Civil Society and Interest Groups in Contemporary Japan

Edited by Yutaka Tsujinaka

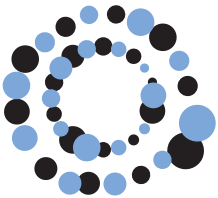
Translated by Takafumi Ohtomo and Leslie Tkach-Kawasaki

モノグラフシリーズ
Monograph Series IV

筑波大学
比較市民社会・国家・文化特別プロジェクト
University of Tsukuba
Special Research Project on Civil Society,
the State and Culture in Comparative Perspective

日本学術振興会 人文・社会科学振興プロジェクト
「多元的共生」の国際比較
JSPS New Reserch Initiatives for Humanities and Socieal Sciences
International Comparison of
Pluralistic Co-exstence of
Societal Groups and Civil Societies

2008.3



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巻 頭 言

筑波大学　比較市民社会・国家・文化特別プロジェクト
日本学術振興会　人文・社会科学振興プロジェクト
「多元的共生」の国際比較研究グループ

辻　中　　豊
川那部　保　明

「社会集団間の多元的な共生を成立させるものとして，各地域単位（国，自治体など）での市民社会の質が問われている。しかし，市民社会の現実のあり方については，非欧米を含めた経験的な比較実証研究は進んでいない。加えてＮＧＯ，ＮＰＯ，社会関係資本（ソーシャルキャピタル）についても概念の欧米バイアスがあり，真の意味での地球的な多元的共生にむけて洗い直しが必要である」（「多元的共生」の国際比較研究の目的）との認識のもとで，「地球上の各領域・地域，各国の個別文化性を保持したうえで，いかにして市民社会と公共性に，偏在性と普及性，適応性と進化性をもった新しい普遍性を付与しうるか」，こういった問いに対し，「社会科学と人文科学の協同によって新しい地球的な価値を根拠付けその枠組みを提示すること」を目標とした特別プロジェクト〈比較市民社会・国家・文化〉（および〈多元的共生の国際比較研究〉）が始まって，５年が経過し，特別プロジェクトや人文・社会科学振興プロジェクトの設置期間が完了しようとしている。

もちろん当初のいわば大上段ぶった目標に十分に適う解答に，この５年間で至ることができたわけではない。むしろこの５年間はわれわれにとって，上記のごとき大上段ぶった目標を抱かせるほど，市民社会というテーマがいかに巨大で，それゆえとらえどころのないものかを，それぞれの研究の現場で確認してきた時間であったともいえる。それは逆に言えば，そういった個別の具体的視点からせりあげて捉えることの積み重ねを経なければ，市民社会は，手触りのある実相としては把握することはできず，「個別文化性」を重んじたうえでの市民社会の「普

遍性」を展望することはできないということでもある。

この５年間という時間は，一気に「新しい地球的な価値」を市民社会という概念に与えないことを自らに課した時間，むしろ，なぜいまわれわれは市民社会を問わねばならないのか，なぜ，国家でもなく共同体でもなく市民社会を，われわれは問うているのかを問う時間であったと言ってもよい。それは，様々な個別事象に視点を据えた，そこから始めなくてはいかなる「普遍性」へも至れない，根底的な基礎作業の時間であったろう。

このような作業をめざしてわれわれは，「社会科学と人文科学の協同」を旨とはしたが，当初からテーマ的にも方法論においても両者を強引に融合することはせず，研究者それぞれが個々の専門テーマから出発し考察を提示し意見交換をすることを通して，社会科学的視点と人文科学的視点とが自らを保持しつつも相補的に働きあう，そういったかたちの協同を，市民社会の「新しい普遍性」を遠く展望しつつ行う努力をしてきた。

この相補的協同において，社会科学的視点をもつ研究者は，社会的事件や社会的活動体の実際と実体を調査し考究することで，まずは市民社会の輪郭を実際のフィールドから立ち上がらせることに力を注いできた。特に市民社会などの言葉を洗い直すためにも，市民社会の現実のあり方について，経験的な比較研究をするべきであると考えた。言葉を支える現実の多様さをしっかり日本発の枠組みで（そこにもバイアスはあるが）様々な文化圏をまたぎ実態調査を行い，データベースを構築し，分析を行い，文化（生活世界）と政治を繋ぐ市民社会のあり方を理解しようと考えた。そのために，すでに行った蓄積のある先進国でない諸国を含む多様な調査やフィールドワークを実施したのである

一方人文科学的視点をもつ研究者は，現代世界のはらむ歴史性という時間軸および地域性という空間軸のなかで，心性，芸術，思想，生活など諸相において，どのように現代の，あるいは現代へと脈絡する過去の市民性が個々の現象の中に現れ，定着し，広がっていったかを，とらえようとしてきた。

こういった研究作業を相互嵌入的に行うことで，われわれの協同は，「新たな普遍性」をもつ市民社会像のイメージを像として鮮明に示すには至らなかったけれども，少なくとも大上段ぶった結論をかかげるという過誤は避けることができたし，なによりも，真の協同へ向けての，ということは真の市民社会の把握へ向けての基礎作業を提示することができたと思っている。

本モノグラフシリーズ，そういった５年間の作業の成果の一部をまず，第一弾として集成したものである。

それぞれのモノグラフ作成にあたっては，完全完璧を期するより，まずこうした問題意識に忠実に，仮説的にまた論争的にあろうとした。また次に段階のさらなる飛躍・拡大に向けての礎石たらんとした。やや異質な，多様な内容の巻が並ぶのも，次への展開のためという中間報告的ではあるが開かれた意欲的な精神の現われに他ならない。（洗練された研究成果の一部は，別に川那部保明編『ノイズとダイアローグの共同体―市民社会の現場から』（筑波大学出版会，2008年）として公刊した。本書も参照いただきたい。）

とはいえ，そうした性質のシリーズゆえに，大方のご教示，ご叱正，ご批判をいただければ幸いである。それらを踏まえ，さらに弁証法的な投企することが私たちの目的であるからである。

最後に，特プロ・多元的共生，２つのプロジェクト研究を支えた常駐のスタッフに感謝したい。崔宰栄（筑波大学講師），大友貴史（筑波大学助教），三輪博樹（筑波大学助教）の各氏，また別の現場に今は移ったが，これまで大きな原動力であり続けた岩田拓夫（前筑波大学講師，宮崎大学教育文化学部准教授），フランク・ヴィラン（筑波大学講師）に感謝したい。さらにこの間，研究員スタッフとして熱心に分析を行っている山本英弘研究員，東紀慧研究員，事務スタッフの樋口恵さん，舘野喜和子さん，原信田清子さん，栗島香織さんにもこの機会に心から感謝の意を表明したい。

2008 年 3 月

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Chapter 1[1]

Introduction: Model, Structure, and Approach of this Book

Yutaka Tsujinaka

Introduction

"What are interest groups (*rieki shudan*) ?"[2]
"How are they different from organized interests (*rieki dantai*) ?"
"What do we mean by the term 'civil society organization' ?"
"How are these organizations important for those who do not belong to any such groups ?"

Japanese people often ask these questions about civil society and interest groups, but people in the United States and Europe seldom do so. In Japan, there is a tendency not to pay too much attention to interest groups. This lack of attention is reflected in the number of Japanese scholars who actively research interest groups. For example, according to the roster of the Japanese Political Science Association, as of 1999, only five researchers indicated that they specialize in studying political groups, seven specified political movements as a research theme, and 14 noted an interest in contemporary social studies.

Groups, or interests, however, are important. As Michio Muramatsu argues,

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1 The original book in Japanese (Yutaka Tsujinaka, ed., *Gendai nihon no shimin shakai rieki dantai* (Civil society and interest groups in contemporary Japan), (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 2002)) has 15 chapters, but this monograph contains only the first five chapters. *[J] in the footnote indicates that the source is in Japanese (e.g., Tsujinaka 2000 [J]).

2 For the purposes of this chapter, we use the phrase "interest group(s)" as the English equivalent of *rieki shudan*. In our research, *rieki shudan* is the term used to describe the broad concept of interest groups which may encompass a wide spectrum of organized arrangements from individuals to government committees. In contrast, we use the phrase "organized interests" as the English equivalent of *rieki dantai*, denoting a more organized or formalized structure for these groups. For a further explanation of these terms, please refer to Sections 1–2 and 1–3 in this chapter.

"pressure groups reveal an essential part of politics, and thus, description of their various activities in itself is exciting" (trans., Muramatsu et al., 1986 [J]: 1). Nothing is more interesting for those who study today's politics than delving into the relationship between groups and policy outcomes, the influences that various groups have on policy decisions, each group's interests and principles, the struggles inside each group, the struggles for power among groups, the relationship between groups and political parties, and the relationship between the media and groups. After all, "groups are everything" for a healthy journalistic mind to reveal reality (Bentley, 1967).

The prevailing times dictate changes in groups, and vice versa. In modern Japan, various groups were first created in the 1920s, and then during the immediate post-war period from 1945-55, again in the period 1965-75, and finally, a further wave of interest group formation occurred in the late 1980s. It is important to note that these periods of interest group formation closely correspond to the times when socio-political systems were being created and re-created in Japan. Understanding how the times (or socio-political systems) and groups are interrelated is not only the most important question, it is an open-ended question in itself.

"So, what are group analyses, organized interest analyses, and civil society analyses?"

To these questions, we can provide a simple answer: "Such analyses are similar to meteorological or geospheric forecasts." Why? Although we cannot predict precisely what the weather is going to be like tomorrow, we still can explain the trends of the past 10 years. Similarly, although we cannot predict when and where earthquakes will take place, we can explain the mechanism as to how magma plates move, and thus make logical inferences as to the probable occurrences of earthquakes. By accumulating past data, we are able to make scientific predictions.

A similar logic holds true for political phenomena. Although we are unable to predict exactly how certain political events will unfold, we can discern the political events that are likely to occur within a certain framework. Hence, we may be able to explain mid- to long-term political structures through the examination of various groups. As such, our goal is to come up with an explanation of conditions, mechanisms, and the

socio-political structure of political phenomena that, on the surface, are seemingly happening at random.

Before we go on to examine groups, interest groups (*rieki shudan*), organized interests (*rieki dantai*), civil society, and civil society organizations, we would like to point out three main reasons why our research is important. First, studying groups, interest groups, and organized interests is important because these groups do actually influence politics. Even those people who think that they do not belong to such groups are in fact often members of one group or another. Needless to say, political decisions made as a result of group participation in politics affect our daily life.

Second, as we discuss further on, organized interests and civil society organizations are very much the same thing. These organizations are essential organizational structures through which ordinary people try to resolve public issues.

Third, as we are in the midst of socio-political change, we are interested in knowing not just the details of political events and processes, but also the structures that create such events. Understanding such structures can only be gained by examining groups, interest groups, organized interests, civil society, and civil society organizations.

As shown in Figure 1-1, we have tried to comprehend the relationship between society and politics by creating a three-layered model. In our "Japan Interest Group Survey" conducted in 1997, we examined major group samples randomly chosen in all three layers. Using the same framework, we surveyed four other countries from 1997 to 2000, as well as China in 2001.

Instead of approaching our examination in terms of group, institutional, and cultural structures as the basis of socio-political structures, our research focuses on the socio-political structure of groups themselves and the interrelationship between actors. In our view, we cannot understand the political process unless we comprehensively examine these aspects. Furthermore, an emphasis on either institutions or culture alone will not provide the level of analysis that we require. By understanding group structure, we seek to examine Japan's mid- to long-term structural change. We also try to understand the fundamental structure of Japanese politics and its place in the world.

1. Model and definitions

In developing our model, we initially referred to Ishida's concept of politics and society (1992) to create a three-layered structure (Figure 1-1). We can divide this cone-shaped structure into three levels and refer to the macro level (lowest level) as social process, the meso level (middle level) as political process, and the micro level (top level) as policy decision-making process. Another way of referring to these three levels is the political system level, the political process level, and the policy formation level, respectively. The distinction among levels is by no means clear cut, and we can expect some overlap between the different levels.

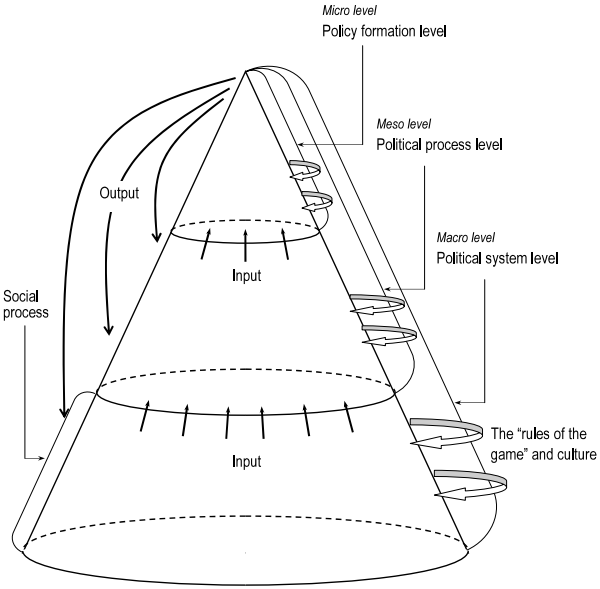
Our modified figure includes some functions of the political system that are not included in Ishida's original model. Those arrows in the center of the diagram which are moving upward from macro-level social process to the meso-level political process to micro-level policy decision-making process show the input function of the political system. In other words, these arrows denote the movement of money, information, and various types of goods. The arrows moving from the top of the diagram to the bottom denote political output from the political system to society at large.

