked to Run for Office by Contact Pattern.....	242
7.9: Conditional Effect of Civil Society Organizational Participation on Women's Political Efficacy.....	247
8.1: Women's Representation in the Lower House of the Diet, 1946-2007.....	256
8.2: Women's Representation in the Local Assemblies, 1976-2007.....	256

Introduction

Women make up about 50 % of the population in any given country. They are visible in our lives. They are our mothers, sisters and daughters. However, when one looks at politics, all of the sudden they become invisible. Where are they? Paxton and Hughes (2007) highlight the invisibility of women in political sphere on the cover of their recently published book: a woman political leader surrounded by male leaders. It is the picture we are used to seeing. Scholars have asked and keep asking the question: why aren't there more women in politics? One reason why we keep asking this important question is because we desire to prescribe solutions to the problem. Women are given the formal right to political participation in most countries of the world. Of course, in any democracy, including Japan, women and men are given equal rights to participate in politics. While a definition of democracy and what democracy should look like is a contested issue among scholars, there is a consensus that a country that excludes social groups (e.g. women) from formally participating in politics does not qualify as democracy (See for example Dahl 1998). Formal rights, however, do not guarantee equal

outcomes. There are many factors that affect whether or not women decide to take part in politics and become political actors other than the formal right to do so. Scholars have attempted to investigate and sort out these factors. They argue that women do not run for office because they are not encouraged to do so through socialization (Campbell et al. 1960), because they are deprived of resources that are necessary to do so (Brady, Schlozman and Verba 1999; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995), or because political opportunities are not open to them to do so (Lakeman 1976; Rule 1987). However, this approach ignores how women come to perceive themselves as political actors in the first place. Only when they consider themselves as political actors, can we expect them to run for office. After all, running for office is one of the most demanding modes of political participation. Therefore, this study conceptualizes the women's running for office as a phenomenon that is made up of several steps. At the final step, we have women holding elected offices. At the beginning, we have women coming to perceive themselves as political actors. The second step is when they actually run.¹ Unlike most of the studies of women's representation, this study focuses on the first stage: how and when women come to consider themselves as political actors.

To answer this question; how and when women come to consider themselves as political actors, we have to look at where women are visible. We cannot seek answers to this question in electoral sphere because women's coming to perceive themselves as political actors has to precede women's political electoral participation. Therefore, I

¹ I will present a more detailed version of this model in the following chapter.

sought answers to this question in civil society where women are active. This is especially true for the case of Japanese women, the focus of my study.

Japanese women are active outside the electoral political sphere. They join civic organizations (Cabinet Office 2004), they volunteer (LeBlanc 1999; Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006) and they participated in several social movements that the country has experienced (Broadbent 1999; MacLachlan 2002; Noguchi 1992; Takeda 2006). However, they are underrepresented in both national and local level office.² This is a puzzle because it goes against the expectation of the literature. From de Tocqueville to Verba, participation in civil society is viewed as positive because it is believed to lead to more participation in the electoral political sphere. Something has to be occurring in the Japanese civil society that prevents the participants in the sphere from participating in the electoral political sphere.

This empirically motivated puzzle brought me back to re-examine the literature, advocating a positive relationship between civil society and electoral political participation, which led me to discover a misspecification in the theory. Namely I argue that participation in civil society can encourage political self-belief only when such participation exposes them to the taste of electoral political participation through face-to-face interactions with players in politics. Situating my study in the case of Japan, I focused on the role of Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs). More specifically, I examined

² Women's representation in the national parliament was 9.4% in 2005 and that in the local offices was 8.8% in 2005.

different effects of NPOs on women's political attitudes depending on the key factor: face-to-face interactions with inside political players.

Chapters Ahead

Chapter 1 presents the theory behind my study in greater detail. It summarizes previous scholars' arguments on women's representations, and civic participation and I offer a specification of the existing theory: how we should conceptualize and analyze the problem at hand. At the end of the chapter, hypotheses for the study are presented. The chapter integrates two bodies of literature: one on women's representation and one on civic participation. My goal for this study is to connect these bodies of literature by introducing a currently omitted factor, that is face-to-face interactions with inside political players.

Before testing my hypotheses, I present background information on Japanese civil society and Japanese women in Chapter 2. I first discuss the legal framework that surrounded the Japanese NPOs before 1998 and outline the difficulties that they experienced and subsequent consequences due to regulations imposed upon the NPOs. I then discuss the changes that were introduced by the NPO Law of 1998 and describe the consequences. In the chapter I also discuss the current social and economic conditions of Japanese women, who are the focus of the study. Subsequent chapters are my analyses.

I test my hypotheses using both quantitative and qualitative methods. In Chapter 3, I use Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) data from 2003 to test the hypothesis that the

positive effect of civil society organizational membership on the members' both external and internal political efficacies is conditional. In other words, I hypothesize members of NPOs but do not have face-to-face interaction with government officials are no more politically efficacious than those without NPO membership, and report the results. However, the survey does not include all the necessary questions to allow us to rule out selection bias. In other words, we do not know from the survey results that if more politically efficacious women join NPOs in the first place. In order to address the issue, I conducted semi-structured interviews with women in NPOs. The women were recruited from both NPOs that provide the members with opportunities to have face-to-face interactions with government officials and NPOs that do not to test my hypotheses. These women were recruited from Osaka, Japan between April and August of 2008.

In Chapter 4, I discuss the process I have taken to recruit the women who were included in the interviews. Chapter 5, 6 and 7 present the results from the interviews. I first report the reasons why the women joined their particular NPOs to refute the possible claim of selection bias. If the participants who were the members of partnership NPOs (NPOs that have partnership projects with government) joined the NPOs because they were more politically efficacious to begin with, my hypothesis would not be supported. Therefore in Chapter 5, I present the evidence that the participants in the study were personally, rather than politically motivated to join the NPOs and no systematic differences were found across types of NPOs. In Chapter 6, I discuss experiences of the women with regard to various skills obtained in the organizations. The current literature

on civic organizational membership argues that members of civic organizations come to have increased internal political efficacy due to civic skills they obtain through organizational activities. I will present evidence that the participants obtained various skills and these skills help them to perceive their lives more meaningful. In the same chapter, I also discuss why some organizations engaged in certain partnership projects but not others to examine if there was any selection bias at this stage. In Chapter 7, I will discuss different experiences the women have in non-partnership NPOs and partnership NPOs and how these experiences affected their political efficacy. In Chapter 8, I summarize the findings and discuss implications and limitations of my study.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Background

Introduction

The under-representation of women in legislative bodies is a global phenomenon. Currently there is no single country where women hold more than a majority of seats in the national legislature (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2008). Amongst the industrialized democracies, however, there is a considerable variation in the number of women legislators. Generally speaking, Scandinavian and Western European countries that implement gender quotas have higher ratios of female representatives in their national parliaments than those that do not. For example, in Sweden, where gender quotas are voluntarily practiced by some political parties,³ women comprise 47.0% of the members of *Riksdagen* (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2008), the national parliament. Indeed, the level of the women's representation in the Swedish parliament ranks second to Rwanda, which *guarantees*

³ These parties are Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party, Left Party, and Green Party of Sweden. All these parties assure that at least 50% of the candidates on the party list to be women.

that women will make up at least 30% of the members of the parliament.⁴ On the same list, Japan ranked 106th out of 188 countries, with only 50 countries having fewer women in the lower house. As of 2005, only 9.4% of the members of the *Shugiin* (the lower house) were women.⁵ This number is in fact the lowest among the advanced industrialized democracies. It is a puzzling phenomenon. Japan's economy is one of the largest in the world and women's suffrage has been going on for nearly 63 years.⁶ Therefore, understanding women's representation and how women win elected office are important questions to pursue, especially in the case of Japan.

What becomes key to answering these questions is to conceptualize running for office as a step-wise phenomenon. Not all women are able to run for political office in a given country. First, women have to become politically efficacious enough to even consider the possibility of doing so.⁷ Second, such women have to be recruited before actually running for office. It is my contention that the current literature ignores the first of those first steps where women become politically efficacious; this is the puzzle piece for this study. This is the step where women come to believe that they can make a difference in politics and where they come to believe that politics is not beyond their

⁴ The law requires women to be elected separately from men. 24 of the 80 members have to be women and the rest of the seats are competed by candidates of both sexes.

⁵ Out of 480 members of the lower house of the national parliament, 45 were women.

⁶ Female suffrage was given in 1945 by the Allied Occupation. The new Constitution of 1946 also guarantees the universal suffrage. The first election after the universal suffrage was held in 1946.

⁷ I will explain this point shortly.

capabilities. I will illustrate the traditional approaches to understand women's representation or lack of thereof. Then, I will demonstrate how exactly we should conceptualize the phenomenon and how we should study them. In doing so, I will argue that civil society organizations can play a key role if they have the right relationship with governments.

Political Efficacy and Modes of Political Participation

The concept of political efficacy was introduced in the 1954 book titled *The Voter Decides* by Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954). According to them, political efficacy is “the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process” (Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1954, p.187). Political efficacy is not the action of individuals, but how they perceive themselves as citizens in the political sphere (Sapiro 1984). It is “the feeling that political and social change is possible, and that the individual citizen can play a part in bringing about this change” (Campbell, Gurin and Miller 1954, p.187). It was measured by asking individuals whether or not they agreed or disagreed with four statements. These four statements are: (1) “people like me don't have any say about what the government does,” (2) “sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what's going on,” (3) “voting is the only way that people like me can have any say about how the government runs things,” and (4) “I don't think public officials care much what people like me think” (Morrell 2003). However, after numerous empirical tests, scholars found that the concept

was not unidimensional; rather, it was composed of two related, yet distinct, measurements. These are internal and external political efficacy. Internal political efficacy is defined as “individuals’ perceived self-competence that they understand and participate effectively in politics” (Craig, Niemi and Silver 1990, p. 290); and external political efficacy is individuals’ perception of the degree to which the government is responsive to their demands (e.g., Balch 1974; Converse 1972).

Political participations are defined as activities taken by citizens with intent to influence the government decision making processes or outcomes of such processes (see for example Verba et al. 1995). Verba, Nie, and Kim (1978) identified five types of political participation. These are voting, campaign activity, communal activity, contacting officials on personal matters and protest activity. These types of participation can be divided into two categories: conventional (voting, campaign activity, communal activity, contacting officials) and unconventional (protest activity). Conventional participations are highly ritualized and unconventional participations are less ritualized and sometimes involve violence in case as violent protests and riots.

Studying the relationship between two types of political efficacies (internal and external) and protest activities, Gamson (1968) argued that high internal and low external political efficacies exert the most mobilization potential for protest activities since individuals with these traits believe that “influence is both possible and necessary” (p.48). Craig and Maggiotto (1982) also found that individuals who exert high internal and low external political efficacies are more likely to accept protest activities or violence.

Gamson's protest activity is, then, located in cell (b) in Table 1.1 – activity that requires high internal political efficacy and low external political efficacy. The table corresponds to the typology of political activities developed by Zimmerman (1989, p.564). He argued that those who possess high internal political efficacy but low external efficacy (cell b) are activists outside electoral arena (unconventional politics). Those who possess high external political efficacy but low internal political efficacy participate in electoral politics as followers because “(t)hese people lack confidence in their abilities but act if asked because they do believe that the system would be responsive” (p. 564). Those who lack both internal and external political efficacies (cell a) withdraw from political participation altogether. Lastly, but most importantly for this study, he argued that those who possess high internal and external political efficacies (cell d) take part in conventional electoral politics, and among most efficacious even become officials themselves because “they believe in their own competence and act within the political system because they also believe it is responsive to change” (p. 564) Similarly, Finkel (1985) has found that high internal and external efficacies are related to higher likelihood of participation in campaign activities and voting. Looking at participation in American state initiatives, Bowler and Donnavan (2002) also have found that higher internal and external efficacies are related to participation in initiatives.

		Internal Political Efficacy	
		Low	High
External Political Efficacy	Low	(a)	(b)
	High	(c)	(d)

Table 1.1: Zimmerman's Typology of Political Participation by Political Efficacy

It is true that people participate in conventional modes of politics such as voting because they are asked to do so. Indeed, Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) have argued that solicitation is one of the most important factors explaining in voting, persuading others how to vote, working for political parties or candidates, and donating money to political parties or candidates (conventional modes of political participation). However, in all these models, after controlling mobilization, both internal and external political efficacies remain significant and their coefficients are positive, suggesting that higher internal and external efficacies are related to these modes of participation (Rosenstone and Hansen 1993, pp.273-281. Table D-1, D-2, D-3 and D-4 in Appendix D).

Therefore, it is implied that running for office, which is also part of electoral participation, is affected by both internal and external political efficacies. Moreover, Brady, Schlozman and Verba (1999) argue that the political solicitors recruit potential political activists among those who are already politically efficacious in order to save time and resources. Therefore, for highly demanding electoral participation such as

running for office, both internal and external political efficacies are very important. However, in the current literature that studies the causes of the lack of women from political offices does not discuss the role of political efficacies. In the following sections, I will illustrate the current literature on explanations for low women's representation in legislative offices and show how it fails to address the role of political efficacies.

Factors Explaining Low Women's Representation in Legislative Offices

In search of the reason why women are under-represented in legislative offices, scholars have found that underrepresentation of women begins before they actually run for office. In other words, women are under-represented not because they fail to win when they run (Kirkpatrick 1974; Darcy and Schramm 1977), but because they simply do not run (Burrell 1994; Carroll 1994; Fox, Lawless and Feeley 2001; Fox and Lawless 2004). Scholars have found that, in American contexts, when women run for office, they are equally likely to win and are perceived as favorably by voters as men. For example, Darcy and Shramm (1977) examined all US House of Representative elections in 1970, 1972 and 1974 and found that candidate gender had little effect on the candidates' likelihood of success in the election when their party and incumbency status were controlled for. A similar finding emerged for primary elections. Burrell (1994) examined primary elections for the US House of Representatives between 1968 and 1992 and

concluded that female challengers were as likely as male counterparts to win.⁸ To examine if gender bias exists in voters' evaluations of candidates, Thompson and Steckenrider (1997) sent out surveys to randomly selected voters in Los Angeles. Presented with hypothetical candidates who varied on several characteristics, the respondents were asked which candidates they would vote for. In the study, Thompson and Steckenrider (1997) found that candidate gender had little impact on the respondent vote choice. Therefore, scholars agree that understanding the reason why women choose not to run is the key to understanding the underrepresentation of women in legislative office.

So Why Don't Women Run? Three Strands of Explanations

Social-Structural Explanation

A survey of scholarly work reveals that there are three groups of explanations for why women do not run for political office. These are 1) social-structural; 2) cultural; and 3) political opportunity explanations. Social-structural explanations contend that women are under-represented because they are deprived of necessary resources for political participation. Participating in politics, especially running for office, requires resources.

⁸ In 21 elections for House of Representatives between 1946 and 2000 in Japan, the average proportion of women in the candidates was 3.9% while that of women in the winners was 2.6%. Without controlling for other variables, however, it cannot tell whether or not women are less likely to win when they run. Data is from Table 11-5 in Kobayashi, Chieko. 2003. "Chapter 11." In *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Toukei Deeta Bukku: Nihon no Josei to Dansei* (Data on Gender Equality in Japan), *Dokuritsu Gyousei Houjin Kokuritsu Josei Kyouiku Kaikan.*, Yoichi Ito and Yayoi Sugihashi. Gyousei: Tokyo Japan.

These resources include time, money, civic skills and recruitment networks (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995, p. 271). One has to be educated and have monetary resources in order to seek out the political information necessary for participation. For example, looking at the political participation of women between 1952 and 1972 in the United States, Andersen (1975) found that employed women were continuously more likely to participate than housewives. While female labor force participation has increased in industrialized democracies, women are still less likely to be in the labor force than men in these countries. For example, the percentage of women in the adult labor force over the age of 15 is 46%, 45% and 47% in the US, Germany and Canada, respectively (United Nations Statistics Division 2008). Even in Scandinavian countries, where a majority of women participate in labor force, their proportion of in the total work force is still below parity (United Nations Statistics Division 2008).⁹ Moreover, when women hold jobs, they are less likely to be in executive and administrative positions (Kanter 1993) and they do not earn as much as men, therefore limiting the discretionary resources of women. Indeed, even in countries that are member of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and development (OECD), gender gaps in pay still exist.¹⁰

Some occupations are more likely to expose people to political solicitation network than others and these occupations that are highly exposed to such network are

⁹ While in Sweden, 61% of women over age 15 are in the work force, the proportion of women in the total work force is 48%. Similarly, while 62% of Norwegian women are in labor force, the proportion of women in the total work force is 48% (United Nations Statistics Division 2008).

¹⁰ For example, the gender pay gaps in Germany, UK, and Japan are 74%, 75%, and 59%, respectively (United Nations Statistics Division, 2008).

called “eligibility pool” for candidacy (Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Duerst-Lahti 1998). By being in such occupations as lawyers and professionals, individuals expose themselves to political solicitation, including requests to run for an office. For example, in the United State, many politicians have a legal background. Since women are underrepresented in legal occupations, they are less likely to run for office and it is expected that as women increase their presence in these “pipeline” occupations, the number of women who seek public office will also increase (Simon and Landis 1989; Thomas 1998). However, the pipeline explanation derived from the US experience may not apply to Japan. According to Takeyasu (2004), most common occupations for female members of local legislative offices were housewives and part-time workers.

Cultural Explanations

Cultural explanations focus on the effects of traditional gender role expectations on women’s aspirations to become involved in politics. Through their experiences and social expectations, women have traditionally tended to be less assertive, and consequently to refrain from actively participating in politics (Campbell et al. 1960). This generalization held outside the US as well. In a study of India, Japan, Nigeria and Austria, Kim, Nie and Verba (1974) found that gender was the single most important factor explaining differences in participation levels. Politics was generally thought to be part of a man’s world. Women’s participation in politics, therefore, was looked upon as being overly masculine or as abandoning more appropriate gender roles (Pharr 1981). Moreover,

people are generally socialized in a context in which women are underrepresented. Since there are not many women in politics, the message that politics is not for women is passed on to the next generations (Bardes and Oldendick 2003; Owen and Dennis 1988). In this regard Sanbonmatsu (2003) has found that women voters in districts with female candidates are in general more knowledgeable about politics and are more interested in the outcomes of the elections than counterparts in districts where there are no women candidates.

Political Opportunity Explanations

Political opportunity explanations for women's underrepresentation in legislative offices focus on the role of political parties as a gatekeeper. When only one individual can be elected from a district, political parties find it difficult to nominate women given that women are relative newcomers in politics when compared to men (Lakeman 1976; Rule 1987). Given that most of the incumbents are male and incumbents have a great advantage in winning elections (Alford, Hibbing 1981; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994), this consideration of party officials is not surprising. However, when multiple seats are up for elections, political parties find it easier to nominate women to balance the ticket in order to appeal to different constituents (Rule 1987). Supportive empirical evidence comes from both cross-national studies within the US. Comparative studies across countries compare countries that use a Proportional Representation (PR) system with

those that use single-member systems. Norris (1985), in her study of 24 developed democracies, found that women's representation level was higher in countries with PR systems than those with majoritarian systems. Similarly, examining data from 23 countries between 1980 and 1982, Rule (1987) has concluded that PR systems have a significantly positive effect on the representation of women in national legislatures when other socioeconomic conditions and strengths of right-wing parties were controlled for (Rule). Other scholars have found similar results (Matland 1998; Vengroff, Nyiri and Fugiero 2003).

Even when other factors are controlled for, results from cross-national comparative studies can be due to the omission of important social-cultural variables. In order to avoid this problem, one has to compare cases that are from places with similar social and cultural variables. A study by Darcy, Welch and Clark (1985) was such. They found that similar results for US local elections. They examined the results from 14 US states that had both single-member district and multi-member district elections within the same years. In all 14 cases, women ran in greater proportions in multi-member districts than in single-member districts.

Besides nomination, political parties can more directly influence the level of women's representation by adopting gender quotas. Yet not all political parties adopt gender quotas. Examining data on 71 political parties from 11 advanced democracies, Caul (2001) has found that political parties that had higher percentage of female MPs and female party activists were more likely to adopt gender quotas. She also has found that

left-wing parties were more likely to adopt gender quotas and, when some political parties introduce such quotas, other political parties in the same system were more likely to do so. Looking at the variation in the same political parties in the level of adoption of gender quotas in local elections in Germany between 1990 and 2000, Davidson-Schmich (2006) has argued that political party leaders responded to local characteristics. In particular, where Catholicism or agriculture were prevalent, party leaders were less likely to implement gender quotas than in Protestant or more industrial regions of the country.

How We Should Conceptualized the Issue

Social-structural, cultural and political opportunity explanations all imply that progressive changes will have positive effects on women's representation in legislative offices. Greater female workforce participation and greater access for women to managerial and pipeline occupations will give them more discretionary resources, and will expose them to political solicitation. What is implied from the literature is that progressive changes in gender role expectations make it culturally acceptable that women actively pursue political careers and changes in electoral systems from single-member district systems to multi-member district systems will open political opportunities for women.

There is, however, a disconnection between these explanations. While progressive changes in social structure and culture may make it easier for women to consider candidacy, and political parties may find it easier to nominate women under multi-

member district electoral systems, women have to actually want to run for office. As Shingles argues (1981), purpose of running for office is to change policies, and therefore, requires high political efficacy. In other words, even if political parties are interested in recruiting women, if women are not political efficacious and not interested in seeking offices, they will not run.

Although social structural and cultural changes may make it easier for women to consider candidacy, they do not explain who will actually consider it. What connects these push factors (social structure and culture) and pull factors (political parties' recruitment) is the process of attitudinal change.

Therefore, running for office should be conceptualized as comprising the following steps:

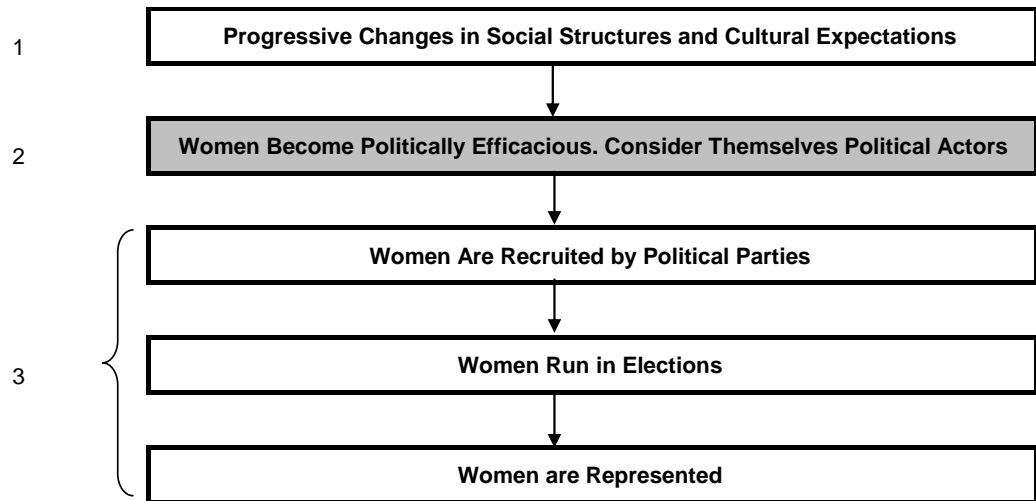


Figure 1.1: Step Model of Women's Representation

As discussed, the current literature only discusses the push factors (improved resources and changing gender role expectation), and the pull factors (roles of political parties and political opportunities) in explaining women's candidacy. However, it fails to connect these two groups of factors. What connects these factors is the process by which women become politically efficacious. In other words, women have to believe that they are capable of understanding politics and that they can influence political outcomes before they will consider running for office. Even if structural and cultural burdens are removed and political parties are interested in nominating women, if women do not feel politically efficacious, they are unlikely to consider about becoming a candidate in an election.

As for study on political ambition, most works study the factors explaining the incumbent office holders to either run for reelection (Diermeier, Keane and Marlo

2005; Hall and van Houweling 1995) or run for higher office (Abramson, Aldrich and Rohde 1987; Brace 1984; Maestas et al. 2006). The former is what Schlesinger (1966) called “static” ambition and latter is “progressive” (p.10). Studying the current office holders, they argue for the importance of cost and benefit calculations of political opportunity structures by the potential candidates to determine whether or not to run. By focusing on the current office holders, this literature assumes that they want to run. Given that they are already ambitious, their decisions are affected by their cost and benefit calculations. In order to fully understand who consider running for office, however, it is necessary not to take ambition for granted.

Lawless and Fox (2005) also criticize the current literature for conceptualizing running for office as a one-step process. Instead, they have argued that those who are in an eligible pool first have to consider becoming a candidate, and then they have to run. Examining the Citizen Political Ambition Study, a nationwide survey of 3,765 lawyers, business executives, and educators, they have found that the women were significantly less likely to consider themselves qualified to run for office than men. Follow-up in-depth interviews revealed that the women in these occupations perceived gender bias in both their work environment and the electoral process. In other words, they believed that, for women to appear qualified, they had to work harder than men. In addition, when compared to male interviewees, female interviewees considered previous experience to be necessary to be qualified as a candidate than men.

There are two shortcomings to Lawless and Fox’s study, however. First, it

assumes running for office or holding an office is positive, that is, something desirable, and women are less likely to consider themselves as good enough for such opportunities than men. However, I believe that if women do not perceive politics as something positive and government to be responsive, they will not want to associate themselves with politics in the first place. Therefore, in order to understand who considers becoming a candidate and how, we have to examine women's perceptions of politics and government and how their perceptions become positive, if at all. That is, the investigation of the role of political efficacy is important. The second shortcoming of their study is that they only examined those occupations that are considered to be "eligible pools." By doing so, it reinforces gender bias. It does not allow for the possibility of alternative trajectory for women.

Search for Factors that Affect Women's Political Efficacies

I have argued that women's political attitudes are a necessary missing link connecting the push factors and pull factors are the traditional explanations of women running for office. It is my contention that civil society organizations can influence women's political attitudes, specifically they can increase their political efficacy. However, the current literature fails to explain exactly how this process of attitudinal change occurs. In this section, I will review the current literature on the effects of civil society organizational membership on political efficacy and explain how the expectations from the literature that such membership increases political efficacy may not apply to Japanese women and

how my dissertation can fill in the gap. In doing so, I will argue for the importance of face-to-face interaction with government officials through partnership projects between civil society organizations and governments.

Civil Society Organization and Political Efficacy

The study of civil society and its impact is not new. Alexis de Tocqueville who visited the US in the 19th century was impressed by the active civil society there and argued that the active political life among the citizens were due to such lively civic engagement among the citizens. His legacy has been carried on by other scholars. For example Robert Putnam (1995b) argued in his famous book *Bowling Alone*, that the decrease in civic engagement in America has had negative effects on the quality of democracy there. One such effect is the increasing mistrust of the government among the citizens. He urged the revitalization of civic participation. The study by Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995) - *Voice and Equality* is another study on the effect of civic engagement. They argued that the inequality in participation in civil society leads to inequality in electoral political participation (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). According to these scholars, participation in such organizations has positive effects on the individuals.

In other words, in the current literature, the scholarly consensus is that civic organizational participation increases one's likelihood of political participation (Verba, Nie and Kim 1978; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Burns, Schlozman and Verba

2001). It is because of the unintended consequences that civic organizations afford for their members. These could be engagement in political discussion (Rogers, Bultena and Barb 1975; Verba, Nie and Kim 1978), interest in politics (Baumgartner and Walker 1988; Verba, Nie and Kim 1978), enhanced awareness of political matters (Pollock 1982b), civic skills (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995), and political solicitation. (Brady, Schlozman and Verba 1999; Leighley 1996; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995) The notion is that these factors increase the political efficacy of members.

In the literature, the reason why one's political efficacy should be increased through civic organizational activities remains unclear. I summarize the current state of the literature on political efficacy in Figure 1.2. According to Verba, Schlozman and Brady (1995), civil society organizations provide their members with opportunities to develop oral, presentation, and leadership skills (civic skills), so that they help increase individuals' belief that they are able to participate in politics (internal political efficacy). Similarly, just as scholars who claim participation in electoral politics (e.g. voting and campaign activities) enhances the participant's external political efficacy (Clark and Acock 1989; Finkel 1985 & 1987), Hooghe (2003) argues that current and previous membership in voluntary associations positively influence external political efficacy. Similarly, Pollock (1982a) has found active membership in voluntary association has positive influence on one's external political efficacy. Comparing external political efficacy before and after an American Congressional election in 1996, Joslyn and Cigler

(2001) found that group membership has strong positive influence on external political efficacy. However, why oral, presentation, and leadership skills that are generated within organizations help individuals believe in their capability of understanding politics, and why and how external political efficacy (feeling that the political system is responsive) is affected remain understudied. Some may argue that organizational activities expose individuals to political discussions (Erickson and Nosanchuck 1990) and through these political discussions, they become more aware of political affairs. However, not all civic organizations provide such opportunities. For example, following the distinction between instrumental and expressive organizations by Gordon and Babchuk (1959), von Erlach (2006) has found that organizations that “exist primarily to furnish activities for members as an end in itself” (Gordon and Babchuk 1959, p.25) such as sports clubs and cultural associations are less likely to expose members to political discussions than organizations that “serve as social influence organizations designed to maintain or to create some normative condition or change” (p.25) such as environmental organizations and animal protection organizations. Moreover, how does participating in important decision making in civic organizations make members feel that they have any say in the larger political sphere?

The under-specified mechanisms are shown in Figure 1.2. In the political efficacy literature, how skills obtained through organizational activities such as oral, presentation and leadership skills influence members’ belief that they can understand politics is

underspecified. Similarly, the literature is not clear about what about civic organizational membership influences members' belief in the responsiveness of the system.

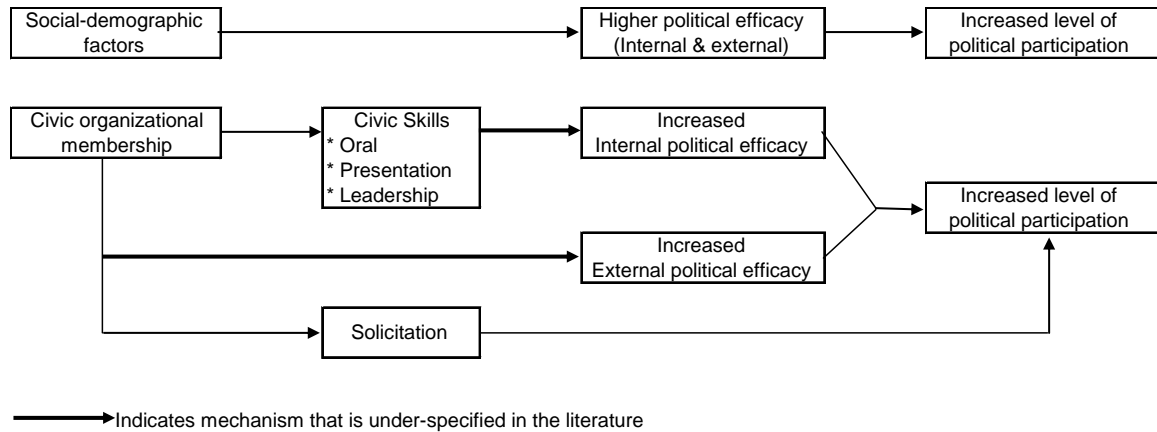


Figure 1.2: Political Efficacy Study

Moreover, I suspect that this expectation that civil society organizational membership increases members both internal and external political efficacies, which is derived from the American experiences, may not apply to Japanese women for three reasons. First, American civil society organizations and their Japanese counterparts are quite different. Generally speaking, American civil society organizations are professionalized (Kramer 1985; Smith and Lipsky 1993). They have full-time staff members and office spaces. Moreover, they are well funded. Even when we look at rather small neighborhood associations and recreational groups (501(c) 7), the average revenue

for such organizations is over \$500,000 per year (National Center for Charitable Statistics 2008). On the other hand, Japanese civil society organizations are not professionalized. According to a 2004 study by the Cabinet Office (2004), on average, Japanese civil society organizations have less than one full-time staff member and many of them do not have any paid staff at all. Around 60% of the organizations raised less than \$10,000 a year and another 25% of them raised less than \$200,000 a year (Cabinet Office 2004).

Second, Japanese women are active in civil society organizations, but they do not participate in politics beyond voting. According to the Japan General Social Survey, around 35% of women belong to one or more civil society organizations (religious, hobby, sports, social welfare, or social movement organizations). Japanese women are also active in volunteering. According to the Cabinet Office Study (2006), on average, women were more likely to participate in volunteer activity than men (27.2% vs. 25.1%). As shown in Figure 1.3 in all age group under 60 years old, women were more likely to volunteer than men. When we look at the 40-44 age group, the gender gap favored women by as much as 13.6% (Cabinet Office 2006). Interestingly, however, despite the greater activity in civil society, women do not appear equally active in the electoral political sphere. Although they vote more frequently than men, they do not participate in politics beyond voting. According to the Japan General Social Survey of 2003, only 11% of women engaged in campaign activities and only 19% of the women attended political meetings.¹¹

¹¹ 17% of men engaged in campaign activities and 33% of the men attended political meetings.

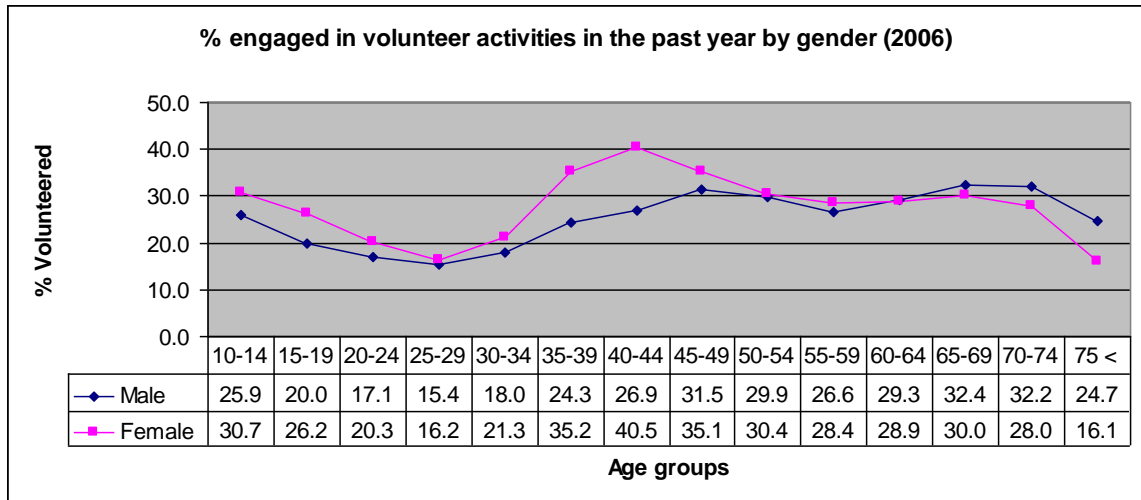


Figure 1.3: Volunteer Rate by Gender in Japan (2006)

Third, LeBlanc (1999), who engaged in a participant observation study of Japanese housewives who were active in volunteer organizations, found that the volunteers did not perceive themselves as political actors. Instead, they found politics distasteful. They did not perceive politics to offer a solution to social ills such as lack of social welfare for the handicapped or the elderly. Instead, for them, politics was not a means of achieving necessary goals; instead, it was something to be avoided.

In short, the literature on membership of civil society organizations and its effect on political efficacy (both internal and external) not only fails to provide unique process by which members become politically efficacious, but it also fails to explain the discrepancy between active civil society organizational participation of Japanese women and their inactive participation in the electoral politics. As stated earlier, the key to

understanding both their anomalies lies in members' face-to face interaction or lack thereof with government officials through their organizational membership. If members of civil society organizations interact with government officials, they can come to perceive their civic skills as political resources. Writing to government officials and personally interacting with them, can make members perceive their actions as being political and effective. While writing to other members and having internal meetings may not necessarily appear political to those who engage in such actions, the same interaction with government officials in carrying out projects and exchanging information, can help members come to believe that government is responsive to them. Being a part of the decision making process within an organization may make the members believe that they have a say in the organization, but that belief may not necessarily diffuse to politics at large.

Not all civil society organizations are created equal and they cannot be expected to have the same effect on members. What matters is the organizational relationship with the government. When civil society organizations and government are in a *supplementary* relationship (Young 2000), in which they do not cooperate in carrying out tasks, members of the civil society organizations do not have the opportunity to interact and work with government officials. On the other hand, when civil society organizations and government are in a *complementary* relationship in which both parties work to achieve similar goals and they collaborate in doing so, their members are given the opportunity to interact with and cooperate with government officials in pursuing shared goals. I believe

face-to-face interaction with government officials in pursuing shared goals is critical to increase both internal and external political efficacy of members for four reasons: and it is my intention to test these expectations in the following chapters.

First, face-to-face interaction with government officials through non-profit organizational activities is effective in developing mutual trust. Moreover, I contend that when citizens develop trusting relationships with those in power, they can come to believe in the responsiveness of political institutions and in their ability to make a difference by working through the system.¹² Second, when citizens work with government, it can change their perception on the role of the governments from an organization they take orders from to one they work with. Third, through face-to-face interaction with government officials, citizens can personalize and contextualize what used to be an abstract, distant concept: politics. Fourth, by working closely with government officials, individuals can learn about how the system really works and become confident of their ability to understand politics. For these reasons, I believe that face-to-face interaction between citizens and government officials in the context of partnerships between civil society organizations and government play a key role in increasing both the internal and external political efficacy of organizational members.

¹² I argue that established face-to-face interaction with those in government is different from mere “contacting officials.” It is because one can pick up a phone to place complaints yet for established face-to-face interaction to occur, more repeated contacts are required. It may be argued that those who are politically efficacious and politically active are more likely to initiate such contacts, the relationship is mixed in the current literature (See, Verba and Nie, 1972; Sharp, 1982; Hero, 1986). Moreover I will address potential self selection in the later chapters (Chapter 5 and 6).

The social capital literature discusses the importance of face-to-face interaction within civic organizations. Indeed, it argues that such interaction can generate mutual trust, which in turn spreads to government. However, I argue that they, too, fail to explain why. In the next section, I will discuss the literature on social capital and its effects and present why I believe that they fail to explain the causal mechanism and why my model can fill the gap.

Literature on Social Capital and Its Effects

Social capital theorists contend that when citizens work with peers in civic organizations, they learn to cooperate with and trust with each other (Putnam 1995a, 1995b, 1995c) and this generalized trust and norms of reciprocity work to strengthen social relationships. In his book *Bowling Alone*, Putnam (1995b) distinguishes social capital into two types: bonding and bridging. Bonding social capital, according to Putnam, is the connection between similar groups such as family members, kins and socially homogeneous people. Bridging social capital, on the other hand, brings different people together across kin lines, of beliefs, race and ethnicity. Bonding social capital does not necessarily lead to generalized trust in society as a whole since membership of such groups is based on exclusion. Members can strengthen their identification with each other, yet that same identification can cause conflicts with others outside the group, at the same time trust between group members is strengthened (Sotiropoulos 2005). However, when

organizations include not only closely-knit social groups, but also heterogeneous groups together, people learn to be tolerant of each other, and this leads to generalized trust.

Scholars argue that such generalized trust and norms of reciprocity decrease uncertainty in social and economic life. By doing so, social capital contributes to decreasing crime rates (Kennedy et al. 1998), and relaxed economic regulations (Woolcock 1998), which in turn decreases the economic and social costs of coordination paid by actors in general. Scholars argue that the effects of social capital are not limited to social and economic spheres; generalized trust among citizens also spills over to formal institutions including government (Putnam 2000; Almond and Verba 1963). Thus, calls for social capital revival are often made by scholars concerned with declining citizen trust in government in advanced democracies (See for example, Nye, Zelikow and King 1997; Pharr and Putnam 2000). However, why there should be such a spill-over effect remains unexplained.

The problem, it seems to me, is that the social capital literature does not distinguish clearly between social network and their functions. Social capital works to strengthen social relationships, thereby having positive effects on social capital, and there is the confusion of social network with what it does. Social capital is mainly positively illustrated in the literature, as to work to strengthen social relationships, which has effects on social, economic and political life. In that sense, social capital is the positive *outcome* of the social networks generated by face-to-face contacts among the people in civil society. However, organizational and associational membership is often used as an

indicator of social capital (for example, Kim 2005; Knack and Keefer 1997). Instead of compounding what social capital is, what it does and what it is generated by, we should keep to these three dimensions separate.

If we define social capital as outcome of social network such as generalized trust (what it is), cooperation between citizens can be one of the functions of social capital (what it does), and face-to-face interaction between citizens is what generates such generalized trust (what it is generated by). In doing so, we should also consider face-to-face contacts with different ranks of people. If we believe that face-to-face contacts with peers will lead to mutual and generalized trust among citizens, why can't we extend the idea to interaction between citizens and government officials? In the right context, such interaction should generate mutual trust between the actors and should lead to generalized trust. In this context, generalized trust can be citizen's belief in political system responsiveness, which is handled by government officials.

Just as not all civil society organizations provide face-to-face interaction between members, not all civil society organizations allow for face-to-face interaction between members and government officials. Moreover, if the absence of face-to-face interaction between peers discourages generalized trust among citizens, then the positive outcome cannot be expected in the absence of face-to-face interaction between members and government officials.

The current literature fails to expand the notion that the face-to-face interaction between peers is necessary to generate generalized trust to interaction between citizens

and government officials, hence the causal mechanism remains unexplained. The insight of this clarification and the literature on civic organizations and the effects on members as discussed earlier will help us to understand which civic organizations can raise political efficacy of members. Just as face-to-face interaction with peers is important in generating mutual trust among citizens, why don't we consider face-to-face interaction between citizens and government officials is important to generate mutual trust between the two actors? Moreover, as discussed, by closely working with government officials, citizens can become familiar with the day-to-day operation of government. That civic organizational membership itself does not affect political efficacy of their members, instead, face-to-face interaction with government officials through organizational activities does is my theoretical contribution to the literature. Moreover, by doing so, it can shed light on where and how women become politically efficacious. My model is summarized in Figure 1.4 below.

Specified Model of Political Empowerment Through Civic Organizational Membership (my model)

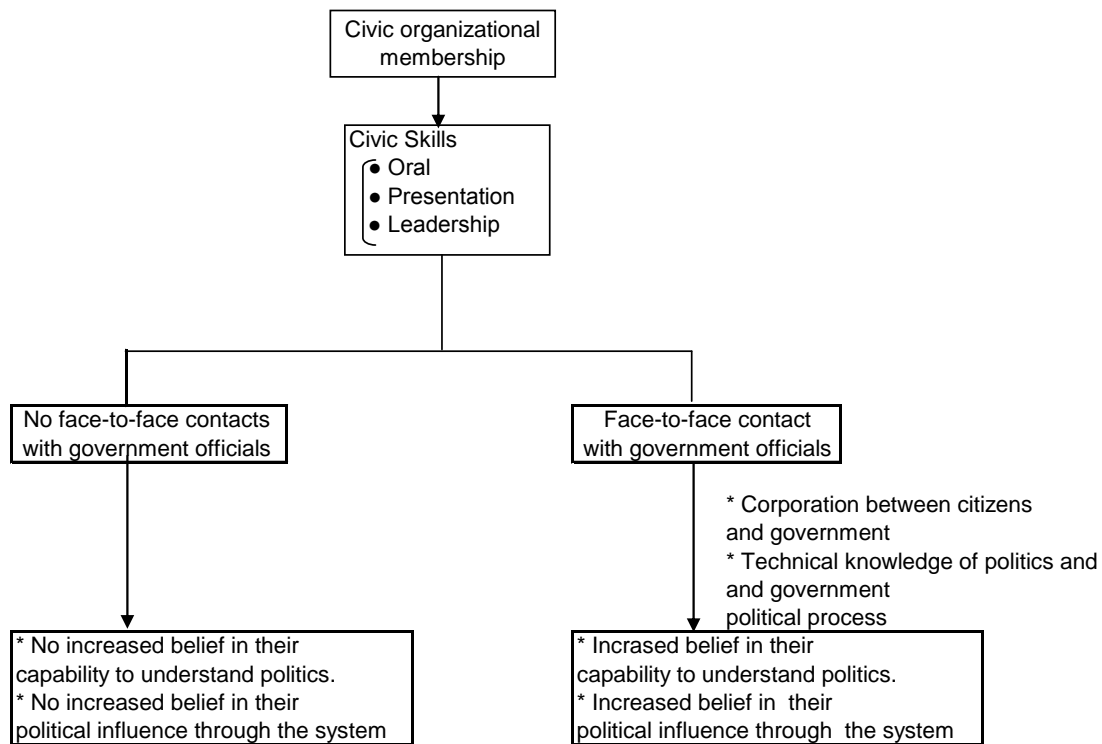


Figure 1.4: Face-to-Face Interaction through NPOs and Political Efficacy (My Model)

This failure to specify the mechanism may be responsible for mixed empirical findings with regard to the effects of civic participations on their members. For example, Brehm and Rahn (1997), using the American General Social Survey data (1972-1994), found that membership in civic organizations negatively influence one's level of trust in government while it positively influences one's trust in other individuals. Since trust/faith in government, a dimension of external political efficacy is related to political participation in the conventional political sphere (Bowler and Donnavan 2002; Campbell

et al. 1960; Finkel 1985; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993), Brehm and Rahn's findings imply that those who participate in civic organizations are less likely to participate in conventional politics. This implies in turn organizational participation does not itself bring about individual empowerment. In the study of service delivery civic organizations, Walker (2002, p.183) has found that participants consider their activities as alternative to "messy, dirty, compromise-filled world of politics." Similarly, studying women in neighborhood organizations in poor urban areas in the US, Naples (1991, 1992) has noted that their activities was overtly political, involving writing letters to Congressmen, approaching city councils and mobilizing citizens: Yet, they claimed that they had nothing to do with politics. Naples has contended that this is because women tend to hold a negative image of "politics" and tend to associate politics with power-hungry and self-interest-driven activities.

Since people who are in civic organizations are probably more likely to have such opportunity for face-to-face interaction with those in government than those who are outside of such organizations, the literature might have connected civil society organizational membership to increased belief in system responsiveness among members of such organizations. What is important, however, is that not all civic organizations provide such opportunities. Without such a linkage, it is possible that civic organizational members come to have increased self and organizational efficacy without much efficacy in the political system. As argued feeling that one's voice counts and belief that they

understand politics are important explanatory factors for political participation in formal political sphere.

NPO-Government Relationship: Importance of “Partnership/Complementary Relationship”

There are three types of NPO-Government relationships. The relationships are divided into three: supplementary, complementary and adversarial (Young 2000). Looking at the emergence and the growth of the NPO sector, economists depict NPO-Government relationship to be supplementary one. NPOs and government are in supplementary relationship when their relationship is zero-sum in nature. In other words, NPOs emerge to satisfy demands that are inadequately met by either the market or government. Governments are expected to deliver goods and services that the private market fails to deliver adequately and government failure theorists contend that the nonprofit sector emerges to fulfill community needs of that are unmet by governments.