Moreover, the three sets of curved lines surrounding the cone at each level denote institutional and cultural factors. In other words, these are the "rules of the game" and the cultural factors influencing the political system at each of the three horizontal (policy decision-making process, political process, and social process levels) as well as vertical levels.

Although our preliminary analysis describes the overall structure of the entire system, it does not address a detailed analysis of the input, output, or feedback effects. Furthermore, because the relationship between nations and international institutions and transnational relations would make our model complicated, these variables have been omitted.

The overall shape of this figure reminds us of Wright Mills' power elite model (1969). If you shift the figure horizontally, it would look like Easton and Almond's models. If we turn the figure upside down, then it would have a funnel shape, thus resembling Knoke et al.'s policy network model (1996: 25) and Miyake's voting behavior model

Figure 1–1 Three Layers of Power



(1989: 37). While the overall form of our model may resemble earlier studies, we believe our model to be unique in terms of the perspectives examined in our analysis concerning the structure of civil society organizations and a theoretical approach to organized interests, as well as its applicability in conducting comparative studies, particularly at the international level.

1–1 Civil society organizations

In our modern society, there are countless numbers of groups, for example, permanent groups, temporary groups, groups that have offices and workers, and those that do not, among others. Because of the complexity and fluidity of group organization in general, it is impossible to obtain an accurate and definitive snapshot of the world of civil society organizations. Thus, there will always be groups that we attempt to analyze, but also groups that we do not analyze.

For example, we do not analyze masses of people or crowds that form on a

temporary basis and do not last long as a group. Moreover, we do not consider certain groups such as men, women, *Ibarakians* (people who live in Ibaraki prefecture), and foreign workers to be "social groups" for the purposes of our analysis. Similarly, other social groups such as families, relatives, regular customers of a certain establishment such as a restaurant, bands, and social circle members (in other words, purely private groups) are not included in our analysis.

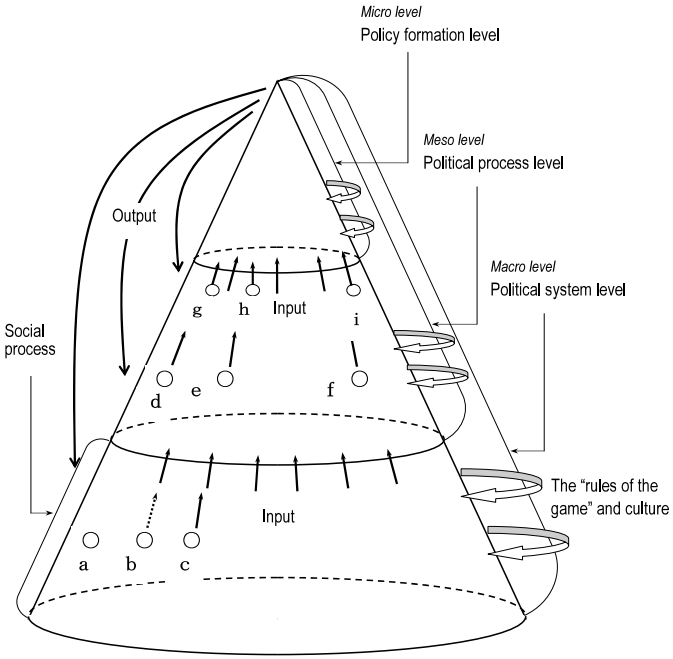
We turn now to describing the characteristics of the civil society organizations and organized interests that we analyzed in our model (Figure 1–2). Our main focus is on civil society organizations. (We could call them "active movements" within civil society or simply "groups", but the use of these terms could cause confusion, as "civic groups" or "civic organizations" is one of the categories in our study.)

For the purposes of our study, there are two main requirements for an organization to be called a civil society organization. The first requirement is that the organization must be permanent, active, and recognizable from the outside world. The initial environment for a civil society organization is shown as point "a" in Figure 1–2, wherein such groups are part of social process layer. However, in reality, no group remains at point "a". Although these groups initially exist at point "a" in society, they are sensitive to other groups and to political developments and, furthermore, starting to become aware of public goods. At point "b" in Figure 1–2, most social organizations are potentially politically active. When a group becomes aware of politics and public goods, it moves to point "c". Hence, the second requirement for our definition of a civil society organization is the realization of the importance of public goods. A social group can be called a civil society organization when it decides to form a group dedicated to pursuing public goods, instead of merely pursuing private interests and private relationships with others (at points "b" and "c").[3] Those organizations that pursue public benefits are civil society organizations. Public benefit can be defined broadly, and thus, most groups are oftentimes considered civil society organizations.

In our analysis, we have excluded for-profit corporations, private hospitals, schools, and religious groups (including churches and temples) from our definition of civil society,

[3] See Putnam's argument (1993).

Figure 1–2 Three Layers of Power: Civil Society Organizations and Organized Interests



and instead, we consider them to be social groups. We are, however, cognizant of the possibility that these groups may become interest groups in the future. Organizations that pay their members are considered for-profit corporations. In addition, we consider churches and temples to be private groups, similar to family and relatives. Moreover, we have excluded those groups and organizations that are aware of public goods but under the control or the state (for example, at various levels of the central government, state government, state-owned enterprises, and national/state schools and hospitals).

According to Diamond (1994: 96), who greatly contributed to the resurgence of academic interest in civil society, there are seven categories of civil society organizations:

- Economic organizations (including industry organizations, manufacturing and service networks);
- Cultural organizations (including religious, ethnic, and community organizations that protect collective rights, values, credos, beliefs, and symbols);

- Information and educational organizations (including groups that create and spread knowledge, beliefs, news, and information regardless of the pursuit of profit);
- Profit-based organizations (including organizations that promote and protect the profits of professionals or workers, veterans, pension recipients, specialists, etc.);
- Developmental organizations (including organizations of social capital, institutions, and organizations that strive to improve the quality of life);
- Issue-oriented organizations (including organizations aimed at environmental protection, women's rights, development, consumer protection);
- Civic political organizations (including organizations aimed at the improvement of the prevailing political system, human rights monitoring, voter education and mobilization, public opinion trends, anti-political corruption, and non-partisanship).

Civil society has a wide scope. As Diamond (1994) argues, although civil society is different from society itself, it is just as pervasive. Nonetheless, Diamond suggests that there are four common characteristics among the above seven types of civil society:

(1) Civil society aims to fulfill public, not private, purposes;
(2) Civil society has relationships with the state, but does not strive to gain power or to hold public office;
(3) Civil society includes pluralism and diversity;
(4) Any civil society group is partial.

For these reasons, civil society is neither the state nor society, and it is differentiated from political society (political parties).

1-2 Organized interests (*rieki dantai*)

To continue our discussion based on Figure 1–2, civil society organizations at point "b" conduct activities by being conscious of public goods, the state, and pluralism in certain ways. At a certain point (point "c" in our figure), these organizations are cognizant of politics and policy and start to recognize certain non-private interests at the political and policy levels. We could consider this as the beginning of the formation of interest groups. As for the definition of interest groups, some of which are quite diverse,

one possible definition is that they are groups that try to fulfill their self interests.

The organized interests at points “b” and “c” that have political and policy interests try to participate in the political process or are mobilized into the political process. As such, the organized interests at points “d”, “e”, and “f” are engaged in such activities.

For example, organized interests coordinate activities to achieve various public goods, such as protecting lifestyles and rights or obtaining subsidies and consent from the government for various activities. They may organize meetings or provide information to mass media outlets such as newspapers and television. In some rare cases, they may even organize demonstrations and sit-ins. In the process, these organizations may contact ruling as well as opposition parties, various sections in the administration, and powerful politicians.

Further activities engaged in by these organized interests include participation in creating bills and regulations in consultative committees and compiling budgets. For these activities, official and unofficial channels are used. The organized interests located at points “g”, “h”, and “i” engage in these types of activities.

The activities undertaken by groups at points “d” to “i” begin voluntarily and are related to the leadership of political parties and the civil service. Furthermore, they demonstrate definite signs of mobilization.

In our definition, organized interests are civil society organizations that have political and policy interests. This definition and the one that defines organized interests associations as civil society organizations that recognize public goods are by no means dissimilar. As discussed in Chapter 3, 100 percent of the groups surveyed have policy interests; hence, it is possible to consider civil society organizations and organized interests to be virtually the same thing. The existing form in the social process is civil society organizations. They are at points “b” and “c”, and when these organizations enter into a political process, they become organized interests (points “d”, “e”, “f”, “g”, “h”, and “i”). Drawing a clear-cut line, however, is difficult. Both groups are usually called “groups”. In other words, these groups (organizations and associations) are civil society organizations and they are organized interests.

Non-civil society groups such as private enterprises, private schools, hospitals, churches, and temples can also be active as interest groups. These groups have political

and policy interests, and work toward achieving their goals. Moreover, bureaucracy, local government, national (state) schools and hospitals also act in a similar fashion. In other words, the concept of interest groups in itself is quite broad. While beyond the scope of our immediate study, we will briefly touch upon the nature of interest groups.

1-3 Interest groups (*rieki shudan*)

Interest groups include every medium (i.e., groups, organizations, and individuals) that constitutes the state and society (Tsujinaka, 1998 [J]). Interest groups mobilize people to participate in elections, influence the representative process, provide various opportunities to participate, supply various types of information, affect policy-making processes, and assist in executing such policies. Through these processes, interest groups also try to provide valuable information and opinions. As such, interest groups are complex. According to Baumgartner and Leech (1998: 188), because of the diversity of activities and the meaning they entail, groups are the most difficult collective body to systematically examine. However, because of this diversity, political scientists must be interested in groups. Collective interest is the basis of actual politics, and interest groups must be the basis of political science.

A diverse array of elements is included in the concept of interest groups. In the field of political science in the United States, there are no fewer than 10 definitions of interest groups, according to Baumgartner and Leech (1998: 29):

(a) Social and demographic classifications (e.g., farmers, women, and African Americans);
(b) Membership organizations and associations;
(c) Groups sharing beliefs, identity, and interests;
(d) Social movements;
(e) Registered lobbyists (U.S.);
(f) Political action committees (PACs) (U.S.);
(g) Participants (and interested parties) in congressional hearings for the purpose of creating regulations and bills;
(h) Various institutions of government;
(i) Coalitions of organizations and institutions;

(j) Important individuals who work as political entrepreneurs and lobbyists.

In this list, we can see various types of groups. For example, interest groups in category "a" are divided simply according to different types of people; categories "e" and "j" include lobbyists who specialize in negotiating with politicians; category "c" groups are organizations that share certain beliefs, while category "i" includes organizations that have clear-cut group and membership rules; category "d" groups are social movements that are outside the activities of government, and category "h" groups include low-level governmental organizations.

Yet despite this diversity, there are features common to all groups. These organizations are all related to public policy, the political process, and the executive. In other words, these organizations have a broad interest in politics. According to our definition, interest groups are all groups that exist in the state and society that are interested in politics. Therefore, the study of interest groups must inevitably include an analysis of the entire political and social system. Given the complexity of comprehending the entire realm of interest groups, we have thus decided to focus on civil society and organized interests that constitute part of the overall study of interest group activity.

1-4 Pressure groups, lobby, and lobbyists

Phrases such as "civil society organizations", "organized interests", and "interest groups" are not commonly used in Japanese newspapers, as shown further in Tables 1-1 and 1–2. As seen in Table 1–3, the concepts of pressure groups, lobby, and lobbyists are different. The latter two concepts are mainly used in the United States and in the overall academic field of international politics, while the term "pressure groups" is often used in Japan. In order to proceed further, it is necessary to clarify the definition of these terms.

Simply put, pressure groups are interest groups that are conspicuous because of the strategies they employ in the political and policy processes. Pressure groups, therefore, are interest groups, according to our definition. At the same time, these can be specific private enterprises (e.g., Nippon Telegraph and Telephone, or NTT, Tokyo Electric, IBM, and General Motors), certain industries (e.g., the construction industry or the post office), bureaucratic organizations (e.g., a particular section in the Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry or in the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism), local

government (e.g., the Tokyo Metropolitan Government, the Ibaraki Prefectural Government, or the City of Tsukuba), and universities and hospitals. The number of such groups is large, but not as large as that of interest groups. We can comprehend the concept of pressure groups by looking at their role in policy-making processes. When we conduct case studies, it is important that we examine pressure groups, which, in itself is an imperfect yet completely possible endeavor. In our GEPON (Global Environmental Policy Network) study, all of the pressure groups and policy-making institutions were recognized and studied as important actors (Tsujinaka et al., 1999 [J]). There are various types of pressure groups that differ according to policy issues and cases. As such, multiple methods of social science inquiry are necessary to comprehend their exact nature. Thus, complementary qualitative and quantitative approaches were used in our study.

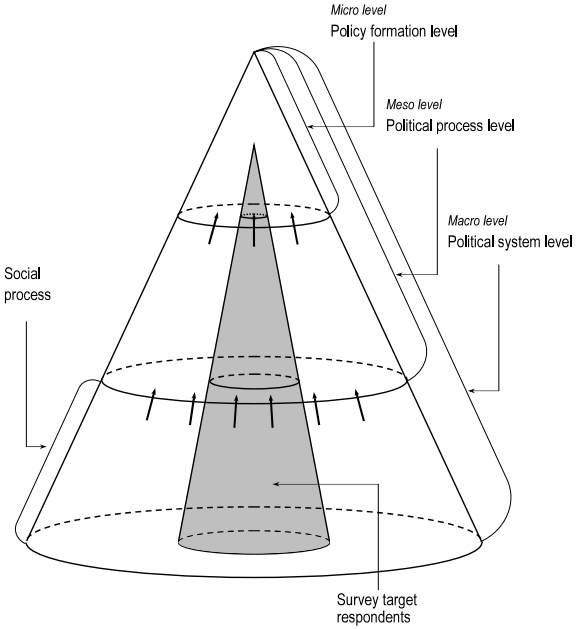
We used a similar approach to more accurately define the concepts of lobby and lobbyists. A "lobby" and "pressure groups" are almost synonymous. Lobbyists themselves are the specialized and personal face of pressure group politics. The United States has an established system in which lobbies and lobbyists must be registered (for example, foreign lobbies must register with the Department of Justice and domestic lobbies with Congress) (Tsujinaka, 1988 [J]). In Japan, the words "lobby" and "lobbyists" are used to mean pressure groups and powerful agents, respectively. In addition, these words are used in a rather vague fashion and are thus unsuitable for rigorous academic inquiry.

2. Survey subjects and model

We attempted to understand reality by utilizing the model described above. Comprehensive, reliable, and valid samples of civil society organizations and organized interests were necessary to that end. Our random sampling using telephone directories made it possible for us to extract representative data. We will discuss why we chose certain organizations and the meaning of our study in the next chapter. In this section, we explain which areas we studied in Figure 1–3.

In addition to this organized group survey, we refer to several other surveys throughout this book. For example, with regard to the statistical aspects of civil society

Figure 1–3 Model of Three Layers of Power



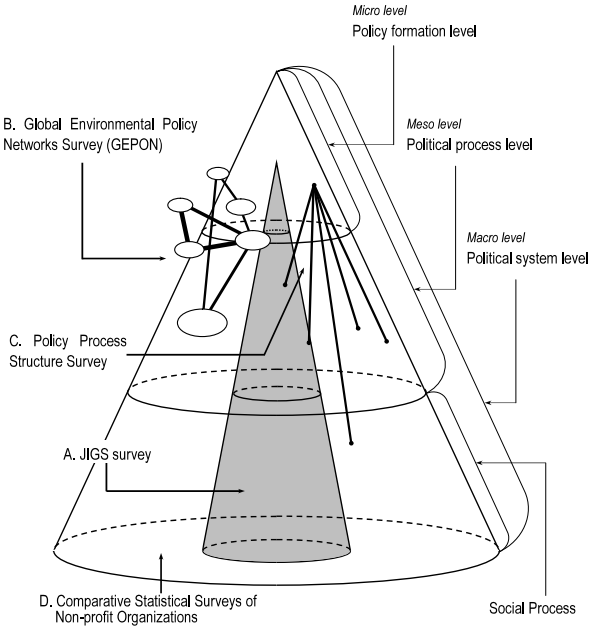
organizations and organized interests, we used data from the Non-profit Organization Comparative Statistical Survey (D). With regard to the structure of the policy process in Japan, we used the Policy-Making Process Structure Survey, and as for the network relationships among actors, we referred to our GEPON data. Throughout this book, we use these surveys for reference purposes only rather than direct analysis. (The GEPON series data will be published at a later date.). Through reference to these multiple surveys, we aim to comprehend the relational structure of civil society and organized interests as shown in Figure 1–4.

3. Aim of this book

Our aim in this book is to understand the structure of Japanese civil society (excluding the state, enterprises, family, and related groups) as comprehensively as possible.

In order to achieve this goal, we focus on the following three points:

Figure 1–4 Survey Targets



(1) Is it possible to survey civil society and organized interests? We focus on civil society organizations and organized interests and see if it is possible to operationalize them. We then consider how such a survey can be conducted.

(2) We seek to clarify the inter-relationship between the Japanese political process and organized interests (civil society organizations) in various issue areas.

(3) Through four- and three-country comparative studies (Japan, Korea, the United States, and Germany, as well as Japan, the United States, and Korea, respectively), we seek to point out the basic differences and similarities as well as to provide hypotheses regarding Japan's civil society organizations and organized interests from a global perspective.

When we use the term "clarify," we are referring to the introduction of systematic data, the description of data and the actual situation, as well as data classifications and analysis. In other words, we seek to describe and classify what Duverger (1964) calls

"empirical study." Moreover, as King, et al. (1994) suggest, we seek to develop a descriptive inference.

In this book, we refrain from establishing causal mechanisms (explanations and causal inferences) at this stage. In the future, we will approach this task after we finish conducting bilateral analyses between Japan and other nations such as Korea, the United States, Germany, and China.

We do need to point out, however, one cautionary note regarding the concept of "structure". The definition of "structure" in itself is vague. According to Easton (1998: 85 [J]), however, structure is order, and he argues that observable low-level structure can be described as the attribute that demonstrates the experience or description of stable relationships among objects or parts of the objects. He goes on to list the political roles of various groups/organizations such as collectivities of different categories (ethnic groups or classes), as well as political parties and interest groups in a broad sense (as socio-political organizations, community organizations, organizational elites, class elites, and military organizations) (Tsujinaka 1996, Introduction [J]).

While structure can be stable for a certain period of time, it does change. Hence, structure is the "central issue of [political] analysis" (Easton 1998: 8 [J]). And this book suggests one possible approach to reveal the structure of contemporary Japanese politics and society.

4. Dependent variable: Japanese political and social structure

As discussed previously in our analysis, we have excluded groups such as corporations, semi-autonomous corporations, families, private organizations, religious organizations such as churches, as well as the state and related organizations. Moreover, we consider political parties and parliament in relation to civil society organizations and organized interests. Similar to other studies, ours can shed light only on a part of the reality, especially of the roles these groups play in society.

As such, we do not attempt to provide a macro- or micro-level view as to whether the model of the Japanese political system or the policy making process is pluralist, neo-corporatist, elitist, or in the midst of class struggle (Muramatsu et al., 2001 [J]). Our

approach, however, does not mean that we have failed to consider the direction in which Japan is heading. In fact, we are quite sensitive to this issue. What we are concerned with is whether the structure of civil society and organized interests conforms more or less to a particular model.

To consider this point in more concrete terms, we have performed a rudimentary examination of political phenomena in Japan by conducting a content analysis of Japanese newspaper articles that in some way include mention of civil society. Table 1–1 shows the results of the content analysis survey conducted on articles from the *Asahi Shimbun* during the period 1987 to 2000.[4]

This analysis reveals specific characteristics of Japanese civil society and organized interest structure by counting certain words that appeared in the newspaper articles. In the Second Interest Group Survey (1994), we asked 100 organizations to rate the level of influence of their particular organization. There was a quite high correlation of 0.8325 between the numerical rank of the top 50 organizations[5] and the frequency with which the names of the organizations appeared in three major newspapers (the *Asahi Shimbun*, the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and the *Mainichi Shimbun*) from 1991 to 1995.

Evaluating influence this way and understanding the relationship between actual influence and power are important. Moreover, we should keep in mind that from the theoretical viewpoint of media pluralism (Kabashima 1990), media, in itself having a structural bias, is likely to promote pluralism. However, it is clear that the results we obtained from surveying reputation also constitute a certain image of politics and society. Based on this assumption and our analysis in Tables 1–1 and 1–2, we can infer the following.

Table 1–1 shows that the frequency with which words such as "business", "labor union", "agricultural organization", "women's organization", and "consumers' organization" appear is relatively stable, but overall shows a declining trend. Except for recent years, the terms "business" and "labor union" appear relatively frequently.[6]

On the other hand, the phrase "civic organizations"(*shimin dantai*) has appeared

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4 We conducted a similar survey using articles from the *Yomiuri Shimbun*, with similar results.

5 Technically speaking, 55, since some organizations were ranked at the same level.

6 Other phrases such as "bureaucracy", "opposition party", and "ruling party" are also listed as references.

Table 1–1 Frequency of the use of terms related to organized interests appearing in the *Asahi Shimbun* (1987–2000)

Association Name	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Ruling party	964	638	668	673	536	714	1915	3877	2930	2886	2595	1686	1885	3092
Opposition party	2828	3004	3615	2870	2065	2750	2549	2073	1364	1653	1706	2675	1974	2513
Interest groups	3	7	4	4	1	4	3	6	4	5	4	10	2	11
Interest associations	4	7	4	9	4	12	6	8	9	10	6	14	8	7
Pressure groups	14	19	13	23	9	21	23	21	16	17	19	16	10	10
Civic organizations (*shimin dantai*)	133	178	187	248	260	355	365	303	435	609	510	516	559	557
Citizens' movements	149	129	156	195	134	158	138	137	150	187	109	145	137	112
Civil society	14	17	37	48	40	44	37	47	89	77	73	60	99	99
NGO	38	93	125	82	122	348	208	399	521	397	444	399	517	683
NPO	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	6	48	107	117	142	279	381
Lobbyists	18	21	17	15	18	29	16	11	14	5	9	9	8	14
Labor unions	394	411	570	657	478	676	656	461	334	331	369	362	396	373
Financial community	584	622	657	600	501	486	502	378	306	319	335	351	238	297
Economic organizations	123	200	192	169	183	122	203	240	178	216	198	181	179	247
Consumer groups	80	92	121	103	80	71	103	80	55	61	44	46	78	68
Government bureaucracy	439	501	551	534	473	484	802	962	1187	1434	1167	1306	798	761
Women's organizations	30	60	60	32	26	18	26	36	26	21	17	18	12	5
Agricultural groups	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	21	24
Total number of newspaper articles	58,153	70,618	73,132	73,362	72,251	75,153	82,190	82,462	82,469	80,883	78,627	79,318	81,816	84,977

Table 1–2 Frequency of the use of specific names of organized interests in the *Asahi Shimbun* (1987-2000)

Association Name	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000
Liberal Democratic Party + LDP	5147	4577	6349	5220	4800	5562	6031	4349	3516	4090	3862	4848	4220	4387
Central Union of Agricultural Cooperatives	13	50	40	18	27	14	30	52	15	19	8	26	22	34
Japan Economic Federation + *Keidanren*	491	448	474	528	540	448	611	456	373	376	320	324	316	251
Keizaidan Doyukai (The Japanese Association of Corporate Executives)	150	168	207	173	212	158	178	182	137	143	124	133	89	84
Japan Federation of Employers' Associations + *Nikkeiren*	186	206	248	267	215	236	270	277	214	191	131	93	137	142
Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry	71	78	91	72	64	89	156	87	38	47	43	49	40	56
Japan Trade Union Confederation	0	3	152	296	208	369	328	126	24	23	14	12	30	9
National Confederation of Trade Unions + *Zenroren*	0	0	62	54	22	29	17	19	9	19	18	30	34	21
Japanese Consumers' Cooperative Union	16	22	29	24	30	21	44	44	22	19	16	17	6	7
Japan Housewives' Association	3	15	37	17	22	12	24	29	13	11	11	12	7	11
Buraku Liberation League	25	38	40	34	24	19	21	39	31	21	11	11	19	12
National Liaison Committee of Consumers' Organizations	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Organization for Industrial, Spiritual and Cultural Advancement International	0	6	8	70	5	4	1	2	0	8	2	3	2	2
Greenpeace	17	20	52	47	42	118	93	60	233	60	61	38	41	59
People's Forum 2001	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	7	5	5	9	0	1	4
Total number of newspaper articles	58,153	70,618	73,132	73,362	72,251	75,153	82,190	82,462	82,469	80,883	78,627	79,318	81,816	84,977

Source: *Asahi Newspapers Digital News Archives*

much more frequently. And the frequency of occurrence of "NGO" has increased by about 20 times. Furthermore, we saw a great increase in the frequency of the phrase "NPO" (non-profit organizations) from 0 (in 1987) to nearly 400 (in 2000). The rapid growth of new organizations related to the citizen and advocacy sectors (the combination of civil groups and political groups) is impressive. We refer further to this phenomenon in Chapter 3.

Let us now turn to Table 1–2. This table lists the actual names of organizations, mainly nation-wide organizations and major unions that are made up of smaller organizations. Because there are so many organizations, this table merely reveals only a part of the entire picture. With that in mind, however, we have nevertheless attempted to analyze the trend.

Here again, the number of articles related to economic organizations and labor unions is large and relatively stable over the years, but also shows a generally declining trend. The frequency of the occurrence of existing citizens' and political organizations is also declining. Articles concerning major Japanese NGOs and NPOs are few and do not show any increases over this period.

By examining these tendencies, we can speculate about the Japanese socio-political structure as follows:

(a) Rapid growth of pluralism: This view mirrors the idea that the rapid growth of advocacy groups reflects reality to a large extent.

(b) Media pluralism: This view suggests that the mass media – deliberately or not – has reported on organizations that are important to the Japanese political sphere and society overall. It also suggests a certain amount of exaggeration on the part of the mass media.