A second model of the relationship between government and NPOs is the complementary model. It holds that NPOs and government are in complementary relationship when both parties work to achieve similar goals and they collaborate in the means. For example, Salamon (1987) contends that nonprofit organizations do not simply provide services that government fails to provide. Instead, he argues that governments often subsidize nonprofit organizations to deliver some goods (Salamon). Although the amount and the percentages vary across countries, governments are still major financial

supporters of the nonprofit sectors in many countries (Salamon and Anheier 1996).¹³

Several scholars have found that the size of nonprofit sector grew in proportion to the amount of government subsidies to the sector (Salamon 1987; Smith and Lipsky 1993; Frank and Salkever 1994). Since in a complementary relationship, NPOs and government collaborate to pursue shared goals, more frequent interactions between NPO members and government officials are expected.

If we shift our attention to advocacy groups such as social movement organizations, the NPO-Government relationship can be more adversarial one. NPOs and government are in an adversarial relationship when NPOs push the government to do what it otherwise would have not such as regime change or expansion of civil rights to formerly excluded groups. Civil society organizations in labor, women's, indigenous and peasant movements often challenged the non-democratic governments and intentionally and unintentionally encouraged democratization. For example, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina and Agrupacion de Majeres democraticas (the Association of Democratic Women) in Chile were both part of larger women's movement in their respective countries. Both organizations took advantage of the roles of mothers and housewives, which the state took as non-threatening. Pressuring and demanding the states to account for their missing fathers, husbands and sons was their intended goal. Through the process, however, they both contributed to the democratization process (Alvarez 1990; Craske 1999; Martin and Sikkink 1993; Noonan 1995. For an overview of the

¹³ Government provides 80 to 90% of the funds for social welfare corporations in Japan (Salamon, Anheier 1997, p.198).

women's movements and democratic transition in Latin America, see Waylen 1994). In these work, the relationship between civil society organization and the government is a contested one, where voices and actions of such organizations are often repressed.

Young (2000) argues that citizen movement groups such as environmental groups that fought against industrial pollution in the 1960s and 1970s in Japan had an *adversarial* relationship with the government. However, these citizen movement groups were temporary, ad-hoc and did not secure their place in civil society after the government gave some concessions. Instead, the movement ceased to exist, or at least lost voice in both local and national politics (Hirata 2002). Since I argue that face-to-face interaction with government officials through organizational activities and absence of such interaction can have different effects on members of the organizations in the following section, I will illustrate the two NPO-Government relationships (supplementary and complementary) after a discussion of why Japan is a good case to study.

Why Japan in a Good Case to Study

What makes Japan an interesting case is that it recently went through structural change which altered the relationship between civil society organizations and the government. Since I will discuss Japanese civil society and the changes it has gone through in detail in the next chapter, I will limit any description of it here to be minimal. Traditionally, the relationship between the locally-based citizen-led organizations and governments was

mainly supplementary, therefore, the governments held upper hands (Auger 2003; Young 2000). This was because many organizations did not apply for legal status and carried out their missions without government for the following reasons. First, the process of obtaining legal status was heavily regulated by the government and without the legal status, daily operation of organizations was difficult (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003b; Pekkanen and Simon 2003). Bureaucrats were given discretion over which groups were given legal status, and this gave incentives to bureaucrats to intervene in organizations' affairs in exchange for a smooth application process (Estevez-Abe 2003; Hirata 2002; Pekkanen 2003b). Second, once they granted the legal status, the bureaucrats directly interfered in organizations' activities and also influenced them indirectly through a practice called *amakudari*, where retired bureaucrats found employments in these organizations (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003a). Therefore, most locally-based citizen organizations remained unincorporated and stayed out of the reach of government in carrying out their businesses (supplementary relationship= no relationship) (Young 2000).

Young's study falls short of discussing the NPO Law of 1998¹⁴ which redefined the process by which NPOs obtain legal status in Japan. This law made the application process much easier and the number of NPOs with legal status grew. Moreover, local

¹⁴ Before 1998, locally-based citizen-led civic organizations had a hard time in obtaining legal (incorporation) status. It is because in order for them to get incorporated, they had to: 1) prove their organizational goal is to service "public"; 2) have substantial assets; 3) and approved by bureaucratic agencies. Bureaucratic agencies had discretionary power in determining a) what "public" or "public goods" should be, and b) which organizations should obtain legal status. As a result, most locally-based citizen organizations remained un-incorporated. Without incorporation status, however, these organizations had difficulty in obtaining donations, entering into any contracts, or obtaining legitimacy from the public.

governments are increasingly cooperating with NPOs not only in delivering goods and services, but also in making policies.¹⁵ Therefore, I argue that the NPO Law of 1998 established a new NPO-Government relationship in Japan, which is *complementary*.

Since members are mainly women in the Japanese NPOs (See Chapter 2 for details), this new environment is expected to have some effect on them. Since many of them now have face-to-face interaction with government officials when carrying out projects, I believe that face-to-face interaction with government officials through NPO-government partnerships can play a role in raising members' political efficacy, which is necessary for them to consider running for office.

Therefore: Hypotheses for this dissertation are:

1. NPO membership per se does not explain political efficacy of women.
2. Cooperation and working with government officials through partnership projects often help raise the political efficacy of female members of NPOs. Some of these women come to consider themselves as political actors and entertain the idea of running for office.
3. Not cooperating or working with government officials through partnership projects has no effect on the political efficacy of the female NPOs. Therefore, they do not develop a desire to run for office.

¹⁵ According to the survey done by the Cabinet Office in 2003, 67.5 % of prefectures and 41.5% of municipalities surveyed, invited NPOs to local decision making processes. In 75 % of prefectures and 42.7% of municipalities, information and knowledge were exchanged between NPOs and local governments.

Conclusion

I have argued that in order to explain the women's representation in national legislatures, we need to conceptualize the electoral success as a process comprising several steps. First, social structural barriers have to be removed so that women develop the skills and resources that encourage electoral political participation. Second, so that participation in politics no longer appears to be something "not feminine," progressive attitudinal changes in society also have to follow. Finally, political parties have to overcome prejudice and make efforts to recruit women to run. Each step is an important one, but these explanations do not tell the whole story. Even if social structural and cultural barriers are removed and it becomes easier for women to participate in electoral politics and even if political parties make effort to recruit female candidates, if women themselves do not see themselves in this role, they are unlikely to run for office. If they do not think that they can make a difference in politics or that politics is something they can understand, why should they be expected to take the huge step of running for office? The current literature fails in that it takes women's political efficacy for granted.

I explore the role of civil society organizations in raising political efficacy of women. The American experience is that such organizational experience does indeed boost the members' sense of efficacy, but it may not be the same for Japanese women. They are active in civil society organizations, yet they do not participate in politics, let alone run for office. I argue that the reason why organizational activity does not seem to increase the political efficacy of Japanese women lies in the relationship between such

organizations and governments. When civil society organizations do not provide the members with a linkage to electoral political sphere, the participation in civil society organizations may not come to be seen as being political in nature. Only when civil society organizations provide the opportunity for interacting with government officials, I argue, can we expect increased political efficacy.

Japan is a good case because the recent Non-Profit Organization Law changed the relationship between civil society organizations and government. NPOs have proliferated and their cooperation with governments is becoming more common. Cooperation with government officials through organizational activities are expected to increase both internal and external political efficacies of members. If this is found to be the case, given that such cooperation is becoming more and more common in Japan and Japanese women are active members of these organizations, Japanese women's political future is brighter.

Chapter 2

Background Information

Introduction

This dissertation is about Japanese women in non-profit organizations. Therefore, in this chapter, I will provide background information on both these entities. The chapter has three purposes. First it familiarizes readers with problems NPOs faced under the Civil Code of 1896, and the NPO law of 1998, which transformed the relationship between NPOs and governments. Second, it describes Japanese civil society in the years after 1998, particularly focusing on women's place in these organizations and on the increasing cooperation and collaboration between government and NPOs. Lastly it provides information on the current social and economic state of Japanese women, who are the focus of this study.

Civil Society Legal Framework Before 1998

In Japan, Article 22 of the Constitution guarantees individuals freedom of association. Yet, organizations that are established by individuals do not have automatic legal status. They need to apply for permission from the state and only when their permission is granted, can they operate as legal entities. Prior to 1998, the granting of legal status was based on a Civil Code that dates back to 1896. Article 33 reads:

No legal personnel status can be formed unless it is formed pursuant to the applicable provisions of this Code or other laws.

This suggests that only groups that were spelled out in other articles of the Civil Code or other laws could obtain legal status. Accordingly, Articles 34 and 35 specified the criteria for obtaining legal status. While Article 35 provided the provision for for-profit organizations, Article 34 did not give provisions for general non-profit organizations. Instead, Article 34 reads:

Any association or foundation relating to any academic activities, art, charity, worship, religion, or other public interest which is not for profit may be established as a legal personnel with the permission of the competent government agency. (Emphasis is by author)

No other Article in the Code or other laws discusses legal status for different types of organizations. Therefore, Articles 34 and 35 created a “legal blind spot” (Pekkanen 2003a, p.121). In other words, organizations that operated on a non-profit

basis, but whose activities did not service for general public interest could not obtain legal status. This usually meant that only groups whose aim was to serve society as a whole or unspecified persons could obtain it (Pekkanen 2000). Moreover, *competent government agencies* were to decide what “public interests” were. Competent authorities here mean those bureaucratic agencies whose jurisdiction encompassed the activity areas of applicant NPOs. For example, for public education, organizations had to apply for legal status from the Minister of Education. If the activities of an organization fell into multiple jurisdictions, it had to obtain permissions from all the competent agencies (Kawashima 2001). For example, an NPO formed to teach the importance of international communication and to help exchange students in local communities had to obtain permission from both the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Education. Given that the Japanese bureaucracies are notorious for being vertically segmented without much horizontal communication (Johnson 1982), multiple jurisdictions represented a great barrier to obtaining legal status for NPOs.

The Civil Code did not specify how applications were to be processed. For example, how would an application be reviewed by ministries and what would happen if it was denied remained unspecified. These details were left to discretion of each ministry (Pekkanen 2003a). Therefore, it could take up to one year before the applicant heard the result of the application (Kawashima 2001). If successful, organizations would obtain legal status and become *Koeki Hojin* (public corporations). Depending on the nature of the organization, *Koeki Hojin* were divided into two groups. These were based on

membership and funded mainly by membership fees were called *Shadan Hojin* (incorporated association). *Koeki Hojin* that were organized based on and funded by donated property and resources were called *Zaidan Hojin* (incorporated foundations). Unlike *Shadan Hojin*, a *Zaidan Hojin* does not have a membership.

The barriers to acquiring legal status did not only include “public interest” test or the discretionary power of bureaucracies, organizations also had to have “substantial assets,” which was generally interpreted as over 300 million yen (or \$3 million) (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003a). The apparent logic behind this requirement was that since the organizations were non-profit, they had to be able to fund themselves without generating revenues (Kawashima 2001).

Since the entities that satisfied Article 34 were quite few in number, a series of special laws were written after 1948 to expand the activities of organizations. The Medical Service Law (1948) established *Iryo Hojin* (medical corporations), the Private School Law (1949) established *Gakko Hojin* (private school corporations), the Social Service Law (1951) and the Religious Corporation Law (1951) established *Shakai Fukushi Hojin* (social welfare corporations), and *Shukyo Hojin* (religious corporations), respectively. These special laws were attached to the original Civil Code, but the “*public interest*” or “*competent government agencies*” clauses were never dropped from it.

Since the application process was onerous and the NPOs had to overcome the discretionary power of the government agencies, some organizations cultivated close connections with these agencies in order to win favor in the application process

(Schwartz 2003). They did this by providing employment for bureaucrats after their retirement (Murase 2006).¹⁶ Therefore, Japanese NPOs that had obtained legal status before 1998 were often said to be “quasi-governmental” organizations. Moreover, numerous *Tokushu-hojin* (Special public corporations) were established by specific laws to carry out government tasks. These corporations were initiated, established and run by the government. Interestingly, some *Koeki Hojin* were later changed into *Tokushu Hojin* (Schwartz 2003). Indeed, over one third of *Koeki Hojin* were actually created by the government (Kawashima 2001).

In short, with the 1896 Civil Code, the government successfully controlled the foundation, operation and growth of the nonprofit sector. When comparing the pre-1998 number of organizations with legal status with the US, its success in this regard becomes clear. Under the Civil Code, only 26,089 organizations were granted legal status while in the U.S. 1,140,000 groups were non-profit legal status in the same time period (Pekkanen 2000).¹⁷ The density of the American NPO sector by 1998 was about twenty times that of its Japanese counterpart.¹⁸

Due to the heavy hand of bureaucrats during the application processes and interference by them after legal status had been obtained, civil society before the 1998 law was divided into two. The result was what Pekkanen (2006) called dual civil society. On the one hand, we had large, well-established organizations. They were often initiated

¹⁶ This practice is often called *amakudari* or ‘descent from heaven.’

¹⁷ This number was taken in 1998.

¹⁸ Calculated by using these countries’ population in 2000. Japan- 127,000,000, USA- 281,000,000

and established by the government, had government retirees as their leaders and were often heavily funded by the government.¹⁹ On the other hand, there were small, locally based organizations that lacked resources, members and funding (See Figure 2.1).

As shown in Figure 2.1, the two most prevalent types of NPO without legal status in Japan (both before and after 1998) are *Jichikai*²⁰ and *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* (voluntary associations without legal status). *Jichikai* are neighborhood associations whose origin is said to go back to the Edo period (1603 to 1868) (Amenomori 1999). They are organized around certain geographical areas, most of which are equal to or smaller than school districts (Cabinet Office 2007b). There are around 300,000 *Jichikai* throughout Japan (Pekkanen 2006). Their membership is based on households, rather than individuals and their membership is semi-voluntary (Nakamura 1964; Yamaoka, 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising that over 90% of households belong to a *jichikai* (Cabinet Office 2007b). The activities of *jichikai* are broad, ranging from cleaning up the community, arranging group trips and recreational events and disseminating information from the government. Sub-groups such as *Rojinkai* (old people's associations), *Kodomokai* (children's associations) and *Fujinkai* (women's associations) are often organized within *Jichikai*.

Nin'i-boranteer-dantai (volunteer associations without legal status) are voluntary associations that are initiated, established and organized by citizens. These are the groups that were left un-incorporated as a result of the "legal blind spot" created by Articles 34

¹⁹ For example, on average, between 80 to 90% of the total income of *Shakai Fukushi Hojin* are public funds (Amenomori, 1999).

²⁰ The name of such organizations can vary. *Jichikai*, *Chonaikai*, *Kukai* etc.

and 35 of the Civil Code, high capital requirements, and discretionary bureaucratic power discussed earlier.

Although organizations can exist without legal status, they can also face problems without it. For example, an organization without legal status cannot enter contracts, open a bank account, hire people or even lease equipment under the organization's name (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003a; Pekkanen and Simon 2003). Instead they have to use the name of individual members (usually leaders). At least three problems are thereby created. First, since every transaction and contract (e.g., bank account, and lease) is under an individual member's name, when the person leaves the organization, changes to every legal form and contract have to be made. Second, when an individual's name, instead of organization's name is publicly used, it is difficult for public to recognize the non-profit basis of the organizations; hence, potential support and donations are limited (Pekkanen 2006). Indeed, 40.1% of leaders of organizations that were without legal status in 2004 said they were thinking of applying for legal status since it would make it easier to show they are operating not for profit (Cabinet Office 2004). Third, the assets of the organization have to be registered under the name of its leaders so that their families and not the organizations stand to inherit these assets in the events of the death of the leaders. This makes the leadership transition process difficult. When organizations are small in size, they can still operate, but the institutionalization of the organization is difficult (Amemiya 1999).

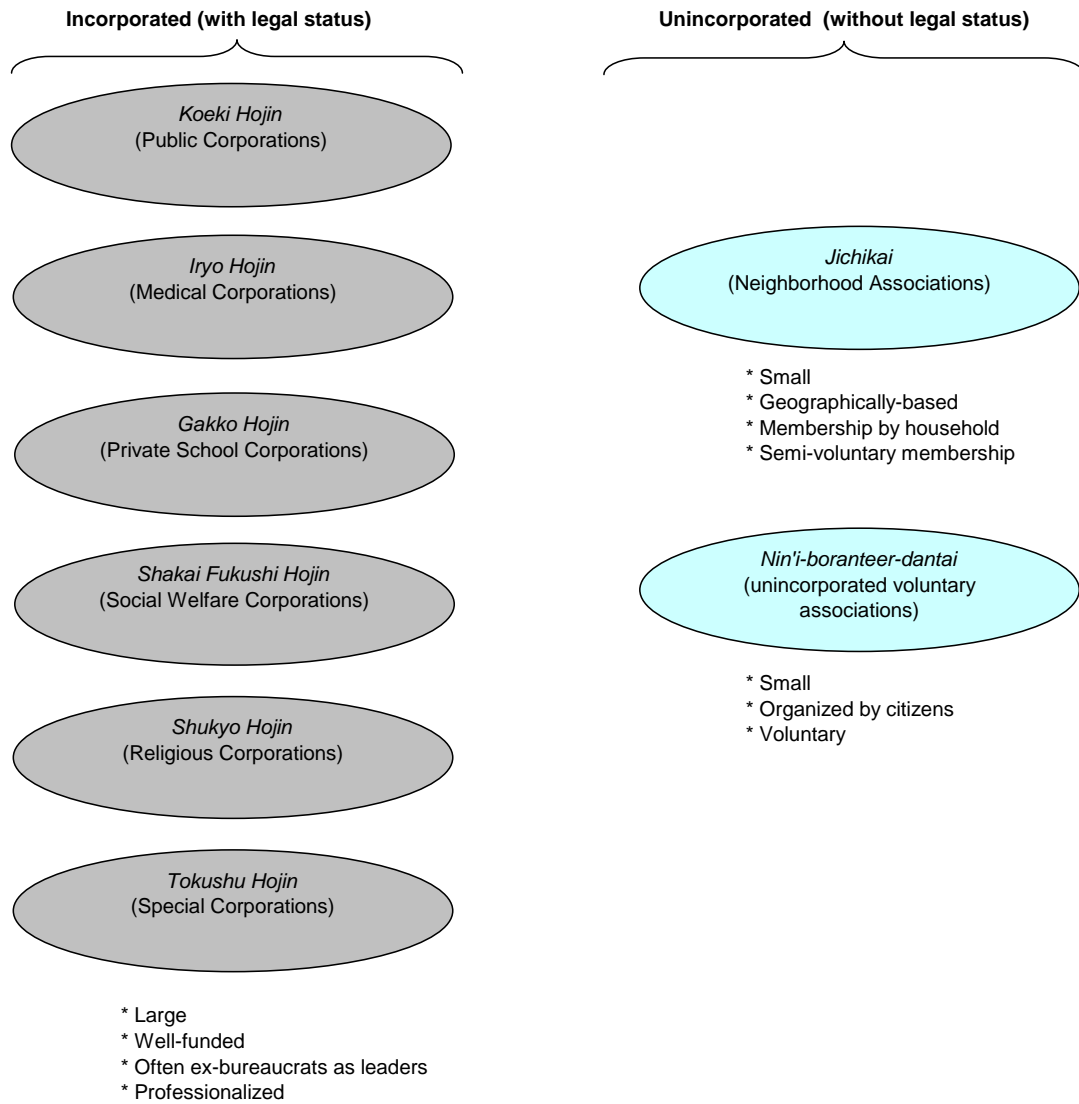


Figure 2.1: Japanese Civil Society Before 1998

Why the Change of Framework?

Three factors contributed to the enactment of the NPO law in 1998. First, when an earthquake hit Kobe-Osaka region in January 1995, the disadvantageous environment that *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* faced surfaced. The destruction caused by the earthquake was such that it killed 6,423 people (Fire and Disaster Management Agency 2000a) and completely crushed or burned over 100,000 houses (Fire and Disaster Management Agency 2000b). While both the national and local governments were slow to respond to the disaster, numerous *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* sent many volunteers (Imada 2003; Pekkanen 2003b; Yamamoto 1999). According to the report by Kobe prefecture, in the five months after the earthquake, more than 1.2 million volunteers organized by volunteer organizations poured into the area (Task Force on the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake 1996). Including individuals who participated without organizational support, the number of volunteers totaled over 1.3 million people (Amemiya 1999). Media responded positively to the efforts taken by *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* and negatively to the official system of the time (Pekkanen 2003; Yamamoto 1999).

Second, as the population aged, there was public concern over how the government would respond to its growing needs without increasing its size or taxes. While in 1980, only 12.2% of the population was aged 65 or over, by 2005, that proportion had increased to 29.2%, and it is estimated to go up to 48.7% in 2025 (Cabinet Office 2008a). This puts a huge burden on the economy since the ratio of working age population (15 to 64) to the elderly population was 3.3 to 1 in 2005, and that is estimated

to decrease to 2.0 to 1 in 2025 (Cabinet Office 2008a). The expansion of NPO sector, it was believed, would reduce the burden on governments (Tashiro 1994; Thomas 1996).

Third, due to recurring scandals, public distrust in politicians and bureaucrats increased in the late 1980s and 1990s. For example, the Recruit Scandal that came to light in 1988 led to the arrest of high ranking civil servants for having been implicated in insider-trading schemes (Hirata 2003). In the notorious contaminated blood case, the Ministry of Welfare was accused of having allowed a pharmaceutical company to sell blood products even though the Ministry was aware that the products were contaminated with the HIV virus. It is estimated that over 1,800 people contracted HIV virus and over 400 patients are reported to have died (Inoguchi 1997). Scholars have argued that this incident pushed for citizens' demand for more autonomous citizen groups and smaller government (Deguchi 2001; Hirata 2003).

All the political parties²¹ submitted amended NPO bills (Pekkanen 2003b). What makes this case unique is that unlike common practice in Japan, the bill was submitted by individual legislators, instead of government. During the three years of discussion in the Diet, the political actors were first divided into two groups: bureaucrats who wanted to take control of the legislation and Diet members who wanted to take the power out of their hands. Once the bureaucrats lost, political parties were divided into two: the Liberal democratic Party (LDP) who wanted to limit the expansion of the NPO sectors and to

²¹ Opposition parties at the time were the New Frontier Party (NFP), the Sun Party, Heisei Party, and the Japan Communist Party (JCP). Ruling parties were a coalition of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Sakigake Party, and the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ).

keep some bureaucratic control over the NPO groups and opposition parties who wanted to let as many groups as possible to register with little or no bureaucratic control over them (Pekkanen 2003b).

At the time, the LDP was forming a grand coalition with the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and Sakigake. Pekkanen (2003b) argues that one major reason why the LDP accepted their arrangement was because it would need support from these two parties to hold a majority after the upcoming election for the House of Councillors. Moreover, Pekkanen also argues that it was LDP's effort to co-opt the popular measure which was actively supported by then an emerging new party, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ).

After three years, the Special Non-Profit Activities Promotion Law (the so-called NPO Law) was finally passed in 1998 and established a new category called "Special Activities Non-profit Legal Person" to close the legal blind spot created by Articles 33, 34 and 35 of the Civil Code of 1896. The "public interest" clause was dropped and now organizations that have more than ten members on paper, operate on a non-profit basis and "contribute to the advancement of *the interests of many people*" (Italics added) can obtain legal status. Moreover, the discretionary power to grant this status was removed from national bureaucrats. The control was decentralized and now applications are reviewed by prefectural authorities (Yamaoka 1999). The application process is now open and when legal status is denied, a written explanation has to be given to the organization. The rejection rate has been quite low.

Only 499 organizations' applications were denied between December first 1998 and August 31st 2008, making the rejection rate 1.39%.²² Now, although the Japanese civil society is still represented by the duality addressed by Pekkanen (2006), another entity for legal status was established which is open to citizen-led volunteer groups (see Figure 2.2 below).

²² During the same time, 35,412 NPOs successfully obtained legal status.

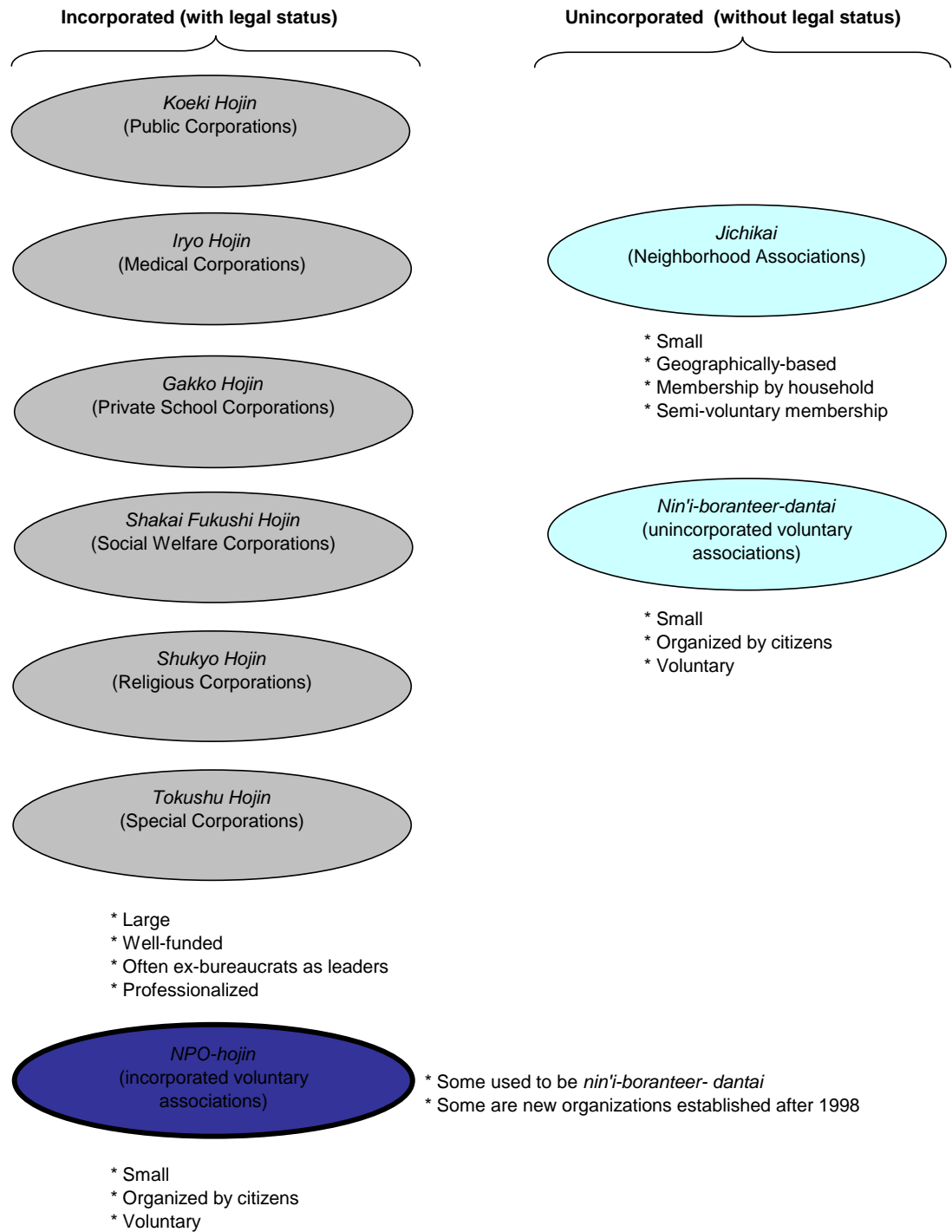


Figure 2.2: Japanese Civil Society After 1998

Steady Increase in the Number of NPOs with Legal Status

With the enactment of the law, the number of NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status under the 1998 law) has increased dramatically. Although in the beginning many organizations refrained from applying for certification due to uncertainty, gradually the number of organizations obtaining legal status gradually increased over time (See Figure 2.3).

Between December 1, 1998 and February 28, 2006, 25,682 organizations obtained NPO legal status.²³ This is a significant increase considering that, in over the previous century (1896-1998), only 26,089 groups had obtained such legal status. This means that in less than ten years, the number of legally recognized organizations nearly doubled. Under the 1998 law, organizations have to specify the activities they engage in when they apply for the legal status. Initially there were twelve activity categories they could choose from and later it was increased to seventeen. These include (1) health, medical care and welfare, (2) social education, (3) community development, (4) science, culture, art and sports, (5) environmental protection, (6) disaster relief, (7) community safety, (8) human rights and peace (9) international cooperation, (10) gender equality, (11) children education, (12) information technology, (13) science technology, (14) economic development, (15) employment opportunity, (16) consumer protection and, (17) NPO support.²⁴

²³ Cabinet Office, <http://www.npo-homepage.go.jp/data/pref.html>

²⁴ Organizations can engage in multiple activities. Even when an organization has multiple activities, under the current law, they do not have to apply for multiple agencies. Instead, applications are handled by prefectural governments. When organizational activities cross prefectural borders, the Cabinet Office, instead of prefectural governments grant legal status. Therefore, this also should be considered an improvement from the Civil Code of 1896.

Organizations can declare multiple activities. The percentage of groups in each activity category as of December 2007 is shown in Table 2.1. It is important to note that activities defined by the law are mostly so-called “women’s issues.”²⁵ As noted in the table, more than 50% of NPO-*hojin* engages in health, medical and welfare activities. Another 43%, 26%, 37%, 8%, and about 5% of NPO-*hojin* engages in social education, environmental protection, nurturing of children, gender equality and consumer protection, respectively. If we look at NPO-*hojin* according to whether or not they engage in these issues (so-called “women’s issues”), a more interesting picture emerges. As many as 88% of the NPO-*hojin* deal with so-called “women’s issues” one way or another, while only 12 % of NPO-*hojin* do not (see Figure 2.4).

²⁵ I consider issues that are related to conventional gender-role and female “nurturing” characteristics to be “women’s issue.”(see for example Swers 1998)

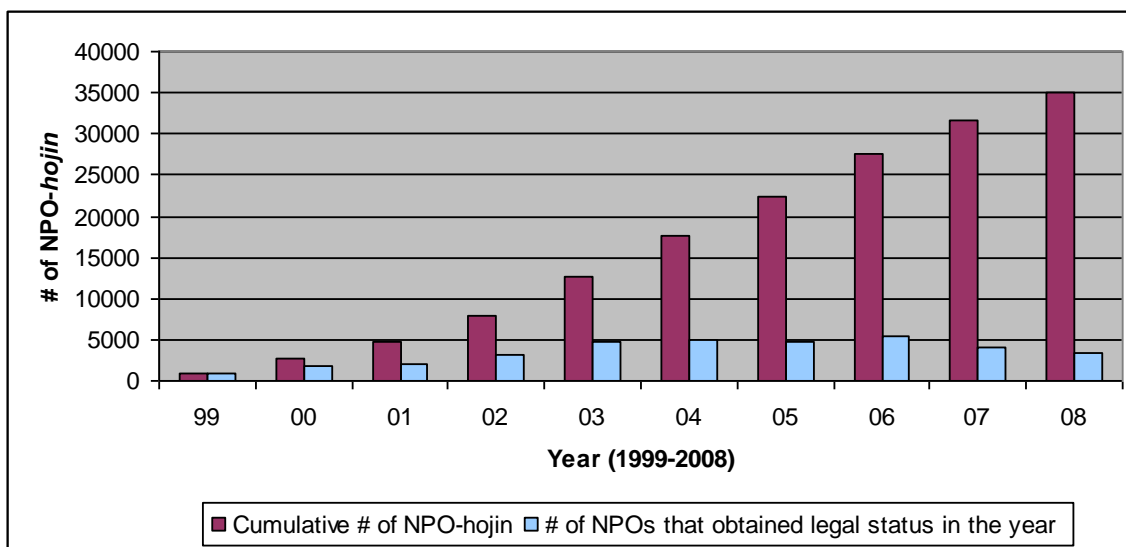


Figure 2.3: Increase of NPO-*hojin* Over Years

Issue Areas	% of NPO-hojin (out of 3,4985) that address the issue *
Heath, medical and welfare	54.45
Social education	43.28
Community development	37.96
Science, culture, art and sports	30.70
Environmental protection	26.49
Disaster relief	6.43
Community safety	9.53
Human rights and peace	14.90
International cooperation	18.78
Gender equality	7.85
Nurturing children	37.37
Information technology	8.13
Science technology	4.39
Vitalization of economic activity	12.22
Vocational training and employment opportunity	16.89
Consumer protection	5.12
NPO support	43.25

*Note: The % does not add up to 100. This is because a NPO can engage in more than one issue areas.

Table 2.1: The Percentages of NPO-*hojin* by Areas of Activity as of December 2008

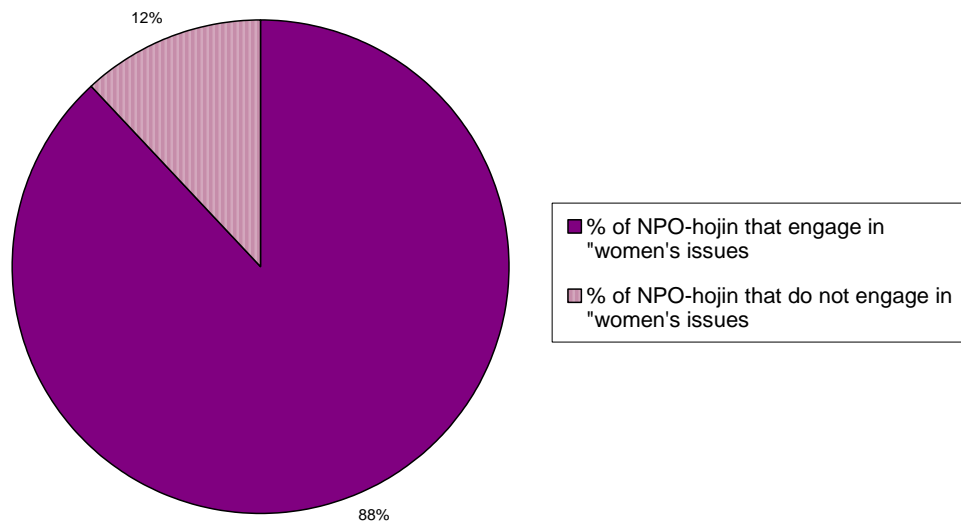


Figure 2.4: % of NPO-*hojin* Specializing in “Women’s Issues”

The Place of Women in NPOs

The Cabinet Office conducted a survey of both *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* (NPOs without legal status) and NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status) in 2004 in order to map the state of NPOs in Japan. One question asked about the gender composition of the staff of the groups. A stark contrast in gender composition across issue areas emerged. Female staff outnumbered their male counterparts in over 70% of NPOs whose main concerns involve health, medical or welfare issues.²⁶ Over 70% of NPOs that focused on gender equality

²⁶ The author’s recalculation (re-aggregation) using the data.

and 60% of that focused on consumer protection issues were staffed either predominantly or solely by (Cabinet Office 2004). Female staff outnumbered their male counterparts in over 60% of the NPOs that focused on so-called “women’s issues.”²⁷ On the other hand, in over 53% of organizations focusing on community development or community safety, men outnumbered women. The general picture is that women are more active in so-called “women’s issue” areas while men are more active in these involving sports, culture and research areas. From this observation it seems that Japanese women often engage in community activities from maternal concerns for their own children and families. The general point is that many Japanese NPOs engage in “women’s issues,” and female staffs outnumber their male counterparts in these organizations.

NPO-Government Partnerships: Overall Picture

The present financial condition of Japanese local government is far from healthy. Their debt has increased over 400% from 39 trillion yen in 1980 to 197 trillion yen in 2008. Their debts reached a historical high of 200 trillion yen in 2004 and have stayed at this level ever since.

With increasing autonomy and mounting pressure for administrative efficiency, local governments began engaging themselves in so-called “partnership” relationships with NPOs (Auger 2003; Estevez-Abe 2003). One way to establish such a relationship is by delegating tasks to local NPOs in order to cut back on operational costs (Salamon

²⁷ The author’s recalculation (re-aggregation) using the data.

1999). This practice is compatible with the comparative advantage argument set forth by economists. Both NPOs and governments can offer what the other does not have. While NPOs possess expert knowledge on particular issues and connections within localities, governments have monetary resources (Anheier and Seibel 1990). Moreover, by delegating tasks to existing NPOs, government can cut back on initial capital investment costs. Therefore, the delegation of tasks to NPOs for fees is advantageous for both NPOs and governments. Although time-series data on delegation of functions from governments to NPOs are not available, it should be noted that, as of 2003, all of the prefectures and as much as 80% of municipalities that were surveyed by the Cabinet Office delegated some functions to NPOs (Cabinet Office 2003). With a still increasing aging population and persisting local government debts, it is expected that the NPO-Government partnerships will continue to grow. Indeed, when municipalities were asked what types of partnership they planned to engage in the future and who the partner would be, most of the municipalities answered they would like to work with NPOs over other civil society actors.²⁸

Actions taken by local governments to accommodate increasing autonomy and to respond to pressure for administrative efficiency are not limited to the delegation of

²⁸ These included old type NPOs that were established under Article 34 of Civil Code before 1998, hospital, school, chamber of commerce and private companies etc. The percentage of municipalities that planned to work with NPOs in each issue areas in the future are: welfare (82.7); health and medical care (73.0); social education (76.6); community development (80.4); culture, art and sports (77.8); environmental protection (73.7); disaster relief (72.3); community safety (67.2); human rights and peace (77.8); international cooperation (64.3); gender equality (72.7); child development (86.7); information technology (68.2); science technology (0); economic activities (81.8); vocational training (81.8); consumer protection (80); NPO support (97.9); and others (53.8). Data from Cabinet Office (2003).

functions to NPOs (Cabinet Office 2003). Increasing local autonomy generates demands for greater citizen participation in local government. Moreover, when citizen demands are not adequately reflected in government outputs, there are more demands left unmet, and this generates demand to change the outputs. Therefore, local governments began to engage NPOs in the decision making process and to work with them in implementing policies probably because to do so is conducive to greater administrative efficiency and to responds to rising demands for citizen participation.

In short, NPO-Government partnerships are not limited to the delegation of tasks from government to NPOs for fees. Although different municipalities and prefectures have different combinations and variations, currently, there are largely four types of NPO-Government partnership in Japan. These are 1) the invitation of NPOs to sit on committees; 2) the co-hosting of an event between NPOs and governments; 3) the outsourcing of government tasks to NPOs; and 4) the giving of grant money to NPOs. According to the 2003 Cabinet Office survey, NPOs were invited to local decision making processes in 67.5% of prefectures and 41.5% of municipalities that were surveyed. In 75% of prefectures and 42.7% of municipalities, information and knowledge were exchanged between NPOs and local governments (Cabinet Office 2003).

Efforts to Promote NPO-Government Partnerships

Ordinances and Guidelines

Ordinances to promote civic nonprofit activities and formal guidelines to promote NPO-Government partnerships help activate such partnerships. Indeed, recently, more and more municipalities have passed ordinances to promote NPO and civic activities. Moreover local governments are increasingly establishing formal frameworks and rules governing how such partnerships should be established and executed.

Local governments vary in the extent to which they recognize the importance of, and encourage partnerships with them. An ordinance for a local government (prefectures, cities, wards, towns and villages) is what a law is for the national government. Hence local governments' issuance of ordinances that encourage NPOs and citizens to participate in partnership projects is an indicator of good will toward them on the part of local governments. While ordinances have binding power, guidelines that local governments issue lack such enforcing power. Yet such guidelines establish the rules and processes through which partnership programs are carried out; hence, the issuance of guidelines is also a good indicator of the effort by local governments to expand partnerships.

The first such attempt at a municipal level was made by Mino City of Osaka in 1999. From these ordinances we can see commitment of each city to promoting NPO activities and NPO-Government partnerships and the reasons why they establish such

ordinances. For example, the aforementioned Mino City Ordinance on Promotion of Civic Non-profit Activities read: “Our mission is to establish a community that cherishes diversity. We can accomplish such a goal only when the city, citizens and different organizations enter ‘partnership’ based on mutual responsibility and obligations.” To establish such a goal, the Article 8 of the ordinance reads “The city must promote non-profit civic activities and create an environment conducive to such activities. Furthermore, Article 9 of the ordinance reads “The city strives to provide NPOs the opportunity to carry out municipal public services.”

Among 47 prefectural governments and 196 city and ward governments²⁹ examined by the International Institute for Human, Organization and Earth (IIHOE) in 2007, 46 prefectures and 126 (64.3 %) of city and ward governments had passed ordinances or established guidelines by 2007. The only prefecture not to have done so was Gunma. Even Gunma prefectural government and 15% of the city and ward governments that had not done so were preparing to fill the gap. Since the IIHOE examined the same 122 local governments in 2004, 2005 and 2007, we can follow the expansion of ordinance and guidelines among the sample. Figure 2.5 displays the trend. Of the 122 local governments, 88.52% of them have passed such measure by 2004 and that number increased to over 95% in 2007. Although it is only between four-year period

²⁹ These include 47 prefectures, 13 government-decreed cities, prefectural capitals, major urban cities, Tokyo special wards, and some cities with population over 100,000 and one township.

with three time points and limited to 122 local governments, this preliminarily suggests that such actions by other local governments will increase in the future.

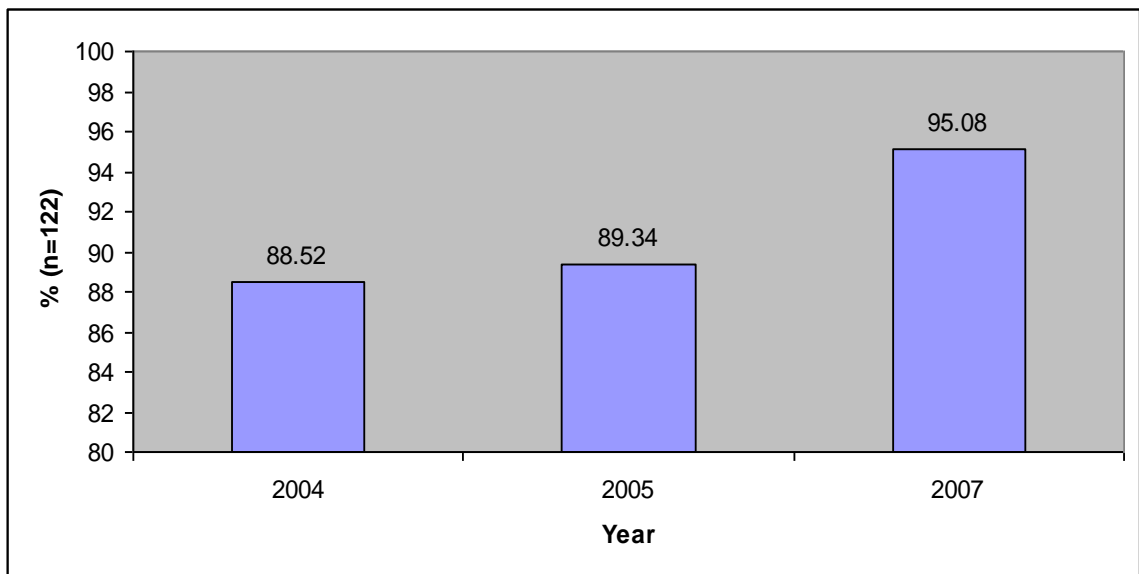


Figure 2.5: The Increase in the Number of Local Governments that Have Ordinance or Guideline on NPO-Government Partnership, 2004-2007

Citizen Participation in the Process

Governments can establish committees to discuss a given issue. Yet if decisions are made behind closed doors, transparency is undermined. The partnerships discussed here are between government and citizen-led NPOs, and it is very important that citizens themselves are included in the formulation of the rules that govern them. Some prefectures and municipalities have citizens or NPOs in the committees that write the

rules, while others informally seek their opinions. Some of them have a so-called “public-comment system” in which citizens are asked to present their opinions with regard to particular issues through letters and on the website. Seventy-seven out of the 243 local governments included in the IIHOE study had established an ordinance or guideline by 2004. Among those, 74 of them had welcomed citizen participation when establishing the system of ‘partnership’ one way or the other. All of the 11 local governments that established an ordinance or a guideline in 2005 and 44 out of 47 local governments that established “partnership” arrangement in one way or the other. All the 11 local governments and 44 out of 47 municipal/town/village governments that established ordinances or guidelines in 2005 and 2006-2007, respectively did so. If we look at prefectural governments, the largest administrative entity next to the national government, all of them except for Gunma had established ordinances or guidelines by 2007 and even Gunma prefecture, such action is under consideration. In all of the 46 prefectures wrote ordinances or guidelines by 2007, citizen participation was welcomed in one way or another. The most common type of such participation is the inclusion of committee member(s) selected from the public. Indeed, 22 prefectures had such member(s) on their committee on Government-NPO partnerships. Among the remaining 24 prefectures, NPOs were informally consulted in 21 of them.

Selecting Partnership NPOs

When carrying out partnership programs with citizen-led NPOs, governments should make the process and standard as transparent as possible. This is necessary to prevent groups to enter into partnership programs based on criteria other than merits. If the selection process is not open, NPOs will be suspicious and reluctant to apply for the future projects and the purpose of NPO-Government partnerships will be defeated. It will also prevent NPOs from learning from their experiences if their applications are rejected.

According to IIHOE, in 2004, the process by which NPO partners were selected was clear and open to public in 36 prefectures. In 2007, that number had increased to 45. Similarly, the percentage of city governments that set a clear and open process increased from 66.0% in 2004 to 69.1% and 77.8% in 2005 and 2007, respectively.³⁰ In 2004, the standards on which NPO partners were to be selected were made known to be public beforehand in 32 prefectures and it increased to 41 of them in 2007. Similarly, the percentage of city governments that publicized such a standard beforehand increased from 47.2% in 2004 to 57.3% and 67.1% in 2005 and 2007, respectively.³¹

The evidence shows that local governments across Japan show interests and commitment to partnerships with NPOs. Moreover, their embrace of their commitments has grown in the past few years and is expected to grow still further in the future.

³⁰ These numbers are among those municipal governments that were included in IIHOE study.

³¹ These numbers are among those municipal governments that were included in IIHOE study.

NPOs and NPO-Government Partnerships in Osaka

I chose Osaka as the site for my fieldwork because it has relatively active NPO sector in Japan compared to other prefectures and local governments seem to be committed to expanding their partnerships with NPOs. As of December 31 of 2007, 2,471 NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status under the 1998 law) have obtained legal personnel status under the NPO Law of 1998 in Osaka³² prefecture. In terms of raw numbers, Osaka has the second largest number of NPO-*hojin* next to Tokyo, with Tokyo having 7,148 NPO-*hojin*. After controlling for population, Osaka has the 7th largest number of NPO-*hojin* per 100,000 people.³³ The percentage of NPO-*hojin* that engage in each of the seventeen categories shows similar patterns as the overall picture when we looked at all the prefectures together, with the largest percentage (59.1%) engaging in health, medical and welfare issues. Similarly, 89% of the NPO-*hojin* in Osaka engage in “women’s issue”.

Local governments in Osaka are generally active participants and promoters of NPO-Government partnerships. Since 2000, Osaka prefecture has incessantly expanded its effort to promote NPO-Government partnerships. It first established guidelines for the promotion of civic activities in 2000. In subsequent years, it published guidelines for

³² Unless specifically refer to as Osaka city, I will refer to Osaka prefecture simply as Osaka.

³³ Top ten prefectures with the largest number of NPO per 100,000 people are: (1) Tokyo (56.8), (2) Oita (32.9), (3) Kyoto (32.4), (4) Nagano (32.1), (5) Saga (28.6), (6) Shiga (28.3), (7) Osaka (28.0), (8) Yamanashi (27.7), (9) Gunma (27.7), and (10) Kochi (26.5).

Government-NPO partnerships, the manual for NPO-Government partnerships, and the plan for the promotion of NPO-Government partnership.³⁴

Figure 2.6 shows the incidents of different type of partnership in Osaka between 2004 and 2006.³⁵ Over the three years, the number of cases in which the local governments in Osaka entered into partnership projects with NPOs steadily increased for every type of partnership. For example, while there were 371 cases in which the local governments outsourced their tasks to NPOs with funding in 2004, that number was 563 in 2007. Much more significantly, while there were only 61 cases in which NPOs were invited to sit on committees during the making or implementation of policy in 2004, that number went up by over 100% to 123 in 2007.

³⁴ The guideline for NPO-Government partnership, the manual for NPO-Government partnerships, and the plan for promotion of NPO-Government partnerships were established in 2001, 2003, and 2004, respectively.

³⁵ These numbers include NPO-Government partnerships at both prefectural and municipal levels.

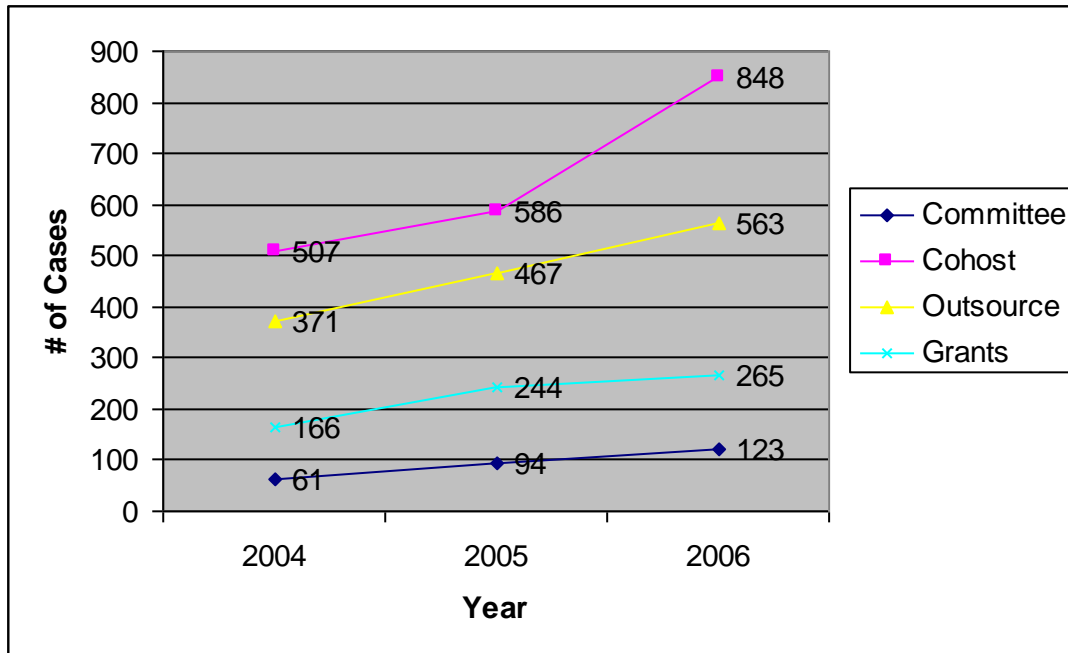


Figure 2.6: NPO-Government Partnerships in Osaka, 2004-2006

I described the NPO sector in Japan both before and after the passage of the NPO Law of the 1998. In describing the current state of the NPO sector, I illustrated the women are quite visible in the sector. As discussed, 88% of the NPOs with legal status under the new law engage in “women’s issues.” Therefore, it is my contention that if utilized strategically, NPOs can be good training grounds for women’s political participation. Since this research focus on Japanese women, I will discuss the state of Japanese women.

Japanese Women

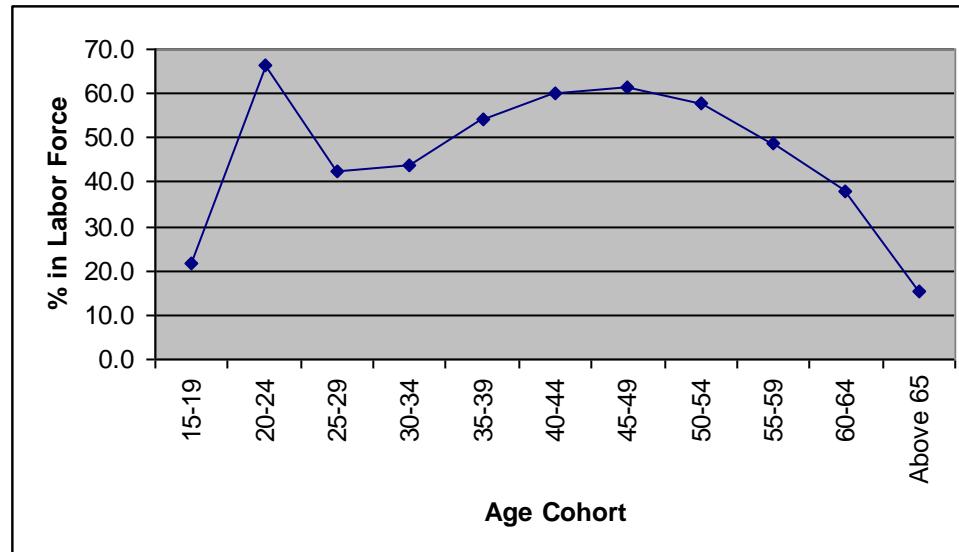
Japanese women have traditionally been disadvantaged in education and economic spheres. They have, for example, been much more likely to enter two-year colleges and much less likely to enter four-year colleges than men. In 1985, while 38.6% of male high school graduates entered four-year colleges, only 13.7% of their female counterparts did. Another 20.8% of female high school graduates entered two-year colleges, where majority of students are women (Cabinet Office 2007).³⁶ A larger percentage of women ended up in two-year colleges because of their career prospects after graduation. Many jobs with prospects of on-the-job training and promotion to managerial positions were not open to women and this was because employers expected women leave their jobs upon marriage in order to compensate for the high cost of maintaining life-time employment for men (Brinton 1988, 1989; Ogasawara 1998).

Expected employment prospects and life choices may have influenced Japanese women's decision to go to two-year colleges instead of four-year ones. When women did enter the workforce, their negative expectations were often met; they often found themselves at a disadvantage vis-à-vis men. The Equal Employment Opportunity Law of 1986 banned gender discrimination in hiring, promotion and retirement yet it set out no penalty for violations. Instead, employers were asked to make efforts to comply. Since the passage of the law, although without legal sanction, outright gender discrimination became socially difficult; hence, corporations began a two-track hiring practice (Ministry

³⁶ In 2007, women accounted for 88.6% of student body of two-year colleges.

of Health, Labour and Welfare 2007). On one hand, there were positions which were open to life-time employment and promotions to managerial positions. This pool of positions was called *sogo-shoku*. On the other hand, there were positions whose main task was to assist those in *sogo-shoku* and had no prospects of promotion to managerial positions. This pool of positions was called *ippan-shoku*. In practice, *sogo-shoku* was open only to men and *ippan-shoku* was open only to women.

Not only were women hired for supportive, clerical positions with no prospect for promotion, but also their job tenure was short because many women stopped working after either marrying or giving birth. This pattern of employment is evident from the M-shaped curve in Figure 2.7. It shows that a very high proportion (66.2%) of women aged 20 and 24 were in the labor force in 1975, the number drops to 42.6% in the 25-29 age group, making the difference as large as 23.6 percentage points.

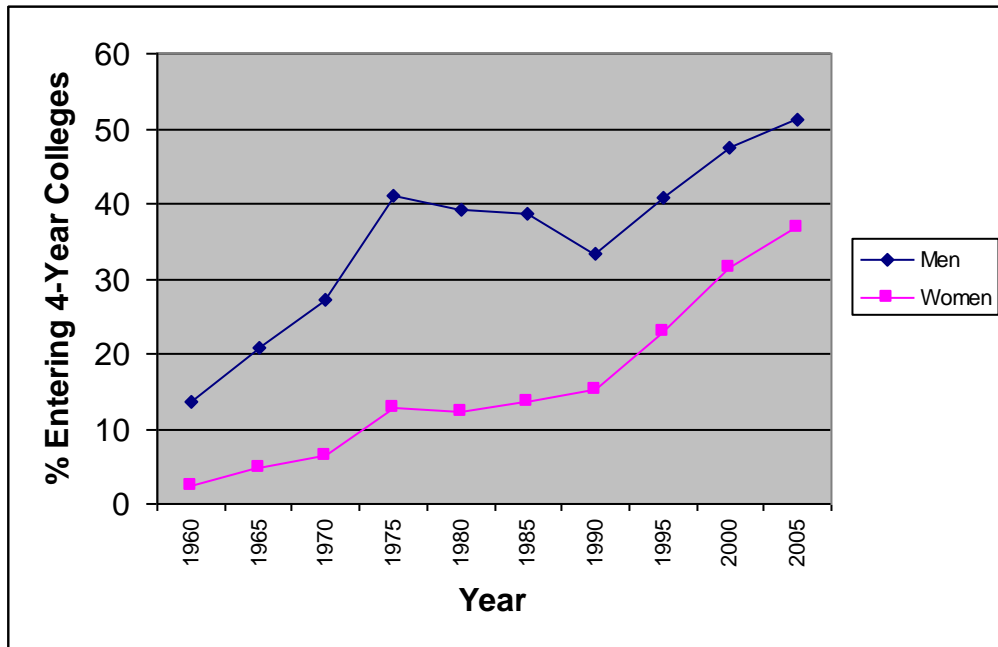


Source: *Roudouryoku Chousa: Chouki Jikeiretsu Deeta* (Report on Labor: Longitudinal Data)
 Figure 2.7: Women's Labor Force Participation by Age Cohorts (1975)

Over the years, the situation of Japanese women has improved, but they still face gendered social and economic structures. As Figure 2.8 shows, over the years, a large proportion of women entered four-year colleges instead of two-year colleges; yet the number is below parity. In 2005, while 51.3% of male high school graduates entered four-year colleges, only 36.8% female counterparts did so (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan 2007).³⁷ What is more interesting is

³⁷ The numbers are calculated from table 237 "*Shinrobetsu Sotsugyousha Suu*" (The number of graduates by career path after graduation) and table 239 "*Gakkabetsu Daigaku Tankidaigaku toueno Shingaku Suu*" (The number of students who advanced into four-year colleges and two-year colleges." Both tables are included in *Gakkou Kihon Chousa* (Report on School Systems). Retrieved on November 23, 2008. Website: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/001/08010901/index.htm

that the trend in gender gap. Between 1975 and 1985, the gender gap was the largest, with the percentage point difference being 25 points or more. The gap then decreased around in 1990, but has not narrowed any further since.



Source: *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Hakusho Heisei 19 nendo Ban* (White Paper on Gender Equality: 2007)
Figure 2.8: % of Male and Female High School Graduates Entering 4-Year Colleges, 1960-2005

In spite of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, the covert gender discrimination in hiring still persists to this day. According to a study of 236 companies by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, on average, among those who were hired for *sogo-shoku* (jobs that are open for promotion to managerial positions) in 2003,

women accounted for only about 11%, making the proportion of women in total *sogo-shoku* no more than 3%. On the other hand, 95.4% of those who were hired for *ippan-shoku* (jobs that are close for promotion to managerial positions) in 2003 were women (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2004).

Women are still likely to exit the labor force early. Figure 2.9 shows the proportion of women in the workforce by age group in 2005. Their participation rate drops for those in their late twenties and early thirties, which corresponds to the usual female average female age at marriage and giving birth. The average female age at the first marriage was 28.2 and that at the first birth was 29.2 in 2006. Since the age at which children start elementary school is seven, when the children enter elementary school many mothers are around age of 36. As Figure 2.9 shows, at around 36, the women's workforce participation again rises. Moreover, according to the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (2005), only a small proportion of married women who were in the workforce before marriage are in full-time employment after marriage.³⁸

³⁸ Only 16.9%, 14.7% and 11% of those who had been married for 0 to 4 years, 5 to 9 years and 10-14 years were in workforce, respectively in 2005. (National Institute of Population and Social Security Research 2005).

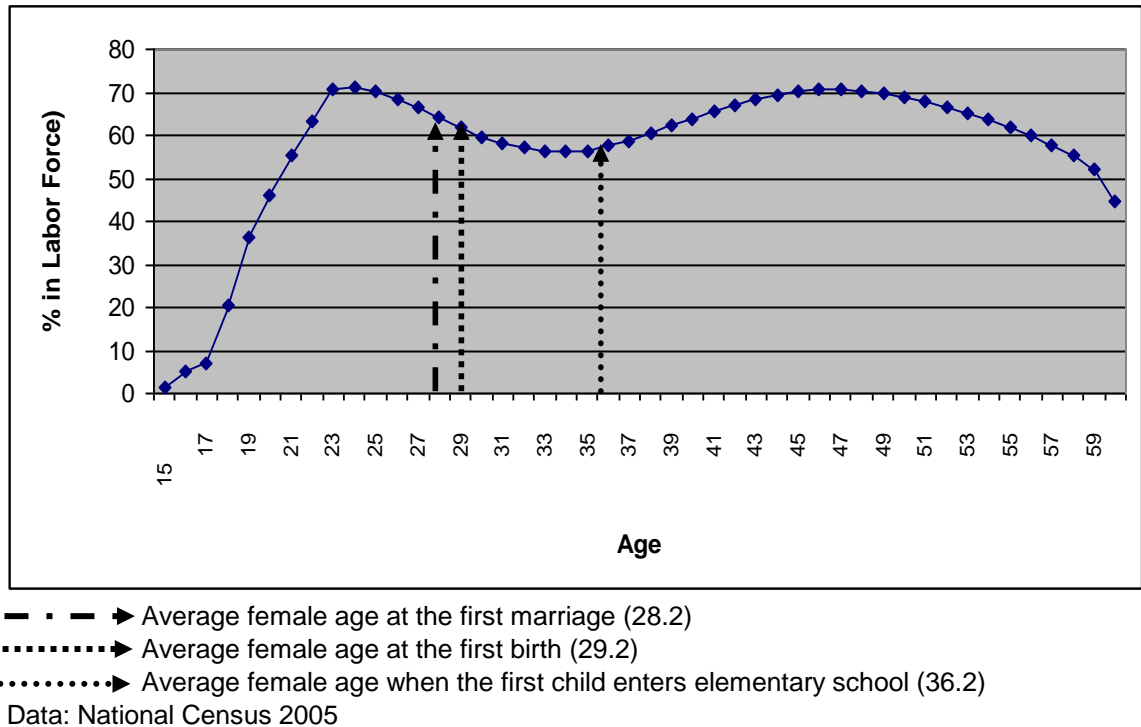


Figure 2.9: Women's Labor Force Participation by Age (2005)

Another sign of labor force disadvantage is the increase in the proportion of women employed on a non-regular basis. The absolute number of women employed as regular employees has not changed much. In 1984, about 9.98 million women were regular employees. In 2007 10.58 millions women were (Cabinet Office 2008). Instead, increased women in workforce were accommodated as irregular, part-time, dispatch or contract workers. In 1984, the number of female workers excluding executives of corporations was 14.06 million. This suggests that only 4.08 million female workers were employed on non-regular basis. However, in 2007, there were 23.8 million female

workers (Cabinet Office 2008). This in turn suggest as much as 13.22 million of them were employed on non-regular basis. In fact in 2007, 53% of female workers were non-regular employees³⁹ and women accounted for 69% of non-regular employees (Cabinet Office 2008). These two factors, that women tend to withdraw from workforce either at the marriage or at the first birth and reenter workforce later as part-time employees, and that a disproportionate proportion of workers who are employed other than full-time regular basis (irregular, part-time, dispatch or contract) are women, pose a problem since salaries in Japanese corporations are mainly based on seniority and salaries of only full-time regular employees are expected to increase with length of employment. Therefore, the gender pay gap in Japan still persists and is larger than in other advanced democracies. According to the United Nations, Japanese women in manufacturing industry receive 59% of the salary of their male counterparts while the matching figure in Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom is 90%, 83% and 75%, respectively.⁴⁰

Gender relations in Japanese society seem to be very traditional, although they have improved somewhat over time. For example, education continues to be seen as more important for boys than girls. As many as 42.6% and 33.0% of the Japanese men and women in the 1985 World Values Survey either strongly agreed or agreed that “(a) university education is more important for a boy than for a girl.” Over time, parental expectations for their children with regard to college education and gender of children

³⁹ Only 18% of male workers were non-regular employees in the same year.

⁴⁰ The data for Japan was from 2006; those for Australia, New Zealand, and United Kingdom were from 2006, 2005 and 2004, respectively.

have changed. The matching numbers in the 2000 World Values Survey were 26.3% for men and 20.3% for women in 2000. Yet, these numbers are still relatively high compared to other advanced democracies. For example, only 7.2% and 4.3% of the Canadian male and female respondents either strongly agreed or agreed with the statement in 2000.

In spite of the Child Care Leave Law of 1992, only 61.6% of employers provided such provisions for their employees in 2005 (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2008). Moreover, those who take advantage of such benefits are predominantly women. For example in 2004, while 72.3% of female workers took maternity leave, only 0.56% of their male counterparts did (The Cabinet Office's Gender Equality Committee on Declining Fertility and Gender-Equal Society 2005). This suggests that child care is still considered to be the woman's job in society. Indeed, the most common reason for not taking paternity leave among the working men (48%) was lack of understanding by the employers (Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training 2003). This suggests that it is still believed that women are caregivers and men were earners.

One can also see the persistent traditional gender-role attitudes in the Japanese society in the fact that Japanese husbands commit little time to household chores even when their wives are in workforce. It is reported that husbands whose wives were in workforce spent 11 minutes on household chores on average per day, while wives of double-income families spent 207 minutes on household chores on average per day (Cabinet Office 2006).

Conclusion

This chapter has had two themes: 1) Japanese civil society before and after the 1998 NPO Law, and 2) the economic and societal situations of Japanese women. Before 1998, the government controlled the growth of NPOs and interfered in their operation through the exercise of administrative discretion and a practice called *amakudari*. As a result, most citizen-led locally based NPOs remained without legal status, which constrained their daily operation, smooth transition of leadership and expansion of membership. The NPO Law of 1998 however made it easier for NPOs to obtain legal status and stripped bureaucrats of their role in the application process. The number of citizen-led locally based NPOs that obtained legal status increased dramatically in subsequent years. With this increase, local governments began to outsource their tasks to local NPOs and invited them to become part of the decision making process.

Although progress has been made, gender relation in Japan remains traditional. Women are still less likely to enter the workforce. Once they do, many still exit upon marrying or giving birth. Parental expectations for girls are still lower than those for boys, therefore providing fewer opportunities for girls when it comes to education. Nonetheless, despite opportunities in educational and economic spheres been limited for Japanese women, they are active participants in civil society.

Many citizen-led locally-based NPOs are run by women and these NPOs deliver goods and services that are in for women's interests and advocate on their behalf.

Therefore, with the increase in NPO-Government partnership, the opportunities to interact with government officials and participate in local politics are expected to expand for women.

Chapter 3

The Effects of Civil Society Organizational Membership and Face-to-Face Interaction with Government Officials: Analyses from the Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) 2003

Introduction

I have argued that in explaining the women's candidacies, which leads to their election to policymakers, the first step in which women become politically efficacious is critical because it is when they come to believe that they can influence politics (external political efficacy), and to believe that they can understand politics (internal political efficacy). During this first step, I introduced the role of civil society organizations in affecting women's political efficacies. However, I also argued that not all civic organizations are created equal. On the contrary, only certain civic organizations can positively affect the political efficacies of their members. I have argued that civic organizations can positively affect their members' political efficacy only when they link them to the formal political sphere. More specifically, members' political efficacy is affected only when they have face-to-face interaction and cooperation with politicians and government officials.

As part of empirical tests, this chapter generates working hypotheses and tests them using the Japanese General Social Survey (JGSS) (2003).

Statement of Hypotheses

I argued that civic organizational participation per se does not raise the members' political efficacy. Only when the members interact with those in government and cooperate with them through organizational activities, can they become more politically efficacious. Therefore, the hypotheses for the analyses in this chapter are:

H1: The effect of the civic organizational membership on the respondents' external political efficacy is conditional. In other words the positive effects of organizational membership on the respondents' external political efficacy exist only when the respondents also have face-to-face contacts with government officials.

H2: The effect of the civic organizational membership on the respondents' internal political efficacy is conditional. In other words the positive effects of organizational membership on the respondents' internal political efficacy exist only when the respondents also have face-to-face contacts with government officials.

Methods and Measurements

Data

JGSS (Japan General Social Survey) is a nationwide random sample of Japanese eligible voters (above age of 20). It has been conducted annually since 2000 (except for 2004) to gather information on the social, economic and political attitudes and behaviors of the Japanese public. The 2003 survey included those between 20 to 89 years old. The respondents were randomly assigned to either Form A or B. I used the responses from Form B since it included questions on political efficacies and a series of questions that tap interaction that the respondents have with government officials. Form B of the survey yielded 48% response rate with 1,706 valid answers.

Dependent Variables: Political Efficacy

As discussed earlier in Chapter 1, political efficacy has two dimensions. While internal political efficacy “indicates individuals’ self-perceptions that they are capable of understanding politics and competent enough to participate in political acts,” (Miller, Miller and Schneider 1980, p.253), external political efficacy “measures expressed belief about political institutions” (p.273). Therefore, those who lack external political efficacy believe that “the public cannot influence political outcomes because government leaders and institutions are unresponsive” (p.278). Craig, Niemi and Silver (1990) argued that there are also two dimensions to external political efficacy. These are belief in system

responsiveness and procedural fairness and belief in the responsiveness of the incumbents. I am interested in what influence individuals' perception of system responsiveness in general, and how they perceive themselves as a political actor in their political system. Therefore, I should use the item that measures the respondents' belief in system responsiveness and procedural fairness. Hence in this chapter I will use the respondents' agreement or disagreement with the statement "People like me don't have any say about what the government does" as an indicator of the respondents' external political efficacy and their agreement or disagreement with the statement "Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on" to measure their internal political efficacy.⁴¹

The respondents were given four choices: agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree and disagree. Although the respondents were not given expressly the choice of "don't know," they could provide that answer to the interviewer if they chose to do so. I excluded those who responded "don't know" from the analyses. I assigned 1 to those who responded "agree," 2 to those who responded "somewhat agree," 3 to those who responded "somewhat disagree," and 4 to those who responded "disagree" for both efficacy variables so that the higher the value indicates the greater the sense of political efficacy.

⁴¹ Moreover, validity of the incumbent-based responsiveness item is questionable for this survey. Given that internal and external political efficacy are separate yet related concepts, items that measures internal and external political efficacies should have a reasonable correlation. While the correlation between the system-based external political efficacy and the internal efficacy measure is 0.50, the correlation between the incumbent-based external political efficacy and the internal political efficacy measure is 0.30 in the sample.

Independent Variables

Member of civic organizations

Section B of the JGSS asks the respondents whether they belong to several civic organizations. These are: social service groups, citizens' movement, religious groups, sports groups and clubs, and hobby groups and clubs. I created a dummy variable Membership. I assigned 1 to those who belonged to one or more of these organizations and 0 was assigned to those who did not belong to any of the organization

Face-to-face contacts with government officials

Although not directly asked, the JGSS 2003 survey has a very good question to measure the existence of established and repeated face-to-face contacts with government officials. The respondents were asked whether or not they were acquainted with a series of people. The exact wording of the question was "Do you have any acquaintance who fits the description in (A)-(R)? An acquaintance here means someone whom you know enough as to have a conversation with. Is the person male or female? If you have both male and female acquaintances, please circle both." For respondents to consider some officials and politicians as "acquainted," it would seem that repeated contacts and face-to-face contacts are necessary. From the list, people in governments were:

(E) Section head, general manager or other official in higher rank in a municipal government or an office.

- (F) Section head, general manager or other official in higher rank in a prefectural government or a prefectural office.
- (G) Section head, general manager or other official in higher rank in a central government agency (ministry or agency).
- (H) Head of a municipality (including mayor of a city or a village chief).
- (I) Member of local assembly
- (J) Member of national assembly

I created a dummy variable Contact. I assigned 0 to those who were not acquainted with anybody, and 1 to those who were acquainted with one or more people mentioned above.

Organizational membership and face-to-face contacts

The main argument of this project is that face-to-face interaction with those in government through partnership projects is the critical factor in making civil society organizational membership effective in raising their members' political efficacy. However, not all civil society organizations provide such an opportunity. In order to examine whether the effect of the civic organizational membership is conditional upon the presence of the face-to-face interaction with government officials, I divided the respondents into three groups. These are (a) non-members, (b) members of civic organizations who have no face-to-face contacts with government officials⁴² and (c) members of civic organizations who have face-to-face contacts with government officials.⁴³ Three dummy variables (Non Member, Only Membership, Both) were created for these groups. Since the respondents fall into one and only one of these categories, I

⁴² They have value of 1 on *membership* and 0 on *contact*.

⁴³ They have value of 1 on both *membership* and *contact*.

use those who are non-members (those who have 1 on the variable *Non Member*) as a reference group to see whether or not those who belong to civic organizations but do not have face-to-face contacts with government officials and those who belong to civic organizations and have face-to-face interactions with government officials have significantly higher level of political efficacies.

Control Variables

LDP Supporter

The Japanese government has been controlled by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) since it was established in 1955. Although the party temporarily lost control of the government and gave up the prime ministership to the opposition party leader in 1993, the party was in power again a year later. Due to the LDP's domination of government office, non-LDP supporters might feel less politically influential. Therefore, I control for respondents' support of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP). The JGSS asked the respondents which political party they supported. The exact wording was "Currently, which political party do you support?" The response options were:

- 1: Liberal Democratic Party
- 2: Democratic Party of Japan
- 3: New Komeito
- 4: Liberal Party (→ this was omitted at the time of execution of the survey, since the party was disbanded before the survey was conducted.)
- 5: Japanese Communist Party
- 6: Social Democratic Party
- 7: New Conservative Party
- 8: Other Party

- 9: There is no particular party I support.
10: I don't know.

A dummy variable LDP was created. Those who selected 1 (Liberal Democratic Party) were assigned 1 to the variable LDP and those who selected others (2 to 10) were assigned 0 to the variable. Those who were supporters of the LDP are expected to have higher political efficacies than non-LDP supporters.⁴⁴

Political Discussion

Whether or not respondents engage in political discussion is controlled for since the literature suggests political discussion in organizations is an important factor that influences members' politicization (Verba, Nie and Kim 1978; Wilson 1995). The survey asked how often the respondents discussed politics with friends. The response options were: "almost everyday," "sometimes," "rarely," and "hardly ever." I created a variable Political Discussion. Those who answered "hardly ever," "rarely," "sometimes," and "almost everyday" were assigned 0, 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

Education

Education has been found to be positively related to one's political efficacy (Almond and Verba 1963; Campbell et al. 1960; Flanigan 1972). In the JGSS the respondents'

⁴⁴ I could have tested if non-partisans have lower political efficacy than LDP supporters or opposition supporters. However, when tried, the variable yielded no difference.

education was measured by the following question: “What was the last school you attended (or are attending now)?” Separate response options were given to those who went to school before WWII and to those who went to school after WWII, since the educational system was reformed after WWII. The response options for those who went to school before WWII were:

- (a) Ordinary elementary school in the old system (including national elementary school)
- (b) Higher elementary school in the old system
- (c) Junior high school/Girls’ high school in the old system
- (d) Vocational school in the old system
- (e) Normal school in the old system
- (f) Higher school or vocational school in the old system/higher normal school
- (g) University/Graduate school in the old system

The response options for those who went to school after WWII were:

- (h) Junior high school
- (i) High school
- (j) 2-year college/College of technology
- (k) University
- (l) Graduate school

A variable Education was created. Those who had junior high school education or less in the new system or its equivalent in the old one (a, b, and h) are assigned 1. Those who had high school education in the new system or the equivalent of that in the old system (c, d, e and i) were assigned 2. Those who had college education or more in the new system or the equivalent of that in the old system (f, g, j, k and l) were assigned 3 for the variable.

Variable Education is expected to have positive effects on the outcome variables.

Employment Status

Scholars have argued that workforce participation has a positive effect on one's political efficacy (Andersen 1975; Schur, Shields and Schriener 2003). By participating in decision making in the workplace, those who are employed are argued to become more confident about their power over outcomes and this positive disposition spreads to the larger politics system (Andersen 1975). Moreover, individuals can obtain various skills at work many of which can be transferrable to political participation. These skills involve writing, oral arguments, organizing, and leadership, to name a few (Brady, Schlozman and Verba 1999; Schlozman, Verba and Brady 1999; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Lastly, being in workforce can expose individual to political solicitations (Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994; Duerst-Lahti 1998).

Therefore, in this study, the respondents' employment status is controlled for through the variable *Employed*. The JGSS asked respondents: "Did you have a paying job last week, or did you plan to work last week? Choose from below." The answer choices were: "I worked last week," "I was going to work last week, but did not work," and "I did not work." Those who answered "I worked last week," and "I was going to work last week, but did not work," were assigned 1 to the variable. Those who answered "I did not work," were assigned 0 to the variable. This question is by no means a perfect question to measure one's employment status since theoretically those who happened to take a vacation week from their work while being interviewed would be categorized as unemployed. However, this seems not to be the case here. The JGSS asked the

respondents' status at workplace. The question reads: "Which of the following categories best describes your job?" The respondents were given multiple of options. These were:

- (1) Executive of a company or a corporation
- (2) Regular employee with no managerial post
- (3) Regular employee—Group leader, foreman
- (4) Regular employee—Sub-section Head (or equivalent position)—*kakaricho*
- (5) Regular employee—Section Head, manager (or equivalent position)—*kacho*
- (6) Regular employee—Department Head, General Manger (or equivalent position)—*bucho*
- (7) Regular employee—managerial status unkown
- (8) Temporary worker, Daily worker, Part-time temporary worker
- (9) Dispatched worker from temporary personnel agency
- (10) Self-employed
- (11) Family worker
- (12) Doing piecework at home
- (13) Don't know
- (88) Not applicable
- (99) No answer

Those who chose "not applicable" (88) should be those who were unemployed. Therefore, I created a variable Employed2 and assigned 1 to those who chose (1) to (13) and assigned 0 to those who chose (88). After creating the variable, I compared the two variables Employed and Employed2. Indeed, there was a perfect correlation between the two variables ($r=1.0$). The first variable is, therefore, taken to be good measure of respondents' employment status. From the literature, it is expected that this variable will have a positive influence on the outcome variables.

Age

The respondents' age is controlled for changing attitudes about gender roles in Japan over recent decades. Women today are more educated and even though the level of women's representation in national politics in Japan is still the lowest among the advanced democracies, there are more women in politics than ever before. Moreover, the society as a whole holds less traditional gender role expectations than previously. Nonetheless, since older women were socialized in a more gendered society, they may consider politics to be something that should be dealt with by men. Consequently, they may consider that they have no say in politics and believe that politics is too complicated for them. Therefore, the variable Age is expected to have negative effect on the outcome variables.

Female

Since my main focus is women, I will analyze women only for this chapter. A dummy variable Female was created, and 1 was assigned for female and 0 was assigned for male. Only females are included in the study. After eliminating those with missing variables, there were 903 respondents in the sample.

Plan of Analysis

My analysis has four parts. First, I will examine whether or not civil society organizational membership provides members with the opportunity to engage in face-to-face interactions with people in government. Second, I will show the differences in means of the political efficacy variables between non-NPO members, NPO members without contact, and NPO members with contact. Third, I will present a multivariate regression analysis. Since the dependent variable is ordinal (agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, and disagree), linear regression is not suitable because linear regression assumes that the dependent variable is interval. That is that “intervals between adjacent categories are equal” (Long 1997, p.115). Therefore, I use ordered logit model which is suitable for such dependent variables (p.115). Lastly, I will discuss the implications and limitations of the findings. All multivariate analyses are weighted using the weight variable.

Is Civil Society Organization Membership Associated With a Personal Connection to the Formal Political Sphere?

I contend that if civil society organizations do not provide their members with linkage to the formal political sphere, they may raise the members’ self efficacy and generate social capital, but they do no good in integrating citizens into electoral politics. Indeed, it is possible that such organizational membership actually detaches citizens from the formal political sphere, making them think that politics is something remote. Therefore, first of

all, whether civil society organizations provide the opportunity for face-to-face interaction with government officials should be examined. According to Table 3.1, while only 27.67% of non-members of civil society organizations have face-to-face contacts with government officials, 45.51% of their members do. The Phi coefficient that indicates association between the membership and face-to-face contacts is 0.18, which is statistically significant with a p-value smaller than 0.001. Thus, members are more likely to have face-to-face contacts with government officials than non-members. Yet, not all organizations provide that linkage. Table 3.1 also shows that 54.49% of the women who are members of NPOs do not have face-to-face contacts with government officials. Hence this warrants the importance of investigating the effect of the interaction (or lack thereof) between organizational membership and face-to-face contacts with government officials.

	Face-to-face contacts with government officials		Total
	No	Yes	
No membership	72.33%	27.67%	100%
Membership	54.49%	45.51%	100%

Phi coefficient= 0.18
p≤ 0.001

Table 3.1: Membership and Face-to-Face Contacts with Government Officials

As Table 3.1 shows, 54.49% of the respondents who are organizational members lack face-to-face contacts with government officials. This depicts the current condition of Japanese civil society. Many organizations remain without legal status and lack resources, making it very difficult for them to obtain partnership projects with the government;⁴⁵ they therefore probably remain unconnected to the political world. However, the picture is gradually changing. Partnership programs between NPOs and local governments have been getting more and more common recently. While less than 1% of city governments had taken any action⁴⁶ to promote government-NPO partnerships in 1999, 36% of them had done so by 2007.⁴⁷

Effect of Face-to-Face Contact with Government Officials within Civic Organizations on Political Efficacy

Again, my hypotheses are:

H1: The effect of the civic organizational membership on the respondents' external political efficacy is conditional. In other words the positive effects of organizational membership on the respondents' external political efficacy exist only when the respondents also have face-to-face contacts with government officials.

⁴⁵ From multiple interviews with women in civil society organizations and government officials in Japan between April and August 2008.

⁴⁶ Some action means one of the following: passing ordinances, setting up guidelines, or setting up committees on partnerships.

⁴⁷ These numbers were obtained by the author by examining websites of 791 city governments.

H2: The effect of the civic organizational membership on the respondents' internal political efficacy is conditional. In other words the positive effects of organizational membership on the respondents' internal political efficacy exist only when the respondents also have face-to-face contacts with government officials.

To show the difference in responses between women in each category (non-NPO member, NPO member without contact, and NPO member with contact), I report distribution of the answers to each question of measurement of external and internal political efficacy as well as mean differences in Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2, respectively. Figure 3.1 shows that more than half of each category of women provided affirmative responses to the question: "People like me don't have any say about what government does," indicating that they have low external political efficacy. Only a handful of women who did not belong to any NPO rejected the statement (5.98%), indicating having higher external political efficacy. Mean score for women in each group is 2.02, 2.23, and 2.34, respectively. Compared to non-NPO members, both members without contact and with contact have significantly higher external political efficacy scores. However, when compared NPO members with contact with members without contact, the difference is not statistically significant, although proportion of members with contact to disagree with the statement is twice as large of that of members without contacts (16.33% vs. 7.6%).

Figure 3.2 shows that as much as 80% of non-members of NPOs provided affirmative response to the statement: "Government and Politics are too complicated for

me to understand what is going on,” indicating that they have low internal political efficacy. The proportion of those who agreed with the statement drops by 9.0% and 19.57% among NPO members without contact and members with contact, respectively. The proportion of those who disagreed with the statement among non-NPO members and members without contacts are very similar (3.93% vs. 3.51%), however, that for NPO-members with contacts were most than twice as large (8.84%). When compared mean scores between three groups, all differences turn to be significant.

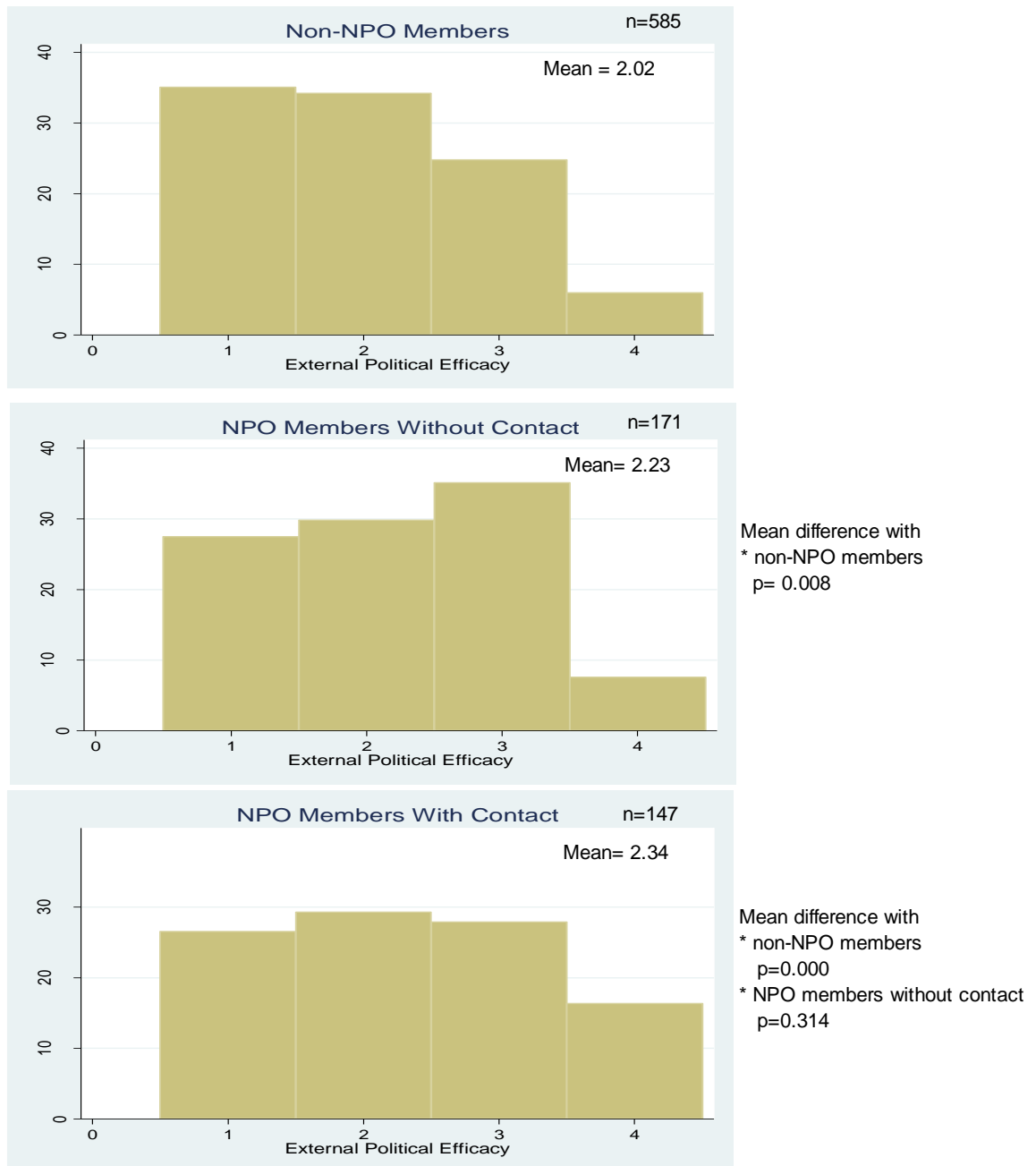


Figure 3.1: Distribution of External Political Efficacy (n=903) and Mean Differences

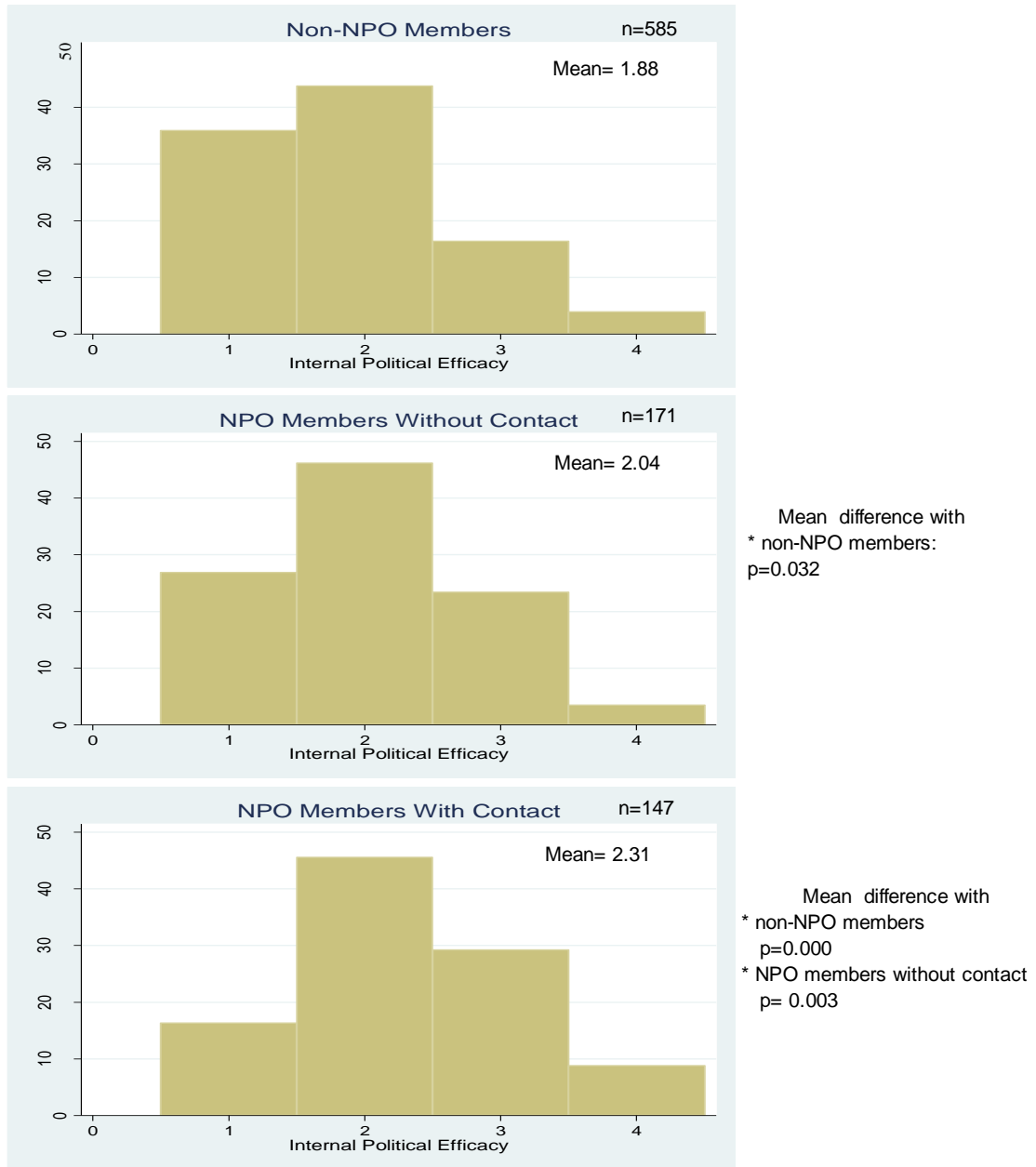


Figure 3.2: Distribution of Internal Political Efficacy (n=903) and Mean Differences

Multivariate Results

Table 3.2 presents results from multivariate logit regression models that examine the impact of independent variables on the respondents' political efficacies. Along with coefficients, I report proportional odds ratio. Odds ratio n indicates that the odds of the dependent variable taking the value greater than k versus less or equal to k is n times greater for one unit increase in the value of the independent variable (Long 1997, p. 139). For example, odds ratio 1.5 for a dummy variable (0= men, 1= women) indicates that the odds of the dependent variable taking value of 4 (strongly disagree) versus value of 3 (somewhat disagree), 2 (somewhat agree) or 1 (agree) for women is 1.5 times greater than for men. Similarly, it indicates that the odds of the dependent variable taking 3 (somewhat disagree) or 4 (disagree) versus 2 (somewhat agree) or 1 (agree) for women is 1.5 times greater than for men. Odds ratios are exponential of coefficients (Long 1997, p 80), and I obtained them using "or" command in Stata 9.

The results indicate that NPO-membership per se does not have a positive effect on either form of political efficacy when other variables are controlled for. Contrary to expectations, neither NPO members without contact with government officials nor members with contact with government officials have higher external political efficacy than non members of NPOs. Therefore, H1 is failed to be supported. This is puzzling. This could be because personalized relationship between NPO members and government officials may prevent the respondents from perceiving their relationship with government officials as having political meaning. For them, politics may mean much larger, i.e.,

national politics, while the government officials they interact are close to home, hence not political actors. This point will be further investigated in the interview chapters.

As for internal political efficacy, the expectation holds. While NPO members without contact do not have higher internal political efficacy than non-members, members with contacts do. When we compare NPO members with contact to non-members, the odds of “disagree” versus combined “somewhat disagree,” “somewhat agree,” and “agree” are 1.92 times greater. Similarly, the odds of “disagree” and “somewhat disagree” versus “somewhat agree” and “agree” are 1.92 times greater. However, when we compare NPO members without contact to non-members, there is no statistical significant difference in their responses. These provide support for H2.

Contrary to expectations, the LDP supporters are no more likely to have higher external political efficacy than non-LDP supporters. Since only a small percentage (7.97%) of the respondents disagreed with the statement, “people like me don’t have any say about what government does,” the reason would seem to be the pervasiveness of lack of external political inefficacy in the Japanese electorate regardless of the party they support. This could be due to numerous corruption scandals in politics (Hirata 2002) or continuous national political upheaval since 1993 resulting in numerous politicians’ defections from LDP, creation of new parties, merges of the new parties, and returns to LDP. LDP supporters do not have higher internal political efficacy, either. As external political efficacy, only a fraction of the respondents (4.65%) disagreed with the statement, “Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on.”

This could be because the political upheavals since the early 1990s increased perception of political complication equally to the respondents regardless of their party support.

As expected, political discussion has positive effects on the outcome variables. Odds ratio 1.63 indicates that odds for those who discuss politics almost everyday to disagree or somewhat disagree versus somewhat agree or agree is 1.63 times greater than for those who discuss politics only sometimes. Political discussions would seem to empower people (Eveland 2004; McLeod, Scheufele and Moy 1999) by making them more confident about their knowledge about political system and belief that they can influence political outcomes.