(c) Existing producer organization dominant model: This model argues that such media appearances reflect only a small part of reality. Existing organizations, rather than their newly created counterparts, still greatly affect Japanese politics and society. To be more specific, nationally organized economic, agricultural, and labor groups remain dominant. Furthermore, this perspective suggests a certain tendency towards corporatism that underscores the cooperative policy-making process and social integration. At the same time, this view may also be related to

the elite model and the class struggle model.

Keeping these views in mind, we can observe the tendencies of emerging groups and their impact on the existing socio-political structure in the context of Japan's political system.

We have analyzed several different views through this content analysis of the frequency with which phrases pertaining to certain organizations appeared in major Japanese newspapers in the period 1987 to 2000. We are cognizant of the fact that newspapers do not reflect reality; however, we are of the opinion that they do reflect reality to some extent. This type of media channel may create realities by forming norms, ideas, and culture.

As Table 1–3 shows, words related to interest groups appeared in the *Kojien* (an authoritative dictionary on the Japanese language) after those organizations and their activities were well recognized in the society. Hence, it is worth examining the number of newspaper articles concerning such groups.

In the context of Japanese politics, two main yet competing views must be emphasized in considering whether civil society organizations and organized interests act voluntarily to affect politics. The first is statist in nature and is an institutional approach that emphasizes output from above and input to civil society. The second is a pluralist approach that focuses on momentum from below and concentrates on political processes. We examine which of these two perspectives is more valid by studying the relationship between actors and groups (or political parties and the administration on the one hand

Table 1–3 Definitions of "Organized Interests" and Related Terms in the Kojien

1st edition (1955)	Labor unions (*rodo kumiai*), financial circles (*zaikai*), co-operative association (*kyodo kumiai*), rights/interests (riken)
2nd edition (1969)	Pressure group (*atsuryoku dantai*), lobbyist (*robiisuto*)
3rd edition (1983)	NGO, civic movements (*shimin undo*), lobby (*robi/robiisuto*)
4th edition (1991)	Not relevant
5th edition (1998)	NPO
Related phrases not appearing in the *Kojien*	Interest groups (*rieki shudan*), organized interests (*rieki dantai*), civic action (*shimin katsudo*), network (*nettowaku*) [phrases referring to networks as relationships among individuals did not appear], policy network (*seisaku nettowaku*)

Source: *Kojien* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, various years). Table compiled by the author.

and groups on the other).

In this book, we also attempt to examine the rifts within Japanese civil society itself as well as in organized interests, revealing their essential demarcation. Moreover, we try to classify various groups into several categories. Revealing how groups fit into civil society and political processes is helpful in examining various models such as elitism, pluralism, corporatism, and the class struggle model.

5. Structure of this monograph[7]

Part One of this monograph, including this introductory chapter, describes our methodology, especially the importance of our research method in the light of the history of methodology in conducting investigations of this nature. We examine the methodological importance of the JIGS and describe our survey design. We also determine where this book fits in with the larger overall study of interest groups in Japan by analyzing the history and the current state of the discipline.

In Chapter 2, we use select data to specify where civil society organizations and organized interests fit into the Japanese political arena. More specifically, we seek to reveal how many organizations are interested in policy and act to influence political processes by lobbying. How much do they value their influence? Furthermore, how powerful are the socio-political actors that they consider particularly important? In this chapter, we show the similarities and differences among organized groups in Japan, South Korea, the United States, and Germany.

Part Two uses JIGS data in more detail to examine each actor and a range of political issues. We explore group profiles and explain the orientations of different groups. In addition, we analyze political parties, elections, administration, lobbying, and new global-oriented groups.

In our original Part Three, we examine the characteristics of the Japanese data through comparative studies involving South Korea, the United States, and Germany. Based on the "combined space model" discussed in this section, we shed light on the

[7] This monograph contains only chapters 1 through 5 of the original Japanese text. See footnote 1.

quantitative aspects of the state and institutionalization on the one hand, and society and resources on the other. We seek to discover the underlying conditions of Japanese organized interests in order to generate certain hypotheses about their activities. Appreciating the historical development of groups is essential for understanding their current situation, and furthermore, is important in determining the unique pattern of Japanese group developments.

In our original Part Four, we reveal the structure of organizations in the Japanese socio-political system. We also show the rifts in Japanese civil society organizations and organized interests according to our categorizations and based on their establishment date.

In our original concluding chapter, we summarize our analyses presented in previous chapters and discuss the implications of Japanese politics, organized interest politics, and civil society.

Chapter 2

The Study of Organized Interests in Japan and the Meaning of the JIGS Survey

Yutaka Tsujinaka and Hiroki Mori

Introduction

Political scientists have long tried to theorize various stages of association movements with the main eras being 1945–55, 1965–75, and from late 1980 on. To date, we have an accumulated body of studies on interest groups and civil society organizations (which we hereafter simply refer to as the "study of groups"). It is our opinion that critical macro-level political analysis begins with the study of groups in a broad sense. And in order to comprehend real-world developments, it is essential that we observe what is happening at the associational level.

We first would like to start by exploring what we should continue or change in the study of groups. Second, we will explain our method of analysis.

1. Genealogy of empirical interest group studies in Japan

The postwar study of interest groups grew rapidly in the 1950s, and we can boast of this body of work as one of the major achievements of the Japanese political science.

Let us first briefly look at the background of Japanese interest group politics and the emergence of various groups in the 1950s (Tsujinaka 1988, 35–8 [J]). The new constitution made it possible for people to organize freely, and as a result, political parties emerged. The immediate post-war period from 1945 to 1948–9 saw a rise in labor movements, farmers' movements, and other social movements. These movements eventually led to civic movements to defend the Constitution, the goal of the Japan Socialist Party. Rapid economic recovery in the postwar era, coupled with industrialization, resulted in an explosive increase in voluntary associations. Commensurate with this increase, scholars

became interested in ways to modernize (i.e., Westernize) and democratize those groups and associations in Japan.

Beginning with the works of Masao Maruyama and also Tsuji Kiyoaki (1950), the study of groups progressed with Yoshitake Oka et al., *Sengo nihon no seiji katei* [Political Process in Postwar Japan] (1953) and *Nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure Groups in Japan] (1960). Yu Ishida (1961), Fukuji Taguchi (1969), Junnosuke Masumi, Yonosuke Nagai, Bakuji Ari, Keiichi Matsushita, Hajime Shinohara, and Naoki Kobayashi produced a variety of important studies. Especially important are Takeshi Ishida's *Gendai soshiki ron* [Modern organizational theory] (1961), Keiichi Matsushita's *Gendai nihon no seijiteki kousei* [The political structure of modern Japan], Hajime Shinohara's *Gendai no seiji rikigaku* [Modern political dynamics], Fukuji Taguchi's *Shakai shudan no seiji kinou* [Political functions of social groups] (1969), and Junnosuke Masumi's *Gendai nihon no seiji taisei* [Political system of modern Japan] (1969). In these works, the authors discuss various aspects of politics in Japan, including: (1) the political process in Japan and the existence of two major alliances (the "main alliance", or *honkeiretsu*, and the "outside alliance", or *bekkeiretsu*); (2) alternative roles of groups and political parties in Japan and dysfunctions in such role structures; (3) the existence of an absolute or all-embracing configuration of existing organized interests at the time of their establishment and the political importance of the existence or standing of the relegating leadership within the organization; (4) the inclination of groups to contact the administration and the bureaucracy, as well as the subordination of politicians; and (5) the existence of three power elites (the elite bureaucracy, the Liberal Democratic Party, or LDP, and business) that dominate the political process. Many major studies undertaken in the 1950s were successful in advancing clear models of political structures in Japan.

While these studies were particularly valuable in theoretically examining the early years of organized interests, they nonetheless lacked a systematic comparative method. While rigorous attention is paid to empirical approaches, there is an existent bias in selecting cases. Moreover, too much emphasis has been put on "continuity" between the pre- and postwar eras. Moreover, this generation of scholars advanced the three-power-elites model without robust empirical studies upon which to base their models (Ohtake, 1979b, 1999). It seems that the normative element (i.e., how should the pressure groups

that emerged after WWII be changed to deal with the modernization of Japan and Japanese politics) was particularly strong when these researchers conducted their empirical and theoretical studies.

Studies concerning pressure groups that were popular in the 1950s came to an end in the early 1960s as battle lines were drawn between Japan's political conservatives and progressives in the period after 1955, and relationships between groups and political parties established before the postwar "1955 system" became increasingly robust in the period immediately following the war until 1955. Perhaps pressure groups and interest groups were no longer considered principal actors in modernizing Japan. As a result, scholars sought different actors or phenomena such as local governments and civic movements.

Later on, to be sure, a certain structure of coexistence emerged among groups, government, and politicians. This structure was the base for *zoku* ("tribes" or groups) politicians that emerged around 1970. In addition to producers' groups, in the early 1970s, we saw more advocacy groups and associations that were related to social service. Most political scientists, however, did not examine the rapid increase of those groups during and after the period of high economic growth in the 1960s. For example, works by Mitsuru Uchida (1980, 1988) and Minoru Nakano (1984) took a rather theoretical approach to examining such groups.

The second wave of interest group phenomena occurred in the late 1970s, during which the study of interest groups was revived. Hideo Ohtake's empirical work on the political power of big business, *Gendai nihon no seiji kenryoku keizai kenryoku* [Political and economic power in modern Japan], (1979), Michio Muramatsu et al. on bureaucracy and pressure groups, *Sengo ninon no kanryou sei* [Bureaucracy in postwar Japan] (1981), and Michio Muramatsu, Mitsutoshi Ito, and Yutaka Tsujinaka's *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] (1986) are significant studies. These works were different from those of the previous generation of scholars in the sense that they tried to examine pressure groups from the perspective of political science.

These works had one thing in common. They all agree that there was something new out there that could not be grasped simply by understanding rival structures such as conservatives versus progressives or capitalism versus socialism. Ohtake depicted the

emerging world as "the world of free enterprise." Muramatsu notes the need to do away with "old theories and engage in the study of real politics."

Gathering basic information became necessary in order to realistically and academically describe group politics. Most researchers shifted their focus from the case study approach to one that concentrates on the activities of groups in policy processes. In this vein, there are two types of studies. One focuses on a particular group,[1] while the other concentrates on policy processes.[2] The latter case details every decisive moment in policy making and explores the relationships among actors. For example, Ohtake's study explores the behavior patterns of business actors in the U.S.-Japan textile negotiations and their dealings with defective automobiles.

Ohtake asserts that unlike the elite or class political models, the way in which groups exert influence on policy-making processes in Japan is much more complicated. Moreover, he was successful in convincing many political scientists in Japan that there is, in fact, a pressure group politics in Japan and that studying such phenomena is important. However, there was a limit to the extent to which generalizations could be made.

This shortcoming was overcome by conducting surveys through questionnaires. Representative works incorporating this methodology include Muramatsu et al.'s first and second "Survey on Bureaucrats" (Muramatsu et al., 1981), Ichiro Miyake et al.'s "Survey on Elites' Views on Equality" (Miyake et al., 1985), and Muramatsu et al.'s first and second "Group Survey" (Muramatsu et al., 1986; Tsujinaka 1988 [J]; Leviathan, 1998 Winter, Special Issue).

2. *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan]

Muramatsu et al.'s *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] (1986) deals head on with the issue of interest and pressure groups through surveys. This is a classic on the study of interest and pressure groups in Japan. At the same time, we

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1 See Tsujinaka (1993) and Shinoda's (1989) works on *Rengo*, and Takahashi's (1986) study on doctor's associations.

2 See Ohtake (1979), Kato (1997), and Iio (1993).

recognize that there are some issues that need to be resolved when approaching this type of study. In this section, we will closely examine *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] to enable us to put our study in perspective.[3]

2–1 Data and methodology

When conducting a study based on surveys, it is important first to understand how samples are selected. One of the characteristics of *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] is the way in which the authors chose their samples.

> First, in the "Survey on Bureaucrats" conducted in 1976–77, Muramatsu compiled a list of associations that were closely related to various ministries. Those associations became the first sample candidates. Next, based on the *Asahi Almanac* and the *Japan Directory of Groups*, associations whose names appeared in the mass media (news related to politics) were added to the list. We also added associations that did not appear in newspapers particularly often but were well-known. Four hundred and fifty associations in total were chosen. A large number of samples were needed because we expected a 60 percent response rate. Those 450 groups were then divided into 8 subsets, according to different policy areas (agricultural associations, social welfare associations, economic associations, labor associations, civic/political associations, educational associations, professional associations, and government-related associations). Then those associations were sorted according to their level of importance"(Muramatsu, Ito, and Tsujinaka 1986, 25).

When examining associations quantitatively, one needs to divide associations into several groups. And the method of such groupings often reflects the viewpoints of scholars. Oftentimes, not all associations recognize themselves as being interest or

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[3] Since it is inappropriate for one of the authors (Tsujinaka) to evaluate his own book, Hiroki Mori wrote this section and the following section as well.

pressure groups. In what way, then, can we distinguish such groups? Muramatsu sorted the associations into two large categorical sets: organizational groups (*dantai bunrui*) and organizational types (*dantai ruikei*).