Education has a positive effect on both outcome variables. What is interesting is that being employed has negative effect on women's external political efficacy. Odds ratio 0.68 indicates that compared to unemployed women, odds of employed women to disagree and somewhat disagree versus somewhat agree and agree is 0.68 greater, in other words, 32% less likely. This could be because women who are employed face gendered structures and are not given opportunities to participate in the decision making process at work. This scenario is very likely because 1) many women exit the workforce upon marriage or the birth of their first child and reenter it later as a part-time employee; and 2) promotion within the Japanese companies is based on seniority, and women who reenter the workforce are forced to start from the bottom of the seniority ladder.

Employment status has no effect on internal political efficacy. This means while employed women have lower external political efficacy than unemployed women,

employed women feel no more internally efficacious than unemployed women. It may be that women are not given opportunities to learn skill to understand complex political issues at workplace. In other words, they may not be given tasks requiring understanding current political or economic issues such as making economic decisions at a company level. As expected, age has a negative effect on external political efficacy, suggesting that there may be some generational difference in socialization effects. While age has negative effect on the female respondents' external political efficacy, age does not seem to have any effect on their internal political efficacy. This could be because two effects are canceling with each other. These two effects are socialization and political knowledge. Even with the gendered socialization that older women were exposed to politics for longer period of time, they may have cumulated political knowledge through prolonged participation, which has been found positively related to internal political efficacy but not external political efficacy (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996) than their younger counterparts.

	External Political Efficacy				Internal Political Efficacy		
	Coeff.	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio		Coeff.	Std. Err.	Odds Ratio
Non-NPO Member	(Reference)				(Reference)		
Member without contact	0.21	0.17	1.23		0.23	0.17	1.26
Member with contact	0.25	0.20	1.28		0.65	0.19	1.92 ***
LDP Supporter	0.12	0.15	1.13		0.28	0.15	1.32
Political Discussion	0.49	0.09	1.63	***	0.49	0.09	1.63 ***
Education	0.39	0.11	1.48	***	0.41	0.11	1.51 ***
Employed	-0.38	0.14	0.68	**	0.13	0.14	1.14
Age	-0.02	0.01	0.98	***	0.002	0.01	1.00
n	903				903		
F	12.03				10.57		

** p ≤ 0.01

*** p ≤ 0.001

Table 3.2: Ordered Logit Regression Analyses Predicting Respondents' Political Efficacies

Conclusion

The results of the study show that a combination of the civic organizational membership and face-to-face contacts with government officials holds a key to one's increased belief that they can comprehend politics. Currently, according to the survey, 35 % of Japanese women belong to at least one civic organization. If the organizational members are given more opportunities to have face-to-face contacts with government officials in the civil society organizations, profound effects on women's political attitudes are expected. This is especially true since many civic organizations are predominantly organized by women (Cabinet Office of Japan 2004). However, as discussed, over half of the female members

of NPOs lack face-to-face contacts with government officials. Only 46% of the female NPO members do. This means only around 16% of Japanese females have both NPO membership and face-to-face contacts with government officials.⁴⁸

Fortunately, as discussed in Chapter 2 an increase in the opportunity for such interaction between civic organizational members and government officials seems to be occurring. The 1998 NPO Law reframed the relationship between the government and civic organizations by relaxing government regulations on such organizations' ability to obtain legal status and operation. Over 30,000 civic organizations have obtained legal status many of which have a *complementary* relationship with the government in delivering services, suggesting policies and exchanging information (Cabinet Office of Japan 2006). Currently Japanese women are socially, economically and political disadvantaged. If they can be exposed to the opportunity to cooperate and work with government officials and obtain hands-on knowledge of the government system through civic organizational activities, the future seems to be brighter. Much of who these people are that join civic organizations are, why they join them and how the face-to-face interactions occur remains unknown.

Moreover, the impact of different kinds of face-to-face contacts, initial motivations to join the organizations and dynamics in which civic organizational membership affects members cannot be assessed based on the current study. Furthermore, the results from the analyses left one question: why women who have face-to-face

⁴⁸ This is because the NPO membership rate is around 35% for women in this survey.

interaction with government officials do not have higher external political efficacy than non-members. My in-depth interviews and interaction with women in Japanese civil society organizations between April and August 2008 should enrich the understanding.

Chapter 4

Interview Methodology

Why Interviews?

The main argument for my dissertation is that not all NPOs necessarily raise the political efficacy of their members. Some NPOs can do so while others may decrease or have no effect on political efficacy of their members depending on the organization's relationship with the government. Namely, I have argued that face-to-face interaction with government officials is critical in helping the members believe that they can make difference in politics and that they can understand politics. Moreover, I have argued that not all NPOs are equal in their ability to provide opportunities for the members to have face-to-face interaction with government officials. Such interactions are more likely to occur in NPOs that take part in NPO-Government partnership projects. The popular belief holds that civic organizational participation increases political efficacy of the participants (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). Does this hold for Japanese women? In the last chapter, I provided some insight on this point using a survey conducted in 2003 (JGSS 2003). The results from the survey

analyses showed that for internal political efficacy, the combination of NPO membership and face-to-face interaction with government officials is an important factor. However, this was not the case for external political efficacy contrary to my expectation. A survey has a limited number of closed-ended questions, and these questions were not made without this study in mind. Therefore it limits our understanding of a phenomenon. Moreover, when surveys are cross-sectional, cause and effect analyses are very difficult since we cannot assess what factors precede the others. From the results of the JGSS study in Chapter 3, for example, we cannot tell if NPO members who are acquainted with government officials *become* politically efficacious. It could be that politically efficacious individuals become NPO members and subsequently seek to have contact with government officials after joining NPOs. Provided that the effect of NPO membership is conditional on the presence of face-to-face interaction with government officials, I argued that their interaction is important in raising the political efficacy of group members. Yet, there is no way of knowing whether or not these members who were acquainted with government officials had gotten to know the officials through organizational activities or outside of organizational activities. It could be that these organizational members established such relationships somewhere else.

Two questions I utilized from the JGSS survey read: “People like me don’t have any say about what the government does” and “Politics and government are too complicated for me to understand what is going on.” Possible responses were “agree,” “somewhat agree,” “somewhat disagree,” and “disagree.” If they agreed that they feel

that their opinion counted, the survey results do not tell us when they felt that way. Similarly, if they disagreed that they had any say in what government does, we do not know when they come to feel that way, similarly, what made them feel that way remain unknown from the survey. Moreover, in the survey, different women's experiences were reduced to an array of various control variables and much of who they were, why they joined civil society organizations in the first place and their experiences as members remain unknown from the survey. With regard to organizational membership, the survey only asked whether they belonged to different types of organizations, such as social service groups, citizens' movement, religious groups, sports groups and clubs, and hobby groups and clubs. Whether the organizations merely deliver goods and services to their constituents or advocate for certain issues or groups remain unknown. To overcome these shortcomings, I conducted in-depth interviews of female NPO members.

One limitations of survey analysis is the possibility of selection bias. By asking interviewees the reasons why they joined the NPOs in the first place and if they have face-to-face interactions with government officials, if they do, when and how they do, can we make a better inference. By asking the participants the reasons why they joined the NPOs, I can examine if those who are politically motivated or those who are interested in politics in general join NPOs or they become politically efficacious after they join NPOs. By asking if, when and how they have face-to-face interaction with government officials, I can examine if politically efficacious NPO members choose to have such interaction while politically inefficacious NPO members avoid doing so. By

carefully choosing the interview subjects, I can contrast the experiences and attitudes of women in different types of NPOs. Moreover, the interview is a complementary method to survey analysis because the topics I tackle can be sensitive and probing and reading between the lines may be necessary (Berg 2001).

Women to be Interviewed

Since information on individual NPO members was not available, I had to first select NPOs and then ask leaders of the NPOs to introduce me to female members. To do so, I began with partnership NPOs. I first selected NPOs that were carrying out or had recently completed partnership programs with local government. After selecting such NPOs, I sent an introductory email to ask them to introduce some women in their organization. After obtaining confirmation that they would agree to participate in interviews, I engaged in a matching process where I identified NPOs that were similar to partnership NPOs but were different in partnership status -- they had not taken part in any partnership projects. The matching criteria I used was the organizational style (advocacy, service delivery or mixed). I will discuss this point and more in detail later. In short, the steps I took to obtain participants in the study were:

1. Identify partnership NPOs from the list provided by the Osaka prefectural government.

2. Analyze the content of each NPO's organizational goal, and statement of activities using three websites. These are: a) the website of the Osaka NPO Information Net; b) the website of the Cabinet Office's NPO database; and c) volunteer centers' websites of twenty municipalities in Osaka prefecture. Use keywords to identify partnership NPOs and make a list.
3. Combine the two lists and omit overlapping organizations.
4. Obtain contact information of NPOs on the list and contact 50 NPOs with an aim to recruit 25 women from these NPOs.
5. Analyze the content of each NPO's organizational goal, and statement of activities on the aforementioned three websites (Osaka NPO Information Net, the Cabinet Office, and volunteer centers). Use keywords to categorize the NPOs into one of the three categories. They are a) service delivery; b) advocacy; and c) mixed.
6. Identify the category of the partnership NPOs to which the 25 participants belonged.
7. Select service delivery, advocacy, and mixed non-partnership NPOs to contact.
8. Obtain contact information of selected NPOs.
9. Recruit participants from non-partnership NPOs. (Contact 50 NPOs with an aim to recruit 25 women from these NPOs.)

I will go over each step in detail to describe how I obtained the participants for the study.

Identify Partnership NPOs from the List Provided by the Osaka Prefectural Government

As described in Chapter 2, NPO-Government partnerships are often formal. Local governments seek out partner NPOs to consult on new policy, carry out projects, events, implement policies and give out grants. Many local governments post such opportunities on their websites and report the results. Therefore, it would have been ideal to get a list of all NPOs involved in a NPO-Government partnership project in recent years. Both prefectural and municipal governments can independently engage in partnership projects with NPOs. Including one prefectural government, there are 44 local governmental bodies in Osaka. Since visiting and contacting all of these local governments is an onerous task, I visited Osaka prefectural government to see if there was a list of NPOs that had engaged in any partnership program with the prefectural and municipal governments after 1998.

Aside from the prefectural assembly, school, police systems and seven standing committees, Osaka prefectural government is divided into twelve departments. The departments are further divided into thirty-eight divisions and these divisions are further divided into 122 sections. Matters with regard to NPOs and citizens' volunteer activities fall under the jurisdiction of *fumin-katsudou-suishin-ka* (section to promote citizen activities). Therefore, I paid a visit to the section office to discuss my projects and inquire about a possible exhaustive list of partnership NPOs in the Osaka area. To my

disappointment, however, such a list was not available. Instead, a worker at the section office provided several excel files. They included the following items:

1. Information on prefectural NPO-Government partnership projects in fiscal years 2004, 2005 and 2006.
2. Information on NPO-Government partnership projects by all municipalities in Osaka in fiscal year 2004, 2005 and 2006.

Data in the excel files on prefectural NPO-Government partnership projects in fiscal year 2004, 2005, and 2006 were divided into several lists according to different types of “partnerships.” These are: 1) invitation of NPOs to committees; 2) co-hosting of an event between NPOs and governments; 3) outsourcing of government tasks to NPOs; and 4) grant money given to NPOs. Each list included the name of the project, the department, division and section offices that were responsible for it, a brief description of it, and when the “partnership” began if the project was on-going. From the lists, how many projects were carried out between fiscal year 2004 and 2006 was known, but the names of NPOs that carried out each project were omitted. According to the worker at the section office, the only way to obtain such information was to contact each department, division and section office in the Osaka prefectural government.

Data in the excel files on Government-NPO partnership projects by municipalities in Osaka in fiscal year 2004, 2005, and 2006 were similar to the data on prefectural level partnership projects. Each list included the name of the municipality, the project, the municipal departments, division and section offices that were responsible for the project, a brief description of it, and when it began if it was on-going. The municipal data also

included information not available on the prefectural lists. It was the names of the NPOs that carried out each “outsourced” project, and the monetary compensation they obtained for it. Other than on outsourced projects, however, names of NPOs that carried out each partnership project were unknown. In order to get that information, it was suggested that I would contact department, division and section office at each municipal government.

In short, there was no exhaustive list of partnership NPOs available and the data I obtained from the Osaka prefectural government was limited in three ways. First, it only dated back to 2004. Second, while the data showed *how many* projects were carried out, the information on *which* NPOs carried out such projects was not comprehensive, information that was crucial to recruiting NPOs. Prefectural information did not include names of NPOs in any types of partnership. Third, only the names of NPOs that carried out projects that were outsourced by municipal governments were known from the list. However, NPOs that were invited to committees, co-hosted events or programs with governments, obtained grants money from municipal governments were unknown. Moreover, the data were only for between 2004 and 2006. Therefore, at this point, I had the list of organizations (including NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status), *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* (NPOs without legal status), other groups with legal status, and neighborhood organizations) that carried out outsourced projects by municipal governments between 2004 and 2006.

To make an exhaustive list of complementary NPOs in Osaka, I would have needed to contact each department, division and section offices in 44 local governments.

However, given the sheer number of partnership projects⁴⁹ and the vertical divisions of governments, this action was very burdensome. Indeed it proved highly time-consuming because of the very slow response from bureaucratic departments I contacted. Because of these limitations, I resorted to another method, which was to use websites to search for NPOs that indicated that they were in partnership projects with governments. The websites I used were run by Osaka NPO information Net, the Cabinet Office and municipal volunteer centers.

Identify Partnership NPOs from Databases and Volunteer Centers' Websites

The Osaka NPO Information Net's website compiles data on NPOs (both NPO-*hojin* and *nin'i-boranteer-dantai*)⁵⁰ in Osaka. This website has a variety of information. It lists whether or not a given NPO has legal status. If it does, it also distinguishes types (NPOs with legal status under the 1998 law, social welfare corporations, incorporated associations, or incorporated fund.)⁵¹ It also tells us the address of the NPOs and the data on which it gained legal status, the purpose/goal of the organizations, its area of activity, and some featured programs they carry out. This website also allows a search of NPOs

⁴⁹ As shown earlier, in 2006 alone there were over 1,700 them in Osaka.

⁵⁰ Again, NPO-*hojin* are an NPOs that obtained legal status under the 1998 law. *Nin'i-boranteer-dantai* are NPOs that did not obtain legal status.

⁵¹ Differences between these types of organizations were discussed in Chapter 2.

using keywords. I engaged in keyword searches of the NPOS that indicated that they engage in partnership project with government.

Since my focus is citizen based NPOs, I limited my search on NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status under 1998 law) and *nin'i-borannnteer-dantai* (NPOs without legal status). I searched partnership NPOs using three keywords. These were “*paatonaa*”(partner),⁵² “*kyoudou*”(partner),⁵³ and “*gyousei*”(government/administration). I chose these three words since “partnership with government” “Government- NPO/ NPO-government partnership” are translated as “*gyousei tono paatonaashippu*” or “*gyousei tono kyoudou*”. Indeed municipal governments themselves use these terms and often have website links on which they announce available partnership projects and seek out potential partner NPOs. A keyword search using the word returned 26 NPOs. Reading the information of these NPOs, however, I soon realized that “*paatonaa*” in some of their statements meant something other than partnership with government. There were three types of wrong inclusions of NPOs by the keyword. First, the name of the NPO included the term “*paatonaa*,” yet the statement did not indicate that they engaged in partnership projects with government. For this reason, I had to omit eight NPOs. Second, while their statements indicated that they partnered with actors, other than governments. For example, the statement of NPO-*hojin Chi'iki JôhōShien Net* read:

⁵² This is a borrowed word from English.

⁵³ This is a Japanese word for “partner.” Both *paatonaa* and *kyoudou* are used to describe NPO-Government partnerships on government websites.

*Kono houjinwa, shoushikoureika, chihoubunkentoiu atarashii jidaini tekioushita (chiikihwa sokoni sundeiru hitoga mizukara tsukuraneba naranai) toiu kangaeni tatte, chiiki juuminto jimoto kigyō, shoutenga atarashii **paatonaashippu** nomoto (chiikiwa hitotsu) no kachikan wo kyōyūushi chiikino kasseika hiitewa ningenrashii yutakana shakai wo jitsugensuru tameni okonau chiikikatudou ni taishite, jichikaitouno kouhoushino mushousakusei, kasseikaibentono kikaku oyobi jisshinado katudoumenno shienwo okonaukotowo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “We believe that a community has to be organized by its members. Facing challenges from aging society and mounting tasks due to decentralization and devolution, we should abide by this belief now more so than ever before. We help provide public relations magazines for free, and plan and carry out events when members **partner** with local businesses to engage in community services.”

Another example is NPO-*hojin Raku Raku Bunka Kaigi*. The statement of the NPO-*hojin* reads:

*Konohoujinwa, shiminno nōryokuwo kesshuushi, zaidanhōjin Ōsakasayamashi bunkashinkōjigyōdanto **paatonaakankeiwo** ijishitsusu, bunkashinkōjigyōuno aratana tenkaiwo hakari, yoriyōimachizukurino suishinni kiyosurukotowo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “We aim to contribute to the betterment of the community. To achieve our goal, we maintain a good **partnership** relationship with *Zaidan Hojin Osaka Sayamashi Bunka Shinko Jigyodan* [Osaka Sayama-City Arts Foundation] to cultivate arts in the community.”

I had to omit four NPOs from the list because their statements indicated partnership with other than government actors, as in the case with *Chi'iki JōhōShien Net* and *Raku Raku Bunka Kaigi* as shown. Third, the statement included the word “*paatonaa*”; yet, it did not mean that the organization engaged in partnership projects with government or other actors. An example is NPO-*hojin* “As House”. The statement of the organization reads:

*Konohoujinwa, haiguushaya **paatona**akarano bouryoku (domesuttikku baiorensu) higaishano kyuusaini kansuru jigowo okonai, higaishano katano jirituno kiyosurukotowo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “This organization provides services for victims of domestic violence (violence and abuse by spouses or **partners**) and contributes to the recovery of the victims.”

I had to exclude this organization for the reason. Therefore, I excluded total of 13 NPOs.

This left me with 13 NPOs.

Next, I used a keyword “*kyoudou*” (also translated as partnership). This search generated 78 NPOs. Yet for the same reasons, I had to omit 26 of them. Therefore, this search generated 52 NPOs. Then, I used a keyword “*gyousei*” (translated as government, or administration). This search generated 182 NPOs. However, I had to omit several of these since in the mission statements did not indicate any type of communication or network with the government. For example, the statement of NPO-*hojin Senshu-jin* reads:

*Konohoujinwa, Senshuu-chiiki nioite, seisoukatsudouwo hajimetosuru shakaikoukenkatudouwo toushite juuminshutaino chiikikomyunitiwo keiseishi, chiikijuuminga **gyousei**ni izonsurukotonaku, jibuntachino chikarade jibuntachino machiwo yutakade sumiyasukusurutameno katadouni koukensurukotowo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “We aim to build society where residents do not depend on **government**, but instead contribute to their own community by encouraging community service, such as community cleaning campaigns.”

Similarly, the statement of NPO-*hojin Kids Recreation Club* reads:

Konohoujinwa, danjokyoudousankakushakaiga sakebarenagaramo, izentoshite joseino shuuroukeitaiwa ichido kekkon, shussan, kosodatenotameni rishokushite shimauto, shokubafukkiwa konnandeari,

*sonohaikeiniwa joseinomiwo kurushimetekita '3-saiji shinwa' ga ookiku eikyoushiteiru. Sonotamenimo, tokuni joseiga anshinshite hatarakituzukeru tameniwa, nyuuyouji douyou gakudouki jidounimo hoikushienga hituyoude aru. Sokode, honkatsudoudewa hataraku setaino kouteki gakudouhoiku taishouikouno gakunenniaru kenjoujidou, shougaiwomotsu jidouni taishite, katei, gakkou, **gyouseide** oginakirezu shikakuni narigachina shougakuseijidouno anzenna ibashodukuriwo teikyoushi, sokode kaiga, eikaiwa, zugakousaku, ochakai, origamitouwo manabi, kizzu kukkingu dewa kankyoumondainimo furerukotowo mokutekito suru. Mata, chiikino nettowaaku renkeiniyori kosodateshiento chiikini nemutteiru shakaishigen(hito)no kasseika, tokuni sengyoushufuno shakaisankaniyori jidoukankyoudukurino keihatsuknarabini kosodatefuanniaru hogoshano ibashodukurino kouchikuwo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “Even though gender equality has become a buzz word in society, women still face difficulty in returning to the workforce once they leave it upon marriage, birth or for childrearing. This is due to lack of proper child-care facilities. Yet the current public childcare system for school age children is limited. Families, schools and **government** often fail to provide safe places for older children. We provide such places for these children. We teach art, English, tea ceremony, origami, cooking and environmental issues to these children. In addition, we aim to provide spaces where parents can gather to exchange information on childrearing. Furthermore, we champion a more inclusive society for housewives and children.”

Another example is the statement of NPO-hojin *Osaka Shimin no Iryou to Jinken o Mamoru Kai*. The statement reads:

*Konohoujinwa, kokuminga kenkouni kurashiteikukotono konkanniaru shakaihoshouno mondaini shoutenwo ate, iryou-**gyousei**no tekiseikawo kenkyuushitari, ishi, iyakuhingyoukaino iryoukagono mondaimo kenkyuushite shakaiteki jakushadearu shiminno jinkento seikatsuwo mamorukotowo fukyuushi chiikishakaini koukensurukotowo mokutekitosuru.*

This is translated as “We believe that the social security system is the foundation of healthy lives for citizens. Based on this belief, we research the improvement of medical **administration**, medical malpractices of

doctors and pharmaceutical industry. By doing so, we aim to contribute to the protection of citizens' human rights, especially those who are weak.”

For the same reason, I had to omit total of 11 NPOs. Therefore, this search generated 171 NPOs. The search using the terms “*paatonaa*,” “*kyoudou*” and “*gousei*” on the Osaka NPO Information Net’s database, therefore, generated 247 NPOs in net terms.

All NPO-*hojin* (NPOs with legal status) are required to have their information such as statement of purpose, when legal status was granted, and address of main office on the Cabinet Office’s website. When I began the fieldwork in Osaka in April 2008, the prefecture had 2,552 NPO-*hojin* listed. Of these, 154 had obtained legal status from the Cabinet Office⁵⁴ and 2,398 of them from the prefecture. The information includes purpose and activities of the organization, among other things. I conducted searches using the same keywords discussed above. These are “*paatonaa*” (partnership) “*kyoudou*” (partnership) and “*gyousei*” (government/administration). The first search with the keyword “*paatonaa*” generated 14 NPOs. However, I had to omit five organizations for the reasons discussed above. The search with the keyword “*kyoudou*” generated 45 NPOs and, after omitting 14 organizations, I was left with 31 NPOs. The last search with the keyword “*gyousei*” generated the largest number of NPOs. After omitting 14 organizations, it generated 102 NPOs.

⁵⁴ NPOs whose activity areas go beyond prefectural borders have to obtain legal status from the Cabinet Office.

Twenty out of 33 city governments in Osaka publish information on volunteer groups within their jurisdictions.⁵⁵ I conducted keyword searches using the same three keywords. The searches produced 21 NPOs that seemed to be in a partnership relationship with either municipal or prefectural government.

⁵⁵ Each of these municipal governments has a “volunteer center” with which NPOs can register in order to get free office space or advertise on the website. The twenty municipal government that have volunteer centers with websites that publish information on the registered NPOs are:

Osaka City: http://www.osakacity-vnet.or.jp/newvolunteer/v_invite.nsf/FM01TopMenu?OpenForm

Sakai City: http://www.sakai-syakyo.net/vol_group/index.cgi

Kishiwada City: <http://www.syakyo.or.jp/vc1/group/vg.htm>

Toyonaka City: <http://www3.ocn.ne.jp/~tcpvc/group/html/group.htm>

Ikeda City: <http://www.i-shakyo.or.jp/vc/15group/group-ichiran.htm>

Izumi Otsu City: http://www.syakyou.or.jp/vc/entry_g.html

Takatsuki City: <http://www.tacityvc.com/group/index.html>

Hirakata City: <http://www.hi-volo.com/?cat=2>

Yao City: <http://www18.ocn.ne.jp/~yaosya/Vlist.html>

Tonda Bayashi City: http://www6.ocn.ne.jp/~t.shakyo/v_group.html

Negayawa City: <http://www.neyagawa-shakyo.or.jp/vc/07-vg.htm>

Kawachi Nagano City:

<http://www16.ocn.ne.jp/~ksyakyou/0101bora.htm#%E7%99%BB%E9%8C%B2%E3%83%9C%E3%83%A9%E3%83%B3%E3%83%86%E3%82%A3%E3%82%A2%E3%82%B0%E3%83%AB%E3%83%BC%E3%83%97%E4%B8%80%E8%A6%A7>

Daoto City: <http://www.syakyo-daito.jp/>

Izumi City: <http://izumi-syakyo.net/aiai/entry.aspx?id=191>

Mino City: <http://www.minoh-syakyo.or.jp/vc/>

Kashiwara City: <http://www.kashiwara-shakyo.jp/VC/vc-grp.htm>

Sennan City: <http://www16.ocn.ne.jp/~sennanvc/group.html>

Shijo Nawate City: <http://www13.ocn.ne.jp/~sisyakyo/3-3boatourokudantai/boadantai.htm>

Katano City: <http://www.eonet.ne.jp/~katabora/vglist.html>

Osaka Sayama City: http://www.osaka-sayama.or.jp/work/volunteer_01.html

Not all volunteer groups register with these centers, hence the information is not all-inclusive.

Combining the List from the Government and Results of Keyword Searches

I combined the list of NPOs (both NPO-*hojin* and *nin'i-boranteer-dantai*) that carried out tasks outsourced by municipal governments between year 2004 and 2006 with those organizations I obtained from keyword searches on two NPO databases and volunteer centers' websites of 20 municipalities. After eliminating overlapping organizations, I obtained 509 NPOs. Of these, 371 (72.9%) had legal status and 138 (27.1%) did not. I used this list to recruit partnership NPOs (NPOs that were carrying out or recently had carried out "partnership" projects with government). I recognize that this is not a comprehensive list of such NPOs, yet given that such a list does not exist even in government offices which engaged in partnerships with these NPOs, I believe this is a good start for this study and future scholars who are interested in similar topics.

Obtaining Contact Information of NPOs and Recruiting Women for the Study

In order to make a request for participation in the study, the organizations had to be contacted. When I had the addresses, an email requesting participation in the study was sent. Some of the NPOs that did not have an email address listed had the website address listed instead. In that case, I went to their websites and obtained their email addresses. For those NPOs that listed neither address, I searched for information using internet search engines (Yahoo and Google) or looked them up in phonebooks. By doing so, I

managed to obtain some contact information on 347 NPOs (68.2% of 509). Of those, 275 (79.3%) had legal status and 72 (20.7%) did not. To test the hypotheses of the study, I aimed to interview 25 women from partnership NPOs and another 25 women from non-partnership NPOs. Predicting about half of the organizations would respond or could introduce women to participate in the study, I contacted every seventh organization on the list that had contact information. When sending emails to the organizations, the recruitment letter that was approved by the Ohio State's IRB was used. For those organizations that did not respond after seven days, a follow-up email was sent. When recruiting via phone, the similar yet more colloquial wording of the IRB-approved form was used. Ultimately I recruited 25 women from 17 NPOs that had partnership programs with governments.

Select Non-Partnership NPOs to Recruit Women From

The purpose of the interviews is to investigate the impact of the organizational relationship with the government on members' political efficacy. However, other organizational factors may also affect their political efficacy. Indeed, there are many factors that differentiating organizations. Ideally if we have a large number of cases, resources and time, we could "control" for the numerous factors that might affect their members' attitudes. Yet due to limited case numbers and time and resources I can devote to the study, I cannot "control" many factors that may affect the attitudes of the members.

Instead, other than the main factor (partnership and non-partnership status) to investigate the effects on members, I only focus on one factor that makes the most theoretical sense in controlling for. That is the style of organizations.

The recent literature on non-profit organizations distinguishes between advocacy and service-delivery NPOs. The key difference between them is the style in which the groups pursue their goals. According to Jenkins (1986), the main goal of the service-delivery NPOs is to provide goods and services to members and neighborhood residents. Advocacy NPOs do not deliver the tangible benefits that service-delivery NPOs do; instead, they attempt to influence policy outcomes by suggesting appropriate policies. I sought to recruit women from both service-delivery and advocacy NPOs because if all the partnership NPOs in my sample were advocacy groups and all the non-partnership NPOs were service-delivery groups, or vice versa, any differences I might find among interviewees might be because of organizational style, rather than NPO relationship with government. Since service-delivery groups simply provide goods and services to targeted groups without advocating for them vis-à-vis government, they can be political. On the other hand, because advocacy groups aim to change policies or attitudes in society, they can be very political and they might influence likelihood of political discussions in the groups and or the political attitudes of members, regardless of the organizational relationship with government. Therefore, both of my samples of women from partnership NPOs and from non-partnership NPOs were drawn from both service-delivery and advocacy NPOs.

While it is necessary to draw a sample of women from both advocacy and service-delivery NPOs, it is not always easy to distinguish organizations into advocacy and service delivery ones. Many organizations indeed engage in both tasks (Minkoff 1997). Moreover, the Cabinet Office requires certified NPOs to declare their issue areas of activity, not in their style. Same goes for the Osaka NPO Information Net's website.

My solution to this problem was to look whether organizations are inward or outward oriented. I argue that organizations are inward oriented when they are delivering services and they are outward oriented when they are engaging in advocacy activities. If an organization delivers goods and services to a target population (the disabled, the elderly, single-mothers, etc.), it does not have to reach beyond this group. On the other hand, if an organization advocates for some groups or certain issues, they have to reach as many people as possible to bring influence on government.

To distinguish inward oriented (service delivery) and outward oriented (advocacy) NPOs in Osaka, I had to analyze a description of each NPO and determine which organizations would fall into which category.⁵⁶ To do so, I needed some keywords that distinguish between inward oriented and outward oriented NPOs. I used Osaka NPO Information Net's website and the Cabinet Office's database on NPOs to generate keywords. I cumulated keywords in a snowballing manner. I first searched for NPOs that had the term "*saabisu*" (translated as service). Then I looked up these organizations'

⁵⁶ It poses a possibility of subjectivity. However, in recruitment process, I asked the organizational members if their organizations engage in either service-delivery or advocacy activities to affirm that the categorization was correct. I encountered only three incidences in which that they were falsely categorized.

statements in detail and analyzed their websites whenever available to examine what other terms they used to describe their activities. Using the new terms that were found in their website statements, I searched for other NPOs. I repeated this process several times and generated several keywords that described activities of inward oriented (service-delivery) NPOs. These were “*nakama*” (friends), “*goraku*” (entertainment), “*enjo*” (support), “*shien*” (support), and “*teikyou*” (provision/donation). Similarly I cumulated keywords for outward oriented (advocacy) groups starting with the keyword “*adobokashii*” (translated as advocacy) on their statement. The practice generated the following keywords. These were “*teigen*” (advocacy/suggestion), “*seisaku*” (policy), “*seisakuteigen*” (policy advocacy), “*jogen*” (advice), “*keihatsu*” (enlightenment/education), “*jouhou hasshin*”(information transmission), “*kenkyuu*” (research), and “*gakushuu*” (study).

Then I analyzed the content of the description of each NPO on the Osaka NPO Information Net’s website, the Cabinet Office’s database and aforementioned volunteer center’s websites of twenty municipalities. In analyzing, I used these keywords as guides to categorize the NPOs into either inward oriented (service-delivery), outward oriented (advocacy) or both (mixed) groups. Instead of blindly categorizing NPOs, I read through each NPO’s description and analyzed it holistically. This method turned out to be more appropriate than simply dividing the NPOs into groups by strictly applying the keywords since the descriptions of some groups did not include any of these keywords. Moreover, some groups showed elements of both advocacy and service delivery in their descriptions

without including any of the keywords. Alternatively, their descriptions included only keywords for either inwardly or outwardly oriented activities, yet they showed the element of the other as well. For example, NPO-*hojin Kokusai Bifurenda-zu Osaka Jisatsu Boushi Sentaa* (International Befrienders Osaka Suicide Prevention Center)'s description read:

*“Kono houjin wa, kokusai bifurendâzu ni kameisuru boranteea dantai toshite, jinsei ni okeru kunou, kodoku, zetsubou, yokuutsu niyori, jisatsu no kiki ga sematteiru hito ni taishi, 24jikan keichou to bifurendyingu niyoru kanjouteki na shien wo **teikyoushi**, jisatsu wo boushi suru to tomoni, soudanin wo youseishiteiku kotowo mokutekito suru. Mata jisatsun no kiki wo ninshikishi taishosuru houhou wo **hiroku shakai ni shiraserukoto** wo mokuteki to suru.”*

This is translated as “This NPO aims to train counselors to provide 24-hour counseling and friendship for those who are at risk of suicide due to life’s hardships, loneliness, desperation and depression. Moreover, it disseminates information on how to detect suicidal tendencies in people and how to deal with such people.”)

If I had to categorize strictly following the keywords, I would have labeled this NPO as a service delivery group since the description included the term “*teikyou*” (provision/donation) yet did not include any keyword that suggest that I should categorize it as an advocacy NPO. However, the statement made it clear that the group also engaged in advocacy activity. It used a different phrase (*hiroku shakai ni shiraserukoto*) to describe their knowledge dissemination activity. Japanese language is rich in nuances and each verb conjugates. It is possible to search using a stem of each verb. However since a stem of many verbs are composed of only one Chinese character, it will include too many cases if we search using a stem of a verb. Therefore, creating an exhaustive list of

keywords including verbs is very difficult. As a result, analyzing holistically while guided by the keywords seems to be an appropriate method to categorize NPOs. Following this rule, I analyzed the description of all NPOs in Osaka whose information was available on the Osaka NPO Information Net's website, the Cabinet Office's Database, and websites of volunteer centers of 20 municipal governments. After omitting the NPOs that were on the list of the partnership NPOs that I built above, I had 2,368 service delivery NPOs, 328 advocacy NPOs and 381 "mixed" NPOs.

Contacting Non-Partnership NPOs

In order to have roughly the same number of women (eight from each) from each of the service-delivery, advocacy and mixed groups, and assuming about half of the NPOs would respond and produce volunteers, I contacted sixteen NPOs from each category. To do so, I divided the list of the non-partnership NPOs into three separate sheets: one for service delivery, one for advocacy and one for mixed NPOs. On each sheet, I numbered NPOs from top to the bottom. Then I divided the number of the total NPOs on each list by the number of NPOs I aimed to contact (16 NPOs). I obtained 148 for service delivery, 20.5 for advocacy, and 23.8 for mixed NPOs. I listed out every 148th, 20th and 23rd NPOs from each list.

When contact information was not available for the groups, I eliminated them from the list, renumbered the groups still on the list and repeated the process. Difficulty in obtaining contact information, and the fact that more service delivery groups were

available for non-partnership NPOs prevented me from obtaining the exact same number of women from each type of group. Ultimately, I was able to include 12 women from 10 service delivery, 8 from 5 advocacy and 17 from 9 mixed NPOs (See Table 4.1 below)

The breakdown of the partnership NPOs that 25 women who agreed to participate in the study belonged to was: four service-delivery, five advocacy and eight mixed NPOs. Note that some of the women belonged to the same NPOs; therefore, the number of NPOs does not add up to 25 (See Table 4.1 below).

Partnership NPOs		
	# of NPOs	# of women
Service Delivery	4	4
Advocacy	5	8
Mix	8	13
Total	17	25

Non-Partnership NPOs		
	# of NPOs	# of women
Service Delivery	10	12
Advocacy	5	8
Mix	9	17
Total	24	37

Table 4.1: Sample of Women from Partnership and Non-Partnership NPOs (Service Delivery/ Advocacy/ Mixed Groups)

If advocacy NPOs are more political and provide more political stimuli for members due to advocacy activities, there should be no distinction between advocacy and mixed groups since mixed groups engage both in service-delivery and advocacy activities. Therefore, we can rearrange Table 4.1. The result is shown in Table 4.2 below.

Partnership NPOs		
	# of NPOs	# of Women
Service Delivery	4	4
Advocacy + Mix	13	21
Total	17	25

Non-Partnership NPOs		
	# of NPOs	# of Women
Service Delivery	10	12
Advocacy + Mix	14	25
Total	24	37

Table 4.2: Sample of Women from Partnership and Non-Partnership NPOs (Service Delivery/ Advocacy or Mixed Groups)

Partnership NPOs that 21 women belonged to were categorized either advocacy or mixed NPOs. Non-partnership NPOs that 25 women belonged to were categorized either advocacy or mixed NPOs. Although the total number of women interviewed from partnership NPOs and non-partnership NPOs, and the number of them from NPOs with different organizational style were different, I believe that it does not pose a serious problem for the analysis. Since I am examining how experiences of the women in

different organizations differ. Even though I will provide some quantitative data from the interviews, main focus of the interviews are to understand what is going on within NPOs.

Among 17 partnership NPOs, only one was without legal status and three women were recruited from it. If I find some systematic differences between these three women and those from the other 16 partnership NPOs, they can be due to the legal status.

However, Among 24 non-partnership NPOs, 14 were with legal status (*NPO-hojin*) and the other were without legal status (*nin'i-borantter-dantai*). Therefore, if having legal status or lack thereof has any significant effect, that effect should be evident among women from non-partnership NPOs.

I believe there were two reasons why I could only recruit three women from one NPO without legal status that was in partnership relationship with government. First of all, there are simply fewer NPOs without legal status that participated in partnership projects with government. Governments tend to prefer to partner with organizations with a stable financial foundation and good organizational capacity as partners.⁵⁷ As discussed in the previous chapter, NPOs without legal status are disadvantaged in these regards. This suspicion is partially supported by the fact that while NPOs with legal status accounted for 37.20% of organizations that carried out projects that were outsourced by municipal governments between 2004 and 2006, NPOs without legal status accounted for

⁵⁷ This was suggested by the government officials in the Osaka prefecture when I visited to obtain data.

only 25.20% of them.⁵⁸ Second, contact information was more difficult to obtain for NPOs without legal status than for those with it. This is because as discussed in the background chapter, most NPOs without legal status do not have a homepage or email address. Moreover, they often use the residence of one of their members as an office and do not list the phone number in the telephone directory.

I recognize the potential bias in the sample included in my study. The sample can be biased by including only those who could be contacted, and NPOs without legal status were more likely to fall into this category. Women in such organizations can be systematically politically efficacious or inefficacious regardless of the organizational style or partnership status. However, limited resources meant that I had to make a choice. I could have asked interviewees to refer me to NPOs without legal status but the snowballing sampling strategy could lead recruitment of like-minded women who know each other. Therefore, the readers should be aware that any conclusion I will draw from the study is limited to those from NPOs whose contact information is public.

⁵⁸ I combined the list of NPOs that carried out projects that were outsourced by municipal governments in year 2004, 2005 and 2006. I deleted overlapping groups. Some of the groups were NPO-*hojin*, some were *nin'i-boranteer-dantai* and others were neither or unknown. In total, 492 groups were found. Among those, 183 groups were NPO-*hojin*. Of the 492 groups 124 were *nin'i-boranteer-dantai*. 38 were other groups with legal status (not NPO-status). 18 were neighborhood organizations. Another 129 were other type of organizations (i.e. for-profit, ad-hoc groups) or unknown type of groups. In other words, among those groups, 37.20% were NPO-*hojin*, 25.20 % were *nin'i-boranteer-dantai*, 7.72% were other *hojin*, 3.66 % were neighborhood associations and 26.22% were other/unknown groups.

Interview Overview

In the process of recruiting the participants, I notified them that the interview would take around one hour. Most of them agreed to be interviewed in the places of work. Others did not have suitable accommodation and invited me to home of a member that they used for meetings. On a few occasions, did I meet them in public spaces such as coffee shops, fast food restaurants, or besides booths at events in which their organizations were taking part. I began the interviews by giving them a written explanation of the study and reading them a verbal consent form that had been approved by the Ohio State's IRB. All of the participants agreed that their interviews would be digitally recorded. When at a table, I took notes as well as digitally recording the interview. However, on some occasions, I had to help them answer doors, prepare for events, and take care of visitors. This all happened because of the nature of the Japanese NPOs. Citizen-led NPOs in Japan are constantly underfunded and they are run mostly by volunteers. I always carried my digital recording device whenever I had to move around while I interviewed them. After each interview, I found a place that was quiet such as a local coffee shop or on a subway or a train to write down my thoughts on the interviews which were not verbally recorded during the interviews such as level of rapport, visible facial expression or hesitation discussing subjects, and my interpretation of the interviews in general.

Before meeting with interviewees, I researched basic information on their organizations. The information included when organizations were established, when legal status was awarded (in case of a NPO-*hojin*), issue areas the organizations engaged in,

description of recent projects including government partnership projects if applicable, and newspaper articles if the organizations received media coverage. I used the information as an icebreaker to begin the interviews.

Interview Questions

I conducted semi-structured interviews instead of fully-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are preferred to fully-structured ones for my study because they allowed some level of discretion and some freedom for interviewees when answering questions (Berg 2001). In order to break the ice while building rapport, I began with non-threatening questions and moved on to more threatening questions unless the interviewees had already volunteered the answers to threatening questions in other answers. Interview questions generally sequenced as following:

1. About her background in the organization

- Why did you join this organization, given that there were other organizations that pursued similar goals in the same region?

2a: (Ask to women in partnership NPOs) Why did your organization get involved in partnership project with the government? Do you know?

2b: (Ask to women in non-partnership NPOs) Why hasn't your organization gotten involved in partnership project with the government? Any particular reason you know of?

3. Activities in the organization

- Can you describe your typical day in the organization? What are your main tasks in the organization?

4. (If the interviewee did not mention in the answer to the question 3) During your course of work in this organization, do you contact government officials? If so, how often and for what purpose? Do government officials contact you? If so, how often and for what purpose?

5. What did you learn from the experiences in this organization/in the partnership project? Did they help you understand local politics?

6. What is politics to you? (This question was used to ask how capable the participants felt themselves in understanding politics. This general question was used to let the participants speak more freely than just simply answer if they feel confident in understanding politics. The participants were probed when necessary.)

7. Have your views on government or politics changed since you joined this organization? (This question was asked to understand the belief of the participants in the responsiveness of the government and how it changed if at all. The participants were probed when necessary.)
8. Have you ever thought about, or been asked to run for local office?
9. Why/Why not?

Interviews were coded by four broad organizational level categories and ten broad individual level categories. Organizational level categories are 1) NPO-government relationship (partnership or non-partnership), 2) style of organization (service delivery, advocacy or mixed), 3) issue of organization (17 categories) and 4) organizational reason why it took upon partnership project with government/why it did not take upon partnership project with government. Individual level categories are 1) reasons to join the organization; 2) relationship with government officials; 3) tasks in the organization; 4) lessons learned through organizational experience; 5) view on politics, government and citizen power; 6) prospect of running for office and demographic information;

7) education; 8) age; 9) marital status; and 10) employment status. The demographic information was collected on the sheet that was given after the interviews were concluded. For the demographic information of the participants, see Appendix.

Chapter 5

Personal Bases of Motivation

In this chapter I discuss the findings of semi-structured interviews with 62 women in 41 Osaka NPOs in regard to their reasons for joining NPOs. This chapter provides evidence that the participants did not join the NPOs to pursue political goals. Instead, their personal experiences played the key role.

Introduction

When people decide to participate in civil society, i.e. join civic organizations, volunteer for the organizations, the reasons to do so vary. Some volunteer for an organization because they feel a civic duty to help others (Carpenter and Myers 2007), because volunteering makes them feel better about themselves (Fitch 1987; Francies 1983; Ward 1979), or because they feel lonely (Gillespie and King 1985; Latting 1990; Ward 1979). Others perceive volunteerism as a way to address social injustices (Benson et al. 1980; Fitch 1987; Francies 1983). During the interviews, I asked the participants their original

motivations why they participated in civic activities and joined these organizations. To investigate why the participants began volunteering or joined the NPOs is important in examining the role of NPOs in influencing political efficacy of women for the following reason.

My analyses using the Japan General Social Survey (JGSS) in 2003 show that members of civil society organizations who do not have face-to-face interaction with government officials do not have higher internal or external political efficacy than non-members. Members of organizations with face-to-face interaction with government officials have higher internal political efficacy than non-members but do not have higher external political efficacy than non-members. Although the findings provided insight, they did not exclude the possibility of selection bias. In other words, it could be that women who were already politically motivated and efficacious joined NPOs that engaged in partnership projects with the government; and therefore were acquainted with government officials. If that was the case, higher political efficaciousness associated with these women is directly linked to the decisions of the women to join certain type of the NPOs. Moreover other factors might have indirectly connected their political attitudes and the decisions to join certain type of NPOs. However, these questions could not be solved with the existing survey. In order to see if selection bias exists, I asked the participants of my study why they began civic activities and joined the organization.

Overall Picture

The interviews reveal that there were two broad reasons why the participants in my study began civic activities in the first place and eventually joined the organizations. These two reasons were 1) to return a favor to society and 2) to fulfill a sense of self actualization. The sense of self actualization was further divided into a) a desire for a “second life,” and b) to seek recognition. Those who sought a “second life” and those who sought recognition were further divided by age, with older participants predominantly seeking a “second life” while the younger participants seek recognition. In comparison, those who sought an opportunity to return a favor to society and those who sought self actualization were not mutually exclusive. For example, some women looking for a “second life” also felt an indebtedness to society and people. Systematic differences between non-partnership and partnership NPOs and among service delivery, advocacy or mixed NPOs were not observed.

Return to Society

Most of the literature on volunteerism and the non-profit sector in Japan discusses the impact of the Great Hanshin Earthquake that hit the Kobe metropolitan area in January 1995 (e.g. Imada 2003; Schwartz 2003). Although religious philanthropy and neighborhood help groups were in existent long before 1995 (Amenomori 1997), the year 1995 was certainly the turning point for the Japanese volunteer sector. In the 1995

earthquake, it is estimated that over 6,000 people were crushed to death by fallen buildings and furniture (Task Force on the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake 1996). The government was heavy-handed and proved inept in responding to the crisis in a timely manner (Imada 2003). According to the report by Hyogo prefecture, within five months after the earthquake, more than 1.2 million volunteers poured into the area (Task Force on the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake 1996). Including individuals who participated without organizational support, the number of volunteers totaled over 1.3 million (Amemiya 1999). As the memory of the tragedy persists, voluntarism did not fade. Indeed the percentage of the population over ten years old that participated in volunteer activities in a given year increased by 4.2% for women and by 2.8% for men between 1996 and 2001 (Cabinet Office 2006).⁵⁹ The impact of the earthquake was observed among the participants in this study. Takiko, a 55 year old volunteer leader of a non-partnership NPO explained how the earthquake impacted her:

We lived in Nishinomiya, so our house survived, although it was partially destroyed. But the water supply was cut off over a month. Shortly after the earthquake, both electricity and gas were out. Everything was upside down in the house. But we survived. We all survived. But, you know..... Sometimes it crossed my mind that maybe we would not make it. Maybe we would not get out of this mess alive. That was when I saw ships that brought water in the ocean. I could see from our window—we lived on the 15th floor. I could see everything what was happening on the ground. People in self defense force uniform and volunteers were knocking on each door to pass out bottles and tanks of water. And then I saw patrol cars. On the roof of the cars, it said “Kanagawa Prefectural Police.” I choked up when I saw it. I really felt that we were being helped. Wow these people came all the way to help us. Back on my mind that I had known that some people volunteered and there were voluntary groups in the community, but I

⁵⁹ The rate of volunteer participants of women in 1996 was 26.4%. It increased to 30.6% in 2001. The number for men in 1996 was 24.2% in 1996 and increased to 27.0% in 2001.

really never thought about it until then. But when I barely survived, I really felt that they saved me.