Organizational groups are categories of associations that act as the foundation of the sampling and are divided into eight subcategories: professional associations, economic associations, farmers' associations, educational associations, government-related associations, social welfare associations, labor associations, and civic/political associations. Organizational types are three categories devised after the survey was completed: sector associations (associations that are related to economic activities), policy interest associations (associations that are closely related to the government and its policies), and value-promoting associations (associations that promote values and ideologies that are not reflected by the government and its policies).

Let us consider further the relationship between organizational groups and organizational types. In sector associations, we find economic associations and professional associations. Within policy interest associations, there are farmers' associations, educational associations, government-related associations, and social welfare associations. As for value-promoting associations, we find labor associations, civic associations, political associations, and social welfare associations. Technically speaking, farmers' associations and labor associations are to be included in the sector association, although those associations have the characteristics of other organizational types. Moreover, there are cases where one group overlaps two types. This may be a peculiar characteristic of Japan.

The way group politics is analyzed also reflects Muramatsu's views. Based on the survey data and groupings, Muramatsu et al. examines various facets of interest group politics. Based on the two-dimension-structure perspective (government and society), they focus on the following three dimensions: (1) associations in social processes, (2) various patterns connecting society and the government, and (3) the influence associations have in policy-making processes. The perspectives employed in *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure Groups in Postwar Japan] were based on the assumption that society affects government, and this work is a typical example of applying a pluralist approach to the study of pressure groups.

2–2 Examining the content of *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai*

Let us now examine the specific content of the book. It is basically divided into three themes, namely, associations in social processes, the route to politics, and influence.

(1) Associations in social processes

As Muramatsu et al. presuppose, the world of associations is essentially autonomous. However, in today's society, there are many associations that cannot exist without some type of financial support from the outside, hence becoming involved in politics has become essential. How autonomous are Japanese associations? Which associations find it necessary to get involved in politics ?

Chapter 2, "Formation of Groups and Their Cycles," by Tsujinaka and Chapter 3, "Coalition and Opposition: The Structure of Big Firms' Labor Relations," by Ito both examine associations in the social process. Tsujinaka's chapter in this book is the only chapter that examines the state of associations in Japan by using collected data and almanacs. The analysis is systematic, quantitatives, and macro in perspective. There are many key findings, but the most fundamental result is the discovery of a "cycle of organizational formation." Tsujinaka found that associations develop in the following order: from sector associations to policy-beneficiary associations to value-promoting associations. In addition to this, Tsujinaka examined changes in political systems and the relationship between the government policy and the number of groups.

In the chapter entitled "Coalition and Opposition: The Structure of Big Firms' Labor Relations," Ito describes conflict and cooperation among associations by using survey data. He also examines the relationship among associations in social processes. Ito provides a detailed account of the relationships among associations within certain issue areas, relationships between associations in different areas, and the relationships between summit associations and ordinary associations. Space does not permit us to go into the details, but Ito basically argues that 90 percent of the associations have support groups and they tend to be groups in the same issue area. Only 40 percent of associations were in conflict with other associations. This means that many associations achieve their political objectives without entering into conflict with others. In fact, 60 percent of conflicts are between associations within the same issue area. Ito also points out that certain

peculiarities exist in the social process. The first is called "labor-management coalition of big firms." These sets of associations dominate the social process. He also points out that there are also many weak associations called "distribution-oriented associations" that need government assistance.

(2) Route to politics

Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] suggests that associations' activities can be divided into two stages. The first is negotiations among associations, and when problems cannot be solved at this stage, associations will move to the second stage by working in the political system (i.e., political parties and the bureaucracy). Muramatsu examined the second stage in Chapter 4 entitled "Lobbying: The Structure of One-Party Dominance." In his one-party dominance theory, Muramatsu argued that "associations actively work on the government, and those activities are dealt with at the managerial level. In the process of making policies, the ruling party plays a major role; in fact, such power of the ruling party has now surpassed that of the bureaucrats" (178 [JJ]). He also argues that "when opposition parties are competitive and bureaucratic systems are relatively independent, the ruling party also needs to be flexible" (209 [JJ]). Based on these observations, Muramatsu examines party-association relations and government-association relations separately. Then he explores whether political parties or the administration is more influential.

One important point about Muramatsu's argument is that he not only focuses on the influence exerted by ruling parties, but also on the influence exerted by opposition parties when discussing party-association relations. A further important point that Muramatsu raises is that associations close to the LDP (measured in terms of the number of LDP politicians friendly with the association, the association's support of the LDP, and the frequency of LDP contact) are not the only associations that are powerful. He hypothesizes that associations that are distant from the LDP nonetheless can exert influence by contacting opposition parties (mainly the Japan Socialist Party during this period). What is unique in Muramatsu's argument is that opposition-association relations are not dictated by ideology, but by the expectation on the part of the association that contacting the opposition group could lead to material benefits.

As for association-administration relations, Muramatsu examines the relationship between two criteria (i.e., official relations, or *koteki kankei*, and active engagement) and the level of influence. The official relations aspect involves permissions, regulations, administrative guidance, and subsidies, while active engagement involves cooperation/support, exchange of views, delegation of members to consultative committees, and offer of posts after retirement. Official relations and active engagement are positively correlated with variables such as trust in the administration and support for the LDP. However, only active engagement has a positive correlation with influence that associations recognize and their rate of success in promoting policies. Hence, Muramatsu argues that "associations that actively engage in political activities [here, political activities mean political activities toward the administration] are paid off." He also points out that there is no significant correlation between the rate of success in blocking a certain policy or bill and the degree of active engagement. Moreover, he argues that groups with low levels of official relations and active engagement tend to work on political parties (or the Diet). All in all, he suggests that associations that have outside alliances may be able to block a bill by exerting influence through opposition parties.

Do associations consult political parties or the administration when problems arise? In his analysis, Muramatsu claims that "associations that depend on or contact the administration are those who do not have close relations either with LDP or the Socialist Party"(207 [J]). Associations that are dependent only on political parties have "low levels of support for the LDP and low levels of trust in the administration, but high rates of contact with the Socialist Party"(207 [J]). On the other hand, there are associations that have close relationships with both the administration and political parties. Those associations are highly supportive of the LDP and the administration. However, they do not support the Socialist Party and are not dependent on the administration.

It is beyond the scope of our book to introduce every argument developed in this particular chapter, but Muramatsu argues that there are three networks that connect associations and politics: the administrative network (used mainly by policy beneficiary associations), the opposition party network (used by labor, civic, and political associations), and the ruling party network (used by professional and economic associations).

(3) Influence

Chapter 5 entitled "The Structure of Influence" examines how much influence associations have in affecting policy-making processes and policy implementation. Measuring influence is by no means easy, but Muramatsu et al. nonetheless attempt to do so by looking at two types of influence. The first is a "subjective scale," in which leaders of associations evaluate their own influence. The second is an "objective scale," where associations are evaluated based on the number of successes in making, blocking, or revising policies.

The main part of this chapter is the introduction and testing of the following four hypotheses: (1) "the organizational resources hypothesis" that states that the power of an association is determined by the resources it can use freely; (2) "the interaction justification hypothesis" that claims that power stems from access to policy elites, and the interactions between the association and policy elites in particular; (3) "the bias structure hypothesis" that suggests that power is not determined by the attributes or activities of an association, but by stable relationship with policy elites; and (4) "the joint peak organization hypothesis" that argues that power is determined by hierarchy among associations at the social level. We will not go into the details, but overall, the book finds cases supporting hypotheses (2) and (4). This finding suggests that policy-making processes in Japan are either pluralist or corporatist (or a mixture of the two) and does not support the class dominant theory or power elite model.

What is interesting about chapter 5 of *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] is that it examines these variables (recognized influence and influence that actually had results), and finds that recognized influence does not necessarily reflect actual real world influence. For example, associations that are active in narrow policy areas tend to recognize that their political influence is strong. In some way, this is natural. How influence is felt or how power is used depends on policy areas. And if we want to grasp the nature of real influence, analyzing various associations altogether in one statistical program could be problematic.

As such, *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] tries to study the influence of associations by closely examining individual policy areas and the types of associations. It then divides associations into three categories by using two

variables: self recognition of influence and the direction in which associations' activities are heading toward (either for or against a particular policy). The three types of associations are: (1) "policy realization associations" (have more successful cases of implementing policies rather than blocking), including education, administration-related (with strong self recognition of influence), agriculture, social welfare (self recognition somewhat high), and economic (self recognition at middle levels) associations; (2) "hybrid type associations" (have about equal cases of implementing and blocking policies), including professional associations; and (3) "policy-inhibiting associations" (have more cases of blocking rather than implementing policies), including labor, civil, and political associations.

These three types cannot be clearly separated, but these three associational groups can be respectively characterized as follows: (1) policy-benefit associations that exert influence in a narrow policy area (have close relations with administrative network); (2) sector associations that refrain from action when nothing important is happening, but exert influence when conflicts occur (have close relations with ruling parties); and (3) value-promoting associations that recognize their influence from the experience of blocking a bill in the past (have close relations with opposition parties).

2–3 Summary

Based on a systematic survey, *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] is the first book about pressure groups. It is filled with many insights regarding group politics, survey items, wording of the questionnaires, and the operationalization of variables. In fact, our work employs many of these same elements. However, we would like to point out three problems associated with Muramatsu's book.

First, Muramatsu et al. attempted to make generalizations through conducting surveys. However, the selection of associations was done subjectively. Thus, we conclude that there are some biases in the survey itself. Without defining the perimeter of the argument, it becomes difficult to determine at what level they are trying to make generalizations.

Second, Muramatsu's findings possibly reflect the characteristics of the actual state of Japanese policies during the 1980s. As is well known, Muramatsu surveyed

associations and political parties during the transition period in Japan from a balanced conservative-progressive era to the LDP's one-party dominant era. When considered from the long-term perspective, we cannot deny the possibility that those groups surveyed and their activities were somewhat unique. Moreover, his argument assumes the existence of the dominant LDP structure. Thus, we need to incorporate political changes that occurred after 1993 for our better understanding of organized interests. Will Muramatsu's results be found again 20 years later?

Third, as Muramatsu argued, the world of organized interests cannot be analyzed as a single entity. We will end up writing an unrealistic account of organized interests, especially when we overly rely on statistical analysis. We need to consider various facets of political processes and characteristics of subjects. *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] does not clearly define the domain of the argument.

3. *Leviathan* (Winter 1998, Special Issue)

The second and third points raised above were ameliorated in a 1994 survey conducted by the same Muramatsu team that carried out the 1980 survey, and the results of the second survey appeared in a special issue of *Leviathan* in 1998 (Winter, Special Issue). The title of the issue was "Pressure Groups during the Power Transition Period." This issue attempted to explore the changes that took place after *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] was published. The main question asked was how did the change in the government affect organized interests? It also discussed how the end of rapid economic growth and the coming of new liberalism in Japan affected the activities of organized interests.[4] We briefly explain the five articles that appeared in this issue.

The first article is by Michio Muramatsu, entitled, "Lobbying Targets: Parties or

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[4] There were some important issues that were not treated in this issue of *Leviathan* such as the increasing number of NPOs. Currently, the number of organized interests has been on the rise, but what impact do these groups have on Japanese politics and society? These questions need to be answered later on. For works focusing on the rise of NPOs, see Tokyo Metropolitan Government (1996) and Economic Planning Agency of Japan (1997).

Bureaucracies." In this second survey, he found: (1) declining support for the LDP, (2) declining activities by pressure groups, and (3) rising level of administrative officials targeted by pressure groups. These results clearly contradict the results of the previous survey, particularly the high level of contact with (or dependence on) political parties and the low level of contact with (or dependence on) the administration. These findings, however, are consistent with the accepted theory that "the administration plays a major role in politics in a period of transition (in Japanese)." Muramatsu advanced the argument that opportunities for activities and the influence of bureaucrats decline because the final decision maker in the political process is preoccupied with developments in a political situation. Muramatsu, hence, maintained the importance of political parties. When we look at the debate as to whether political parties or the administration are important in times of power transition, we cannot help but recognize the fact that the arguments developed in the 1980 survey reflect the era in which the survey was conducted.

The second article by Yutaka Tsujinaka and Yoshito Ishio is entitled, "Japanese Interest Group Network Structure: Two-layered Networks." In this article, a network analysis methodology was employed to examine 76 groups that responded to the survey. One interesting conclusion is that "Japanese group networks today are characterized as having two structures: corporatist (a prism-shaped network structure) and class politics structure with a big-firm-dominance." This article's contribution was to confirm, by employing quantitative method, the claims previously made qualitatively.

The third article by Masaharu Mabuchi is entitled "Silent Budgeting: The Political Process in the Last Years of One-party Dominance." Mabuchi discussed the political elements that brought changes in budgeting during the last years of the LDP's one-party dominance, as well as the meaning of such changes. In the 1994 survey, he found that activities have declined significantly among associations. He argues that the worsening economy, a "zero-sum" structure in budget distribution, and early annual budget drafting resulted in the tendency for associations to believe that their activities were ineffective. This article nicely showed one facet of group politics in a rapidly growing and transforming Japan, and demonstrated the need for emphasis on such meso-level analyses.