She continued to explain that when she learned about the death of one of her friends who also had three children like herself, she thought she should *ongaeshi-o-suru* (return a favor to society). It was her turn to help others. There were those worse off than her and those who were blind. Textured paving blocks for the blind in earthquake-affected areas were destroyed; yet the victims, both with and without a disability had daily chores to complete. One critical task for the victims was to apply in person for remedial programs such as temporary housing at city halls. To assist the victims with visual impairments, the Japan Light House, a *Shadan-houjin* (incorporated association) that was established in 1922 to assist those with visual impairments, hosted a workshop on how to guide the visually impaired. When Takiko spotted the ad in the newspaper about the workshop, she wasted no time and participated.

The Japan Light House which organized the workshop did not arrange the participants to volunteer. Those who were inspired by the workshop had to find the victims with the hearing impairment and organize themselves. While the participants gathered after the workshop, according to Takiko, the anticipation of mounting responsibilities were felt among the participants. Even though most of them were eager to take action, nobody wanted to volunteer to become the organizer. After a period of hesitation, Takiko went forward and suggested that she would become the leader if they were interested in following her. With that suggestion, her organization was established

with 70 other participants from the workshop who came from all around the region. Ever since that day 13 years ago, her organization provided guidance service free of charge for anybody who calls. The volunteers walked with the visually impaired to wherever they needed to go: grocery shopping, train stations, or city halls. They even coordinate with other volunteers in different prefectures so that the service users can take a trip to see relatives and friends far away from home. Takiko's organization receives over 500 cases a year; yet the organization did not receive any grants from government nor coordinated with government in carrying out the services.

The concept of *ongaeshi* (return a favor to society) used by Takiko to describe why she originally became interested in voluntarism was also used by several others. Others also mentioned the rising ethos in society toward voluntarism after the earthquake in discussing their motivation and felt need for *ongaeshi*. In fact the exact wording (*ongaeshi*) was repeatedly used by different participants. Kazuko, a 59 year old volunteer for a partnership NPO that provided household chore services to senior citizens and advised the government on policies on senior citizens including the Long-Term Care Insurance Law discussed her reason to join the organization as if she was lifting a burden from her shoulder.

The reason is my daughter. She was born in 1974 with visual impairment. She is now 35 years old. But these 35 years explains and parallels with my actions toward society including volunteering. Wow.... it has been 35 years...

She took time to explain her pain in raising her daughter: how they encountered unfriendly social structures and how they were confronted with discrimination or utter

ignorance from other children, parents and even teachers. Despite the adverse circumstances, she did come across genuinely empathetic people who assisted her daughter and eventually she met other parents of children with disabilities. That group of parents provided her with a network and support system whenever she needed them. When her daughter was in high school and grew more independent, she thought it was the time for *ongaeshi*.

Ongaeshi o shiyouto omotte... (I wanted to return a favor to the society). I was going to get involved in volunteering for the visually impaired, but around that time, both my uncle and aunt became ill due to aging. So instead I made myself available for the seniors. I helped the elderly with household chores, called the houses of the elderly to confirm the safety of them every week and helped run tearoom service at hospital for the seniors. It was supposed to be ongaeshi for the society, so it did not matter who I would help.

Another participant, Eiko, a 37-year old single woman in a non-partnership service-advocacy organization that hosted free Japanese language classes for foreign exchange students, workers and their families as well as advocate for better treatment of foreigners in society stated:

I participated in an exchange student program in college. I went to New Zealand. I did not speak much of English and I am sure that I was burden to many people, but every person I met there was so nice and always helped me. I still remember how I felt that time. So I always wanted to do ongaeshi. I did not know how though. When I heard about volunteer to teach Japanese, I thought this had to be it!

When asked when she began volunteering she continued:

I think it was around the time of the earthquake. I always wanted to do something for society, but never got around to do it. But when I saw the footages of the people volunteering, running around without inhibition on TV, I thought it was about time for me to actually get out and do something.

Another 48-year old housewife who volunteered three to four days a week for an organization to help patients and their families at a hospital stated:

When my father was hospitalized after he had stroke, volunteers at the hospital helped us so much. They pushed him around on a wheelchair, talked to him even though he could barely respond. They took care of him as if he was one of their family members...I wanted to do ongaeshi. My husband knew all about my father and how grateful I was of the volunteers, so he did not object that I would volunteer my time.

For them, volunteering was to return a favor to the society. They were grateful for the kindness and help they received when they needed it the most. When asked if they felt any sense of mission or obligation, they disagreed with my suggestion. Instead, they claimed that volunteering simply made them feel better about themselves. They devoted their time and energy in volunteering not to seek justice in society or to obtain political goals, but instead find feel better about themselves. By doing so, they felt some sense of connection to society. Takiko provided a good example.

Volunteering makes me feel relieved. I feel I am part of the society. During these days we were cut off from the rest of the world in the shambles, I felt so much insecure.

Volunteering was a way of being a part of community. People in the community once helped them without expecting any return. Now that they had time and energy to do so, they were involved in the community to find who they were.

Self-Actualization

While some sought ways to return a favor to society and joined a NPO to accomplish that end, others sought places where they could fulfill empty feelings. They were seeking a sense of self-actualization. Throughout my research population, the desire for self-actualization was the most commonly mentioned reason to join a civic organization. In fact over two-thirds of the participants discussed their desire for self-actualization as the reason why they began civic activities. This prevailed across any organizational or demographic factors. The participants expressed dissatisfaction and frustration with their lives prior to joining the organization. There were two divergent sample populations of women with two different explanations for joining organizations. One group was comprised of older housewives who were generally older than 45 (32 of my sample of 62 women) while another was predominantly young singles or older yet non-married with jobs (16 of my sample of 62 women). Therefore, in total 48 women out of 62 reported that they were seeking some way to find the sense of self-actualization (77.4%).

Self-Actualization: Older Housewives

Many housewives in the sample explained how they had lost some goals in their lives. Their lives had centered around their children while their children were in their formative years, when the children grew up, they lost a sense of purpose and any future goals. That notion that Japanese housewives devote their lives to their family and children is inferred

from the fact there was a significant difference between married and single women in my sample in their employment status. Among 62 women in my sample, 42 women (67.7%) were married and 20 (32.3%) were single. Among the 42 married women, 19 of them had a job (45.2% of married women). Among the 20 single women, 16 of them had a job (80% of single women). Although there is support for limited generational difference (over 45 vs. younger than 45), this still suggests that Japanese women are likely to exit the workforce upon their marriage or birth of their child (ren).

In order to fill the sense of emptiness felt by a housewife, some wanted to use the “skills” they obtained through childrearing for self-actualization. Takako was a 45-year old housewife who was a volunteer for a non-partnership NPO. The NPO provided an indoor playground for children in the community and an opportunity to network for mothers. Takako stated:

After kids had grown up, I thought it was time for me to do something for myself. Something to feel good about myself. But I was scared to do something totally different from what I was used to do- raising children. And it was going to be very difficult for me to find employment in a company anyway since I had been a homemaker. So I thought I should use the skill that I learned by raising children. At around that time, I read about this organization in the community newspaper. It did not seem like I had to devote too much time. You know, if it asked me to come out to volunteer at night, it would have been difficult, but this place only opens until 5pm. So I thought it would work for me and family. I guess, well, basically I did not want to completely stop involving in childrearing.

Chikako was a 47-year old housewife who was a volunteer for a partnership NPO. The NPO recruited from the community and trained the volunteers to become instructors

of “environmental education” within the community. When asked about the reasons why she began volunteering, Chikako responded:

I was a leader for Boy Scouts that my kids were members of. While I was the leader, I had a lot of responsibilities and opportunities to do new things and network with other mothers. After my kids have grown up and quit Boy Scouts, I was sort of bored. All the sudden, they did not need me as much and we did not have this activity we went together. I missed that. I loved going to mountains and teaching kids how to deal with nature. You know, I believed that I had some skills that I could use from the experience. Then I learned about this organization. I thought, why not?”

Some had special skills that could not be learned through regular homemaking tasks, but only through their unique experience as a mother or family member of those with disabilities. They sought to participate at a place where their unique skills would be used for the benefit of others. Ayumi, a 49-year old housewife and mother of a visually impaired child, stated:

My daughter was born with disability. She was blind. It was very hectic. We encountered many difficulties raising her. Everyday was a battle. But when I was reading books to her, I could forget all of these. It was soothing. It was relaxing to read books to her. You know, both non-disabled and kids with visual impairment want their mom to read to them, it does not matter whether they can see or not. So I grew to love that while raising her. We bought tons of books for her. I came to love reading myself too. After my daughter was in high school, she did not need me much, but I wanted to keep doing it. I thought my skill would be beneficial for other kids.

Ayumi explained how her skills were unique and how she used them for the organization.

It is not just reading, but it actually requires training. In our organization we make audio tapes for free. When you make tapes, you have to make sure you verbally explain visuals in the books as well- like graphs. You cannot have accent or dialect. We provide workshops for those who are interested in learning these

skills. So yeah, it takes time to obtain the skills. You have to either have hands-on experience like I did or have to go through training.

While some took into consideration their skills in their search for their *raison d'être*, other women expressed general frustration and lack of *shigeki* (inspiration, spice, excitement) in their life as a homemaker. Eri, a college educated, 39 year-old part-time retail store clerk stated:

I got married three years after I graduated from college. Soon after that I had my son. At that point, I quit working and became a full-time homemaker. But I always wanted to have some place for myself other than at home. I became actively involved in the neighborhood. You know, chatting and inviting other wives to your place for teas in the afternoons. But all the people I met were other homemakers. They did not give me shigeki. So I started to work part-time at a department store in the neighborhood when my son was in their 4th grade or so... Sure, it allowed me to have some extra cash, but did not bring enough shigeki for me.

Sachie, a 48-year old housewife in a partnership NPO was also a good example.

If I say this, it may sound bad, or rude to others (who joined the organization for more highly reasons), but I was really bored and wanted to have some shigeki (excitement) in my life. I devoted all my time and energy for kids and family. So, after they grew more independent, I was like, now what? So I went to lectures that were offered to residents for free at a local community center. You know, at the very least it was something to do. It was free and what was even better was close to home! I knew my husband would not complain about these two (free and close). Then I met these four women here at the lectures and they invited me to come here. So here I am!

Indeed, while general lack of *shigeki* (excitement) in Sachie's life originally made her get out of the house, she then became heavily involved in the organization and specifically issues of gender equality. While volunteering her time at the NPO to support local mothers when they needed extra help, she became interested in gender issues. Her

interests pushed her to get more and more involved in organizational activities and she claimed that before she realized it, she was organizing workshops on gender equality. When I met her, she was enrolled in a sociology program at a local university pursuing a graduate degree. When I asked if she was primarily interested in gender equality or social justice in general prior to joining the organization, she shook both her arms in front of her while simultaneously shaking her head. She responded:

No, no. It would be like speaking more highly of myself than I deserve. It is hard to explain... but...I think I just cannot say no. People ask you, 'hey, can you do this and that?' and I just always said 'yes.' Don't get me wrong. I would not say that I wanted to complain about it. I just did not think much of it at the beginning. But it became like cumulating jigsaw puzzle. More you get involved, the more you see issues and that makes you to get involved even further. So when I began grad school, I had already invested emotionally and a lot of my time and energy, so I thought I should do it.

Although the desire for self-actualization was common across the participants with different demographic backgrounds, a nuanced difference existed between older married participants and younger and/or single participants. As illustrated by the multiple examples, older married participants volunteered because they were dissatisfied with their lives as housewives, especially after their children grew more independent. Similarly, younger participants or single participants with jobs expressed dissatisfaction with their lives; yet the dissatisfaction did not originate from the house. Instead, it was toward the outside world or society in general. They expressed frustration at the workplace particularly due to the lack of meaningful tasks assigned to them which required responsibility. These women were not employed as regular workers. Instead,

these women were employed as temporary workers. These include part-time, arbeit,⁶⁰ dispatch workers, and contract workers.

Self-Actualization: Single with Jobs

Those who are categorized as “part-time” and arbeit workers work fewer hours than regular workers in the same industry.⁶¹ There is no legal distinction between part-timers and arbeit workers, instead the Cabinet Office defines part time workers as those who are designated as such at the workplace (Cabinet Office 2007c). Generally speaking, part timers are those who are married and work fewer hours than regular workers and arbeit workers are those who are single and work fewer hours than regular workers. For example, according to the Cabinet Office’s report in 2007, 90.8% of female “part-timers” were married compared to 39.8% of arbeit workers (Cabinet Office 2007c). Therefore, the average age for part-timers is higher than that of arbeit workers. According to the same study, while the average age for female part-timers was 46.9 years old, that of female arbeit workers was 31.9 years old. Dispatch workers are those who are indirectly employed through placement agencies. Historically, indirect employment was prohibited in Japan. However as the ban was first lifted in thirteen industries in 1986, the lifting of

⁶⁰ German word for “work.” Singles who work part-time are referred to as arbeit in Japan.

⁶¹ However, there is no clear regulation on hours they work. For example, if it is the norm that the regular employee in a given industry works 50 hours a week, if a worker works 40 hours, the worker can be categorized as “part-timer” and can be treated as such under the law. (Part time Law). For example, those who are categorized as part-timers are often paid less compared to regular workers and it is not uncommon for them not to have benefits.

the ban has expanded to numerous other industries (Labor Dispatch Law). Contract workers are those who are directly employed for a short period of time (Cabinet Office 2007).

According to the Cabinet Office's report in 2008, 53% of all female workers fall into these categories and account for 69% of all the part-time, arbeit, dispatch or contract workers. Therefore it is no surprise that a significant portion of my employed participants likewise fall into these categories.⁶² Only two out of 19 (10.5%) married women with jobs and two out of 16 (12.5%) of single women with jobs were employed as fulltime workers. As much as 89.5 % of married women with jobs and 87.5% single women with jobs in my sample were employed as either as a part-time, arbeit, dispatch or contract worker.

When asked about why and when she began volunteering, Shizuka, a 32-year old single dispatch worker who volunteered for the same organization as Ayumi responded:

It was four years ago. I had a job, but it did not inspire me. I did the same thing every day and I always felt that I was expendable. You know, after all, employers do not expect much out of a woman. What worse was I was a haken (dispatch worker). So I looked for some place where people would appreciate me.

Having graduated from a four-year university, Ayumi said:

I felt that I could do much better. But unfortunately, that was the reality. I attempted to find another job, of course, this time a seishain (regular employee) position with more responsibility and better benefit. But it was not successful. I could not grab a job with which I cannot envision myself being happy.

⁶² 16 of single young women or older yet single women with jobs who were employed other than as regular workers expressed their dissatisfaction with their working conditions. 12 of the 32 older

Chie, a 29 year old single woman was an arbeit worker. She had a degree in English literature. She held two jobs, yet she used her degree at neither. One job was at a telemarketing company as an operator four days a week during weekdays and the other was at a local clothing store as a store clerk during weekends. She articulated that a high school degree would be adequate for both of these jobs. She was employed as an arbeit worker at both places. While the telemarketing company provided her with a transportation allowance, she received no other benefits such as health insurance or sick pay. She was another volunteer at the organization where Eiko also volunteered. Together they taught Japanese to foreigners in the community. It can be puzzling to outside observers why Chie volunteered during her limited free time given that she worked six days a week. In fact, she volunteered three days after work during weekdays. She finished her first job around six o'clock and commuted back to her neighborhood by train to volunteer for the evening class that began at seven thirty. The class usually lasted for one hour, but after socializing with the students and other volunteers, it usually adjourned around nine o'clock. Asked why she began volunteering, Chie responded:

Right now, this is the only thing that I live for. I can use my English skill here. Some students speak English and I am usually assigned to them because I can speak English... That I am being an arbeit worker is not exactly what I envisioned while in college. But I could not find a regular job where I could use my English skill. So instead of settling down with some unwanted job, I decided to become an arbeit... I thought if any better opportunity comes along, I can grab it later. Obviously, I have not had a chance yet (chuckle)... So, when one of my neighbors told me about this place, I had to come here.

Among the 62 women in the sample, only four received any monetary compensation for their work at the NPOs. Three of those were single young women. Two of them were original founders of the NPOs. These three women described their fear of becoming a part-time employee or a dispatch worker in a private economic sphere as the reason either to establish their organization or to join the NPO. Twenty-two-year old Haruka, who was a recent graduate of a vocational school specializing in animal health and management, was one of these three women. Haruka was introduced by her adviser at the school to consider taking the job at the NPO to help the organization. The NPO she joined was an advocacy and complementary group for the protection of sea turtles, which was not her specialty. When asked about the reason to join the organization, she said:

Employment opportunity is nowadays scarce and I thought I could use this as an experience and later land the job I want. It was better than not working.

Her job as an assistant involved over 12 hours of work a day, and during the sea turtle spawning season seven day shifts were not uncommon. According to her, her salary was “so small that you can laugh at”. She continued:

I guess I could have been an arbeit worker, but it would have not looked good, would it? I could have kept job search to land a job in my specialty while waiting tables. Here, although it is not my exact specialty, it is still related to my area of expertise. So it would look good to people, so my chance of finding a job will be better, I thought.

Keiko is another such woman. Keiko was a founder of a NPO that was located in the town of Nishinari, where homelessness and day laborers were commonplace. Having

started to write poems when she was only three, she was a successful poet in her 20s during the 1990s. When asked about why she founded the organization in 2004, she said:

I was over thirty years old and writing poems. Yet how can you really make living as a poet nowadays? When I was facing that reality, the offer to use the government-funded office space for promotion of art in this town came along. It was the opportunity for me as a poet to begin a stable life. I was afraid to be called irresponsible or becoming an arbeit worker.

Miki, a 28-year old founder of a partnership NPO that provided information, and consultation services to other NPOs and those who organized new NPOs became very eager to discuss how she came to establish a NPO after we were briefly introduced to each other. She was very interested in my background, my life being a single graduate student in the United States. She asked:

Now with what you have accomplished, can you imagine working for a company? You will be more likely to be a dispatch worker. I got a college education, too. I just cannot think of myself doing that.

After I asked her to elaborate, she stated:

I had part-time jobs while in college. From what I experienced, I realized that that was not what I wanted to have in my future. I just did not feel comfortable. You know, usually when you graduate from college, you already have job waiting for you. But I did not have any. It was partially because I did not seriously look for one. But I did not want to disappoint my mom by becoming an arbeit worker... Being unemployed was of course out of question.

Ultimately, she got a part-time job at the civic activity section office of a local government in a neighboring city. The section office was responsible for promoting civic activities including NPOs. Even though she was a part-time worker, her mother was very

proud of her since she was working for the government. After about a year, she placed herself in a similar job in her home city. That is where she met other young part-time employees with college educations. With these fellows, she established their own non-profit organization. She continued:

During these two years when I worked for the government offices, I learned a lot about civic activities and how to set up a non-profit organization. Since none of us was interested in working for private companies and become a just a cog in the wheel, we decided to give a shot at starting our own NPO. Especially girls were interested. We did not want to be assisting some men! We thought if we do right we could make living out of it.

The answers from these women to my inquiry of why they began civic activities revealed their frustration towards the greater society. All these women, both those who chose a life as non-regular workers and those who joined or established NPOs to avoid becoming an non-regular worker expressed their dissatisfaction with the employment system in Japan. As discussed earlier, a majority of women are employed as part-timer, dispatch workers or contract workers. In fact the proportion of non-regular employee among women has been increasing in recent years. In 1984, the proportion of women employed as regular employees (71.0%) was actually disproportionately larger than that of women employed as part-time or other non-regular basis (29.0%). However, the proportion was overturned in 2003 (49.4% regular vs. 50.6 % temporary) and in 2007, only 47.5% of employed women were regular employees (Cabinet Office 2008). This decreasing proportion of women in regular employment positions paradoxically coexists with the rising proportion of women completing a college education. For example, the proportion of female high

school graduates who entered four-year colleges increased from 13.7% in 1985 to 39.5% in 2007 (Cabinet Office 2007a). This suggests that while younger women are becoming more likely to have a college education, they are less likely to be regular employees compared to their older counterparts. Indeed, while the percentage of female workforce age between 25 and 34 who were regular in 1989 was 74.1%, that number dropped to 57.6% in 2007 (Cabinet Office 2008b). Fully 32% of the female workforce with a college education between 20 and 34 was a non-regular worker in 2007 (Cabinet Office 2007c). Even limiting the data to single women between the ages of 20 and 34, as much as 29% of those with college education who are in workforce were non-regular workers (Cabinet Office 2007c.). Since the Japanese companies invest time and resources on regular workers, non-regular workers are considered to be more expendable and as a result, their tasks tend to be limited to insignificant duties (Ogasawara 2001).

The gap between educational attainment and employment status was quite visible in my sample. Among 20 single women, 13 had college degrees (65.0%).⁶³ Among these 13, only two of them were employed as a regular worker (15.4%). As much as 84.6% of college educated single women in my sample were either not employed at all or worked as non-regular workers. This number is quite different compared to the report by the Cabinet Office. As discussed, according to the Cabinet Office's report, as much as 32% of college educated women between the ages of 20 and 34 were irregular workers in 2007 (Cabinet Office 2007c). This startling difference suggests that those single educated

⁶³ Both two-year and four-year colleges.

women who were frustrated with the current conditions self-selected themselves into the NPOs to find some alternative place where they could find a sense of responsibility, while those who were satisfied with the working conditions remained outside the NPOs.

Experiences of Miki, Ayumi and Chie also support the statistics. They are well educated and expect much more from themselves and from society. They expect more from themselves because they believe they have much more to offer, they are educated and can contribute to society. They expect more from society because it has not given them a fair opportunity. As directly expressed by Miki and Ayumi, the frustration expressed by the participants seem to be directed against a glaringly gendered society.

Historically, the Japanese employment system considered men to be the core of the labor force, and were thus offered “life-time” employment opportunities (Rohlen 1974). Female labors were supposed to assist men in such a way that business was to be done smoothly. This is evident by the two-track employment system that had replaced an overtly gendered employment system after the Equal Employment Opportunity Law first went into effect. As discussed earlier, *sogoshoku* were for men and *ippanshoku* were for women. Only those who were employed for *sogoshoku* positions were entitled to such things as on-the-job training, seniority based promotion and “life-time” employment (Brinton 1989). Even though the amended Equal Opportunity Law prohibits gendered biases in hiring for the two track positions, the gendered practice still persists. Indeed, as of 2004, among 236 companies surveyed by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare,

only 3% of *sogoshoku* positions were held by women (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare 2004). Women in *ippanshoku* positions are still hired as regular employees. Even though they are assigned with subordinate tasks, regular employees are entitled to job security and benefits. With the increases in the number and the proportion of female workers employed in a non-regular basis (part-time, *arbeit*, dispatch, contract workers), they seem to have lost all. For Ayumi and Chie, holding responsibilities and feeling needed were not going to be found at the workplace. Instead, they sought for them in volunteer activities.

Facing the same unpromising employment opportunity, Haruka, Keiko and Miki decided to work for/establish a NPO where they can be entrusted with more responsibility and where they are not expendable. What is interesting is that both those who avoided becoming non-regular workers and those who chose to become non-regular workers ended up in NPOs. NPOs seem to have provided a place for these women to feel important, needed, and safe.

The contrast between older married participants and younger and/or single participants may appear to show that these women have nothing in common. On the one hand, we have older housewives with children and on the other younger educated single women. What is common between the two groups of women is that both were looking for a sense of meaning. Having exited the labor market to dedicate themselves to their family, housewives' lives centered around their family, especially their children. In a way, they

followed a “proper” gendered role. While they provided nurturing, family and children provided them a sense of belonging. Through their roles as a wife and a mother, they were connected to the society. However, after raising their children, they seemed to have lost touch with their “role” in and “roots” to the society. They needed to redefine their role and find a “second life” where they can be reconnected to society. This place was provided by NPOs. As discussed earlier, majority of the Japanese citizen-led NPOs engage in so-called “women’s issues” where nurturing and caring take place. Since the issues are not far from “proper” gender roles that housewives are used to, the threshold to become part of NPOs may be low for housewives. Without leaving their comfort zone, they can redefine their lives and reconnect to the society by utilizing the skills they obtained through household chores over years.

On the other hand, younger educated single women rejected the traditional gendered role. Being educated and ambitious, settling down and becoming a housewife was the last thing they wanted. However, their ambitions had no outlet or opportunity to succeed due to the gendered employment structure. A staggering proportion of employed women were working as irregular workers where they obtained no or few benefits and where their contributions were not regarded highly. Like older housewives, they too desire to find their place in the society. They found NPOs to be such places. The main reasons why the participants joined NPOs are illustrated in Table 5.1.

	Returning a Favor	Self-Actualization	
What they pursue in NPOs	Opportunity to do "good" to society. Opportunity to help those in need.	A place where she can be recognized for her contributions. Opportunity for challenge.	A place where she can devote her time. Opportunity for "second life."
Reason	Once benefitted from others' kindness when they were in needs.	Frustrated with the lack of challenge and prospect for a serious career at workplace.	Now that children grew more independent and do not require much care or time.
Who	All age groups	Singles with jobs	Older housewives

Table 5.1: Main Reasons why the Participants Joined the NPOs.

Conclusion

In the survey analyses I provided in Chapter 3, I could not provide any evidence to point whether politically motivated respondents joined NPOs or the respondents who joined NPOs became politically conscious through NPO activities. In other words, selection bias could be an issue. The interviews, however, provided some evidence that although women had motivation factors prior to joining the NPOs, the motivations were personal rather than political ones. They were not politically motivated, for example, to claim social justice, or to call for action to stop global warming. Instead, they were personally motivated. Their personal experiences in encountering goodwill of people while being a victim of a natural disaster, while being devastated by difficulty in raising children with disabilities, or while being scared and overwhelmed when their loved ones fell down with a severe illness, pushed them to do the same to feel good about themselves. Their personal experience in losing their purpose in life after their children grew more independent in

middle age, or their personal experience in not being able to find places where they can establish purpose of life in their young age pushed them to seek places where they feel they are needed and valuable. If their personal experiences were push factors, NPOs were supply factors. NPOs provided them with opportunities to engage in philanthropic activities, to utilize their skills, and to be influential, not being marginalized.

Chapter 6

Effect of Smallness of Organizations

Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the motivations behind joining the organizations which is reflected by part (A) in the model depicted below (Figure 6.1). The analysis of the interviews reveals that participants in the study joined their respective organizations due to personal and not political reasons. Some joined their organization because of their desire to give back to the society which had once helped them when they were in need. Others joined their organization because their roles as mothers and wives proved unfulfilling. Still others joined their organization because they had felt insignificant outside the private sphere. This suggests that the participants in the study did not join the NPOs to pursue political goals or to express political views. In short, the original political motivation or lack of thereof did not affect who joined which NPOs. According to my model, once in the organization, they may have different experiences which affect not only their political efficacy but also their decision to take part in NPO-Government partnership project. This is part (B) and (C) in the model. (B) is the process in which

organizational members learn civic skills through organizational activities and (C) is the process in which some organizations take part in partnership projects while others refrain from them. The literature suggests that members of civil society organizations become politically efficacious because they learn the skills necessary for political participation. Were the participants of the study exposed to the opportunities to learn such skills? Were such opportunities equally available regardless of the organizational or individual factors? Another thing we must consider is a potential selection in stage (C). Were organizations' decisions to take part in partnership project affected by individual members' opinions and attitudes? In other words, were the organizations that were organized by more politically efficacious individuals more likely to pursue NPO-Government partnership projects than the organizations that were organized by less politically efficacious individuals? This investigation is important because if this is the case, any differences we may find between the participants from different organizations can be due to a selection bias.

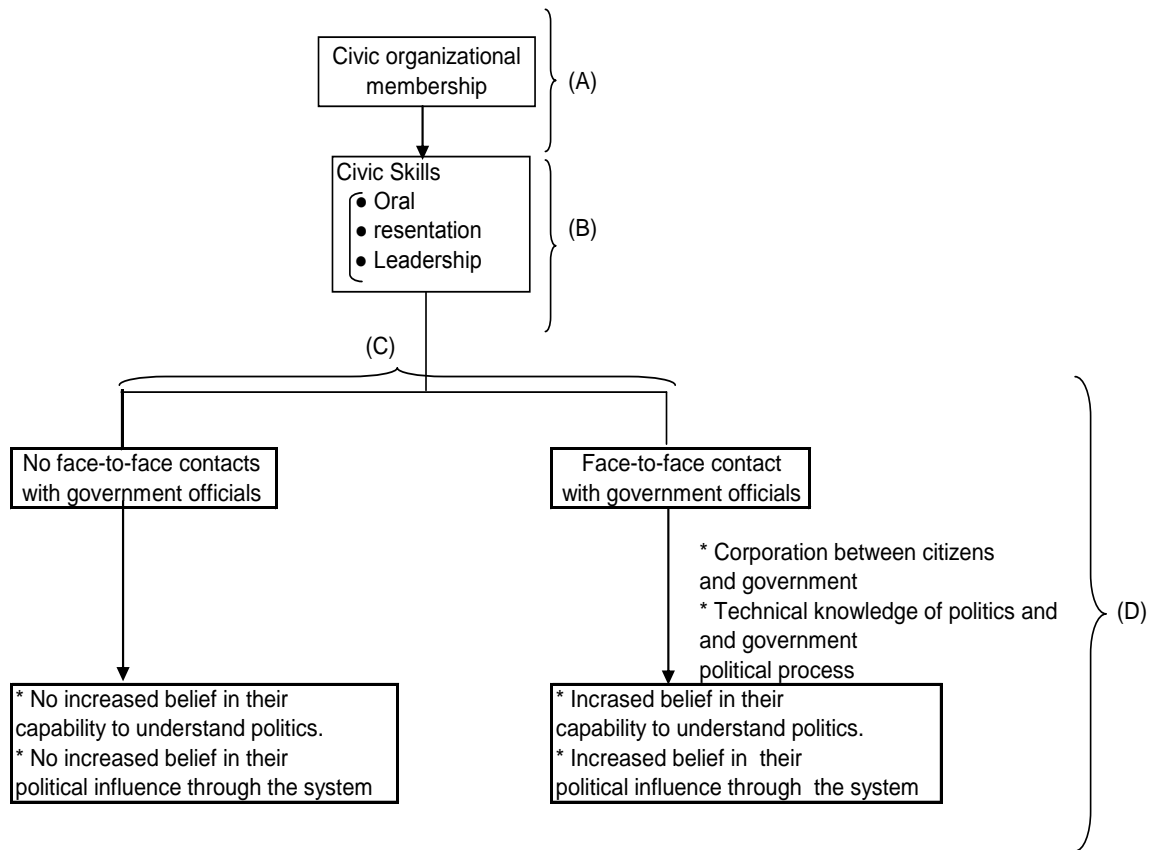


Figure 6.1: My Model of Political Efficacy through Civic Organizations

In this chapter I will explain two broad findings. My findings shed light on 1) who obtains civic skills and whether there is a systematic difference, and 2) which organizations take part in NPO-Government partnership projects. The literature on civil society organization contends that through organizational participation, the members of civic organizations are able to obtain key skills which are transferrable to participation in

the conventional political sphere (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). These skills are generally referred to as “civic skills” and include such skills as leadership, writing and oral communication (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). These skills are deemed necessary for people to consider taking part in political participation (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995). It should hold especially true when it comes to high levels of political participation such as running for an office; or even to considering running for an office. Therefore, it is important to investigate if there was a disproportional or unequal opportunity to learn civic skills between the members of non-partnership NPOs and those of partnership NPOs. In this chapter, my analysis finds that there was no systematic difference among the participants in their exposure to opportunities to learn civic skills. The second goal of this chapter is to determine which organizations sought NPO-Government partnership projects and why.

Overall Picture

Analysis of the interviews reveals that participants indeed learn a variety of new skills through organizational activities regardless of specific organizational or individual factors. The analysis shows that the size of the Japanese NPOs has a great deal of explanatory power. That is, the small size of the organizations works as an advantage for the participants obtaining numerous skills. In the studies of civic organizations elsewhere, especially where the organizations are larger and well organized, professionalization is

evident (Kramer 1985; Smith and Lipsky 1993). When an organization is led by professional staff members, volunteer members can be deprived of opportunities to learn civic skills because they can be merely dues paying members. The Japanese NPOs, however, are very small in comparison to their counterparts in the United States, on which the previous studies were based. According to the Cabinet Office's study (2004), 47.7% of them have fewer than five staff members and another 21.7% of them have fewer than ten staff members.⁶⁴ Moreover, paid staffs are rare.⁶⁵ Under such circumstances, division of labor is uncommon and all volunteers are asked to take a greater share of responsibilities. This provides the members with plenty of opportunities to obtain civic skills.

My analysis further reveals that organizational decisions to pursue or not pursue NPO-Government partnership projects were not affected by the characteristics of individual members. Instead, such decisions were made strategically by newer organizations to obtain legitimacy and revenue sources.

Findings

As discussed in the previous chapter, over two thirds of the participants joined their organization to feel valuable. Did they find such a place? Since they found their role in

⁶⁴ Non-responses were eliminated. Percentages are among the valid responses.

⁶⁵ The same study shows that on average, the Japanese NPOs (NPO-*hojin* and *nini-dantai*) have 0.8 paid full time employees (Cabinet Office 2004).

the private sphere or economic sphere unsatisfying, if they were given opportunities to learn civic skills, it is expected to affect them positively.

Takiko, who was a victim of the earthquake in 1995 and expressed her desire to reconnect with society, was now responsible for publishing quarterly reports of the non-partnership organization. She struggled very hard to learn the necessary computer skills, yet she said “I really felt grateful” for the opportunity. Her favorite learning experiences was to manipulate the email list of the members and how to use the Access program. Since the members of the organization were spread over three prefectures, instant contact was imperative for the smooth operation of the organization. Excitedly, she stated:

I never expected that I would be able to do this. Men might say we- housewives are just not trying hard to learn anything. If we are, we should be able to learn things like computer easily using textbooks. But you know, it is very different. Sure, you can probably learn many things from textbooks, but housewives do not usually have hands-on experiences. It is different that we learn in our living room following exercise questions in textbooks and doing and making real stuff affecting actual human being.

She continued:

Since we are dealing with people, we try our best to meet their demands. Because we have people who can be disappointed from our failing to meet their needs, we are more pressured to learn new things if necessary and to do it efficiently or effectively. So, yes, it is very different when it comes to real people, not textbooks. And the reality is that housewives are not blessed with such opportunities.

Indeed, computer skills were the most often-cited skills learned by the housewives.

Although many NPOs in Japan still do not have homepages or maintain websites, all of the offices I visited had several computers available for the members, including offices at some members' residences. While they may avoid establishing websites, they could not avoid using computers when publishing bulletins and brochures of the organizations, providing minutes of the meetings, and keeping track of organizational activities such as financial budgeting. Michie, a 45-year old who volunteered for a non-partnership recycling organization was a very devoted housewife. Her family was very important to her; therefore the greatest consideration she had when deciding which organization she would volunteer was the distance of that organization from the house. Although she was looking for something new in her life after her son entered a high school, she still did not want to place any additional burdens on her family. She stated:

This organization was very close to our home. It is the best for a housewife, isn't it? Since it is so close, I can go home in time to prepare for dinner, so my husband would allow it.

As a devoted housewife, she did not have opportunities to learn those previously mentioned skills valued by the organizations, such as computer skills. She expressed that she felt somewhat guilty and felt as though she missed out on some things by being a full-time homemaker. She continued:

There are several women I know around my age who work fulltime. Every time I see them, I say to myself "why didn't I do that?" At least being a good mother

and wife, I felt ok, but still I felt something missing. I felt that I was under-skilled, less valuable than these women. After coming here, I learned a lot of stuff. Sure, it is probably much less than what these career women do at their workplaces, but I still think I am getting closer. So I feel better now.

The housewife participants in the study were self-conscious about their lack of “corporate” skills. They referred to themselves as *tadano shufu* (mere housewife) repeatedly throughout the interview. These were the women who exited the labor force upon marriage or the birth of their first child. Some reentered the labor force later when their children were in elementary or middle school, but were employed as part-timers and engaged in minimum paying jobs with little responsibility such as cashiers or stockers at grocery stores or sales clerks at local retail stores. It was puzzling for me that many full-time housewives considered themselves to be somewhat valueless as not contributing to society. It can be argued that Japanese housewives were fulfilling the tasks that were expected of them and contributing to the society in their own right.

There are two reasons why it was puzzling for me that the housewife participants did not realize their contribution to society and considered themselves somewhat valueless. First of all, a large proportion of women in Japan are full-time housewives at some point in their lives. According to the census, as much as 41.0% of married women were full-time housewives in 2005 (Census 2005). It is still not uncommon for a woman to quit her job upon marriage or upon the birth of her child as the M-curve depicts on the

graph of labor participation rates of women by age.⁶⁶ Second, the society is patriarchal and puts emphasis on the importance of the family. This is evident in the large proportion of men and women still holding to strict gender role expectations in Japan. According to the Cabinet Office's survey in 2002, as much as 51.3% of men and 43.3% of women either agreed or somewhat agreed to the statement: A husband should work outside and a wife should stay home to take care of family (Cabinet Office 2002). Therefore, it is not surprising that Japanese husbands are reported to devote very little time to household chores, leaving most of the tasks to housewives (Cabinet Office 2006). Studies also show Japanese men engage in very long shifts at work (National Women's Education Center 2003).⁶⁷ Then, it can be said that devotion of the Japanese housewives to the families allowed the husbands to fully engage in their work. To this observer, the housewives contribute a great deal to society although it is done indirectly through family. The housewife participants, however, focused on their lack of contribution to society directly. Contributions to society, in their eyes, are something visible and public. Moreover, these contributions require certain skills that are out of reach to housewives who remain in the private domain. Coincidentally these skills are, as scholars argue, necessary for political participation and what political solicitors look for in potential they recruit (Brady, Schlozman and Verba 1999).

⁶⁶ See the curve in Chapter 2.

⁶⁷ As much as 64.9% of male regular workers were reported to work over 43 hours a week. As much as 11.7% of them were reported to work over 60 hours a week.

However within locally based citizen-led Japanese NPOs, the mechanism to learn such skills was present. The key was the small size of the organizations. When the housewife participants left the private domain and joined the semi-public domain (NPOs), they were given opportunities, and, more importantly, incentives to learn these new skills. The small size of the organizations gave the women incentives. Acknowledgment and gratitude by other members comprised the all important incentives. Moreover, the small number of volunteers and members in the organizations helped solve a collective action problem because a member's non-contribution as well as contribution to the organization is noticeable to the other members (Olson 1965). Michiko, a 49-year old housewife who volunteered for a non-partnership NPO stated:

When you do something for your family, it is taken for granted. It is your job. But if you are employed, and do something good for your company, they thank you or give you something to show their recognition, like raise and promotion. If you are a housewife, you don't get promotion. You just do not get recognized. Here, everybody notices what you are doing. Everyday we hear something like "wow, you do that already? Thank you!" "I really appreciate that!"

Michiko was recruited by one of her neighbors who was the founder of the organization. Her neighbor wanted Michiko to serve as a member of the board of directors, yet Michiko rejected her offer thinking that it would be too much responsibility. After joining the organization, she found it difficult to not get more involved due to lack of personnel. Therefore, over time she took on more and more tasks and responsibilities. When asked why, Michiko explained:

When somebody is thankful of you, how can you say no? Somebody has to do that anyway.

Michiko explained that since everybody was contributing to their full extent, she believed that if she took up some additional tasks, she could take some burdens off their shoulders. The spirit of mutual aid was practiced among the members and was especially critical for housewife members. When some volunteer members had family emergencies or new responsibilities at home, other volunteers stepped in to take up the tasks so that the volunteer with family emergencies could lessen the tasks without feeling guilty or affecting organizational activities. Even though taking up additional responsibilities would increase her own burdens, for Michiko, the simple acknowledgement and thankfulness of other volunteers made it worthwhile.

Other housewife participants also expressed the importance of acknowledgement and gratitude they received for their engagement when they explained how they obtain new skills. Sachie, the 48-year old sociology graduate student stated:

Everybody is helping each other. If I don't do it, somebody has to. So I usually take up myself. I was not so thrilled to lead workshops at the beginning. But you know, I chose to be a member, so why not? If I don't do it, it will affect other members and it may cause this organization to collapse. So I accepted. Others were so happy that I took the lead. They were somewhat relieved.

Naoko, another 48-year old housewife volunteer for a hospital group stated:

It just feels so good to be thanked. Between family members, shyness probably gets in the way, so we never say thank you to each other. It is easier to express that to others. And once I know that they need me, I do not want to betray them.

The smallness of the organizations makes it imperative that each volunteer worker contributes to the organization. Therefore when members take on additional tasks, it is easily recognized and acknowledged by others. The organizations' small size and lack of centralized organizational structure are advantageous for volunteers when it comes to expanding their skills. Because everyone must contribute for the organization to survive, a formal division of labor within the organizations was rare. In most there were no designated people who were responsible for certain tasks. Leadership was defined loosely and in some organizations it rotated between the members.

The lack of division of labor was critical for the women to obtain the skills that they had not had the opportunity to learn prior to joining the organizations. As described earlier, the women in my study were largely divided into two groups: older housewives and younger or non-married women with jobs. The older housewives followed gender role expectations and younger or non-married with jobs deviated from these expectations. However, even those who deviated from the gender role expectations and exerted themselves in the workplace did not find it easy to obtain the necessary skills through the workplace. Their jobs were limited to assisting male workers or performing clerical tasks. They were tired of the lack of responsibilities associated with these positions.

At the NPOs, due to the lack of division of labor, regardless of their official titles (leader, full-time with pay, volunteer, etc.), the members were asked to help in many different ways. What they could do for the organizations varied from low-skilled tasks such as cleaning office spaces, to more core organizational activities such as leading meetings and planning events for which many of the participants in the study expressed excitement.

Yuri, a 42-year old housewife in the same organization as Michiko (partnership mixed NPO) stated:

As a housewife, I did not have any opportunity to be a part of a meeting with goals. I often chatted with other housewives over tea, but never thought about producing results. But in an organizational setting, we have to have a goal and plan so that we accomplish it. So, I was overwhelmed at first. But once I saw that our projects were successful, it became much more fun.

As with Michiko, Yuri too was involved in a workshop on childrearing and gender issues. She admitted that when she was first asked to organize a workshop on gender issues, she was uninformed about the issues on which she was supposed to lecture. Yuri and Michiko began preparing months in advance and both spent hours reading about the issues and discussing materials with other members. In the workshop, Yuri was scheduled to talk in front of 20 to 30 people. The only public speaking experience Yuri could remember was when she had to say yes or no at PTA meetings. She did not recall

any time in her life that she had to plan from scratch and lead a workshop. Recalling the experience Yuri added:

Certainly it was stressful. But since it was stressful, it was rewarding at the same time. I had to admit, if all I was asked for was to do some menial tasks, I do not think I lasted this long. I do all the boring stuff outside the organization. Why should I spend extra time to feel less important?

Tomiyo, a 42-year old housewife in non-partnership NPO that engaged in recycling activities (service-delivery), was one of the volunteers to ask nearby schools and grocery stores to install recycling boxes where consumers could drop off recycling materials. She frequently visited these places to negotiate with them. Recalling the experience, she stated:

I talked to important people: the owners of the grocery stores and the principals of schools. The experience reassured me that I had a very small network of people. The network of people I had was all related to my children. I got to know other mothers and housewives, but I did not have much opportunity to talk to other people. In the process of negotiating with the grocery stores and schools, I talked to many men. It really broadened my view and it made me feel more important than being a mere housewife.

26 year-old Ayumi was a dispatch worker. She volunteered for the NPO that provided services for the hearing impaired. Her task at work was to enter data on a computer. She claimed that it was hard to find it rewarding since she was not given any responsibility. She realized that due to her short-term contract with the company she would not be promoted. Therefore, she did not volunteer to work overtime; she did not see the point of

devoting herself to work when there was no possibility of recognition or reward. At the NPO, however, she was engaged in variety of tasks. One of which that she was the most proud was to plan community events. Since her organization was small and constantly underfunded, community events that would raise donations were critical for organizational operation. When I interviewed her, she was involved in planning a bazaar that would be held the following month. In the bazaar, every volunteer and service recipient of the organization was asked to bring at least two things: one thing that they no longer used yet could be sold for a small amount of money and one thing they handmade. Ayumi showed me a list of names of volunteers and service recipient. Next to each name, there were names of things they were asked to bring for the bazaar. Ayumi explained:

It is difficult to decide who to bring what. It is especially difficult to decide who make what for bazaar. We do not want to have for example, tons of cookies and no other stuff. I have to make sure that will not happen. I am trying to figure out how to do it. It takes up a lot of time and phone calls, but it is fun. And you can see the result of your work, so it is rewarding.

She further explained:

In our organization, since it is very small, we all have to be part of every important decision. I would imagine that it would not be the case in a large organization like Green Peace. Some people might find it clumsy or less professional, but I find it very rewarding and helps us highly dedicated to the organization.

Out of curiosity, I asked her if she felt that her company she worked for indirectly through the dispatch agency was one of those large organizations she described. She responded:

Sure. I can tell that from how they treat workers. They contract menial jobs to dispatch companies and they get workers through these agencies. I actually have never met anybody with high ranks from the company. I work mostly with other dispatch workers and there is only one full-time worker directly hired from the company at my office. He is the one we ask questions if necessary. But I have never met anybody else from the company. We are just hands and feet of the company, but brain is located elsewhere. We have no say on any issue.

Chie, who chose to become an arbeit worker and volunteered in her free time to use her English skill by teaching Japanese to immigrant workers explained that they had frequent meetings at her NPO. In the meetings, they exchanged information on how each student was progressing. Volunteers discussed if the methods they used were working and, if not, how they could improve them. Since volunteers did not always teach the same students, they kept a file for each student and after each session the volunteers wrote progress reports and their opinions on the students' progress. Chie explained how each volunteer could participate in the meeting and how each voice was heard in the organization by stating:

If somebody thinks that a method is not working, s/he is entitled to bring that up in a meeting. It does not matter if you are a 50-year old man or a 20-year old woman. This is what makes this NPO different from workplace. I do not know in general, but at least for me, it is very different. At work, there is some "proper" way of doing stuff and you have to follow it or you are being insubordinate. A worker's opinion does not matter especially if you are an arbeit like me. Here, we

are all here for one reason: to help immigrants. For the immigrants, we are all equally important. Among the volunteers in this organization, there are a variety of people. Among them are some important people. Some are professors and others are high ups in some companies. Here, I get to talk to them and exchange opinions, sometime even jokes.