The fourth article by Kengo Akizuki is entitled, "Pressure Groups at the Crossroads:

Before and After the LDP's Demise in 1993." This article examines changes in associations' attitudes under the assumption that there is some link between the world of organized interests and changes in the government and politics. Akizuki asked the same set of questions to the same associations before and after the change in the government. This study applied a panel survey method, often used for analyzing voting behavior, to the study of associations. He argued that the impact wrought by the change in the government was relatively smaller in comparison to the larger fundamental change that gradually built up during the preceding years. This article is important since it engenders debate as to whether the ongoing change is temporary or fundamental.

The fifth article by Mitsutoshi Ito is entitled, "The Big Business-Labor Coalition Revisited: Its Continuity and Change." In the 1980 survey, Muramatsu et al. found that the main rivalries in politics were between (1) conservative and progressive camps; (2) labor and management of private big business and policy beneficiary groups (neo-liberalism versus social democracy); and (3) economic associations and consumer and environmental associations. In his article, Ito claims that "in the 1994 survey, we found that these three rivalries continue to this date, but with less intensity (in Japanese)." The reason for the relaxed tension, Ito argues, is because at some point local government associations began to represent the interests of non-market associations (particularly policy-beneficiary organizations). He argues that the rivalries were relaxed because while private labor and management unions recognized their conflicts with policy-beneficiary groups, they did not recognize such conflicts with local governments. This article is interesting since it examines how big-business, labor, and management unions, whose existence was confirmed in *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan], have changed in the past few years. Moreover, this paper is important because it introduces the need to consider state-local relations in the study of group politics. Furthermore, Ito's concept of "small central government and big local government" is essential for the future study of Japanese politics.

4. JIGS: Survey design and its characteristics

4–1 The study of civil society and social political processes

Due to the accumulation of research in the past 20 years, political scientists have confirmed the significance of studying activities of various associations. In accordance with its increasing importance, we have also seen refinements in the methodologies employed to study group politics.

What is our next step? It is true that we need to continue our empirical studies further with existing frameworks. At the same time, we need to expand the point of view of the research. When we consider the three-layered structure consisting of social processes, political processes, and policy processes shown in Figure 1–1, we cannot help but conclude that existing studies are either too empirical, focusing on particular political and policy processes, or too abstract, aiming at making theoretical arguments. Even if some groups are influential in certain policy areas and in certain political processes, this does not mean that other groups are equally influential. Empirical yet vague descriptions of groups and associations do not amount to a better understanding of real politics. Neither *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan] nor the special issue of *Leviathan* (Winter 1998) examined the big picture of the world of organized interests.

Our first task, then, is to ascertain the number of such groups in Japan. While we certainly want to know the composition of these groups, we also want to find out how many groups actually actively participate in politics. How many groups engage in pressure politics? How many are not engaged in pressure politics? What are the characteristics of such groups and what kind of political access do they have? In fact,

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[5] While they do not directly answer these questions, there are works that try to understand organized interests from macro and comparative perspectives. They use data from national censuses and statistics on business establishments. For an international quantitative comparison of groups, see Tsujinaka 1994 [J]; Tsujinaka 1996 [J]; and Tsujinaka 1996. For works that point out the relationship between the level of democratization and the changing number of various groups (time-series analysis), see Tsujinaka 1997. For the relationship between the distribution of groups in different prefectures and election results, see Tsujinaka 1997. However, works relying on aggregated data could face the problem of ecological fallacy (Alker 1969). Thus, more data combined with case studies are necessary to complement such a potential weakness.

those are the things we want to find out so as to deepen our understanding of socio-political system and structure.[5]

In order to examine the socio-political and policy processes, we needed to conduct random sampling survey of not just politically active groups, but also inactive groups. As such, our project commenced with random sampling surveys in Tokyo and Ibaraki. Although our survey is limited to two regions, this is perhaps the world's first attempt to conduct a comprehensive survey based on random sampling.

4–2 Operational definition of organized interests

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, the concept of interest groups is functional rather than theoretical in nature. Thus, it is possible to understand and analyze all collective entities (*shugotai*) with this concept. Interest groups include the bureaucracy, groups of politicians, and local government. Such comprehensiveness has merit in promoting recognition at the political system level, but is not appropriate for empirical analysis as there is no empirical "substance." Hence, we do not focus on interest groups, but on civil society organizations and organized interests (*rieki dantai*) and, more specifically, on unions and associations.

What are unions and associations? Here we refer to unions and associations as groups that are categorized as associations and unions in phone directories, group statistics, and official listings and guides in various countries. Generally speaking, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and non-profit organizations very much overlap with our definition of unions and associations. We should note that these organizations do not pay their employees. It is important that there is no mechanism for paying salaries. In this sense, firms, hospitals, and schools are not included. Moreover, organizations at the lower political levels, various sections in the bureaucracy, and local government are not included in our listing of civil society organizations. As discussed later, unions and associations are usually interested in public policy, and thus those registered as unions and associations are all considered to be organized interests. Those that are politically active and engage explicitly in pressuring activities are called pressure groups. Organized interests are social groups that try to act not only in the market arena, but also in the political arena in a broad sense and try to perform functions commensurate with

their rationale for existence (such as influencing public policies).

In our analysis, we exclude the following: political institutional groups (the bureaucracy and governmental organizations, or GOs, in local government, for-profit organizations (POs), and private and related organizations. In other words, we focus on NGOs and non-profit organizations. Technically speaking, there are cases in which meso-level corporations such as cooperatives are likely to distribute profits to their members, but we include these associations since we cannot judge whether the members actually do receive profits. Moreover, we include associations representing religious groups (e.g., churches and temples) as well as religious groups that are not directly involved in missions (e.g., YMCA), but exclude religious groups themselves because they can be considered private groups. Since members of educational corporations, social welfare corporations, and medical corporations sometimes receive payments, these are excluded from our list.

4–3 Determining population and sampling based on "operational definitions"

The task left for us after defining organized interests as unions and associations is to sample groups that fit into this definition. There is no such thing as a list of organized interests. When conducting random sampling surveys, therefore, we need to use some kind of population information on groups that are close to our definition. We then consider those groups as organized interests. In this sense, organized interests in our study are unions and associations as we have defined them operationally.

Which population comprehensively captures unions and associations? In various countries, group directories are usually used when examining organized interests, interest groups, pressure groups and lobbying. In Japan, we have the *National Directory of Associations* published by the Mikami Marketing Institute, a private firm. We also have directories compiled by ministry-related public corporations such as the *Ministry of International Trade and Industry Related Public Corporations Directory,* published by MITI (now the Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry), Industrial Policy Division, General Affairs Division, Trade and Manufacturing Research Section. Moreover, there are directories compiled by peak organizations of foundations, international NGOs, and international exchange organizations. We also have directories compiled by ministries in

charge of religious and political organizations. For comparative purposes, in other countries, there are the *Encyclopedia of Associations* (Gale Research Company), *Washington Representatives* (Columbia Books), *Yearbook of International Organizations* (K.G. Saur), *Directory of Associations in Canada* (Micromedia Limited), *Directory of British Associations* (CBD Research Ltd.), and *Directory of Korean Private Organizations (Kan Hangyore Shimbunhen)*. All of these directories contain quite important information about organized interests, but also have certain inconsistencies in the information provided. First, a certain amount of bias exists in selecting which organizations are included in these directories. Second, since these directories are compiled for business purposes, organizations that have disappeared or are inactive remain in the directory, and, at the same time, new organizations are not included. In other words, accurate representation is a problem with these directories.[6]

Our second possibility for determining the population of organized interests is by focusing on their activities. We could use publicly available information materials that show lists of the organizations that attend congressional hearings and/or advisory organs. Also, it is possible to sample organizations whose names appear in the mass media by using CD-ROM compilations of newspaper articles or monthly newspaper digests. Using these methods, we can avoid selection bias but we end up sampling only pressure groups. While helpful, this methodology is not suitable for our research that tries to examine all civil society organizations.

The third method is to focus on statistics concerning business establishments (*jigyosho tokei*). It allows us to avoid selection bias and achieve rigorous representation. In Japan, statistics concerning business establishments include associations that have more than one employee. These statistics are taken every three or five years. Organizations that have at least one employee and an office of business are included. According to the categorization of these statistics, Division 94 in the middle-range category is comprised of political, economic, and cultural organizations. Economic organizations, labor organizations, political organizations, academic organizations, and other organizations

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[6] However, there are directories with fewer problems and sometimes these are the only data available.

are included in the "small business" (*shobunrui*) division. Division 85 (cooperatives) and Division 90 (social welfare organizations) are also relevant to our research. As similar statistics can be found in the United States and Korea, using these divisions became our first choice as source material to create our initial listing. However, as the use of these statistics is limited to national administrative organizations and local public organizations, our research team, as part of the University of Tsukuba, was not able to gain access to these statistics.

The fourth possibility was to use telephone directories. In our initial methodological overview, we found that telephone directories and the compilation of statistics of business establishments are quite similar. As of 2000, the number of political, economic, and cultural organizations listed in the compilation of business statistics, and the number of cooperatives and cooperative associations (*jigyo kyodo kumiai*) was 66,000. The number of organizations in the telephone directory was 198,000. The difference in the figures clearly demonstrates the criteria that each statistical source employs. Organizations listed in the compilation of business statistics are those that have at least one employee and a place of business. Organizations that are listed in the telephone directory have a phone line, but include only those who want to be listed. This means that when we use the telephone directory, we include smaller organizations in the overall population. We assume that all organizations listed in the compilation of business statistics are also included in the telephone directory. Using the telephone directory is thus more appropriate for our research to examine social processes. Moreover, telephone directories are useful when we conduct comparative studies. For these reasons, we decided to use the telephone directory as the source for our initial listing of associations.

4–4 Population, target organizations, and response

The population of our research is the 23,128 organizations listed in the "unions and organizations" section of the NTT (Nippon Telephone and Telecommunications) Business Directory (*shokugyobetsu denwacho*), or Town Pages. We used the 1997 Tokyo region edition (10 areas, not including islands) and the 1997 Ibaraki edition (5 areas). By our calculations, we found 21,366 such organizations in Tokyo and 1,762 in Ibaraki (see Table 2–1).

Table 2–1 Groups included in the “Unions/Associations” Category in the NTT Telephone Directory (1997)

Groups included under “Unions and Associations”	*Groups that are not included in "Unions and Associations" (major associations are in bold)*
Unions/associations (academic, cultural) (fishermen’s cooperatives) (economic) (social welfare) (religion) (politics) (farmers’ cooperatives) (forestry/fishery) (labor)	
Medical association, relief associations, academic organizations, academic associations, benefit associations, educational associations, religious associations, fishermen’s cooperatives, fishermen’s associations, economic associations, enlightenment associations, health insurance associations, social security pension foundations, international amity associations, national pension foundations, charity associations, local community associations, civic organizations, social business organizations, religious associations, hobby associations, chambers of commerce, retail-outlet associations, consumers' associations, social clubs, sports associations, political organizations, political parties, junior-chamber associations, organizations, neighborhood associations, residents’ associations, farmers’ cooperatives, farmers’ associations, hospital associations, cultural organizations, volunteer groups, Lions Clubs, forestry associations, labor unions, Rotary Clubs	**Incorporated associations*, doctors’ associations***, offices for professional associations other than accountants and lawyers, music bands, churches (Christian, Shinto and others), theatrical companies, research institutes, public corporations, community centers, **dentists’ organizations***, business organizations, social welfare facilities, social insurance offices, commodity exchange offices, meeting places, archival facilities, facilities for the handicapped, **cooperatives***, temples, welfare facilities, custodial facilities, mother-and-child welfare facilities.

Note: Associations marked with an asterisk in the table above are listed as “unions/associations” on the 2000 NTT website. In addition, we noted lawyers’ associations, associations for administrative scriveners or law clerks (*gyoseishoshikai*), certified public accountants’ associations, certified social insurance labor consultants’ associations, veterinarians’ associations, and pharmacists’ associations.

The section on "Unions and Organizations" was further broken down into 10 subgroups in the 1997 edition.[7] They are: (1) unions/associations, (2) unions/associations (academic/cultural), (3) unions/associations (fishermen's cooperatives), (4) unions/associations (economic), (5) unions/associations (social welfare), (6) unions/associations (religious), (7) unions/associations (politics), (8) unions/associations (farmers' cooperatives), (9) unions/associations (forestry/ fishery), and (10) unions/associations (labor).

The categorization is not done objectively but by self-declaration of each group. Furthermore, since it is possible to list the name of the organization in more than one category, there may be some overlap, so the same organization may appear twice or more in the directory.

In the telephone directory, we find organizations such as "churches" (3,860), but as we discussed above, we considered only the 10 categories listed in Table 2–2. Thus, we

Table 2-2 Distribution of Groups

	Population		Surveyed groups		Groups with valid responses	
	Tokyo	Ibaraki	Tokyo	Ibaraki	Tokyo	Ibaraki
Unions and associations	42.8	33.0	42.0	29.4	44.2	27.9
Academic/cultural	14.9	2.4	14.4	3.1	14.1	4.1
Fishermen's cooperatives	0.3	2.6	0.6	3.1	0.3	3.0
Economic	20.0	15.2	19.5	12.6	19.4	14.7
Social security	3.8	1.9	4.6	2.6	7.0	3.0
Religion	2.0	4.0	2.0	3.1	1.1	1.0
Politics	3.0	3.2	2.9	3.7	1.8	3.0
Fishermen's cooperatives	1.0	12.2	1.4	18.6	1.3	15.2
Forestry/fishery	3.1	15.1	3.2	13.1	2.4	17.3
Labor	9.0	10.4	9.5	10.5	8.4	10.7
Total number	21,366	1,762	3,866	381	1,438	197

[7] In recent years, telephone directories can be viewed on the internet. However, we find changed to the classification every year.

decided to use only the category titled "Unions/associations."

We employed a random sampling technique and used the postal service to send out questionnaires. We identified certain advantages in using the postal service. First, the cost is relatively low, and second, we can expect a large population analysis. Disadvantages in this method are the possibilities of a low rate of return and a low rate of response to questions. However, we had a very high return rate (40 percent on average) and a very high response rate (more than 70 percent).

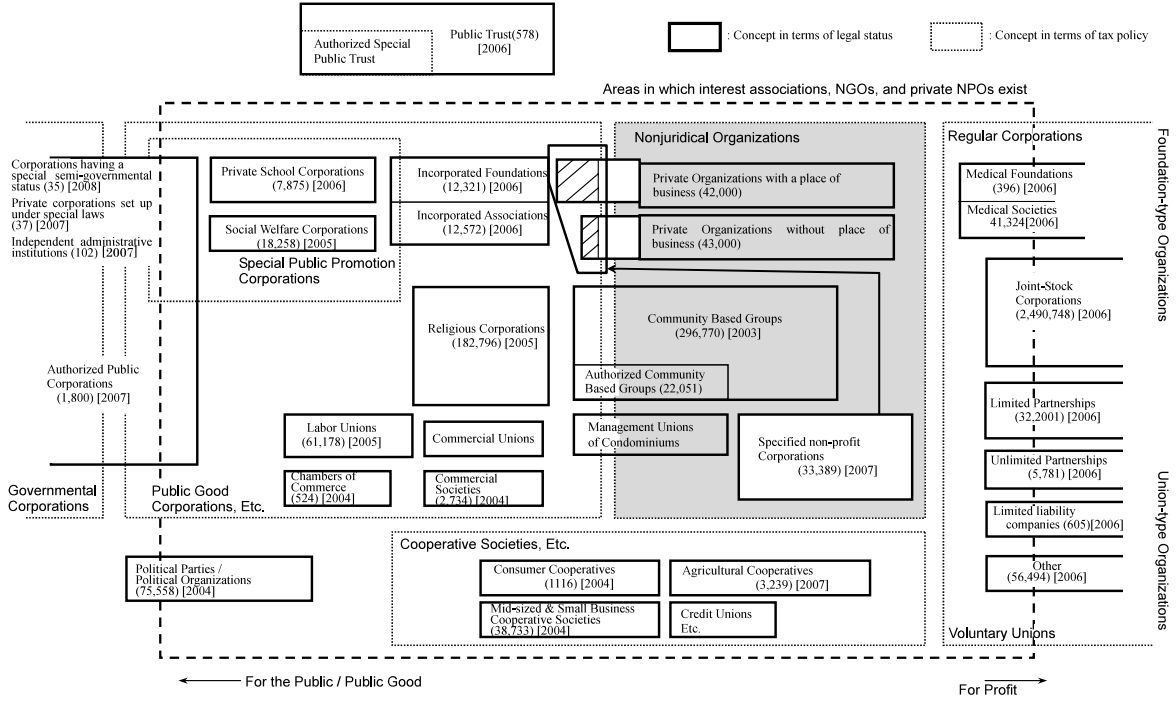
For this survey, we sent questionnaires to 4,247 organizations (3,866 in Tokyo and 381 in Ibaraki) and obtained 1,638 returned surveys (1,438 from Tokyo and 197 from Ibaraki). Usually the administrative head (*jimukyokucho*) of the organization or the head of operations (*nichijo gyoumuno sekininsha*) answered the questionnaires. The valid response rate was 37.2 percent in Tokyo and 51.7 percent in Ibaraki. Figure 2-1 summarizes the population, randomly sampled groups, and the distribution of groups that provided valid returns. The figure shows that the samples closely reflect the composition of the population. Groups that responded correspond with 6.7 percent of all groups that are listed in telephone directory in Tokyo and 11.2 percent in Ibaraki. The number of groups that responded in those areas is about 1.1 percent of the total number of groups listed in the phone directory in Japan (150,000 in 1997 and 200,000 in 2000).

Figure 2–1 shows the distribution of survey samples. We can see that some organizations that were not defined within our organizational categories are also included. This is because the telephone directories list organizations on a self-selective basis.

4–5 Viewpoints of this research

In designing our survey, we included many questions that were used in previous studies. In this way, we can easily make comparisons. Our survey questions were based on three surveys: Survey on Perception of Equality among Elites, the First Survey (1980) and the Second Survey (1994). Unlike previous surveys, however, we included groups that are not engaged in pressure activities. Existing works examine elites and peak organizations, but we also wanted to know what kind of responses we would get when we asked similar questions of different types of organizations. This is one of the main focal points of our

Figure 2-1 Japanese Civil Society Organizations in Institutional Perspective (around 2007)



These figures are mainly for 2007. Information regarding the positioning of groups and organizations was based on the National Institute for Research Advancement's Report No. 980034, *Research Report on the Support System for Citizen's Public-Interest Activities*, (in Japanese), 1994, p.27. The author has revised all figures used to represent the number of each type of organization.

project.

Given the future possibilities of cross-national comparisons, we paid attention to the following three points: (1) comparisons between different regions; (2) comparisons between different groups; and (3) comparisons with the past.

Regarding the first point, we expected that there would be large differences among various regions. In our survey, we chose Tokyo and Ibaraki. It was expected that there would be huge differences between Tokyo, a megalopolis, and Ibaraki, a traditionally agricultural, middle-sized prefecture that has both urban and rural characteristics. We felt that this comparison would show interesting differences between a prefecture that sets the leading trends in political change (Tokyo) and a prefecture that is very conservative (Ibaraki).

With regards to the second point, we were interested in finding out the differences among different types of organized interests. In our survey, we examined 10 classifications: agricultural, economic, labor, educational, administrative, social welfare, professional, political, civic, and other organizations.[8] This classification improves on the previous major study, *Sengo nihon no atsuryoku dantai* [Pressure groups in postwar Japan], which had eight classifications. We asked the sample organizations which category best describes/fits their organizations in Q1.We found that 70 percent of the groups in Tokyo and 80 percent of those in Ibaraki identified themselves as being in one of the nine categories other than "Other."

In terms of the third point, we were interested in whether or not drastic political change after the 1990s affected organized interests' activities. In order to examine such changes, we needed to conduct a survey similar to the previous one. However, ours is the first random sampling survey, and thus, there is no comparable previous data. In order to ameliorate this point, we included questions asking about the past (10 years ago). This type of "recall survey" is a popular method employed in the study of voting behavior that relies on the memories of the respondents. However, this method has not been applied in

[8] As for group classifications, there are three more methods besides the "nine classifications": (1) re-code "other" in the nine classifications; (2) classify according to whether the association has corporate status (Q4); and (3) conduct principal component analysis of the response pattern to the questions and re-classify according to principal component score. In this book, we use the first method.

surveys other than the 1994 Group Survey that partially included such questions. One of our major goals for our survey was to grasp the change in associations' activities in the past 10 years.

The questionnaire was composed of 36 questions: Q1 (group classification), Q2 (policy area of interest), Q3 (aims and activities of the organization), Q4 (incorporation), Q5 (ideology of the members, conservative or progressive), Q6 (geographical area of activities), Q7 (influence in the geographical area of activities), Q8 (relationships with the national administration), Q9 (relationships with local government), Q10 (direct contact with the administration), Q11 (indirect contact with the administration), Q12 (contact from the administration), Q13, (supported political parties), Q14 (contact with political parties), Q15 (election campaigns), Q16 (influence on the federal budget), Q17 (influence on the local government budget), Q18 (trust towards the administration, political parties, and politicians), Q19 (which is more effective in affecting policy: political parties, the administration, or the courts?), Q20 (the number of people representing interests), Q21 (lobbying), Q22 (source of information), Q23 (whether there is a influential person they can contact), Q24 (the number of appearances in the media), Q25 (relevance to important policy decisions), Q27 (cooperation and conflict), Q28 (success rate of policy implementation), Q29 (success rate of revising policy and blocking policy), Q30 (the year of establishment), Q31 (support received when the group was established), Q32 (the number of members), Q33 (the number of workers), Q34 (budget), Q35 (subsidies), and Q36 (the level of introduction of office automation).

In total, when sub-questions are included, there are 260 questions in the survey. Since most of them are complicated and not easy to answer, we expected the return rate would be low. However, contrary to our concerns, the average response rate to questions was 75.0 in Tokyo (standard deviation 19.5, lowest value of 20.9), and 72.1 in Ibaraki (standard deviation 19.7, lowest value of 18.3). This was much higher than we anticipated. The fact that organizations listed in the telephone directory were willing to respond was in itself an important finding in our survey.

5. Problems with the survey period and JIGS surveys in Korea, the United States, and Germany

The plan for the JIGS survey in Japan began in the fall of 1996. We sent out the questionnaires on March 3, 1997 (total of 4,000 with 3,619 in Tokyo and 381 in Ibaraki), and asked various groups to respond by March 20. We sent reminders on March 17. On May 12, we sent questionnaires again to groups that did not respond, and asked them to reply by May 31. Of 4,247 questionnaires, we obtained 1,636 valid responses (Tsujinaka, ed., 1999a [J]).

In Korea, questionnaires were sent to 3,890 groups (2,940 in Seoul and 950 in the Kyonggi area) on October 20, 1997, again on December 15, 1997 to those organizations that did not reply in the first round. The collection rate was 14.4 percent with a total of 481 responses (371 in Seoul and 110 in Kyonggi).

The U.S. survey was conducted in July 1999 in Washington, D.C. (2,465) and in North Carolina (2,625), and we received 740 and 752 responses, respectively.

In Germany, the survey was conducted in April and May 2000. We sent our questionnaires to organizations in Berlin (4,572) and Halle (1,086), and obtained 643,154 responses (Please refer to code book for each country. Tsujinaka, ed., 1999b [J], 2001a [J], and 2001b [J]).

We will compare these three surveys with the Japanese survey in later publications, thus here we will focus on the Japanese survey. Let us first sketch out the political history between March and May, 1997. The Hashimoto administration began in January 1996, and gained many seats (close to a majority) in the general election in October 1996. In November 1996, the cabinet headed by Ryutaro Hashimoto entered its second term, and the Social Democratic Party (SDP) and the Harbinger party pulled out of the coalition government with LDP. However, in September 1997, the LDP regained a majority in the Lower House of the Diet. When the JIGS survey was conducted, the cabinet headed by Hashimoto was the single minority cabinet of the LDP, with the assistance of the SDP and the Harbinger party.

The main opposition party, the New Frontier Party (NFP), established in November 1994, gained 156 seats in the 1996 general election. However, the NFP got fewer seats

than they had before the election. The plan for a two-party system, hence, failed. After the general election, the NFP split internally, and a powerful figure left the party to create the Sun Party (*Taiyoto*) in late 1996. In late December 1997, the Sun Party split further into six different parties. At the time of our survey, the possibility of seeking cooperation with the LDP as well as the formation of a conservative coalition was considered.

The Democratic Party of Japan was established in September 1996 as the second opposition party. They maintained the status quo in October, but later, the party was joined by politicians from the SDP. The DPJ absorbed most of the members of the NFP when it dissolved in December 1997. The "new" DPJ was reborn as the first opposition party. When the survey was conducted, the "old" DPJ was still the second largest opposition party.

As for domestic and international political affairs, the economy under the second Clinton administration maintained steady growth. In Asia, on the other hand, the Asian financial crisis that began in early 1997 deepened after July. In Japan, after the collapse of the bubble, the economy revived for a while, but after 1996, it stalled again, and in 1997 turned to negative growth. By year end, a financial crisis was just around the corner. During the survey period, the impact of these events was not yet fully felt, but just beginning to show its signs.

In sum, we described the methods and significance of the the JIGS survey. Our study is a model study because it examined unions and groups that are operational, explored theoretical possibilities, and conducted random sampling surveys through the postal service.

Chapter 3

Politicization and Influence of Civil Society: An Overview

Yutaka Tsujinaka and JaeYoung Choe

The number, distribution, and density of organizations (*dantai*)[1] are important, but, from the viewpoint of political science research, simply identifying these elements is not enough. What is important is to what extent these organizations are mobilized for politics.

As discussed in Chapter 1, groups (*shudan*) are interested in politics and policies. Groups that harbor an active interest in creating and executing public policy are referred to as "interest groups" (*rieki shudan*). Among interest group organizations that have permanent organizational structures but do not pay wages to their employees are "organized interests" (*rieki dantai*). Understanding how many groups can be classified as interest groups is important in grasping the level of political development of a society. Furthermore, examining how many groups in a particular issue area have turned into interest groups is essential for understanding the political system of a country. In this monograph, our focus is on civil society organizations rather than groups; that is, organizations other than the state, for-profit organizations, and purely private organizations. In every society, big-business corporations, for example, frequently turn into interest groups, but here we are interested in how civil society organizations behave in order to accomplish their goals.