Due to the lack of resources and especially personnel, the volunteers in the Japanese NPOs are expected to carry out many different tasks, including those involving responsibilities such as planning of events. The demands for such personnel from the NPO side are met with supplies of women who are frustrated with the lack of such opportunities in the Japanese society. When women follow the traditional gender role expectations, they remain in the private domain. Even though they are responsible for family matters, the women's contributions are not recognized nor compensated for in the private sphere. When women deviate from the traditional gender role expectations and seek employment elsewhere, they find themselves disappointed because they are asked to carry out menial tasks. Both traditional and non-traditional women seek a way to contribute to society, which by their definitions only can occur in the public domain. NPOs provide such places for women. The women in my study expressed their dissatisfaction with their lives and how important it was for them to feel recognized. By participating in some important decision-making within NPOs, they now believe that they are as capable as men and professional working women due to the tasks they were given to achieve and skill sets they learned to accomplish them.

Why legal status? Why partnership?

As discussed in the methodological section, there were more NPOs with legal status (NPO-*hojin*) than NPOs without legal status (*nin'i-boranteer-dantai*) among the list of partnership NPOs. Therefore, it is important to see if there was any self selection pertaining to obtaining legal status or obtaining partnership projects. In other words, were NPOs organized by politically efficacious women more likely to seek legal status and partnership projects, and inversely are NPOs organized by politically inefficacious women more likely to avoid obtaining legal status or eschew taking part in NPO-government partnership projects even if they obtained legal status? The interviews suggest that efficaciousness of individual members did not affect the organizations' decision to either obtain legal status or to take part in partnership projects. Rather, a structural factor influenced some organizations to take advantage of the NPO Law of 1998, obtain legal status, and seek partnership projects for strategic reasons while other organizations did not find the need for it. The significant variable was the timing of the organizational establishment.

Newer organizations were more likely to obtain legal status than older ones, and newer organizations were more likely to engage in partnership projects than older ones. Figure 6.2 shows the percentage of non-partnership and partnership NPOs that were established after 1998. Out of 17 partnership NPOs in my study, 11 were established after the NPO law went into effect in 1998 (64.7%). While only 25.0% of the non-partnership

NPOs were established after 1998. My interviews shed explanatory light on the reasoning behind the quantitative data.

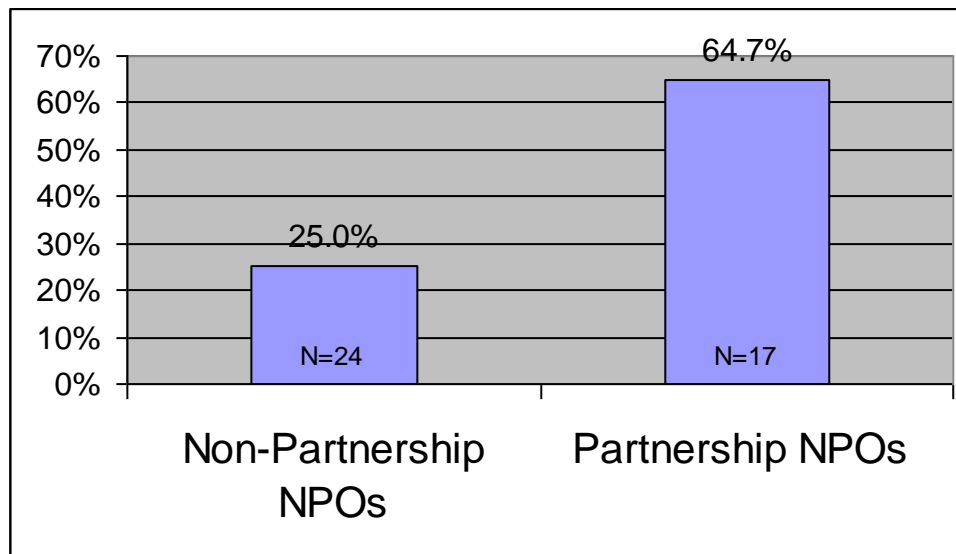


Figure 6.2: % of NPOs that Were Established After 1998

Why Legal Status? – Seeking to Increase Legitimacy and Name Recognition

With regard to the organizational decisions to obtain legal status, focusing on NPOs that engaged in elderly care service delivery makes it easier to understand why the timing was critical in the organizations' decisions to obtain legal status. In my sample, there were eleven women from seven NPOs that engaged in elderly care. Among them, eight women were from five NPOs with legal status and three women were from two NPOs without

legal status. For the elderly care service NPOs, the timing of the establishment of the NPOs vis-à-vis the NPO Law of 1998 and the Long-Term Care Service Act of 2000 appeared to be the critical factor for the organizations to determine whether or not obtain legal status.

The Long-Term-Care-Service system (*Kaigo Hoken Ho*) was established 2000 to ensure that the elderly who are certified as being in need of nursing care can obtain that necessary care from designated institutions. Private, citizen-led non-profit organizations are now eligible to become designated institutions. These NPOs, however, have to meet the following two requirements. First, they must obtain certification from either their respective prefectural government or the Cabinet Office for legal personnel. Second, they must be designated by the prefectural governments as long-term care service providers according to criteria set by the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare (Long Term Care Service Act, Article 5).

The elderly care service NPOs that obtained legal status in my sample were established around 1998 or after, while elderly care service NPOs without legal status in my sample had been established long before 1998. This does not mean that the women in the elderly care service NPOs with legal status had not been interested in voluntary activities before 1998. Indeed, most of them (six out of eight) had been engaged in voluntary activities in their communities before 1998. Before 1998, however, these women's lives centered around their families. Their husbands and children were their foremost concern, and they devoted themselves to the betterment of their family members.

Therefore, their volunteer involvements were irregular and sporadic. They spared only a fraction of their time to volunteer in the community. As the children grew more independent, these women began to seek a sense of fulfillment outside the family. As they reached their 40s and 50s, they were “freed” from family duties. Moreover, the timing of the establishment of the Long-Term Care Service System and their being “freed” from family duties overlapped.

Four of the eight women in my sample from the elderly care service NPOs with legal status were founders of the organizations. Another one was a founding core member of her organization. When asked why they obtained legal status even though the paperwork was often said to be arduous, the founders of such NPOs responded:

I have never founded NPOs before, so I could not tell if it was harder to obtain the legal status or remain without it (Akiko, 61 years old: She was 51 when she established the NPO).

It was hot to do so. Many people were talking about it when I thought about establishing a NPO. So I thought why not? I heard that with legal status it would be easier to get “trust” by community. We were going to be a new organization without any name recognition. If the legal status would make it easier for us to be known to the community, why not? (Kazue, 54 years old: She was 46 when she established the NPO).

Two of the three women from the elderly care service NPOs without legal status were also the founders of their organizations. Their organizations were established before 1998. When the NPO law passed, their organizations had been established for a long time and had their established pace and styles of activities. Operating as an organization without

legal personnel status is difficult since such organizations cannot engage in a contract with the organization's name (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003; Pekkanen and Simon 2003). Instead, it has to use a member's name. This is also the case when they open a bank account (Kawashima 2001). Hence, the organizational money is kept under an individual's name, which makes donations from the public difficult (Pekkanen 2006). Despite these restrictions, these organizations survived, and earned recognition in the community through long-lasting organizational activities. For small, yet established NPOs, the merits of the NPO Law were not apparent. This corresponds to the finding from the Cabinet Office's Survey. According to the survey of 2,421 NPOs without legal status in 2004, the most common reason (44.7%) for not having obtained legal status was lack of feeling a necessity for it (Cabinet Office 2004).

When the Long-Term-Care-Service Act was passed in 2000, another window of opportunity was opened for members of the newly established elderly service NPOs that now had legal status and those NPOs that were deciding whether or not to obtain legal status. Before the Long-Term-Care-Service Act of 2000, the local governments and some of the organizations monopolized delivery of elderly care services (Campbell and Ikegami 2000). Therefore, the capital sources of private citizen-led elderly care service NPOs were limited to membership fees, grants, and some operating revenues. Operating revenues generated from paid-volunteer activities were difficult to obtain. Government-outsourced elderly care services were out of reach and the prevalent societal expectation that the elderly should be taken care of by family members prevented the expansions of

the paid-volunteer work. Moreover, generating revenues by entering contractual relationships to provide services for fees was difficult since the lack of legal status did not allow the organizations to enter any contract under the organization's name (Kawashima 2001; Pekkanen 2003; Pekkanen and Simon 2003). The leaders of the elderly care service NPOs with legal status in the sample were aware of the difficulty through their sporadic volunteer experiences. Therefore, they thought it would be best for them to obtain legal status when they decided to establish their own organizations. When asked about the situation when they were volunteering before 1998, they responded:

Sure, it was hard. You want to help the elderly, but you cannot keep spending your own money on volunteer activities. You know what I mean? You can volunteer your time, but not many people can volunteer with their money. As housewives, we had plenty of time and enthusiasm, yet when we asked for donations, people looked for some backing that we were good people, not after their money or to cheat them. With our private status, it was difficult for us to be understood as altruistic especially when you ask them to pay some cost. (Akiko, 61 years old)

Many women were overwhelmed by childrearing and then later nursing of their or their husbands' parents. Now, with the passage of the Long-Term-Care-Service Act, to ask for help from outside family to nurse their parents is becoming socially acceptable, but in the past, it was very difficult. Women were sole caretakers of the elderly parents. If they did not take care of the parents, they were often considered disrespectful of their parents. We knew the demands for such services existed, but it was hard to break that ice in the society. (Kaori, 45 years old)

With legal personnel status obtained under the 1998 law and the certification as a nursing care service provider obtained by the prefectural governments under the Long-Term-Care-Service Act, the opportunity to provide paid volunteer services was opened. These paid voluntary activities were subsidized by premiums paid by those over forty years of

age. In short, what explains why some elderly care service NPOs obtained legal personnel status and consequently to be certified to become designated care service providers by the Long-Term-Care-Service Act is not differences in the motivation or attitudes of the founders or members. Instead, it is the timing when the organization was founded and the perceived merits of obtaining legal status. Elderly care service NPOs that were established around 1998 or later tended to obtain legal status and certification to become designated service providers under the 1998 NPO Law and the Long-Term-Care Service Act of 2000, respectively. On the other hand, elderly care service NPOs that had been established long before 1998 tended not to apply for legal personnel status. Since older established NPOs had solidified their base, the organizational leaders did not perceive any imminent benefits from either the NPO Law or the Long-Term Care Service Act of 2000.

Why Partnership? – Seeking Ways to Increase Organizations’ Funding Resources

Similar to the decision whether to obtain legal status, the interviews revealed that the timing of the organizational establishment and political opportunity had an effect on the organizational decision on whether or not to pursue NPO-Government partnership projects. With the passage of the NPO Law, it became easier for citizens to organize such organizations and obtain legal status resulting in the number of NPOs with legal status to increase rapidly after 1998. The rapid increase in the NPOs however could cause

competition between organizations. Organizations such as these can be organized to pursue a primary cause. Yet, Weber argued (1946), once an organization is established, organizational maintenance often becomes one of the priorities. No matter how valuable their goals are, without sound revenue sources, the organizations cannot sustain themselves. This tendency was evident among the participants. The participants of the study noted that finding revenue sources was one of their top priorities. NPO-Government partnership projects were attractive since they could lead to increases in the organizations' revenue sources in two ways. First, it can engage in partnership projects with government and establish some sense of legitimacy in the community. Once they carry out partnership projects, they can advertise that their organizations were chosen for the projects by the objective committees filled by experts. The participants of the study believed that increased legitimacy would make it easier to attract donations and new membership. Second, it can engage in partnership projects with governments that pay compensations. While being part of decision making process or sitting in the meeting with government officials in deciding details of implementation of certain policies or projects do not pay them, the NPOs could be paid for carrying out tasks that were outsourced by the governments. They could also apply for government grants to pay for their activities.

Takiko, a 55-year old founder of the NPO to deliver services to senior citizens expressed the difficulty that her organizations had in raising money. Her organization was one of the many social service NPOs that were established after the Long-Term Care

Service Act went into effect in 2000. As discussed, before the law went into effect, institutions that could deliver in-home-care services were limited to only a small number of institutions that were designated by local governments (Campbell and Ikegami 2000). With the new law it now was possible for private, small organizations such as citizen-led, community-based NPOs to do so. However since a large number of such NPOs were established around the same time, the competition among them was severe. Takiko stated that partnerships with the government became an attractive method to enhance legitimacy in the community, hence to win the competition. Her statement is compatible with the finding by the Cabinet Office. According to the surveys on randomly selected 1,019 NPOs with legal status, 60% of them responded that the participation in partnership project increased the organization's publicity (Cabinet Office 2006). The need for funding was not a unique issue for service delivery groups such as elderly care service NPOs. Advocacy and mixed NPO members also addressed their concern for raising revenues.

Miki, a 28-year old who organized NPO to promote civic activities with other young people also discussed the necessity for funding. In the same year they established the organization, they applied for an outsourced project by the city, which to their surprise they won. The outsourced project that they became responsible for provided walk-in space where citizens can stop by and ask questions with regard to volunteer activities. Under the contract, they were given office space in city within the city hall. They received not only the free office space but the payment from the city turned out to

be a very significant part of their revenues. Indeed, according to their budgetary report in 2005, which was the first year the organization was active for a full year, 88.8% of the revenue came from the payment by the city for the project.⁶⁸ The revenues from membership fees and donations were limited to \$880 and \$210, respectively. Miki stated that even though it was still tough to collect donations, she felt that her organization was more recognized due to the partnership project and donations for 2007 increased to \$1,400. Moreover, they opened a community café where neighbors and youngsters could network and engage in community activities. That project took off well and generated over \$59,000 in 2007 alone. Without the partnership project, Miki did not believe that the café could have been such a success.

Another example was Keiko, a poet who was the leader of a NPO that provided a café space where day-laborers and young artists could mingle. She first established the NPO in 2002 when she found out the city was providing a free office space with paid utilities for art groups in the community. In exchange of the free office space the NPOs were asked to participate in various city-planned art projects as well as launch workshops and lectures for the residents. Having been eager to become economically independent as a poet, she grabbed the opportunity. She recalled that she did not have much of a plan at the time. She thought having a free office would help kick start her career as a poet. She stated:

⁶⁸ In 2005, they raised about 5.5 million yen (about \$55, 000). Of which, around 4.9 million yen (about \$49,000) was from payment by the city for the outsourced project.

Much of philanthropy came afterwards. I hesitate to say but my own interest was first. Then later by talking to other NPO leaders and being part of the projects, I realized that it was my duty to actually get involved in philanthropic work since the opportunity was given by taxpayers' money.

The newer NPOs that were established after 1998 were in need of resources due to their relatively newness to the industry or the community and the competition imposed by the growing number of NPOs due to the 1998 law. In comparison, NPOs that were established long before the 1998 law seemed to find no need of taking up new projects with the various levels of government unless the projects would well represent what their organizations stood for. Many of the older organizations only had one or two face projects that they carried at a time which that organization was known for doing. Yuma, a 43-year old volunteer worker for a NPO that helped patients and their families in hospitals explained when she was asked why her organization had not taken part in any partnership project with a government:

Well, right now, we do not have any means to carry additional projects. Many of our volunteers also have jobs. An additional project will be burden to them. Even though our activities seem to be limiting, this (helping patients and their families in hospitals) requires a lot of patients, skills and time. We are afraid that additional projects will leave our current projects halfway dedicated.

The organization for which Yuma volunteered had been active in the community over ten years before the NPO law went into effect. Yuma was not a member when the

organization was first established, but she shared the story that she heard from the original members.

The NPO Law certainly made it easier for NPOs to be recognized. Before the law, I heard it was very difficult for volunteers to be entrusted. Once NPOs are widely recognized in the society, our activities became much easier. Yet, with all the difficulties before the law, our organization had survived. So our founders did not see the reason to apply for legal status at the point. The same can be said to a partnership project.

The NPO where Akane volunteered to use her sign language had not participated in any partnership projects either. The organization provided space where the hearing impaired and those who were interested in helping and communicating with them gathered and networked. It also provided interpretation services for the hearing impaired in the community. These were the only activities that the organizations provided; yet, the organization had been in place over sixteen years. It appeared that all those who were slightly familiar with anybody with hearing impairment in the community would have been aware of the organization. It certainly did not have a big budget or large membership. According to Akane, the organization could be sustained because it focused on a couple activities that they could handle. She argued that if the organization had taken up more activities and attempted to expand, it would have failed due to the lack of resources and the organizational capacity. Now that the organization was stable, although by no means wealthy, it did not make sense to take on an additional project regardless of whether it is the organization's independent project, or with the government via

partnership, unless it was certain that the organization had the capacity to accomplish it successfully. She stated:

We are not avoiding partnership projects. If we find something that fits our organization, we definitely will apply for it. But so far, we haven't seen anything that fit.

As Akane stated, since older organizations had already established their organizational styles and tastes, they found it more difficult to find partnership projects that were advertised by the governments which would fit them well. Some volunteers in non-partnership organizations expressed their interests in partnership projects, but they stated that their difficulty in finding a match was one of the reasons why their organizations had not taken up any project yet.

There are primarily four types of partnerships between government and NPOs in Osaka. These are 1) invitation of NPOs to committees, 2) co-hosting of an event or a project as partners, 3) outsourcing of government tasks to NPOs, and 4) grants money given to NPOs. As the sheer number in Figure 2.7 shows, one of the most common partnership projects between these four is outsourcing. An outsourcing of a government task occurs when the government decides to release itself from that particular responsibility and delegate the task to NPOs that have the organizational capacity and expertise to accomplish it successfully. Since outsourcing presupposes that the government was originally responsible for the tasks, only those types of projects become

the target of outsourcing. NPOs that engage in unique projects or carry out services that are outside the ordinary governments' scope probably tend to be excluded from the possibility of partnership projects. Activities that Yuma's and Akane's organizations engaged in probably fell into this category. They were targeting a specific population and their programs were narrowly defined. Therefore, it appears that the timing of the organizational establishment and consolidation and political opportunity windows have to meet for NPOs to find matching partnership projects and consequently apply for and carry them out.

Conclusion

The analyses of the interviews indicated that the participants were exposed to opportunities to obtain new skills through organizational activities, which were unavailable to housewives or younger aspiring women. The opportunities to learn new skills were facilitated by the seemingly disadvantageous organizational character: smallness. The smallness of the NPOs both in the size of personnel and resources required the contributions from all the members and volunteers alike. One's contributions or lack of thereof was easily detected by others thus making performance a publically recognized activity. In such an environment, the women were encouraged to contribute fully to the organization, taking advantage of opportunities to learn new skills.

The analyses of the interviews also reveal that the organizations' decisions to obtain legal status or to participate in NPO-Government partnerships are not influenced by each member's attitude. Rather, the decisions were made strategically by newer organizations to earn monetary compensations and/or enhance legitimacy in the community. Younger organizations were rather aggressive in pursuing the opportunities to increase revenue sources by participating NPO-Government partnership projects. Such participation could increase the revenue sources by fees paid through the projects directly and by increasing legitimacy of the organizations in the community leading to increased donations and additional programs. On the other hand, older organizations which had survived in spite of difficulties posed by lack of the supporting legal structure tended to turn conservative and focused on the programs they already had, instead of expanding them or changing organizational structure.

Chapter 7

Different Experiences of the Women

Introduction

Previous two chapters revealed that women join the NPOs to escape the boredom of their daily routines and to enjoy recognition for their labor. In general, they are seeking additional fulfillment in their lives. Once they join the organization, newer organizations seek NPO-Government partnership projects to obtain monetary compensation and earn legitimacy in the community while older organizations with stable projects shy away from expanding the programs by participating in NPO-Government partnership projects. Therefore, it is not the member's political efficacy that affects which organizations take part in NPO-Government partnerships; but rather, it is organizational strategic calculations. Therefore, Chapter 5 and 6 addressed process (A), (B) and (C) in Figure 6.1. In this chapter, I will address the process (D) in Figure 6.1. I will discuss contrasting experiences of Japanese women in non-partnership NPOs and partnership NPOs. In doing so, I will illustrate why Japanese women are hesitant to discuss politics and appear

uninterested in political matters in civil society organizations and how their experiences can be changed through NPO-Government partnership projects. Moreover, I will discuss how these experiences affect the women's political efficacy and their view of themselves as political actors.

Importance of Belongingness and its Effect on the Women's Political View

Regardless of the organizational relationship with governments (partnership vs. non-partnership), or organizational style (service delivery, advocacy or mix), the sense of belongingness seemed to be very significant for the women in the sample. Only a handful of the members (four out of 62) received any monetary compensation for their work. Despite the voluntary nature of their membership, however, the women were very dedicated to their organizations. For them, the NPOs were not simply a place where they volunteered; they identified with their organization its other members.

This became evident during a workshop I attended. In August, I found information on a workshop for partnership NPOs on the Osaka NPO Information Net's website. The workshop involved NPOs that had participated in partnerships and those that were considering applying for such projects in the future to discuss the current state of the NPO-Government relationship in Osaka. Around 40 people attended the workshop, and it lasted over six hours. Throughout that time, I observed the interactions among the NPO members and between them and government officials. One thing caught my

attention. When the women introduced themselves to others in the workshop, instead of their name, they referred themselves by the name of their NPO. The name of the NPOs mattered more than who they were as individuals. I was referred to as *seito-san* (literally means Ms. Student). There were several others also present who did not belong to a specific organization and all were grouped into a non-organizational category during introductions because we did not have official organizational affiliations. Often, during the workshop, in responding to others' comments, they said, "as _____ *san* (the name of NPO) said," instead of "as _____ *san* (the name of the person) from _____ (the name of NPO) said." *San* is the word that means Mr., Mrs., Miss, or Ms. It refers to people. In using *san* after the NPO's name to refer to a member, they were reducing the member to the NPO. They were seen as one and the same. In reviewing and coding the transcripts of the interviews, I came to realize that this sense of belongingness seemed to play an important role in affecting the members' hesitance to discuss politics. Moreover, the women in non-partnership and partnership NPOs tended to connect politics/government to different things. I will first discuss the women in non-partnership NPOs, and in the next section, I will discuss the experiences of the women in partnership NPOs during the partnerships and how the experiences affected their political view.

Women in Non-Partnership NPOs: Belongingness and Inclusiveness

As discussed in an earlier chapter, the participants in the non-partnership NPOs were given opportunities to learn new skills and they took full advantage of them. According to scholars who argue for the connection between civic skills that are earned within civic organizations and political efficacies (e.g. Brady et al. 1995, Verba et al. 1995), the women in my sample should believe that they are capable of understanding politics and that they can actually make a difference in politics if they work at it. However, contrary to this expectation, and as LeBlanc (1999) experienced in suburban Tokyo in her study, I encountered great difficulty in making the women even discuss politics.

These women did not connect the skills they obtained through organizational activities to enhanced political capabilities. These skills made them feel able to carry out important tasks, an opportunity rare for women in contemporary Japan. Structurally induced participation helped them feel that they were as worthwhile and/or valuable to society as men since they were as capable as them in carrying out organizational tasks. Yet when the questions shifted to their perceived political capabilities or understanding of politics, the women's responses were not positive. They were obviously uncomfortable with discussing politics or government. They immediately connected politics/government to partisan politics. Indeed 25 out of 37 women in this sample (67.6%) did so.

Ayumi, a 26-year old volunteer for the NPO that provided services to the hearing impaired who expressed excitement over organizing a fund raising bazaar was very articulate in discussing her dissatisfaction with her current employment status. She

complained that she was not given real responsibility since she was a temporary dispatch worker with no prospect of promotion in the company. For her, the NPO was a different space where her participation was recognized and her role was important. Her optimism, however, did not translate into a sense of political empowerment. When asked if she believed that her civic participation helped her understand politics, Ayumi responded:

Politics is not something I understand. I read newspapers, but it appears just too complicated. From what we hear, it is difficult to know why and how some things are determined. These politicians look after their own interests and they don't really care about us. Who can really read their minds?

Chie, who valued her volunteer life because of its inclusive nature expressed this point succinctly. She said:

I do not have much desire to understand what is going on in politics. I think politics is something polarizing and what is dividing society into different camps. In an organization like this, getting along together is one of the most important assets, so politics is something we should all avoid.

Takiko, the survivor of the earthquake also said:

Politics? I have nothing to do with it. It is also important to avoid it when we think about getting along with our neighbors. I tend to be cautious with people who are the supporters of the Clean Government Party. They actively mobilize voters. I just do not feel comfortable. I do not want to be associated with that.

She continued:

Plus, I am so afraid of what it would be like if we bring in something political to the organization. We all want to get along here.

They had finally found a safe haven in the NPOs and escaped from the daily boredom of their lives as housewives and under-appreciation in the workplace. In the NPOs, they were equal regardless of their gender, age, work experience, or initial skill levels. They were asked to contribute because they were all important for the organization's survival. The shortage of resources and personnel allow no room for divisiveness within the organization. Politics, which they equated with partisan politics, appeared as being necessarily divisive to these women and a display or clash of self interests. The NPOs, on the other hand, represented selflessness and inclusiveness. Therefore, the relationship between politics and life at NPOs was like that of oil and water: they did not mix.

Instead of introducing divisions to the organization, they focused on dealing with what they could agree upon: calling single-households of the elderly for security verification, providing guide services for the visually impaired, spread recycling in the neighborhood grocery stores, or advocating for the better treatment of immigrants by holding workshops in community centers, and so on. The women were embedded in the community and they witnessed its social ills daily. Politics and government on the other hand were invisible. Personal was not political. Yuma, a volunteer for the NPO that provided services for patients and their families at a local hospital explained:

Politics is something not close to home. In a way our daily lives are not disturbed even if we do not think about politics or government. Our only encounter with something close to politics or government is when we have to submit reports to the city hall. But it is not embedded in our daily lives. It pops up when it is necessary and it is very onerous. I would like to avoid politics as much as possible. I think I feel that way especially because I talk with the elderly at the hospital all the time. The elderly, as far as I know, have to deal with tons of paper work, long-

term care service, and the elderly insurance, you name it. They are certainly drained.

In a hectic organizational environment, for Yuma, politics was reduced to something remote, and something that can be avoided if possible. By contrast, organizational activities-- helping patients and their families-- was something that was actually going on in front of her and that was something she could help with.

Chie, a 29-year old arbeit worker also said:

Politicians and government officials can discuss things in Kasumigaseki. Every minute they do, there are people who need help. While they are having an expensive lunch to strike some deal, people are in need. Who takes care of them? They do not. We do. We live right here. We see them every day. I talk to these immigrant workers almost everyday. I know what is going on. I hear their real stories. Politicians and government officials do not see them, they do not talk with them.

Masumi, a 46 year old worker for the NPO that provide translation service for foreigners on medical issues said:

If we do not help them, they are helpless. They are scared in the foreign land and now they are sick. Government does have some program, but it is not enough. It is apparently not enough because we have a lot of clients here who call us every time they have medical emergency. Medical professionals, facilities and systems are not catching up with globalization. We have a lot of tourists and immigrant workers. We cannot ignore them. It is happening right here, right here where I live.

As Chie's quote shows, it seems that these women not only associate politics with partisan politics, but also with national politics. Therefore, it was remote. Moreover, they contrasted national politics to what they did: volunteer in local communities. While

national politics played out somewhere remote, volunteerism was part of their daily lives. It served the needs of people in the community where they lived. They seemed content with their lives as volunteers in a seemingly non-political world.

Privileged Women

The attitudes and feelings of those not participating in NPO-Government partnership projects seem to be representative of Japanese women toward politics and government. They perceive politics to be unrelated to the day-to-day lives of the ordinary citizen. Politics is conducted in the shadows where the process by which decisions were made kept in the dark. They do not have a desire to know what is going on because of the perceived messiness and complexity of the political system. Yet, this is not to say that Japanese women are always complacent. They were mobilized in the anti-pollution movement when their families faced imminent dangers (Broadbent 1999, Noguchi 1992). They were also the backbone of the anti-nuclear power plant (Takeda 2006) and consumer protection movements (MacLachlan 2002). When issues were important and pressing, they spoke up for their families and the communities. At the present time; however, the mobilization of Japanese women seems to be very difficult. This is probably due to the privileged positions that many Japanese women are in. Takiko addressed this by saying:

I do not think housewives like me really understand politics. It is somewhat useless to understand it. Politics is not embedded with our daily lives. There is

certainly a gap between what they (politicians and government officials) think about and what we (ordinary people) care about. After all, they are well-off people. Housewives like me are probably the furthest from politics. We are not that wealthy but not in need. If we were in need we would have paying jobs, right? If you are really wealthy, politicians probably approach you. And if you are really impoverished, you have a strong desire and make demand on the government. We are neither.

She continued:

I think we are comfortable. We do not want to do anything that might disturb our comfortable lives.

While the participants cited their dissatisfaction with their own lives of housewives as the reason to join their organizations and begin volunteering, the very status as housewife allowed them to volunteer. They devoted a significant amount of time and energy to their organizations. If they were financially responsible for themselves or for their families, devoting time to civic activities would have been difficult. Their husbands providing for them financially allowed them to volunteer their time. This point was raised by other participants in the study as well.

Others outside of the organization may think what we do here is merely fun for housewives. It cannot be totally denied. I recognize that because my husband is working hard, I can have spare time to enjoy my time here (Tomomi, 51 year old housewife).

Fortunately, my family is not financially in trouble. I recognize that is why I can come here everyday (Miyuki, 53 year old housewife).

Although sometimes it is hard, I make sure that my devotion to the organization does not affect my family. I understand that I can be here doing this because of my husband. If he was not providing for us, I could not enjoy the activities here (Kazue, 54 years old housewife).

Ironically, the status of housewives which was the source of their discontent allowed them to participate in the civic organizations. Therefore, it seemed that they did not see any reason to actively make demands on government to address their dissatisfaction. Moreover, the complacency among the housewife participants seems to have prevented them from perceiving their activities as political—which they believed to be polarizing, since doing so could interfere with the inclusiveness of the organizations which they adored.

The situation was not much different for single women who shied a way from settling into the strict gendered role as a housewife. Only two single women in my study (Miki, 28 years old, and Keiko, 38 years old) lived away from their parents. All the other singles lived with their parents. Even Miki lived close to her parents and she admitted that her mother always came to her apartment to cook her meals. They were dissatisfied with the employment status since they had no opportunity to build a successful career; however, money was not a problem for them because they lived with their parents who supported them financially.

I am frustrated with the fact that I cannot find stable employment where I can prove myself. Yet, at the same time, I realize that I cannot complain much because I still live with parents and that is why I can be an arbeit worker and volunteer (Chie, 29 years old volunteer).

Some men joined the organization before, but they did not last long because they were busy working and did not have much time. They could not quit their jobs and work here either because we could pay almost nothing. We are here because we can afford to do so. I am here because I am still relying on my parents (Megumi, 46 years old dispatch worker).

For better or worse, the Japanese women in the sample, both in partnership and non-partnership NPOs, had relatively well-off backgrounds. Most of them were pure volunteer workers who received no compensation and those who were paid, in fact made a minimal amount of money. Yet financial support from their husbands or parents made it possible for them to stick with the low paying NPO jobs. Instead, as discussed in the earlier chapter, they were in these organizations to find fulfillment in their lives, which they could not find either at home or at the workplace. Consciously pursuing political matters was, therefore, not only considered to be something they should avoid, but also something that was not necessary.

Material-based partnerships vs. Knowledge-based partnership

While Japanese women in NPOs are in general privileged and wish to avoid any political discussion, some NPOs end up taking part in partnership projects with local governments. There are predominantly four types of partnerships between NPOs and governments in Osaka. These are 1) invitation of NPOs to sit on committees, 2) co-hosting of an event or a project as partners, 3) outsourcing of government tasks to NPOs, and 4) grant money given to NPOs.

Org. ID	Committee	Cohost (m)*	Outsource (m)	Grants (m)
A			O	O
B	O		O	
C				O
D				O
E			O	
F			O	
G	O			
H		O		
I	O		O	
J			O	
K	O	O	O	
L	O			O
M	O		O	
N	O		O	
O	O			O
P	O		O	
Q	O		O	
Total #	10	2	11	5

(m) indicates that that type of partnership comes with monetary compensation.

* Although the governments do not necessarily pay the NPOs that co-host events with them, NPOs can reduce the cost for events by sharing such expenses with the governments.

Table 7.1: Types of Partnerships in the Sample

Table 7.1 shows the types of partnerships in which the organizations in my sample took part. Twenty-five women from partnership NPOs belong to 17 different NPOs. Among these 17 NPOs, 10 participated in committees, two co-hosted events or projects with governments, 11 carried out tasks outsourced by governments, and five received grant money from governments. In the case of cohosting, outsourcing and grant money, selection is initiated by NPOs. In other words, NPOs respond to advertisements or calls for partners by the governments. NPOs in these types of partnerships (cohosting, outsourcing and grant money) are expected to produce some tangible results such as

holding successful events and projects (material-based partnerships). For participation in committees, NPOs are selected by governments and those selected are expected to provide expert knowledge (knowledge-based partnerships). Of course, the two (material-based vs. knowledge-based partnerships) are not mutually exclusive since NPOs also utilize their expert knowledge in hosting events and carrying out projects.

The reason why material-based partnership NPOs initiate a partnership while knowledge-based partnership NPOs are selected by the governments is perhaps because in the case of the former, monetary compensation is involved. As argued earlier, relatively new NPOs seek partnership projects because they lack legitimacy, name recognition, monetary resources, or memberships. To overcome these problems, newer NPOs pursue partnership projects, particularly those that come with monetary compensations. On the other hand, committee participation does not provide monetary incentives. Governments invite NPOs with experience to sit on committees when they are deciding new projects, ordinances, or when they are implementing a policy. Therefore, NPOs that have “O” in the committee category in Table 7.1, almost always have “O” in one or more other categories. Since the NPOs that take part in knowledge-based partnerships almost always take part in material-based NPOs, I will discuss how material-based NPOs are selected and how that in turn affects the women involved.

Competitive Selection

Effects of partnership projects on the participants seem to begin even before the actual projects begin. It begins at the selection process. Most material-based partnership projects are advertised on government websites, in voluntary centers, and on the Osaka NPO Information Net. NPOs that are interested in pursuing such opportunities are invited to submit applications. Although the application and selection process and qualifications for each project differ, the selection of NPOs is typically as follows:

- 1) Public meeting announcing the project and applicants invited
- 2) First screening of applications (application form, a detailed statement of the planned project, budgetary report, articles of association, reports on the past activities, and bank statement etc.)
- 3) Presentations by selected NPOs
- 4) Selection by a selection board (composed of scholars, etc.)
- 5) Announcement of the winner(s)

Required documents include the statement of purpose for the projects. When grants and projects are announced, the descriptions on what type of programs the government seeks to support or outsource are left vague. For example, the guidelines for “the project for symbiotic forest in Sakai 7-3 district,”⁶⁹ which would give out 3 million yen (about \$30,000), read that the applicants should carry out the following:

- (1) Administrative work for consultative conference to set up the guidelines for the symbiotic forest
- (2) Human resource cultivation (organizing workshops etc.)

⁶⁹ None of the participants of the study participated in this project. I use this as an example to illustrate the point. I cannot disclose too much detail about the partnership projects they got involved in to keep their identities protected. Due to the size of organizations, disclosing the names of projects will most likely to reveal the identity of the interviewers, which is a violation of IRB contract.

- (3) Fostering the natural habitat (research of fauna and flora etc.)
- (4) Designing and managing civic participation programs
- (5) Public relations campaign for the symbiotic forest

Applicants were given discretion on exactly how they would carry out these tasks and they were to compete with others in front of a selection committee by presenting their unique projects. Take the second point (2) for example, the contents of workshops and their target populations were left open to be determined by the applicant NPOs.

Akiko's organization won the grant from the city government to establish workshops on environmental education in the community. Akiko's organization specializes in social welfare, specifically elderly care services. On the surface, their expertise has nothing to do with environmental education. However, since the organization was given discretion, the group utilized it fully and created workshops for seniors on environmental education. The purposes of the workshops were, according to Akiko, to introduce their interest in nature and to get elderly people out of the house and form friendships with fellow seniors. Discretion given to NPOs and the competitiveness of the system seems to empower individuals and assures the fairness of the selection process. Given freedom she enjoyed over workshop content, Akiko said:

We were excited to design our own project. What's better was that since we were to compete for the grant with other NPOs which were also in high-quality in my eyes, we had to be creative... Presenting in front of the government committee members was frightening, but it can be addictive.

Akiko was one of the dissatisfied housewives. As discussed earlier, the older housewives felt that they had lost their place in their family since their children had grown more

independent. Younger women in workplace felt they did not have any place in the society since their education was not serving them well in the labor market. By applying for partnership projects, such people were drawn into big projects where they had to have a vision concerning the projects. The participants were searching to feel needed and responsible for something important. Applying for partnership projects helped them to achieve these goals. Moreover, the competitive nature of the application process helped raise their confidence even further.

Yuri, a 48-year old housewife said:

I never imagined that I would prepare anything of that importance. I did not make a presentation personally since only a few people are allowed to present, but most of us worked to prepare for the presentation. It was stressful, but exciting. When I learned that we won the competition, I felt so excited. I was so excited that I could not stop talking about it to my son.

Mayuko (50 years old) said:

We have had internal organizational meetings. We were used to that. But when it comes to presenting something to government officials that would decide whether or not we get this funding or not, we were far from ready. Our meeting load increased. It was hectic since we already lacked people in the first place. But none of us was complaining. It was such an opportunity. All we thought about was we needed to do our best. It was really exciting.

In discussing the selection process, Miki (28 years old) said:

Our members are all young, so many of us had experience of public speaking and presentation through school work. Presenting with other NPOs and knowing that we were selected through a fair process made us feel competent. It assured that we knew what we were doing and it is actually not that difficult once you get going.

There is a near consensus that the competitive selection process helped NPO members to improve the competence of both their organization and themselves. Competition is something these women were had rarely been exposed to in their daily lives. The housewives had even avoided competition in society to get along with neighbors. Young employed women sought competition where they could prove their skills; yet, they had not been given appropriate opportunities. Monetary incentives and the smallness of organizations had a positive influence on the devotion of the members as it was imperative for some of the organizations to competition in order to survive. For example, Miki's organization relied heavily on the funds from the projects to operate (over 80% of its budget for the year). Talking about the prospect of a lack of funding, she said:

We really needed it. If we had not won the competition, I do not know if our organization would still running today. So we all knew that it was a very important bid.

Help from all the members was encouraged and the organizational workload increased. The members had to devote even more time to make the applications successful because of their small numbers. Haruko, a 53 year old housewife member of the three-member NPO, recalled working past midnight.

We did not want to turn in something just alright. If we were going to do it, we wanted to do our best. We did not want to hear that housewives are incompetent.

The two other members (Yuko and Sachiko), both housewives, were equally committed. Yuko commented that her husband asked her why she spent so much time and devoted so much energy to the organization even though she was just a volunteer. She told him that she did not want to be taken lightly just because she was a housewife. She admitted to me that occasionally she envied her husband who devoted most of his time to work. She believed that most observers would agree that he was a successful competent man. She was his wife. Without him, she was not important. When she was preparing for the competition, she believed that winning the bid would provide something that most of housewives long for: public recognition of their own merit, not that of their marriage to successful men.

During Partnership

The analysis of the interviews suggests that the participants in the NPO-Government partnerships were more likely than non-partnership participants to perceive politics to be close to home. Moreover, politics for them took the form of local rather than national politics. Many were proud of how far they had come since they joined the organization. They recognized that they were more aware and able to understand politics than before. However, the shift from a belief that politics was remote to one that politics could be closer to home did not occur overnight. It involved three primary factors which involved face-to-face interaction with government officials; 1) solicitation of expertise by the government officials; 2) exposure to larger issues through networks with other partner

NPOs beyond the immediate neighborhood or through invitation to decision making process by the governments; and 3) participation of the government officials in organizational activities.

Feeling like an Expert

As discussed previously, advertisements for material-based partnerships are usually vague. Specifics are to be suggested by NPOs themselves and later finalized through a course of meetings between NPOs and government officials. In determining the specifics and carrying out the projects, according to the participants, government officials gave great discretion to the NPOs. This was probably because governments lacked the specific technical knowledge useful in carrying out neighborhood-based programs. If governments already possessed the necessary expertise, there would be no need to partner with civic organizations in the first place. They outsource the tasks and/or ask for ideas from civic organizations in the community, and in return, provide grant money because citizen groups can be flexible and resourceful in a technical sense even though they are not necessarily resourceful in monetary sense. As discussed, many of the women in the organizations had actively been involved in the community long before they joined/established their organizations. They were concerned about, and passionate for the community where they lived with their families. Moreover, they had exclusive knowledge about the issues facing their communities.

The women however did not have any awareness that their expertise could be utilized to make a larger impact on the community let alone a belief that they held any bargaining power vis-à-vis governments. The small size of their organizations made it imperative that everybody contributed so that they immersed themselves in day-to-day organizational activities. This absorption helped them find fulfillment in life and to feel more confident about themselves. However, that same absorption made it difficult for them to analyze their activities objectively and they were unable to see implications and usefulness of their knowledge in the eyes of governments. Through partnership projects, the women became aware that they held some expert knowledge that increased the government officials' reliance on them. The women became a valuable asset to governments. Mayuko whose organization provided gender-free educational programs for local public schools on behalf of the government stated:

When we won the bid for the partnership project, our organization was still young and we were just eager to launch this education program. We were still learning. We were afraid of making mistakes. We were afraid that we might not be equipped with the expert knowledge that the government was seeking at that point. Yet, they (government officials) really trusted us and deferred to us when it came to the specifics of the program. It was probably because they did not know what they were supposed to do. But that made us realize that we were doing great and our expertise was something we should be proud of.

She continued:

They contacted us whenever they had questions on gender issues. It really felt that we were in a team. I think the project would not have the same results if they had taken over and used us as just to deliverers of the project. It worked as well as it did because they let us be in the same boat.

Akiko, whose organization carried out environmental educational class as a part of partnership project with the city government also noted:

At first we were skeptical. We did not really know how this partnership thing worked. We were skeptical if they would give us any discretion. It turned out that they did. Several times in the meeting they said that they were there administratively. We were the one who knew what was going on. It worked out well.

She continued:

Since we had something to give, it was easy to ask them to be honest. I said to them that to give good advice and make the project work, we had to be honest to each other. I think they understood that.

Haruko, who participated in the city government's outsourced zoo remodeling project with Sachiko raised the same point. She said:

To be honest with you, I was expecting some disappointment. I expected that they would just order us around, and use us as cheap labor. To my surprise, they were humble. They were humble enough to ask our opinion, especially when it comes to specialized knowledge. That made me realize that we knew what we were doing and we were needed by the government.

The organization to which Haruko and Sachiko belonged was an interesting one. It came into existence because of the curiosity of several housewives. In their daily life, the city subway systems' inaccessibility and need to accommodate the needs of the elderly, the disabled and mothers with small children had come to their attention. Taking advantage of their housewife status, they spent the next two years examining all the stations on seven different lines. They spent one to two hours at each station examining all aspects of accessibility, for example, the height of rails on the stairs, the width of the gap between

the platform and the trains, and fonts of signs. Haruko claimed that they did not use any special “expert” knowledge, but instead, their being housewives and being ordinary citizens was exactly what was required to make suggestions that would help the users who were also ordinary citizens. Their subway project was independent and conducted without any coordination with government. Using that experience, they applied to partner with the government when it sought a NPO that could examine the zoo and make suggestions. Haruko explained:

The zoo project was very different from the subway one. We and the government officials worked together. They were experts at coordinating, and making people listen, but we were expert at being ordinary citizens. Each of us had what the other wanted. We were a team.

These women had never imagined that they would be relied upon by government officials in any way since they perceived the government to be remote and their interactions with it was limited. In partnership project; however, their expert knowledge was sought and appreciated by the government officials. Having what the government officials needed helped them to feel powerful vis-à-vis government officials, and it seemed to help them perceive that politics or government was close to their daily lives. Government was no longer an entity from which they took orders; instead, they could provide resources that the government needed and valued.

The reliance of government officials on the expert knowledge of the NPO members meant that communications were two-way. In contrast, when government officials do not seek expert knowledge from NPOs, the communications were either non-

existent or one-way, NPO members initiated contact when they needed government help, or government initiated contact to spread government information. Figure 7.1 shows the percentages of the women in the non-partnership NPOs and partnership-NPOs in the sample who had 1) no contact; 2) one-way contacts; and 3) two-way contacts with government officials. A very clear pattern existed; while only 27.0% of the non-partnership NPO members had contacts with government officials, all members of the partnership NPOs had such contacts. Moreover, an overwhelming 92% of the partnership NPO members had two-way contacts with government officials while only 5.4% of the non-partnership NPO members had them. This shows that almost always the contacts between government officials and members of partnership NPOs are two-way where interactions are initiated by both parties, while non-partnership members do not have the same degree of interaction with government officials.

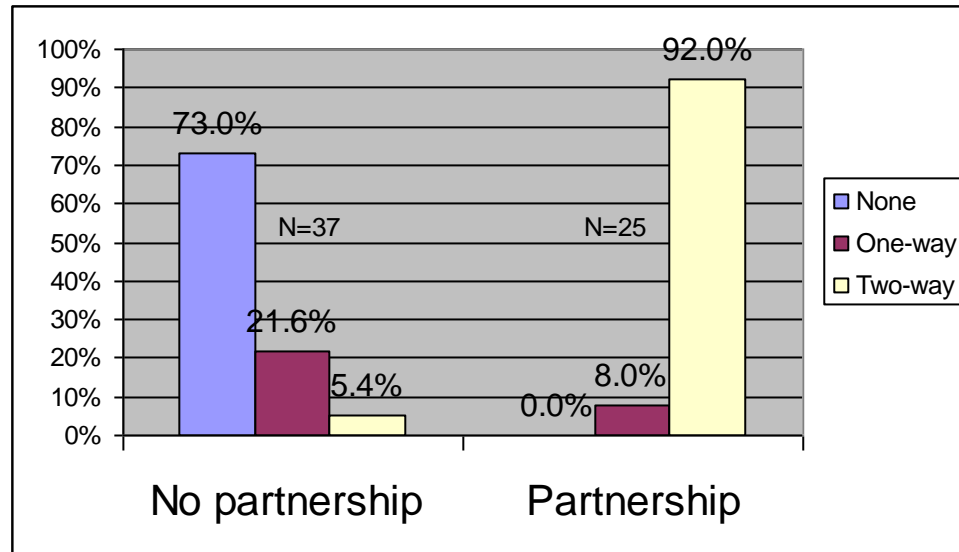


Figure 7.1: Patterns of Contacts by Partnership

Learning About a Large Picture

During and after participation in partnership projects, the experienced partnership NPOs became resources for other NPOs that sought their own partnership projects. They also became resources for NPOs and governments that sought to improve the NPO-Government partnership environment in Osaka. Moreover, after successfully carrying out one or more projects, the NPOs established a very close relationship with, and earned the trust of government officials who valued their expert knowledge. That was when the NPOs started to be invited to committees when government needed their expertise. Sharing their experiences through informal networks with other NPOs and sitting on

committees dealing with possible ordinances and the implementation of policies seemed to help the women become aware of issues beyond their neighborhood.

Mayuko is a prime example of how such awareness developed in the women. The project on which her organization involved with the city government turned out to be a big success. Their gender-free education program began at their organization without funding, but collaboration enabled her to reach over 10,000 students in public school each year. Due to this success, she was often invited to talk at other NPOs, and to hold workshops in multiple cities on how to make partnership projects successful. When discussing her experiences in these talks and workshops, Mayuko said:

I get to talk to all these people. I go all over the prefecture. This is really good for me because I think I was narrow-minded in a way. I only knew about gender issues. In these workshops, people come from NPOs with all sorts of issue areas. I tell them my experience in partnership, but they have more to offer me because I learn a great deal from them. And a lot of things started to appear connected. We volunteers tend to focus on one particular issue. And we do not see the larger picture. But I begin to think it comes back to the issue of government and citizens' task sharing.

She continued:

Right now, it is a division of labor, not sharing. Government does certain things and we volunteers do the rest. We do not share, we do not communicate. The issues persist because volunteers do not have the means to coordinate, because we do not have resources that are necessary. Our program for example, could not have spread so far without government coordination. We both should chip in what we are good at and share instead of dividing duties up. I think that is applicable to many issue areas.

Asked what she thought of politics/government, she responded:

I think what we do is part of politics, isn't it? It is about what we do everyday and how we share powers with others in determining things that affect our daily lives, including government.

She originally pursued the partnership project because the organization needed start-up funding. She was worried about other volunteers in the organization. Additional money was needed, so that they did not have to keep spending their own money on organizational activities. Thinking back her organizational experience, Mayuko said:

I think I have come so far. I did not imagine what I would be doing today. Do not take me wrong, but I did not think we would last this long, let alone make this kind of impact. I was just a housewife who was concerned about children's future. Now I negotiate with government. Every now and then, when people ask me or interview me like this, I remember how far I have come.

Through the relationship established through the partnership project, Mayuko was also invited to sit on a government committee discussing child abuse prevention. She had expected a superficial committee in which things had already been determined, where her presence would only be a formality. When she got there, the unexpected happened: they asked for her opinions. Her experience in dealing with issues and actually talking with a large number of students through the projects made her a credible expert on the issue. Again, she mentioned that she was amazed how far she had come.

Akiko was also invited to workshops to talk about her experiences in government partnerships. She said:

I take advantage of these opportunities. I learn other issues. Listening to other people's experiences in partnership projects, I can learn what our strengths and government strengths are. We can also learn what we need to work at and what we want the government to work at. It is not issue specific. In general, NPOs are flexible, and have detail oriented technical knowledge. On the other hand, government has this massive institution that can reach far in society. We have to utilize what each of us is good at.

Asked what she thought about government/politics, she responded:

You know, I had never thought about it. I had never thought that what I did was political. But as I went around these workshops and talked to people, I began to feel that maybe it was. Umm, I think civic participation can be political because essentially what we do in these organizations affect people's lives.

Miki was also invited to most of the city government committees that dealt with NPOs and NPO-Government partnerships. Being a young woman surrounded by middle-aged government officials in dark colored suits overwhelmed her at first. Her experience was not instantly positive. At the first meeting, she was belittled because one of the officials told her that she was just a rich young woman who could enjoy NPO life while her parents took care of her. She thought she would experience male dominance similar to that in corporate culture, which she dreaded. Miki avoided this by establishing her own organization. Initial hostility, however, did not last long. Miki explained that:

I think some were threatened. They were threatened that we, NPOs, would invade their space. And it made it especially hard for them since I was so young, and a woman. But, there were other people, often younger, who were more understanding. It is not the Showa era.⁷⁰ The younger officials do understand that it is time for government and NPOs to cooperate and it does not mean the invasion of power from either one. It is unavoidable and the only way to make it happen is not to fight, but to cooperate.

When asked if the experience helped her understand politics, she replied:

Sure. I think politics is just that. It involves struggles of different parts of society to voice their opinions and find compromise. It may take longer in some cases than others, but the process itself is politics. That is what I understood from the experience.

⁷⁰ The reign of Showa Emperor lasted from 1926 to 1989.

Haruko, a member of the three-member NPO, sat on a government committee to promote barrier-free transportation system in Osaka. Her experience with the independent subway and partnership zoo projects gave the organization visibility in the eyes of the government officials and, as its representatives, was invited into the fold. Her experience evolved over time. In the beginning she was overwhelmed at being surrounded by men who had the air of importance. Occasionally, she bumped into bureaucratic cumbersomeness. She felt overpowered by the divisions of jurisdictions within the government that were intricately intertwined. She explained her experience using a metaphor. She compared her experience to those of political candidates during election campaigns.

It is like making speeches at the corner of a neighborhood in the morning. You try to get your point across to voters. But voters are not interested. All they want is for you to shut up so that they can go about their own business without being shouted at. But you cannot stop, so you continue. So, at the beginning, you are talking to a number of tightly closed windows. By the third day, you will see some voters open just a little bit of the window to listen. Then, eventually some of them come out of their houses. It takes patience but it happens eventually. I think if everything were so great at the beginning, I think I would have doubted it. It is not realistic. We are making more realistic progress.

The women who participated in partnership programs, and especially those who were invited to committees, now took dual roles. On the one hand, they were volunteers in their NPOs and on the other hand, they were players on the inside of the government. Some claimed that the dual roles made it easier for them to understand government and politics.

Tomiko, a 46 year old volunteer for the NPO that provided activities to protect the natural environment was invited to the committee to implement a nature protection project and she was placed in charge of coordinating the NPOs that took part in the project. She was the liaison between the NPOs and the government. When explaining her experiences, she said:

I think as a government official when I talk to NPOs, and I think as a volunteer member of a NPO when I discuss stuff the government officials. I know how NPOs think because that is what I do all the time. But putting myself in other's shoe was eye-opening. I started to think about accountability, budget, and paperwork.

She continued:

When NPOs have ideas, we tend to want things right then. When the government does not respond quickly, we think that they do not care about ordinary people. It never occurs to us that the government has to be fair, produce some sort of results, has a limited budget, and records everything for future reference. That NPOs do not think about these things became clearer to me since now I had to represent the government as well. I think it was good because I was like that too. I got to know that it is not as easy as we all wish.

Other women made similar comments.

*Being a go-between was not easy, but it revealed how the government works.
(Aiko, 50 years old)*

Only after I thought from their perspective, did I understand the difficulty that government officials face everyday. (Mayuko, 50 years old)

I realized that they (government officials) were doing their best. They were doing the best they could in a complicate organization. (Haruko, 53 years old)

You cannot expect everything all at once. We have to think from the other's perspective. They are not doing bad, are they? It is not like they are free individuals. They have rules that they have to follow. (Sachie, 48 years old)

Through informal networks with other NPOs, their information and knowledge on governments was exchanged across issue and geographical areas. Without these exchanges of knowledge, interaction between government officials and NPO members may have confined to focus exclusively on particular projects, groups or issues. Yet by communicating with other NPOs, learning from each other's experiences and building trust among peer NPOs, thus interaction began to have a more public meaning. In other words, without horizontal networks and trusting relationships between NPOs, they would become inward-looking actors. By sharing their experiences, female NPO members began to feel that government is responsive to the collective needs of society.

Thus, participants in NPO-Government partnership projects began to view politics as a process through which different actors in society come together to achieve common public goods instead of as a power struggle among political parties pursuing their own self-interest. Moreover, they perceive what they do is part of the political process. Slow but steady progress in the relationship with government officials made their experience more realistic, and helped them to understand better the attitudes and behaviors of government officials.

The results from JGSS (2003) in Chapter 3 showed that female member of civil society organizations who have face-to-face interaction with government officials did not necessarily have higher external political efficacy than non-members. This was puzzling.

Interviews with the participants revealed dynamic effect of partnership projects.

Partnership projects provide the organizational members not only with vertical linkage to government officials but also with horizontal linkage to other NPOs. This horizontal connection to other NPOs turned out to be very important. By sharing information on partnerships and how government works, the women seemed to be able to see what they did as having larger effect, namely politics. Moreover, by working as go-betweens for NPOs and government, they were able to see from a government's perspective. By doing so, it prevents them from perceiving government as almighty, which may lead to constant disappointment and belief that they cannot influence politics.

Personalized Relationship

The other influence on the views of the partnership participants is the personal relationships that they built up with government officials. One indicator of such relationships is that many partnership participants referred to particular government officials by name (e.g. *Yamada-san*) when discussing their partnership experiences or view on politics/government. Indeed, out of 25 partnership participants, nine of them (36.0 %) referred to particular officials by name at least once during the interview. On the other hand, only two out of 37 (5.4%) of the non-partnership participants did so. Thus, the participants in partnership projects would seem to have developed close relationships with government officials and these close relationships seem to have been encouraged by the actions of the government officials, both formal and informal.

The interviews revealed that organizational life involves numerous events where the participants interact with one other, such as bazaars, concerts, workshops, social gatherings, and community athletic events, to name a few. The frequency of events puts additional strain on the members, especially when coupled with the smallness of their organizations. According to the interviewees, it was not uncommon for the government officials they worked with to show up for such events and offer help. According to Akiko, these events were crucial to establishing a sense of community among the service users (the elderly) and the community residents. The government officials they worked with in carrying out the environmental education workshop for the elderly were not obliged to help them in any of the events, but some stopped by regardless. At one of the events where they cooked and handed out rice cakes for the autumn moon festival, the officials joined and cooked rice cakes along with the volunteers. Akiko said:

We were impressed because they did not have to do it. When we saw their faces with powders from making the rice cakes, it was something. We laughed at each other. After the events we wrapped some cakes for their family.

She continued:

That is when I really thought we were ‘partners.’ It made it easier to talk with them, casually not as business partners afterwards. I do not know if they did that intentionally to encourage trust on our side, but it helped.

Several others, such as Miki, had similar experiences. The city government had outsourced a task to her organization in 2004. The task involved running the NPO center in the city hall and holding workshops for NPOs and aspiring NPO leaders. The

partnerships based on contracts that could be renewed every two years. Three years after the first partnership project began, her organization established a community café where neighbors and young people could drop by and network with each other. The café was meant to diversify revenue sources for the organization. As discussed in the previous chapter, the organization had previously generated almost 90% of its revenue from the outsourced government projects. Afraid, however, that the sudden termination of outsourced projects could threaten the survival of the organization, Miki and her fellow members decided to open a community café. The government officials involved with the organization showed up at the café on the opening day to celebrate the new departure for the organization. They congratulated Miki and the members and shared in the celebration. Miki stated:

We meet almost everyday since our office is in the city hall so they can just stop by to say hi. So I think we have a friendlier and closer relationship than many people might have in their partnership relationship. But even with that, when I invited them to the opening day, I did not really think they would show up. It was kind of social etiquette and I thought they would take it as such too. So when they actually showed up, it was a surprise. I mean it was a good surprise.

She continued:

I began to think that we were equals. Maybe it was an intentional effort on their part, but it created an atmosphere in which we found it much easier to have frank talks.

While I was interviewing her, two government officials came by her office to ask if she needed any help in launching a portal website which her NPO wanted to establish. Since

one of them had computer knowledge, it would be no problem, they said. After they left, Miki said:

See, they are nice. I think some are still skeptical about governments but we are talking about people, not “government.” Just as you are willing to help others, they are too.

The importance of personal relationships in building trust is not unique to the Japanese culture. During the fieldwork, however, I was constantly reminded of the relationship between the two. This lesson was established on the first day of the fieldwork when those whom I initially contacted indicated a preference for getting to know me as a person before even starting the interview. While I was recruiting participants for the study, several organizations asked me to submit my resume, including a picture, before deciding to participate in the study. Within the information packet, I was asked to reveal my gender and age. Some asked me to visit their office to discuss the study first before they would agree to participate. Once they had agreed to participate in the study, they spent the rest of the time attempting to “figure me out.”

Almost ceremonially, most of the interviews followed the same pattern. When I arrived at their offices, a cup of tea in a nice teacup was served and I was asked to help myself. Every meeting began with an exchange of business cards. They carefully examined my business card (*meishi*) and made a comment or two about it, such as how my name was spelled,⁷¹ or how they liked the layout of the card. From there, they began

⁷¹ My name spelled in the Chinese letters means “seven stars.” Most native Japanese who first look at my name make some comments on it due to its rarity.

to spend time asking about who I was. These questions were personal; such as the reasons why I went to Montana, what I think of the difference and similarities between the US and Japan, and my family background. I answered these questions because I did not want to appear rude and did not want to miss the opportunity to establish a rapport. Once the rapport was established, they asked me to begin the study. After the interviews, on several occasions, I was asked to stay to eat lunch with them. Some sent me off with homemade gifts. Some asked my mother's preferences and made sure that I had something for my mother as well. In several instances, I noticed during interviews that on the opposite side of the room there were other guests who were going through the same ceremonial encounters. I shared the lunch table with these other guests on least two other occasions. There was a reporter for a local newspaper and a prospective member present. They were strangers to the organization just as I; yet at the lunch tables, we mingled and conversed as one big group. At the earlier interviews, I did not attach much significance to this pattern of events. However, as I continued conducting interviews and encountered similar patterns, I began to question their importance and meaning.

It appeared as if participants were screening people. Through this process, they would determine for whom they would let their guard down and speak freely, and whom they should keep at a distance. By ceremonially exchanging the business cards (*meishi*) and a cup of tea, the screening would begin. The personal questions they asked helped them to assess me as a person. My being a woman, having grown up in Osaka, being interested in the NPO sector and voluntarism seemed to put them at ease and decide I

could be trusted, and they could speak freely to me. Moreover, in the course of the interviews, they had to share their personal experiences and their feelings (both positive and negative) with me. As stated earlier, most of the participants were frustrated with their situations before joining the organizations. Those who expressed most emotions and shared personal experiences were the one who contacted me later to invite me to have coffee or dinner with them to just chat.

Their invitations were intended to befriend me, not to participate in further interviews. Miki, a 28-year old who with other youngsters founded a NPO that provided information and consultation services to other NPOs, and those who were to organize new NPOs took a personal interest in me. She invited me over to have a drink with her and her friend at her house. She said:

This must be a coincidence that we met. We should not waste this opportunity. I have another girl I want you to meet.

During the course of the conversation at the dinner table, she emphasized that “we” shared characteristics and even possibly fate.

We are the same generation, aren't we? I think we got hit hardest from what is going on. Older women certainly had a tough time because gender stereotypes did not allow them much. But I think at least they had some place where they could feel they belonged to. We are sort of freed, yet still not completely recognized. We are not completely admitted into the society as equal players. We say we are, but we are not. So I feel we do not belong anywhere.

She was in her late 20s and I was in my early 30s, thus we were a member of the generation of women who were considered to be breaking the gender role expectations by

not getting married nor having children. Neither of us was stably employed as she was the founder of the NPO whose revenues relied upon her organizational skill and I was a graduate student. Being a founder/leader of a Japanese citizen-led NPO does not secure a big paycheck. She confessed that her paycheck barely paid her bills. We were in a similar situation despite the fact that we were both educated. We both felt undeniable pressure from ourselves to be successful, yet found it difficult to find opportunities to do so in current society. She was apparently frustrated with the current situation and seemed to be glad to discuss the matter with me. As she put it, she wanted us to “speak one’s mind to each other.” The conversation touched upon most of what women in their late 20s and early 30s talk about – work, family, and relationships. Yet the fundamental theme of the conversation was her frustration with the gendered society in Japan. She claimed that her dream was to be “a 50 year old man,” so that everybody would take her seriously.

Her friend who joined us for the dinner was a 24-year old freelance web designer. She was working as a freelance web designer because she had had to quit her previous job for reasons of severe clinical depression. She explained:

I don’t know exactly what it was. I guess it was very different than what I expected. I went to school for that, I was a good student and I had skills that were required. Yet I did not feel I was treated well from the company. When I was younger, I was a tough kid. I decided what I wanted and I usually got it because I never quit working at it. But after graduating and becoming a worker for the company, I began to doubt myself. From there, it was a spiral to the bottom. I felt everything I did was meaningless.

Miki lived in a very old Japanese style house. We cooked together in her tiny kitchen, and sat on the wooden floor together. Throughout the night, they (Miki and her friend) volunteered their personal stories, and they suggested toasting to “us.” After the night of eating and drinking, I was invited back to Miki’s NPO. This time I was considered an insider. Instead of being served a cup of tea, I offered my help. I organized things around the office and helped with the paperwork. They offered me a corner desk where I could situate myself and spread out my stuff while I observed what was going on. I was no longer a guest.

This transition from being a guest to becoming something of an insider took less time in some cases. As discussed earlier, the NPOs I visited were small and constantly lacking the resources and personnel to carry out their tasks. Everybody was contributing to the organization to their fullest capacity. It was not unusual to the interviews not to being at the scheduled time because the phones kept ringing or visitors kept stopping by. I often volunteered to help, which they willingly accepted. I sat and took phone calls, cleaned offices, and even did the dishes and talked with other guests to entertain them while the interview participants were busy with other organizational tasks. When I began helping them, I ceased to be a guest. I was an insider. As if to indicate they felt comfortable around me, most of the participants changed their demeanor and spoke in casual language with the Osakan accent.

I did my best not to ruin the rapport, and was afraid of not offering help. Later it occurred to me that from the perspective of the participant, the ceremonial sequence of

the events was necessary for them to bring me, a person from outside, to the inside. For me to remain a complete outsider would make it very uncomfortable for them to be open and honest when discussing rather personal matters such as reasons for joining the organization and their view on politics and government.

This is the type of personal relationships that the women established with government officials. The personalized relationships seemed to help break the perception of the government as a monstrous, hierarchical, and impersonal institution. The women in the NPOs had not had much exposure to such institutions and felt intimidated by them. They remained in private, isolated spheres as wives and mothers. When they entered the workforce, many of them physically or emotionally withdrew from the impersonal nature of the non-private relationship.

The participants were fond of their NPOs not only because they provided a place where their inputs were recognized and appreciated, but also because they allowed close personal relationships between the tight knit members. The style of relationship and communications are based on the types of communication styles they were used in their private spheres. When the participants did not have any personalized relationships with government officials, the government remained a hierarchical, remote, and impersonal institution, which they did not know how to trust. Having a more familiar relationship with them, the women could feel government and politics were closer to home.

Thinking about running for Office?

The partnership participants developed their subjective identity as political actors through partnership projects. They were able to connect their activities to the role of government and to perceive politics in a more positive way: that politics is the process through which different actors in society come together to achieve common public goods, instead of as a power struggle by political parties to pursue their own self-interest. Moreover, they believed that although it may take time, actively working at collaboration would produce results. This is significantly different perspective from the one non-partnership participants had on the political process. They viewed politics to be remote and divisive. The lack of exposure to the experiences of doing business with government officials seemed to maintain their negative feeling toward government or politics. To assess the behavioral consequences of their attitudinal differences, I asked questions about their intent to run for office and whether or not they had been approached to do so.

A stark contrast between non-partnership and partnership participants emerged. As Figure 7.2 shows, more than half of the women with partnership experience admitted that they had thought about running for office compared to only 13.5% of those without partnership experience. Figure 7.3 shows the percentage of the women who were actually asked to run for office. Almost one out of three women with partnership experience were approached by others to run for office compared to only 5.4% of the women without partnership experience (2 out of 37).

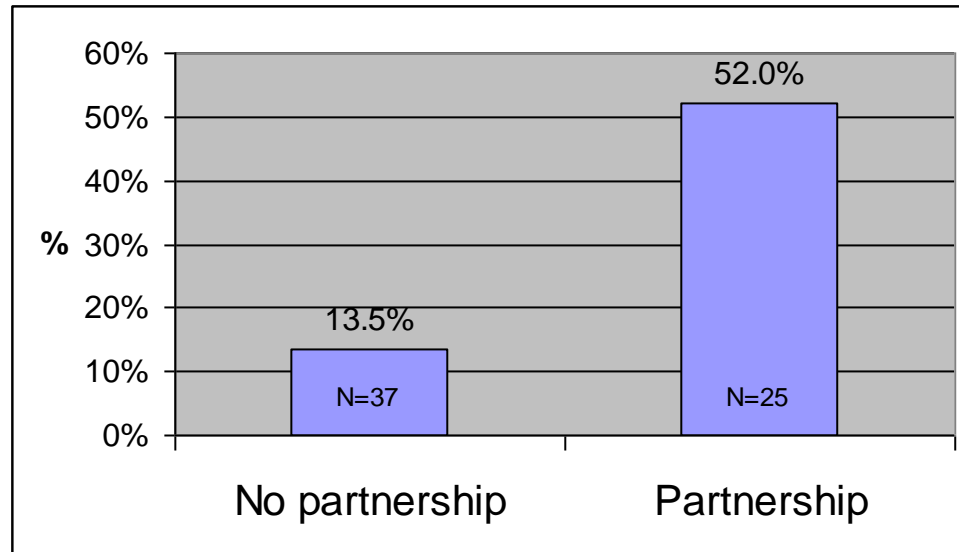


Figure 7.2: Have Thought about Running for Office

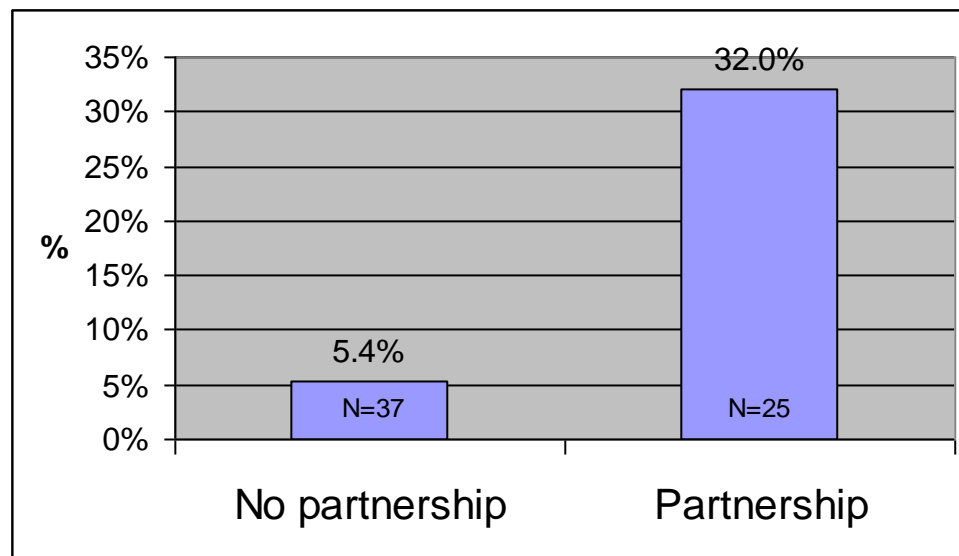


Figure 7.3: Asked to Run for Office

This is important given that the two groups were not different in their reasons for joining an NPO in the first place. They were certainly not seeking a political outlet for their frustrations. Rather, they were either bored of being a housewife or frustrated with their employed situation. They were ordinary people. This contradicts the expectations articulated in current literature. For example, it holds that those who become politically ambitious are more educated and hold powerful occupations (Conway, Steuarnagle and Ahern 1997; Darcy, Welch and Clark 1994). Among women, singles are more likely to consider running for office since they have more free time available (Lawless and Fox 2005). However, in my sample, high school educated women were more likely to consider running for office (39.4%) than college educated ones (17.2%) (See Figure 7.4). Married ones (33.3%) were also more likely to consider candidacy than single women (20.0%) (See Figure 7.5). These were ordinary women who happened to have joined the NPOs to give meaning to their lives.

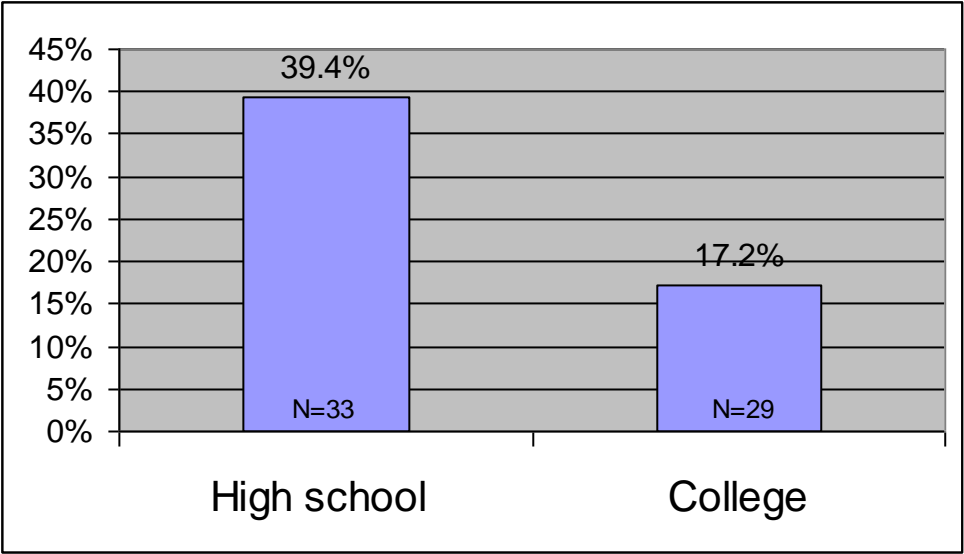


Figure 7.4: % of Those Thought about Running for Office by Education

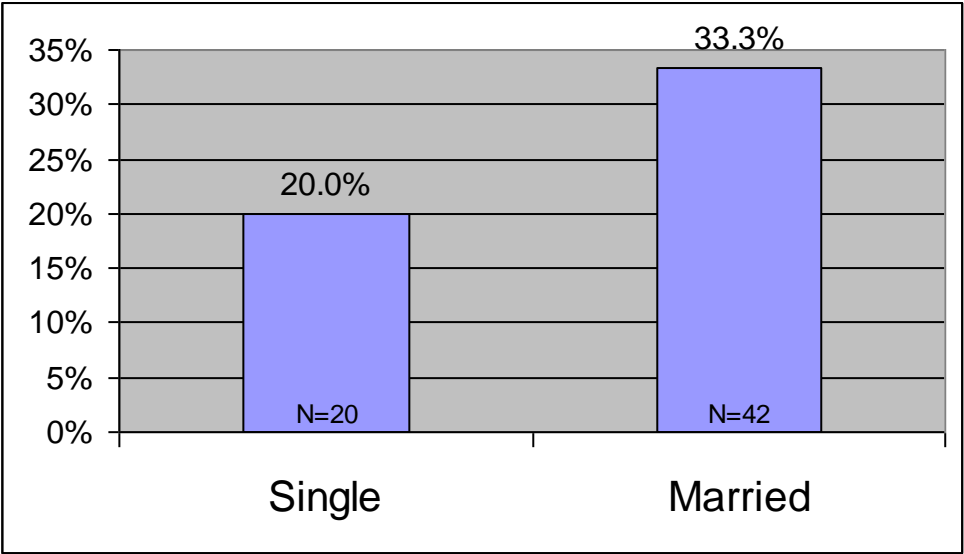


Figure 7.5: % of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Marital Status

I did not find any difference in their view of politics/government responsiveness and their own political capability among organizations with different styles (service-delivery, advocacy, mixed), and this finding extended to their having thought about running for office. The women who belonged to service delivery NPOs were about as likely to have thought about running for office as those who belonged to advocacy NPOs (See Figure 7.6). This similarity is probably explained by what happens during their experience of the partnership project itself. Even though service delivery NPOs only seek to deliver services to targeted populations in a community, once in partnership programs, they were as likely as women in advocacy organizations to establish two-way communication with government officials.⁷² The government officials were as well reliant as on the knowledge of both types of NPO members.

⁷² Among four women who belonged to service delivery NPOs that took part in partnership projects, three had two-way contacts with the government officials (75.0%). Among 21 women from advocacy or mixed NPOs that took part in partnership projects, 20 of them had two-way contacts (95.2%).

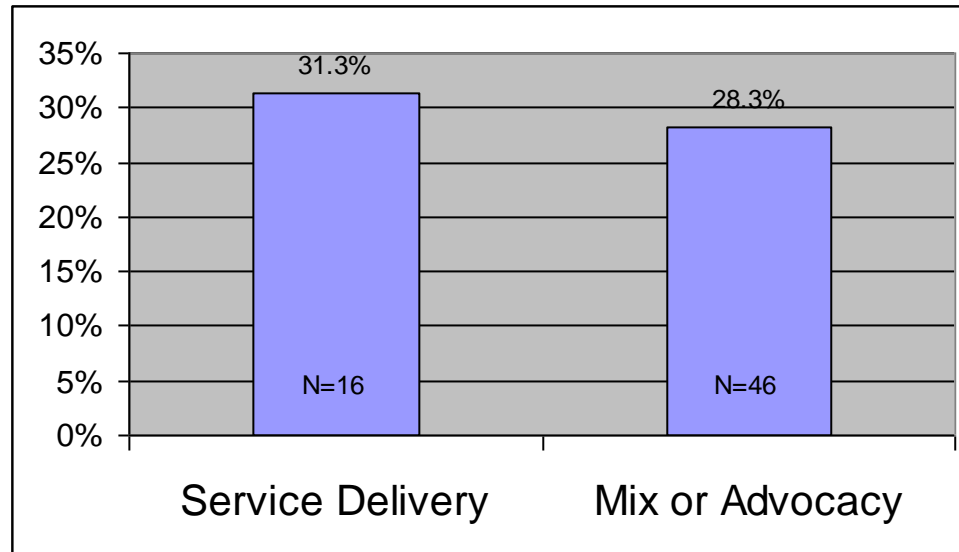


Figure 7.6: % of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Organizational Style

To illustrate the pattern of contacts, I divided all interviewees into three groups: those without contact with government officials, those with one-way contact, and those with two-way contact. Figure 7.7 shows the percentage of those who thought about running for office by patterns of contacts. More than half of those who had two-way contact thought about running for office while only 3.7% of those who had no contact did so. Similarly, Figure 7.8 shows the percentage of those who were asked to run for office by their pattern of contact with government officials. More than one out of three with two-way contact were asked to run for office compared to only 3.7% of those who had no contact. Moreover, as Figure 7.1 shows, the members of partnership NPOs were much

more likely to have two-way contacts than those of non-partnership NPOs. These numbers reinforces that the women in partnership NPOs were more likely to be asked to run for office and they were also more likely to consider running partly because of two-way contacts they established through partnership projects (see also Figure 7.2 and 7.3).

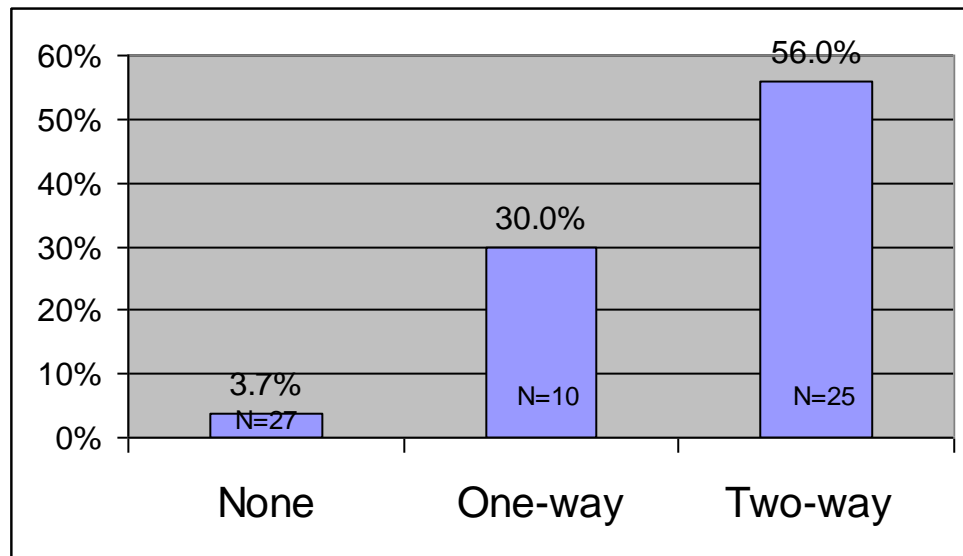


Figure 7.7: % of Those Who Thought about Running for Office by Contact Pattern

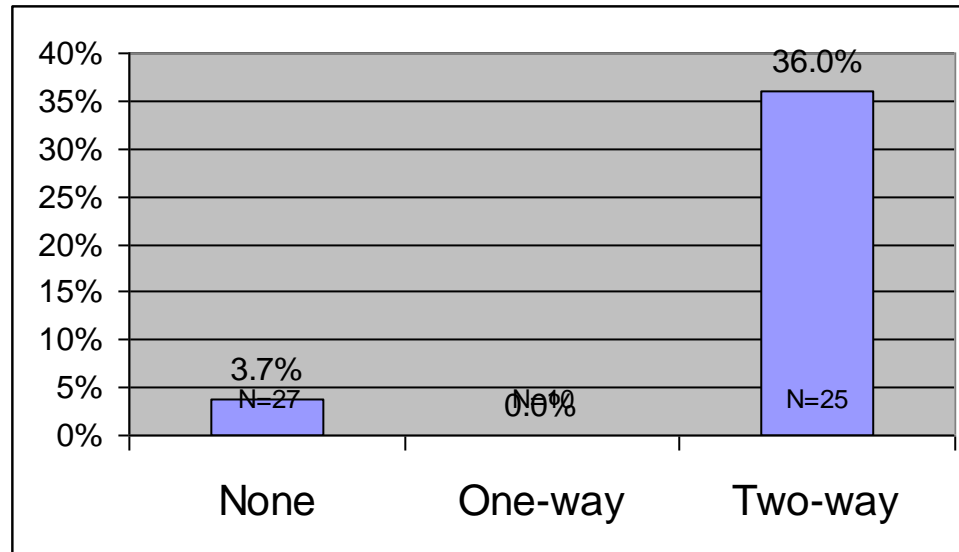


Figure 7.8: % of Those Who Were Asked to Run for Office by Contact Pattern

NPOs provided a place where women could devote their time and energy to causes they valued and could earn recognition for their efforts. However, experiences in the organization made a difference to their attitudes toward politics and government. while the activity sphere of the non-partnership NPOs remained familiar and narrow (particular issues and their neighborhood), the members of partnership NPOs were drawn into much larger sphere where they were called up to provide expert advice to government officials and to other NPOs. Members of the partnership NPOs thus came to see themselves as on equal footing with government officials. At first, their relationships to the government officials were not always positive, but, they experienced slow progress

toward equality. For them, politics was no longer seen as a partisan struggle for self interest. Instead, it was a coordinated effort to produce public goods for the people in the community. They were the representatives of their community, not of their particular NPO, housewife or arbeit identity. When asked about if she had thought about running for office, Haruko said:

You know I did, and I still do. I was just a housewife ten years ago. I am now referred to as an expert on user friendly facilities. I was overwhelmed on the committee when I was first invited. But now I find myself enjoying it. I love that I learn new things every time I sit on the committee. And I can see how the information is related to our daily lives. When the opportunity rises, I will give it serious consideration. If I can represent civic participants, that would be great.

Keiko was asked by all the political parties to consider running for them in the upcoming election. Asked if she would accept their endorsement, she said:

I am not sure. I think I will probably run, but I will go independent. There are overwhelming offers. I never thought about something like this when I was younger. If I can help people in the community and if they want me to represent them, I will do it. I think the time is right for a lot of us like me who are civic participants (shimin-ha) to run.

Miki was the youngest of all to consider candidacy. In responding to my question, she said:

Our goal is to build society that is strong in civic participation and where residents strongly cooperate with the government. I have learned a lot in last four years. We can and should make a difference and if that means running for office and making a difference from within, I probably should do it.

Akiko responded to the same question:

I do not want the momentum to die. We established a good relationship. I want to keep this cooperation between NPO and government to keep going. To do that, we

may need somebody from NPOs in council. I think that is why many people ask me to run.

How these women see themselves as political actors and see themselves as representing differ from what LeBlanc (1999) found among the *Netto*, the political wing of the Livelihood Cooperative in her study. Depending almost exclusively on housewives for its members and support, the women in the *Netto* clung to their identity as housewives. They were to represent the interests of the ordinary people, which they thought housewives understood best (LeBlanc 1999). However, since they relied heavily on their housewife identity, instead of their identity evolving to become more generalist in the process of politicization, those who were not able to commit themselves to being fulltime housewives dropped out. In this way, the *Netto* movement seemed to perpetuate women's second class status in society, with all other identities being subservient to that of housewife.

The women in my sample, on the other hand, saw themselves as representing members of their community. Even though there were more housewives than non-housewives who considered running for office, they did not see it as their opportunity to represent housewives. Instead, they perceived themselves as a bridge between government and civil society, hence representing the voice of the whole community participants, and not just housewives.

Conclusion

In this chapter I examined the evidence that women in partnership NPOs and women in non-partnership NPOs had qualitatively different experiences in their organizations. In addition to face-to-face interaction with government officials, there were several factors that help raise women's political efficacies during partnership projects. The competitive selection process for partnership projects instilled confidence in them and their own confidence in their expert knowledge was further enhanced by their frequent two-way contacts with the government officials. Government reliance on their expert knowledge created the atmosphere that the NPOs and the governments were indeed equal. Moreover, the partnership experiences expanded women's horizons. They were invited to talk to other NPOs and were invited to sit on government committees where they liaised between governments and NPOs. Moreover, the interactions with the government officials often took on a personal nature. Women now felt government was closer to home, and they perceived their experience as political in nature. For them, politics was no longer only the pursuits of self-interest, instead; it was collaboration to achieve public goods.

On the other hand, women in no-partnership NPOs did not interact with government officials. When they did have contact, it took the form of a directive from government to NPO. Government remained remote and politics remained as divisive and to be avoided to protect the inclusive nature of the organization that provided them a sense of belongingness. They did not want to risk the safe haven they found.

Their different experiences influenced women's willingness to take part in conventional politics. The women in the partnership NPOs found themselves as go-betweens linking citizens and government and they even contemplated running for office themselves. Moreover, they were more likely to be asked to do so. The women in non-partnership NPOs, by contrast, were much less likely to consider running for office and were rarely asked to do so by others. In short, NPO experiences influenced women's political attitudes and when exposed to two-way interactions with government officials, they became more politically efficacious, efficacious enough to consider running for office. Thus, my finding suggest that certain types of women do not self-select into forming organizations and running for political office. Rather, it appears to be experiences women have as organizational members that turns them into political actors.

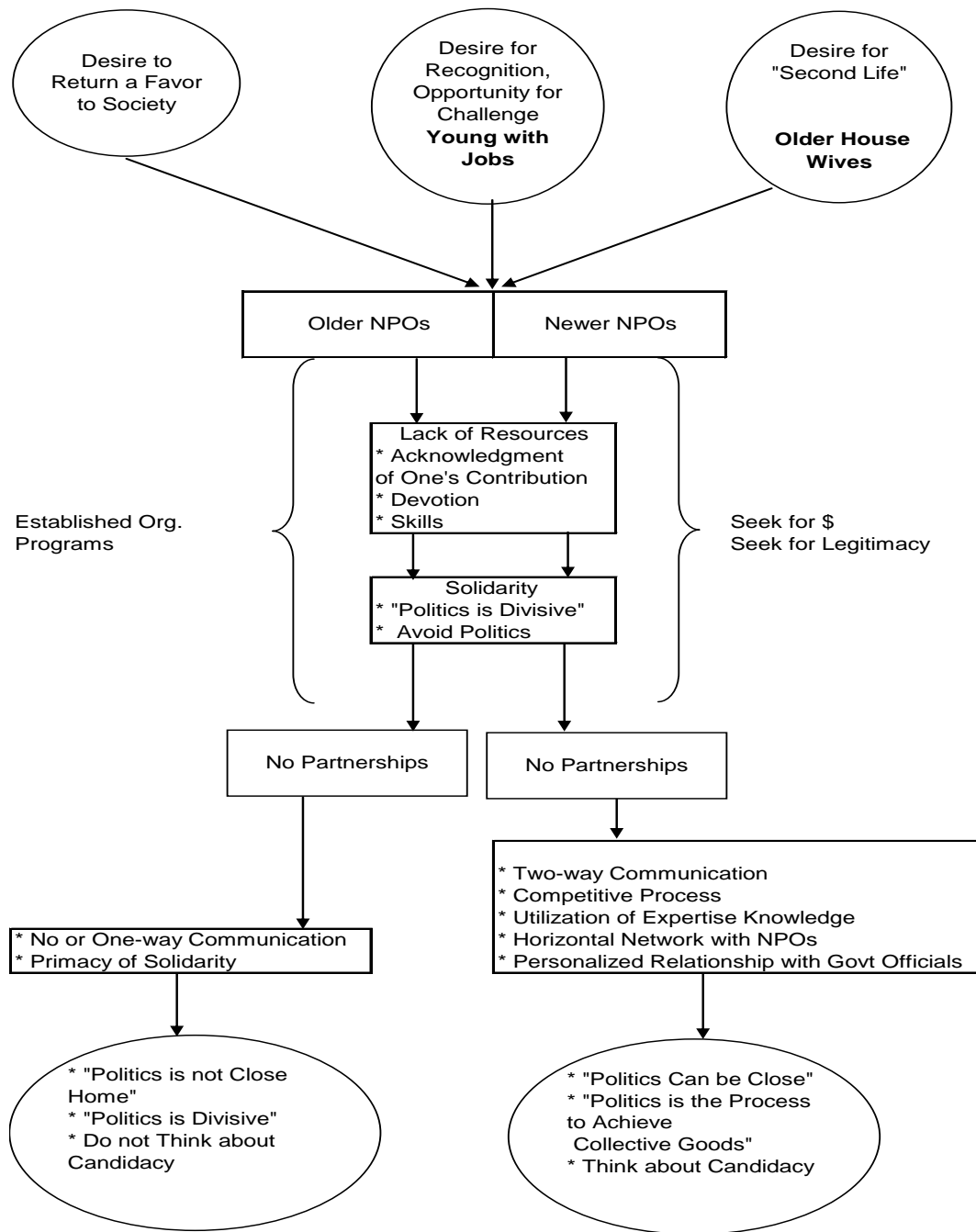


Figure 7.9: Conditional Effect of Civil Society Organizational Participation on Women's Political Efficacy

Chapter 8

Conclusion

Why are more women not involved in politics? Why are Japanese women not active in the conventional political sphere, even though they are quite visible and active in the unconventional political sphere? I began my research with the goal of shedding empirical light on these questions. Research thus far on the first question provides three strands of answers. First, women are invisible within politics because they are deprived of resources that are necessary for participation in politics (structural explanation). Second, women are absent in politics because that would violate cultural gender expectations (cultural explanation). Finally, women are less likely to take part in politics because political parties as gatekeepers are reluctant to recruit them (political opportunity explanation). All these explanations assume that progressive changes in social-structures, cultural expectations, and political opportunities will automatically make women perceive themselves as political actors. Then once they are politically efficacious they would respond to political parties' recruitment. I argued there is a missing step in this mechanism. That missing component is where women become politically efficacious.

Among the possible factors that may affect women's political efficacy, I focused on the role of civil society organizations because it posed an empirical puzzle. The current literature holds that civil society organizational participation increases political efficacy of the participants. Consequently, civil society organizational participants are expected to participate in conventional politics as well. Contrary to the expectation, Japanese women remain in the civil society sphere. Even though they volunteer and belong to civil society organizations, LeBlanc (1999), who studied them in the early 1990s found that they were distasteful of politics. They did not consider themselves as political actors.

In refining the theory of civil society organizational participation and political participation and in explaining the empirical gap in the case of Japanese women. I introduce what seemingly is a missing factor in the current literature. That is face-to-face interactions and cooperation with government officials through partnership between civil society organizations and government. I argue using Japan as a case that when civil society organizations do not have any relationships with government, members of such organizations can consider their activities as independent of government, and possibly their activities as solutions to social ills while perceiving government and politics to be useless or remote. In this case, the participation in civil society organizations are not expected to help the members perceive themselves as political actors and that they cannot influence politics possibly through civil society organizational activities because their activity sphere and the government sphere are completely severed. Solutions do not lie in

politics or in government; instead they lie in community activities. On the other hand, when civil society organizations cooperate and work with governments to pursue common goals, positive effects on the members with regard to their belief in themselves as political actors are expected to occur. I argue that by working with government officials, they will develop face-to-face interactions with these officials. Face-to-face interactions will help generate trust between members of civil society organizations and government officials. The mutual trust in turn helps the members believe in the responsiveness of political institutions or politics, which are handled by government officials.

I also argue that when citizens work with government, it can change citizens' perception that their relationship with government. Moreover, through face-to-face interaction with government officials, I argue that citizens can personalize and contextualize what used to be an abstract, distant concept: politics. Finally, by working closely with government officials, individuals can learn about how the system really works and believe in their capability of understanding politics.

Summary of Findings

I tested the hypothesis that the effect of civil society organizational participation on Japanese female members' political attitudes is conditional upon absence and presence of face-to-face interaction between the members and government officials using two

methods: one quantitative and the other qualitative. In Chapter 3, I used the Japan General Social Survey of 2003 to quantitatively test the hypothesis. Using multivariate ordered logit models, I show that female civil society organizational members who do not have any face-to-face interaction with government officials do not have higher internal political efficacy than non-members. On the other hand, members with face-to-face interaction with government officials do. This provided support to one of my hypotheses. However, as for external political efficacy, the expectation did not hold. This was a puzzle. In order to shed light on this puzzle and to address possible selection bias and investigate potentially dynamic process, I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with 62 women who belonged to 41 different Non-Profit Organizations in Osaka, Japan between April and August 2008. The results from the interviews were presented in Chapter 5, 6 and 7.⁷³

In Chapter 5, I discussed that the women in the sample did not join their organization because they were interested in pursuing political goals. Rather, they were bored with life as a housewife or they were frustrated with the lack of professional opportunities available to Japanese women. Since Japanese NPOs are very small and constantly lacking resources and personnel, once they joined the organizations, they were expected to fully devote themselves. This is where they found what they were missing. Now that their devotion was acknowledged and appreciated, they were afraid to jeopardize it by introducing what was seemingly divisive: politics.

⁷³ I discussed interview method in Chapter 4.

In Chapter 6, I presented evidence against another potential selection bias. Even though there was no selection bias that seemed to affect the participants' political attitudes when they originally joined the organizations, it could be that the politically efficacious women mobilized themselves and pursued partnership relationship with governments once they were members of the organizations. My interview data showed that it was not the case. The motivation behind the pursuit of partnership relationship with government was organizational maintenance. Relatively younger organizations were seeking ways to expand their support bases and monetary resources to stabilize their organizations. The members of the newer organizations found the partnership projects to be attractive since many of the partnership projects were accompanied by monetary compensation. Older organizations, on the other hand, had survived and had established programs that they specialized in. They did not see the need for new projects.

In Chapter 7, I illustrate the experiences of the women in partnership NPOs. I discussed the effects of the competitive selection process, solicitation of expertise knowledge by the government officials, the experience as go-between of NPOs and the governments, and personalized relationship with the government officials, on the women. The competitive process helped the women realize their capability and installed confidence in them. By being relied on by government officials for their supposed expertise knowledge, they began to see the government as more equal. Their experience with partnership projects expanded their networks to other organizations that were beyond their issue or geographical areas. Such exposure to other issues and geographical

areas increased the women's awareness of a larger problem, which they believed as the necessity of coordination between civil society and the government. They believed that the process of coordination would take a while but it was not impossible to achieve. For them, such process was "political." Politics was now perceived by them as a process in which different actors work together to produce public goods for the community. By working with both government officials and other NPO members in addressing larger issues, they came to believe that what they dealt with was politics and politics was something they could work at. Moreover, their perception of government and politics as something humane and close to home was helped by personalized relationships encouraged by the government officials during the partnership projects. It is an interesting finding. Partnership participation seems to influence women's political efficacy not only it provides them with opportunities to interact with government officials, but also it brings them interact and work with members of other NPOs across geographical and issue areas.

I also reported that when it comes to the members considering running for office, a stark contrast emerged between non-partnership and partnership participants. Partnership participants were much more likely to report that they have considered running for office and were actually asked to do so by others. On the other hand, non-partnership participants were much less likely to do so. Education or marital status did not seem to affect who to come to consider candidacy. Instead, the style of contact with the government officials seemed to hold the key.

Implications

As discussed earlier, the women's presence in the national legislature in Japan is very rare. As of 2005, only 9.4% of the lower house of the national parliament was women (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2008). This number was 9.2 % lower than the world average, which included 188 countries, democracies or otherwise (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2008). The difference was much higher when compared to other democracies. For example, 30 OECD countries excluding Japan had on average 16.4 % higher female representation than Japan. When we compare the number in Japan to Scandinavian countries, the number was even more astonishing. Scandinavian countries had on average 32 % higher women's representation than Japan.⁷⁴ Although it is a pessimistic picture, we have been witnessing positive trends in the recent years.

As Figure 8.1 shows, Japanese women were constantly under-represented in the national politics throughout the post WWII history. In the first election after female universal suffrage was enacted, women ran in great numbers and obtained 8.9% of the representation. However, since then, it took another 54 years for women to overcome a five-percent barrier. What is significant is that the female representation level increased in the late 1990s, and a general upward trend since then is observed.

⁷⁴ These numbers were calculated from the data by the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

A similar pattern exists for local assemblies (See Figure 8.2). In all different types of local assemblies (prefectural, city, special wards, and town/villages)⁷⁵, the percentage of seats held by women has been increasing starting from the late 1990s. For example, for about twenty years between 1976 and 1995, no more than a little over three percent of prefectural assembly seats were held by women; yet, it increased to 5.51% in 2000 and it reached to the historical high of 8.04% in 2007. Similarly, the female representation level was very low for city assemblies for a long time, but it broke the two-digit mark in 2000 and as of 2007, 11.80% of seats in city assemblies were held by women. A dramatic and rapid increase in women's representation is more apparent when we look at the change in two different time periods. While the female representation for prefectural assemblies increased only 1.90 percentage points between 1976 and 1995 (a 19-year period), a 4.90 percentage point increase was witnessed between 1995 and 2007 (a 12-year period). Similarly, while the percentage point increase between 1976 and 1995 for all the assemblies combined was 3.24, as much as a 6.09 percentage points increase was observed between 1995 and 2007.

⁷⁵ There are five local government bodies that have elected assemblies. These are prefectures, cities, special wards, and town and villages. Cities are further divided into 13 government-decreed large cities and others. I excluded the data on assemblies of 13 government-decreed large cities because it did not include data before 1990s.

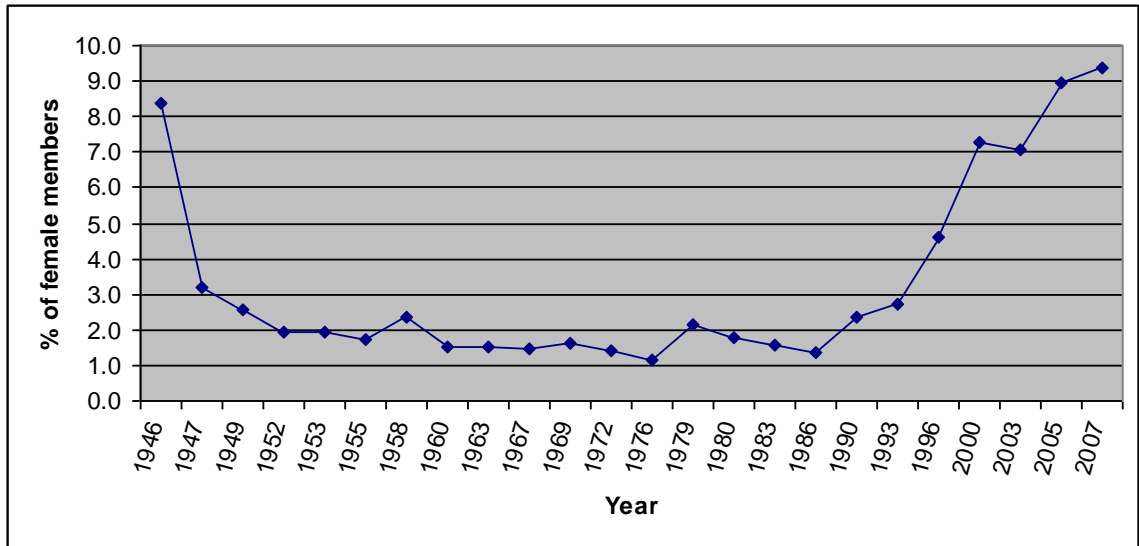


Figure 8.1: Women's Representation in the Lower House of the Diet, 1946-2007

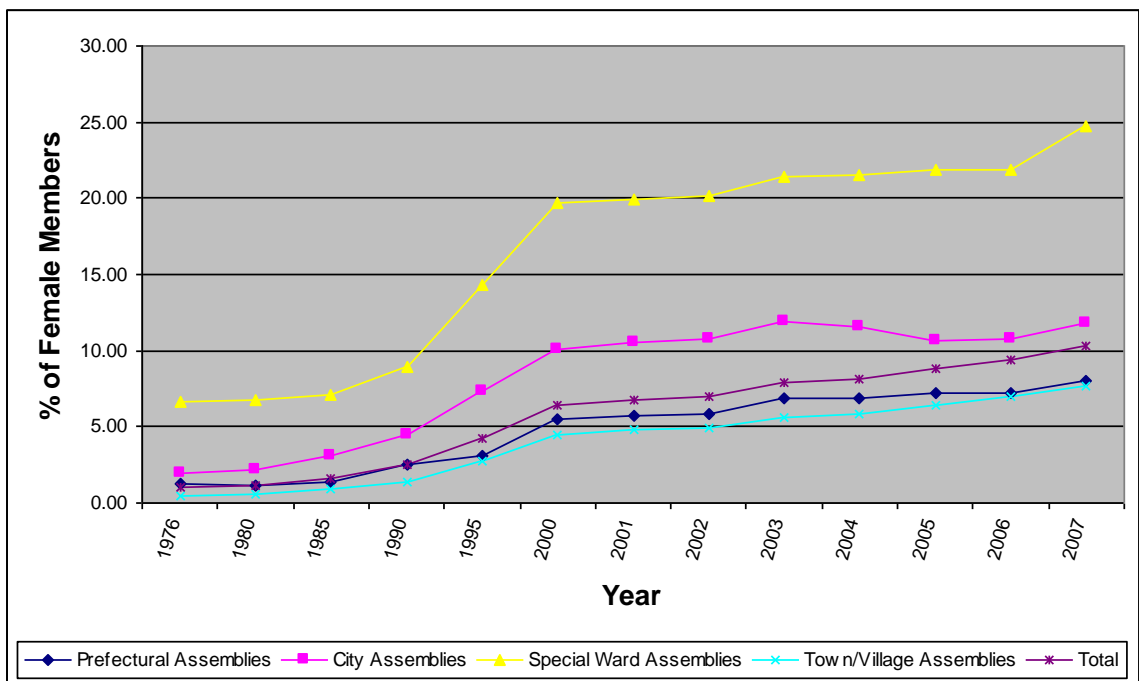


Figure 8.2: Women's Representation in the Local Assemblies, 1976-2007

While electoral reform for the lower house elections at the national level may explain in the increase in the women's representation at the national level, electoral reform cannot explain the increase in the women's representation in local assemblies starting around the same time (the late 1990s).⁷⁶ As shown in Figure 8.2, women's representation has increased in every level of local assembly. For example, it increased by 4.9 percentage points for prefectural assemblies, and for special ward assemblies, it increased as much as by 10.37 percentage points between 1995 and 2007. While the electoral reform took place for national offices, no such reform took place for local offices. Still today, SNTV is in place for local elections.

This may suggest that what I have witnessed in Osaka has been happening all around Japan. The relationship between NPOs and government has changed since the late 1990s. Recently, NPO-Government partnerships are becoming much more common. Women in NPOs all around Japan maybe becoming more politically efficacious through partnership projects with the governments and not only consider candidacy, they may

⁷⁶ In the Multi-Member-Single-Non-Transferable-Vote system, each voter is given only one vote while there are multiple candidates running in each district. Since only one person is elected from a district, nomination of multiple candidates leads to competition between candidates from the same party. In Japan, the intraparty competition made it necessary for candidates to cultivate personal votes, and their solution was *koenkai*. *Koenkai* is a candidate's geographically based support organization. To solidify support from local constituents, *koenkai*'s activities are very extensive. It offers opportunities for local (potential) supporters to personally get to know the candidates through leisure activities such as family outings, and drinking parties (Bouissou 1999). After nomination of candidates, campaigns tend to become decentralized since political parties find it difficult to justify their differential support for different candidates who are running in the same districts. In other words, candidates are almost solely responsible for funding their campaigns (Fukui and Fukai 2000). Therefore, it can be argued that political parties were hesitant to nominate female candidates due to intense competition. Moreover, due to intra-party competition and subsequent need for vote calculation, only large parties nominated multiple candidates. Indeed, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) was the only party that constantly nominated multiple candidates across districts (Gaunder 2007), and support based of LDP was conservative (rural and agricultural sector) (Flanagan et al. 19991, Kabashima et al. 2000). These factors make it SNTV non-conduciveto women's candidacy in Japan.

have actually taken part in the process. I am not saying this is what happened, but overlapping timing of the incidents and my findings from the fieldwork suggests that it is a possibility.

Limitations/ Areas of Future Research

Although I suggest a system level implication, my study cannot provide evidence for that. To investigate such connection, we need to conduct in-depth interviews with women who recently ran for office. Without such studies, the implication I stated remains suggestive. Moreover, I was interested in how women's experiences in the organizations affect their views of politics and how they perceive themselves as political actors. The best way to investigate the process would have been long-term participant observations. Ideally, a researcher would join a small number of organizations and follow new female members before, during and after the partnership projects. However, due to limited resources and time, I had to conduct cross-sectional interviews in which the interviewees were asked about their experiences.

Although the findings suggest that participation in partnership projects leads them to have not only face-to-face interaction with government officials but also with members of other NPOs and this combination is important for women's external political efficacy, we have to be cautious to make this claim. It is because most of the partnership participants in the study were invited to other NPOs and developed horizontal networks

after partnership projects. It lacks a variation. To confirm this point, testing using different dataset is necessary.

Lastly, although not least importantly, my study was conducted in Osaka, where NPO-Government partnerships are relatively strong. Would I find the similar results if I conduct similar studies in areas where NPO-Government partnerships exist but rare or in more rural areas? This remains to be unanswered, hence limiting generalizability of my study.

Conclusion

With these limitations, however, I believe that my study contributes to the accumulation of knowledge on Japanese politics, women and politics, and civil society participation. The literature on Japanese politics rarely discusses women. When women are the focus point, their activity sphere is limited to civil society. There seems to be a compartmentalization of political activity sphere by gender in the literature on Japanese politics (Takeda 2006). On the one hand, men participate in electoral politics and deal with government. On the other hand, women participate in civil society by volunteering and joining organizations. I believe that this approach further perpetuates the compartmentalization. Instead of looking at only one at a time, I looked at the possible connection between the two spheres of activities. By doing so, I believed I shed new light on Japanese women as political actors. Many of them are disconnected from electoral

political sphere; however, when given opportunities, they respond and become perceive themselves as political actors.

As discussed earlier, the current literature on women and politics tend to assume that women become politically efficacious along with progressive changes in society. By eliminating this assumption and investigating how and when women become politically efficacious, I believe this dissertation contributes to the understanding of women's representation. Moreover, while the literature on civil society organizational participation offers unclear mechanism through which the participants become political efficacious, my study introduced a key factor, specifying the mechanism to help understand the phenomenon. Empirically, although it has been over ten years since the NPO Law passed in 1998, analytical study on the effect of such law on the members of NPOs has not been done. My study sheds new light on the future of the Japanese women and democracy of the country.

Appendix

Demographic Information of the Participants

	Non Partnership Participants	Partnership Participants
<i>n</i>	37	25
Age (mean)	43.34	49.84
Age (range)	26-64	22-71
Education		
High school	20 (54.1%)	13 (52.0%)
College or more	17 (46.0%)	12 (48.0%)
Marital Status		
Single	14 (37.8%)	6 (24.0%)
Married	23 (62.2%)	19 (76.0%)
Employment Status		
Not Employed	14 (37.8%)	13 (52.0%)
Employed	23 (62.2%)	12 (48.0%)

References

- Abramson, Paul R; John H. Aldrich and David Rohde. 1987. "Progressive Ambition among United States Senators: 1972-1988." *Journal of Politics* 49(1):3-35.
- Alford, John J. and John R. Hibbing. 1981. "Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House." *Journal of Politics* 43(4):1042-1061.
- Alvarez, Sonia E. 1990. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movement in Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Amenomori, Takayoshi. 1997. "Japan." In Lester M. Salamon and Helmut K. Anheier, eds., *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*, New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.
- Andersen, Kristi. 1975. "Working Women and Political Participation, 1952-1972." *American Journal of Political Science* 14 (3):439- 453.
- Anheier, Heelmut K. and Wolfgang Seibel, eds. 1990. *The Third Sector: Comparative Studies of Nonprofit Organizations*. New York: de Gruyter.
- Auger, Deborah A. 2003. "The Government-Nonprofit Relationship Now." In Stephen P. Osborne, ed., *The Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector in Japan: The Challenge of Change*, London: Routledge.
- Balch, George I. 1974. "Multiple Indicators in Survey Research: The Concept 'Sense of Political Efficacy.'" *Political Methodology* 1:1-43.
- Bardes, Barbara A. and Robert W. Oldendick. 2003. *Public Opinion: Measuring the American Mind*, 2nd ed. Belmont, CA: Thomson Wadsworth.
- Baumgartner, Frank R. and Jack L. Warlker. 1988. "Survey Research and Membership in Voluntary Associations." *American Journal of Political Science* 32:908-28.

- Ben-Ner, Avner and Theresa Van Hoomissen. 1991. "Nonprofit Organizations in the Mixed Economy: A Demand and Supply Analysis." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 62:519-550.
- Benson, Peter L, John Dehority, Lynn Garman, Elizabeth Hanson, Martha Hochschwender, Carol Lebold, Roberta Rohr and Jane Sullivan. 1980. "Intrapersonal Correlates of Nonspontaneous Helping Behavior." *Journal of Social Psychology* 110(1):87-95.
- Berg, Bruce L. 2001. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Bouissou, Jean-Marie. 1999. "Organizing One's Support Base under the SNTV: the Case of Japanese *Koenkai*." In Bernard Groffman, Sung-Chull Lee, Edwin A. Winckler and Brian Woodall (eds), *Elections in Japan, Korea, and Taiwan under the Single Non-Transferable Vote: the Comparative Study of an Embedded Institution*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- Brace, Paul. 1985. "Progressive Ambition in the House: A Probabilistic Approach." *Journal of Politics* 46(2):556-571.
- Brady, Henry E., Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 1999. "Prospecting for Participants: Rational Expectations and the Recruitment of Political Activists." *American Political Science Review* 93(1):153-168.
- Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995 "Beyond SES: A Resources Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89:271-94.
- Brehm, John and Wendy Rahn. 1997. "Individual-Level Evidence for the Causes and Consequences of Social Capital." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(3): 999-1023.
- Brinton, Mary C. 1988. "The Social-Institutional Bases of Gender Stratification: Japan as an Illustrative Case." *American Journal of Sociology* 94(2):300-334.
- . 1989. "Gender Stratification in Contemporary Urban Japan." *American Sociological Review* 54(4): 549-564.
- Broadbent, Jeffrey. 1999. *Environmental Politics in Japan: Networks of Power and Protest*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

- Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Sidney Verba. 2001. *The Private Roots of Public Action: Gender, Equality, and Political Participation*. Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press.
- Burrell, Barbara C. 1994. *A Woman's Place is in the House: Campaigning for Congress in the Feminist Era*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Cabinet Office of Japan. 2002. *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Shakai ni Kansuru Yoron Chousa*. (Public Opinion on Gender Equality) (In Japanese).
- _____. 2003. *Heisei 15nendo Kokumin Seikatsu Hakusho*. (White Paper on Citizen's Lives 2005) Tokyo: the Cabinet Office.
- _____. 2004. *Heisei 16nendo shimin katudou dantai kihon chousa*. (2004 report on civic activity groups.) Tokyo: the Cabinet Office.
- _____. 2006. *Heisei 18nendo Shimin Katsudou Dantai Kihon Chousa Houkokusho: Tokutei Hieiri Katudou Houjin to Kan tonu Paatonaashippu ni Kansuru Kihon Chousa* (Report on NPO-hojin Government Partnership). Tokyo: Cabinet Office.
- _____. 2007a. *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Hakusho Heisei 19nendo Ban* (White Paper on Gender Equality: 2007) (In Japanese). Retrieved on November 23, 2008 from the Cabinet Office.
Website: <http://www.gender.go.jp/whitepaper/h19/gaiyou/index.html>.
- _____. 2007b. *Heisei 18nendo Kokumin Seikatsu Monitaa Chousa Kekka: Chounai-kai, Jichi-kai no Chiiki no Tsunagari ni Kansuru Chousa*. (2006 Report on Citizen Lives: Report on Neighborhood Association and Community Networks). (In Japanese). Tokyo: The Cabinet Office.
- _____. 2007c. *Heisei 19nendo Shuugyou Kouzou Kihon Chousa* (2007 Report on Employment Structure). (In Japanese).
Retrieved on May 6, 2009 from the Statistics Bureau of the Cabinet Office.
Website: <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?bid=000001013824&cycode=0v>
- _____. 2008a. *Korei Shakai Hakusho* (White Paper on Ageing Society) (In Japanese). Retrieved on November 21, 2008 from the Cabinet Office.
Website: http://www8.cao.go.jp/kourei/whitepaper/w-2008/gaiyo/20pdf_indexg.html

- _____. 2008b. *Roudouryoku Chousa: Chouki Jikeiretsu Deeta* (Report on Labor: Longitudinal Data) (In Japanese). Retrieved on February 11, 2009. Website: <http://www.stat.go.jp/data/roudou/longtime/03roudou.htm>
- Cabinet Office's Gender Equality Committee on Declining Fertility and Gender-Equal Society. 2005. *Shoushika to Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku ni Kansuru Shakai Kankyou no Kokusai Hikaku Houkokusho*. (An international comparison on declining birth rate, gender equality and social environment.) Retrieved November 23, 2008 from the gender equality office of the Cabinet Office of Japan. Web site: <http://www.gender.go.jp/danjo-kaigi/syosika/houkoku/index-kokusai.html>
- Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin and Warren E. Miller. 1954. *The Voter Decides*. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson.
- Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley.
- Carroll, Susan J. 1994. *Women as Candidates in American Politics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Caul, Miki. 1998. "Women's Representation in Parliament: the Role of Political Parties." *Party Politics* 5(1): 79-98.
- _____. 2001. "Research Notes: Political Parties and the Adoption of Candidate Gender Quotas: A Cross-National Analysis." *Journal of Politics* 63(4): 1214-1229.
- Carpenter, Jeffrey and Caitlin Knowles Myers. 2007. "Why Volunteer? Evidence on the Role of Altruism, Reputation, and Incentives." *IZA Discussion Paper* No.3021.
- Chasse, J. Dennis. 1995. "Nonprofit Organizations and the Institutional Approach." *Journal of Economic Issues* 29(2): 525-533.
- Christensen, Raymond V. 1996. "The New Japanese Election System." *Pacific Affairs* 69(1): 49-70.
- Clarke, Harold D. and Alan C. Acock. 1989. "National Elections and Political Attitudes: The Case of Political Efficacy." *British Journal of Political Science*. 19(4): 551-562.
- Converse, Philip E. 1972. "Change in the American Electorate." In Angus Campbell and Philip E. Converse (eds), *The Human Meaning of Social Change*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Conway, M. Margaret, Gertrude A. Steuernagel and David W. Ahern. 1997. *Women and Political Participation*. Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly.
- Craig, Stephen C. and Michael A. Maggiotto. 1981. "Political Discontent and Political Action." *Journal of Politics* 43(2):514-522.
- Craig, Stephen C., Ricahrd G. Niemi and Glenn E. Silver. 1990. "Political Efficacy and Trust: A Report on the NES Pilot Study Items." *Political Behavior* 12:289-314.
- Craske, Nikki. 1999. *Women and Politics in Latin America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Dahl, Robert Alan. 1998. *On Democracy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Davidson-Schmich, Louise K. 2006. "Implementation of Political Party Gender Quotas: Evidence from the German Lander 1990-2000." *Party Politics* 12(2):211-232.
- Darcy, Robert and Sarah Salvin. 1977. "When Women Run Against Men." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 41(1):1-12.
- Darcy, Robert, Susan Welch and Janet Clark. 1985. "Women Candidates in Single-and Multi-Member Districts: American State Legislative Races." *Social Science Quarterly* 66:945-53.
- _____. 1987. *Women, Elections, and Representation*. New York: Longman.
- _____. 1994. *Women, Elections, and Representation*, Second Edition. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Deguchi, Masayuki. 2001. "The Distinction Between Institutionalized and Non-institutionalized NPOs. New Policy Initiatives and Non-profit Organizations in Japan." In Helmut K. Anheier and Jeremy Kendall, *Third Sector Policy at the Crossroads: An International Nonprofit Analysis*. New York: Routledge.
- Delli Carpini, Micael X and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Diermeir, Daniel, Michael Keane and Antonio Merlo. 2005. "A Political Economy Model of Congressional Careers." *American Economic Review* 95(1): 347-373.
- Dolnicar, Sara, Helen Irvine and Katie Lazarevski. 2008. "Mission or Money? Competitive Challenges Facing Public Sector Nonprofit Organizations in an

Institutionalized Environment.” *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*. 13:107-117.

Douglas, James. 1983. *Why Charity?* Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

_____. 1987. “Economic Theories of Nonprofit Organization.” In Walter W. Powell, ed., *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia. 1998. “The Bottleneck: Women as Candidates.” In Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, (eds)., *Women and Elective Office*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Edwards, Bob. 1994. “Semiformal Organizational Structure Among Social Movement Organizations: An Analysis of the U.S. Peace Movement.” *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 23(4):309-33.

Erickson, Bonnie H. and T.A. Nosanchuk. 1990. “How an Apolitical Association Politicizes.” *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 27(2):206-219.

Estevez-Abe, Margarita. 2003. “State-Society Partnerships in the Japanese Welfare State.” In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr, eds., *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Eveland, William P. Jr. 2004. “The Effect of Political Discussion in Producing Informed Citizens: The Roles of Information, Motivation, and Elaboration.” *Political Communication* 21:177-193.

Finkel, Steven E. 1985. “Reciprocal Effects of Participation and Political Efficacy: a Panel Analysis.” *American Journal of Political Science*. 29(4):891-913.

_____. 1987. “The Effects of Participation on Political Efficacy and Political Support: Evidence from a West German Panel.” *Journal of Politics*. 49(2):441-464.

Fire and Disaster Management Agency of Japan. 2000a. “*Jinteki Higai*” (Human Casualties) In *Shoubou Hakusho: Heisei 12nen Ban* (White Paper on Fire and Disaster Management in 2000) (In Japanese).

Retrieved on November 21, 2008 from the Hanshin-Awaji Daishinsai Kanren Jo-hou Database.

Website:

http://sinsai.fdma.go.jp/search/abstract.php?TOSHO_ID=L0032870&DATA_ID=0032&LEGAL_ON=1

_____. 2000b. "Juuka Higai" (Building Damages) In. *Shoubou Hakusho: Heisei 12nen Ban* (White Paper on Fire and Disaster Management in 2000) (In Japanese).

Retrieved on November 21, 2008 from the Hanshin-Awaji Daishinsai Kanren Jo-hou Database.

Website:

http://sinsai.fdma.go.jp/search/abstract.php?TOSHO_ID=L0025462&DATA_ID=0005&LEGAL_ON=1

Fitch, R. Thomas. 1987. "Characteristics and Motivations of College Students Volunteering for Community Service." *Journal of College Student Personnel* 28:424-431.

Flanagan, Scott C., Shinsaku Kohei, Ichiro Miyake, Bradley M. Richardson and Joji Watanuki. 1991. *The Japanese Voter*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Flanigan, William H. 1968. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*. Boston:Allyn & Bacon.

Fox, Richard L and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2004. "Entering the Arena? Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(2):264-280.

Fox, Richard L, Jennifer L. Lawless and Courtney Feeley. 2001. "Gender and the Decision to Run for Office." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 26(3):411-435.

Francies, G. R. 1983. "The Volunteer Needs Profile: A Tool for Reducing Turnover." *Volunteer Administration* 16:17-33.

Frank, Richard G. and David S. Salkever, 1994. "Nonprofit Organizations in the Health Sector." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 8(4):129-44.

Fukui, Haruhiro and Shigeko N. Fukai. 2000. "The Informal Politics of Japanese Diet Elections: Cases and Interpretations." In Lowell Diettmer, Haruhiro Fukui and Peter N. S. Lee, eds., *Informal Politics in East Asia*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Gaunder, Alisa. 2007. "Running for National Office in Japan: The Institutional and Cultural Constraints Faced by Women Candidates." *Paper Prepared for the Stanford Conference on Electoral and Legislative Politics in Japan*. June 11 and 12, 2007.
- Gillespie, David F. and Anthony E. O. King. 1985. "Demographic Understanding of Volunteerism." *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*. 12:798-816.
- Gordon, C. Wayne and Nicholas Babchuk. 1959. "A Typology of Voluntary Associations." *American Sociological Review* 24(1):22-29.
- Gronbjerg, Kristen A. and Laurie Paarlberg. 2001. "Community Variations in the Size and Scope of the Nonprofit Sector: Theory and Preliminary Findings." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 30(4):684-706.
- Hall, Richard L. and Robert P. van Houweling. 1995. "Avarice and Ambition in Congress: Representatives' Decisions to Run or Retire from the U.S. House." *American Political Science Review* 89(1):121-136.
- Hansmann, Henry. 1980. "The Role of Nonprofit Enterprise." *Yale Law Journal* 89:835-901.
- _____. 1987. "Economic Theories of nonprofit Organizations." In Walter W. Powell (ed), *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- _____. 1996. *The Ownership of Enterprise*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Hero, Rodney E. 1986. "Explaining Citizen-Initiated Contacting of Government Officials: Socioeconomic Status, Perceived Need, or Something Else?" *Social Science Quarterly* 67:626-35.
- Hirata, Keiko. 2002. *Civil Society in Japan: The Growing Role of NGOs in Tokyo's Aid and Development Policy*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Hooghe, Marc. 2003. "Participation in Voluntary Associations and Value Indicators: The Effects of Current and Previous Participation Experiences." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 32(1): 47-69.

- Imada, Makoto. 2003. "The Voluntary Response to the Hanshin Awaji Earthquake: A Trigger for the Development of the Voluntary and Non-profit Sector in Japan." In Stephen P. Osborne (ed), *The Voluntary Sector and Non-profit Sector in Japan: The Challenge of Change*. New York: Routledge.
- Inoguchi, Takashi. 1997. "Japanese Bureaucracy: Coping with New Challenges." In Purnendra Jain and Takashi Inoguchi (eds), *Japanese Politics Today: Beyond Karaoke Democracy?* New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Inter-Parliamentary Union. 2008. Women in National Parliaments. Retrieved on Sept 25, 2008 from Inter-Parliamentary Union.
- James, Estelle. 1987. "The Nonprofit Sector in Comparative Perspective." In Walter W. Powell (ed), *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training. 2003. *Ikuji ya Kaigo to Shigoto no Ryouritsu ni Kansuru Chousa*. (A study on child care and employment). Retrieved November 23, 2008 from the website of Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training gender equality.
Website: <http://www.jil.go.jp/kokunai/statistics/doko/h1507/subindex.html>
- Johnson, Chalmers A. 1982. *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: the Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Joslyn, Mark R and Allan Cigler. 2001. "Group Involvement and Democratic Orientations: Social Capital in the Postelection Context." *Social Science Quarterly* 82(2): 357-368.
- Kabashima, Ikuo, Jonathan Marshall, Takayoshi Uekami and Dae-Song Hyun. 2000. "Casual Cynics or Disillusioned Democrats? Political Alienation in Japan." *Political Psychology* 21:779-804.
- Kanter, Rosenbeth. M. 1993. *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York: Basic Books.
- Kawashima, Nobuko. 2001. "The Emerging Nonprofit Sector in Japan: Recent Changes and Prospects." *Nonprofit Review* 1(1):5-14.
- Kennedy, Bruce P., Ichiro Kawachi, Deborah Prothrow-Stith, Kimberly Lochner, and Vanita Gupta. 1998. "Social Capital, Income Inequality, and Firearm Violent Crime." *Social Science & Medicine* 47(1):7-17.

- Kim, Jae-On, Norman Nie and Sidney Verba. 1974. "The amount and concentration of political participation." *Political Methodology* 1:105-132.
- Kim Ji-Young. 2005. "'Bowling Together' isn't a Cure-All: The Relationship between Social Capital and Political Trust in South Korea." *International Political Science Review* 26(2): 193-213.
- Kirkpatrick, Jeane. 1974. *Political Women*. New York: Basic Books.
- Knack, Stephen and Philip Keefer. 1997. "Does Social Capital Have an Economic Payoff? A Cross-Country Investigation." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 112(4): 1251-1288.
- Kobayashi, Chieko. 2003. "Chapter 11." In *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Toukei Deeta Bukku: Nihon no Josei to Dansei* (Data on Gender Equality in Japan), *Dokuritsu Gyousei Houjin Kokuritsu Josei Kyouiku Kaikan.*, Yoichi Ito and Yayoi Sugihashi. Gyousei: Tokyo Japan.
- Kunovich, Sheri and Pamela Paxton. 2005. "Pathways to Power: the Role of Political Parties in Women's National Political Representation." *American Journal of Sociology* 111(2):505-52.
- Lakeman, Enid. 1976. "Electoral Systems and Women in Parliament." *Parliamentarian*. 56:159-162.
- Lane, Robert. 1959. *Political Life: Why and How People Get Involved in Politics*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
- Langton, Kenneth P. and David A. Karns. 1969. "The Relative Influence of the Family, Peer Group, and School in the Development of Political Efficacy." *The Western Political Quarterly* 22:813- 826.
- Latting, Jean Kantambu 1990. "Motivational Differences between Black and White Volunteers." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 19:121-135.
- Lawless, Jennifer and Richard L. Fox. 2005. *It Takes A Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- LeBlanc, Robin M. 1999. *Bicycle Citizens: the Political World of the Japanese Housewife*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Leighley, Jan E. 1996. "Group Membership and the Mobilization of Political Participation." *The Journal of Politics* 58:447-63.
- Long, J. Scott. 1997. *Regression Models for Categorical and Limited Dependent Variables* California: SAGE Publications.

- MacLachlan, Patricia L. 2002. *Consumer politics in postwar Japan: the institutional boundaries of citizen activism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Maestas, Cherie D.; Sarah Fulton; L. Sandy Maisel and Walter J. Stone. 2006. "When to Risk It? Institutions, Ambitions, and the Decision to Run for the U.S. House." *American Political Science Review* 100(2):195-208.
- Martin, Lisa L. and Kathryn Sikkink. 1993. "U.S. Policy and Human Rights in Argentina and Guatemala, 1973-1980." In Peter H. Evans, Harold K. Jacobson, and Robert D. Putnam (eds.), *Double-Edged Diplomacy: International Bargaining and Domestic Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Matland, Richard E. 1998. "Women's Representation in National Legislatures: Developed and Developing Countries." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 23(1):109-125.
- Matsunaga, Yoshiho and Naoto Yamauchi. 2001. "Is the Government Failure Theory Still Relevant? A Panel Analysis Using US State Level Data." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 75(2):227-263.
- Matthews, Donald R. and James W. Prothro. 1966. *Negroes and New Southern Politics*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- McLeod, Jack M, Dietram A. Scheufele and Patricia Moy. 1999. "Community, Communication, and Participation: The Role of Mass Media and Interpersonal Discussion in Local Political Participation." *Political Discussion* 16:315-336.
- Milbrath, Lester W. 1965. *Political Participation: How and Why Do People Get Involved in Politics?* Chicago: Rand McNally.
- Miller, Warren E., Aurthur H. Miller and Edward J. Schneider. 1980. *American National Election Studies Sourcebook, 1952-1978*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan. 2007. *Heisei 19endo Gakkou Kihon Chousa* (White Paper on School System). Retrieved on November 23, 2008 from the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan.
Website: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/001/08010901/index.htm
- Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan. 2004. *Koosubetsu Koyou Kanriseido no Jisshi Joukyouto Shidou Jyoukyou* (Reports and Advice on Two-Track Hiring Practices) (In Japanese). Retrieved on November 23, 2008 from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan.

Website: <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/2004/07/h0723-7.html>

_____. 2007. *Koosu betsu de Kubunshita Koyou Kanrini tsuitenno Ryuui Jikou* (Points to Consider on Two-Track Hiring Practices) (In Japanese). Retrieved on November 23, 2008 from the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare of Japan.

Website: <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/general/seido/koyou/danjokintou/index.html>

_____. 2008. *Kosodate Shinagara Hataraku Kotoga Futsuuni Dekiru Shakai no Jitsugen ni Mukete: Kongo no Shigoto to Katei no Ryouritsu Shien ni Kansuru Kenkyuukai Houkokusho* (Committee's Report to Establish Society That is Compatible both for Work and Family) (In Japanese).

Retrieve November 23, 2008.

Website: <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/houdou/2008/07/h0701-6.html>

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. 2006. *Heisei 18nen Shakai Seikatsu Kihon Chousa* (Survey on Time Use and Leisure Activities) (In Japanese).

Retrieved on November 23, 2008.

Website: <http://www.e-stat.go.jp/SG1/estat/List.do?bid=000001008020&cycode=0>

Minkoff, Debra C. 1997. "The Emergence of Hybrid Organizational Forms: Combining Identity Based Service Provision and Political Action." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 31(3): 377-401.

Morrell, Michael E. 2003. "Survey and Experimental Evidence for a Reliable and Valid Measure of Internal Political Efficacy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 67:589-602.

Murase, Miriam. 2006. *Cooperation Over Conflict: the Women's Movement and the State in Postwar Japan*. New York: Routledge.

Naples, Nancy A. 1991. "Just What Needed to Be Done: The Political Practice of Women Community Workers in Low-Income Neighborhoods." *Gender and Society* 5(4):478-494.

_____. 1992. "Activist Mothering: Cross-Generational Continuity in the Community Work of Women from Low-Income Urban Neighborhoods." *Gender and Society* 6(3):441-463.

Nakamura, Hachiro. 1964. "Mitakashi no Jumin Soshiki: Kindai Toshika ni Tomonau Sono Henshitsu." ("Neighborhood Organizations in Mitaka-City: Recent Urbanization and Its Implications.") *Kikou Toshino Henbou Katei* ("The Process of Urbanization.") 10: 99-178.

National Center for Charitable Statistics, 2008. "Other exempt organizations." Retrieved April 27th, 2009 from the Center on Nonprofits and Philanthropy.

Website: <http://nccsdataweb.urban.org/PubApps/nonprofit-overview-segment.php?t=co>

National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. 2005. *Dai 13kai Shussei Doukou Kihon Chousa: Kekkou to Shussen ni Kansuru Zenkoku Chousa* (The Third National Survey on Family in Japan) (In Japanese).

Retrieve on November 24, 2008.

Website: <http://www.ipss.go.jp/index-e.html>

National Women's Education Center. 2003. *Danjo Kyoudou Sankaku Toukei Deeta Bukku: Nihon no Josei to Dansei*. (Data Book on Gender Equality: Japanese Women and Men) (In Japanese). Tokyo: National Women's Education Center.

Nelson, Richard and Michael Krashinsky. 1973. "Two Major Issues of Public Policy: Public Policy and the Organization of Supply." In Richard Nelson and Dennis Young (eds)., *Public Subsidy for Day Care of Young Children*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath.

Noonan, Rita K. 1995. "Women Against the State: Political Opportunities and Collective Action Frames in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Sociological Forum* 10(1): 81-111.

Noguchi, Mary Goebel. 1992. "The Rise of Housewife Activists." *Japan Quarterly* 39 (3):339-352.

Norris, Pippa. 1985. "Women's Legislative Participation in Western Europe." *Western European Politics* 8:90-101.

Nye, Joseph S., Philip D. Zelikow and David C. King. 1997. *Why Don't People Trust Government*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Ogasawara, Yuko. 1998. *Office Ladies and Salaried Men: Power, Gender, and Work in Japanese Companies*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

_____. 2001. "Women's Solidarity: Company Policies and Japanese Office Ladies." In Mary C. Brinton (ed), *Women's Working Lives in East Asia*. Stanford CA: Stanford University Press.

- Owen, Diane, and Jack Dennis. 1988. "Gender Differences in the Politicization of American Citizen." *Women and Politics* 8:23-43.
- Paulsen, Ronnelle. 1991. "Education, Social Class, and Participation in Collective Action." *Sociology of Education* 64(2):96-110.
- Pekkanen, Robert. 2000. "Japan's New Politics: the Case of the NPO Law." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 26(1): 111-148.
- _____. 2003a. "Molding Japanese Civil Society: State-Structured Incentives and the Patterning of Civil Society." In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr (eds), *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- _____. 2003b. "The Politics of Regulating the Non-profit Sector." In Stephen P. Osborne (ed), *The Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector in Japan: The Challenge of Change*. New York: Routledge.
- _____. 2006. *Japan's Dual Civil Society: Members Without Advocates*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Pekkanen, Robert and Karla Simon. 2003. "The Legal Framework for Voluntary and Non-profit Activity." In Stephen P. Osborne (ed), *The Voluntary and Nonprofit Sector in Japan: The Challenge of Change*. London: Routledge.
- Pharr, Susan J. 1981. *Political Women in Japan: the Search for a Place in Political Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Pharr, Susan and Robert Putnam (eds). 2000. *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Pollock, Philip H., III. 1982a. "Organizations and Alienation: The Mediation Hypothesis Revisited." *Sociological Quarterly* 23: 143-155.
- _____. 1982b. "Organizations as Agents of Mobilization: How Does Group Activity Affect Political Participation?" *American Journal of Political Science* 26(3):485-503.
- Putnam, Robert D. 1995a. "Tuning in, Tuning out: the Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America." *PS: Political Science & Politics*. 28:664-683.
- _____. 1995b. "Bowling Alone, Revisited." *The Responsive Community* 5(2):18-33.
- _____. 1995c. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1):65-78.

- _____. 2000. *Bowling Alone*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Roberts, Russell D. 1984. "A Positive Model of Private Charity Public Transfers." *Journal of Political Economy* 92:136-148.
- Rodgers, Harrell R. Jr. 1974. "Toward Explanation of the Political Efficacy and Political Cynicism of Black Adolescents: An Explanatory Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 18(2):257-282.
- Rogers, David L., Gorden L. Bultena and Ken H. Barb. 1975. "Voluntary Association Membership and Political Participation: An Exploration of the Mobilization Hypotheses." *Sociological Quarterly* 16:305-18.
- Rohlen, Thomas P. 1974. *For Harmony and Strength: the Japanese White-Collar Organization in Anthropological Perspective*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Rose-Ackerman, Susan. 1982. "Charitable Giving and Excessive Fundraising." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 97:193-212.
- Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.
- Rule, Wilma. 1987. "Electoral Systems, Contextual Factors and Women's Opportunity for Election to Parliament in Twenty-Three Democracies." *Western Political Quarterly* 40(3):477-498.
- Rule, Wilma and Joseph Zimmerman. 1992. *United States Electoral Systems: Their Impact on Women and Minorities*. New York: Praeger.
- Salamon, Lester M. 1987. "Partners in Public Service: The Scope and Theory of Government-Nonprofit Relations." In Walter W. Powell (ed), *The Nonprofit Sector: A Research Handbook*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- _____. 1998. "The Voluntary Sector and the Future of the Welfare State." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 18(1):11-24.
- Salamon, Lester M. and Helmut K. Anheier. 1997. *Defining the Nonprofit Sector: A Cross-National Analysis*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2003. "Gender-Related Political Knowledge and the Descriptive Representation of Women." *Political Behavior* 25:367-388.

- Sapiro, Virginia. 1983. *The Political Integration of Women: Roles, Socialization, and Politics*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Schiff, Jerald and Burton A. Weisbrod. 1991. "Competition Between For-profit and Nonprofit Organizations in Commercial Markets." *Annals of Public and Cooperative Economics* 62:619-639.
- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1966. *Ambitions and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*. Chicago, IL: Rand McNally & Company.
- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba and Henry Brady. 1999. "Civic Participation and the Equality Problem." In Theda Skocpol and Morris P. Fiorina (eds), *Civic Engagement in American Democracy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.
- Schur, Lisa, Tood Shields and Kay Schrinier. 2003. "Can I Make a Difference? Efficacy, Employment, and Disability." *Political Psychology* 24(1):119-149.
- Schwartz, Frank. 2003. "Introduction: Recognizing Civil Society in Japan." In Frank J. Schwartz and Susan J. Pharr (eds), *The State of Civil Society in Japan*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Sharp, Elaine B. 1982. "Citizen-Initiated Contacting of Government Officials and Socioeconomic Status: Determining the Relationship and Accounting for It." *American Political Science Review* 76(1):109-115.
- Shingles, Richard D. 1981. "Black Consciousness and Political Participation: The Missing Link." *American Political Science Review* 75 (1):76-91.
- Simon, Rita J. and Jean M. Landis. 1989. "A Report: Women's and Men's Attitudes about a Woman's Place and Role." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53(2):265-276.
- Smith, Stweven Rathgeb and Michael Lipsky. 1993. *Nonprofits for Hire: the Welfare State in the Age of Contracting*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.
- Sotiropoulos, Dimitri A. 2005. "Positive and Negative Social Capital and the Uneven Development of Civil Society in Southeastern Europe." *Southeast European and Black Sea Studies* 5(2):243-256.

- Takeda, Hiroko. 2006. "Gendering the Japanese Political System: The Gender-Specific Pattern of Political Activity and Women's Political Participation." *Japanese Studies* 26(2):185-198.
- Takeuchi, Hideko. 2004. "*Chihou Giinno Jendaa Sai*" ("Gender Gap in Members of Local Assemblies." *Gendai Shakai Kenkyu* 7: 99-118.
- Tashiro, Ku. 1994 "The Implications of Small Public Services to National Economic Development: A Case Study of the Japanese Government." In John P. Burns and Bidhya Bowornwathana, eds., *Asian Civil Service Systems. Improving Efficiency and Productivity*. Singapore: Times Academic Press.
- Task Force on the Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake. 1996. *Hanshin-Awaji Daishinsai: Kobe-shi no Kiroku 1995nen*. (The Hanshin-Awaji Great Earthquake: Note on Kobe City 1995). (In Japanese).
Retrieved on November 21, 2008 from the Hanshin-Awaji Daishinsai Kanren Jochou Database.
Website:
http://sinsai.fdma.go.jp/search/chapter.php?TOSHO_ID=L0025922&LEGAL_ON=1
- Thomas, J. E. 1996. *Modern Japan. A Social History Since 1868*. London: Longman.
- Thomas, Sue. 1998. "Introduction: Women and Elective Office: Past, Present, and Future." In Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, eds., *Women in Elective Office*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thompson, Seth and Janie Steckenrider. 1997. "The Relative Irrelevance of Candidate Sex." *Women and Politics* 17(4):71-92.
- United Nations Statistics Division. 2008. Statistics and indicators on women and men. Retrieved February 10, 2009, from United Nations Statistics Division.
Web site: <http://unstats.un.org/unsd/demographic/products/indwm/tab5d.htm>
- Vengroff, Richard, Zsolt Nyiri and Melissa Fugiero. 2003. "Electoral System and Gender Representation in Sub-National Legislatures: Is There a National-Sub-National Gender Gap?" *Political Research Quarterly* 56(2):163-173.
- Verba, Sidney, Kay Lehman Schlozman and Henry E. Brady. 1995. *Voice and Equality: Civic Voluntarism and American Politics*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Verba, Sidney, Norman H. Nie and Jae-on Kim. 1978. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Comparison*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- von Erlach, Enamuel. 2006. "Politicization in Associations: An Empirical Study of the Relationship between Membership in Associations and Participation in Political Discussions." *World Political Science Review* 2(1):1-29.
- Walker, Tobi. 2002. "Service as a Pathway to Political Participation: What Research Tells Us." *Applied Developmental Science* 6(4):183-188.
- Ward, Russell A. 1979. "The Meaning of Voluntary Associational Participation to Older People." *Journal of Gerontology* 34(3):438-445.
- Warr, Peter G. 1983. "The Private Provision of a Public Good is Independent of the Distribution of Income." *Economics Letters* 13:207-211.
- Waylen, Georgina. 1994. "Women and Democratization: Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics." *World Politics* 46(3): 327-354.
- Weber, Max. 1946. *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, H.H. Gerth, and C. Wright Mills (eds), York: Oxford University Press.
- Weisbrod, Burton Allen. 1977. *The Voluntary Nonprofit Sector: An Economic Analysis*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- _____. 1988. *The Nonprofit Economy*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wilson, James Q. 1995. *Political Organizations*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Woolcock, Michael. 1998. "Social Capital and Economic Development: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis and Policy Framework." *Theory and Society* 27: 151-208.
- Yamamoto, Tadashi. 1999. "Emergence of Japan's Civil Society and Its Future Challenges." In Tadashi Yamamoto (ed), *Deciding the Public Good: Governance and Civil Society in Japan*. New York: Japan Center for International Exchange.
- Yamaoka, Yoshinori. 1999. "Boranteer na Katsudou no Rekishi-teki Haikai" (Historical Background on Volunteer Activities). In Seiji Utsumi, Yoshiyuki Mizuno and Yukio Irie (eds), *Boranteer-gaku wo Manabu Hitono Tameni* (For Those Studying Volunteering) (In Japanese). Tokyo: Sekai Shisou-sha.

Young, Dennis R. 2000. "Alternative Models of Government-Nonprofit Sector Relationships: Theoretical and International Perspectives." *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 29(1):149-172.