Our analysis starts with an examination of the details of organized interests in Tokyo, Japan. Following this, we will analyze similar organized interests in other countries. In this chapter, rather than looking at the activities of each type of organization, we comprehensively analyze the overall activities of organized interests. Our goal is to reveal how and how much organized interests in Japan become politically

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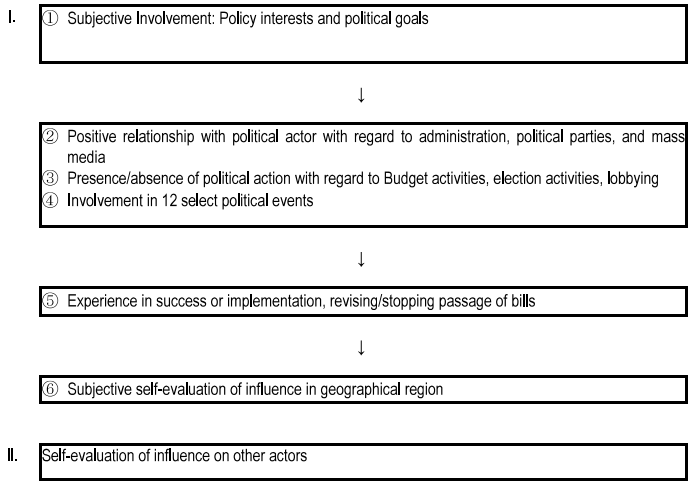
[1] We use the term "organization(s)" to refer to *dantai*, and the phrase "organized interests" to refer to *rieki dantai*.

active. As we saw in the previous chapter, the number of organizations in various categories varies in each country. Rather than examining the details of such differences in an in-depth manner, we are more interested in the overall picture of civil society organizations in Japan as the starting point for our analysis.

1. Politics and civil society organizations in Japan

Figure 3-1 illustrates the logical connections among select variables in the Japan Interest Group Survey (JIGS).[2]

Figure 3-1 Variables Relating to the Politicization of Civil Society Structures (Activity Level)



We are interested in the proportion of organizations that answered "yes" to each question. Rather than examining the results of each question, we will select certain aspects and then analyze the extent to which these groups can be described as "political."

First of all, we are interested in the area of subjective involvement. We want to know

[2] There are more variables in the JIGS Survey, however, for the purposes of this chapter, we are focusing on a select group of variables.

if organizations are interested in the policies of more than 20 national and local governments (Q2: "Please indicate which national and local governmental policies are of interest or relevant to your organization's activities."). Next, we want to find out whether the organizations have political and international aims (Q3-3: "Protecting the standard of living and rights of members;" Q3-5: "Advocating on behalf of members in order to gain subsidies from local and national governments;" Q3-6: "Assisting members in licensing and accreditation procedures;" Q3-8: "Providing policy recommendations based on technical knowledge to other organizations;" and Q3-9: "Providing education for the good of the general public."). The results of these two questions will tell us to what extent organizations are subjectively involved in politics.

As our goal is to examine if organizations are politically active, we are not interested in how the organizations surveyed answered each question, but rather, we are interested in the types of questions to which they answered "yes." The area in which they indicated involvement by answering "yes" suggests that they are subjectively involved in politics. Thus, for our purposes, just one "yes" response to any of the 22 policy-related areas is enough for this purpose. Similarly, if an organization choses one of the five political purposes, that is a satisfactory response to our survey.

In addition, we are interested in the relationship between political actors, activities geared toward political actors, and the activities and positions of actors in specific policy-making cases. Three sets of questions are relevant here. First of all, we are interested in each organization's relationship with other political actors, administrative agencies (Q8 to Q12), political parties (Q13 and Q14), and mass media (Q21–11). Second, we want to find out how organizations answer specific questions regarding their active participation in interest group activities (for example, Q15, election activities, Q16, budget activities, and Q21, lobbying). Finally, we want to know to what extent organizations showed their support concerning a select group of 12 important political decisions in the 1980s and 1990s. Through these analyses involving three different levels of activity, we examine political actor relations, interest group activities in specific political issue areas, and activities influencing particular events. Here again, rather than focusing on the response of each organization to each question, we simply want to find out if organizations answered "yes" to at least one of the questions in each set.

In the last section of the questionnaire, we asked each organization to evaluate its influence on others. In this section, we want to find out if organizations were successful in implementing specific national or local policies as a result of lobbying or establishing relationships with various actors (Q28) or by revising or blocking passage of a bill (Q29). We also asked organizations to rate their influence in the geographical area in which they are active (Q7).

2. A Three-layered model of politicization

The result is summarized in Table 3–1 comparing four countries and appearing later in the book, but let us first focus on Japan and examine Figures 3–2 and 3–3. Figure 3–2 compares the results of the questions discussed above in two areas in Japan, the Tokyo metropolitan area and Ibaraki prefecture, and summarizes the differences and the similarities between the two areas. In Figure 3–3, we show each organization category, extracting categories that are above the national average and adding the characteristics of each category. The numbers shown are absolute ratios, showing the ratios to the total number of valid samples, rather than the ratios of organizations that responded to the questionnaire. In other words, we are looking at the ratios of the statistics including "missing" responses. We present the data in this way to avoid overestimating the frequency of answers to questions with low response rates. In the pages that follow, we will make inferences regarding the level of politicization of Japanese civil society organizations based on these ratios. However, we do not take the relationship among the questions into consideration. In a similar way, when we refer to "50 percent of the organizations," this may vary according to the number of cases.

Although we will discuss the cross-national comparisons in more detail later, we first want to pay attention to the following points that are more or less common among Korea, the United States, and Germany. Civil society organizations in each country show nearly the same percentage of interest or participation in three different stages: (1) policy interest, (2) lobbying, and (3) political activities. First, nearly 100 percent of the organizations in each country show interest in policy. (In the United States, the figure was 80 percent because the question asks how frequently the organization lobbies for a

particular policy.) Second, about 40 to 70 percent of the organizations undertake lobbying activities. Third, about 10 percent of the organizations participate in election campaigns.

Let us look at these results in more detail. In reference to policy interests, nearly 100 percent of the organizations responded that they are interested in at least one of 22 select policy areas including finance, international exchange (including cooperation and assistance), academic affairs, and sports. Organizations that we examined were selected at random from a phone directory, and they are by no means well known. It seems natural that all of these organizations, no matter how small or big, have an interest in public policy.

In fact, this is a quite important finding. It is certainly natural to think that the leader of an organization would show interest in at least one of a select list of policy issue areas. In support of this common-sense approach, our findings suggest that the fact that groups are organized to become active groups (*katsudotai*) signifies that they are organizations that have policy interests.

In other words, as group theory suggests, when organizations are organized into groups, the theoretical assumption or implication is that those groups are interested in policies or politics. This is supported by the early 20th century intuition of A.E. Bentley wherein he argues that interest leads to organization, and that organization leads to activities (Bentley, 1908, 1967; Uebayashi and Kita, [trans.], 1994: 266). As long as groups are organized, there exists a policy interest, regardless of the type of organization. Dahl (1991:1) further argues this by stating, "We cannot escape from politics." Thus, every group must have interest in public policy.[3]

Second,[4] we found that only half of the groups actively lobby in more than one issue area. The responses to Q21 in the Japanese survey are particularly striking and are summarized in the lower middle of Figure 3–2. If respondents indicated that they engage in at least one of the eight activities listed, their action is counted. Such activities include contacting the ruling party, providing information to the mass media, and forming alliances with other groups. We found that 43 percent of the organizations surveyed in

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[3] As mentioned, the return rate in each country is not so high. Kyonggi-do in South Korea was a little over 10 percent and Ibaraki, Japan, 50 percent.

[4] Q21 includes 14 questions, but we selected 7 representative lobbying methods.

Figure 3-2 Interest Group Formation of Civil Society Structures (Politicization) Ⅰ Outline of Tokyo/Ibaraki Data

	Variable	*Selection Criteria*	*Approximate results*	*Actual results*
	①Subjective involvement			
	Policy interests (general)	Any 1 of 22 areas	About 100%	98-99%
	Political goals (select)			
	Standard of living / defense of rights	Any 1 area	About 50-60%	56-53%
	Subsidy mediation			
	Licensing and accreditation			
	Policy recommendations			
	General public education			
	Policy recommendations	"Yes" answer	10-20%	17-9%

↓

	Variable	*Selection Criteria*	*Approximate results*	*Actual results*
Relationship with actor	② Positive relationship (co-operation, opinion exchange, committee participation, offering posts) with actor			
Administration	With national administration		About 30 to 50%	44-34%
	With local administration		About 30 to 50%	**30-46%**
	Either with national or local administration	Either selected	50%	51-54%
	Administrative consultation (*gyosei kyogi*)		20-30%	32-22%
	Administration lobbying through politicians on the national level		30-50%	**31-45%**
	Administration lobbying through politicians on the local government level		20-60%	**27-54%**
	Contact with government agencies		About 70-80%	78-71%
Political Parties	Political party			
	Ruling party		20%	16-17%
	Opposition party		10%	8-7%
Mass media	Mass media			
	Providing information		10-20%	13-16%
Political Action	③ Political action: Absence/presence of political action			
Budget	Budget activities		10-20%	13-22%
Election	Election activities	Any 1 of 5 areas	10-40%	**15-44%**
Lobby	Lobbying (general)	Any 1 of 7 areas	30-50%	43-35%
12 select events	④Political involvement in 12 select political events	Any 1 of 12 areas		
	Participation		40%	39-44%
	Public position		60%	60-61%

↓

	Variable	*Selection Criteria*	*Approximate results*	*Actual results*
	⑤ Experience in success or implementation, revising / stopping passage of bills			
	Success in implementation		10-20%	39-44%
	Revising / stopping passage		Under 10%	7-6%

↓

	Variable	*Selection Criteria*	*Approximate results*	*Actual result*
	⑥Subjective evaluation of influence in area of activities			
	"Somewhat"		40-50%	45-55%
	"To a considerable degree"		10-20%	14-17%

Notes: Regarding actual percentages, these figures are provided for the entire survey population and include "missing" data. The first figure in the "actual results" column indicates values for the Tokyo area and the second figure indicates values for Ibaraki. Bold figures indicate major differences between the two areas.

Figure 3-3 Interest Group Formation of Civil Society Structures (Politicization) Ⅱ Organizational Features by Type (Tokyo) (%)

	Variable	*Selection Method*	*Total*	*Area 1*	*Area 2*	*Area 3*
	①Subjective involvement					
	Policy interests (general)	Any 1 of 22 areas	98-99			
	Political goals (select)	Any 1 of 5 areas	57	Labor: 92	Politics: 72	
	Standard of living / defense of rights		26	Labor: 89	Agri: 49	
	Subsidy mediation		11	Economic: 22	Agri: 20	Politics 14
	Licensing and accreditation		10	Politics: 21	Economic: 19	Agriculture: 14
	Policy recommendations		17	Politics: 45	Specific area: 36	
	General public education		28	Civic: 47	Politics: 48	Admin: 42 Specialists: 37

↓

	Variable	*Selection Method*	*Total*	*Area 1*	*Area 2*	*Area 3*
Relation-ship with actor	② Positive relationship (co-operation, opinion, exchange, committee participation, offering posts) with actor					
Admini-stration	With national administration		44	Economic: 62	Admin: 57	Agri: 57
	With local administration		30	Politics: 45	Agri: 43	
	With either national or local administration		51	Agri: 83	Economic: 70	Admin: 65
	Administrative consultation (*gyosei kyogi*)		32	Admin: 43	Economic: 43	Agri: 43
	Administration lobbying through politicians		31	Politics: 76	Civic: 55	Labor: 53
	Local government lobbying		27	Politics: 72	Labor: 55	Civic: 53
Political parties	Political party					
	Ruling party		16	Politics: 55	Civic: 30	
	Opposition party		8	Politics: 38	Labor: 29	Civic: 23
Mass Media	Mass media					
	Providing information		17	Politics: 35	Civic: 33	
Poli. action	③ Political action: Absence/presence of political action					
Budget	Budget activities		13	Agriculture: 34	Labor: 27	Politics: 21
Election	Election activities	Any 1 of 5 activities	15	Politics: 86	Labor: 44	Agri: 31
Lobby	Lobbying (general)	Any 1 of 7 activities	44	Politics: 79	Civic: 62	Labor: 60 Agri: 51
12 select events	④Political involvement in 12 select political events	Any 1 selected				
	Participation		39	Politics: 69	Labor: 66	Agri: 51 Economic: 51
	Public position		58	Politics: 86	Agri: 80	Labor: 75

↓

	Variable	*Selection Method*	*Total*	*Area 1*	*Area 2*	*Area 3*
	⑤ Experience in success or implementation, revising / stopping passage of bills					
	Success in implementation		15	Politics: 28	Civic: 27	Welfare: 25
	Revising / stopping passage		7	Politics: 21	Labor: 20	Civic: 14 Agri: 12

↓

	Variable	*Selection Method*	*Total*	*Area 1*	*Area 2*	*Area 3*
	⑥Subjective evaluation of influence in area of activities					
	"Somewhat"		45	Politics: 76	Agri: 63	Civic: 57 Labor: 52
	"To a considerable degree"		14	Agri: 34	Politics: 21	

Tokyo checked at least one of those eight activities. With regard to other sets of questions in the survey, 30 to 60 percent of the groups answered positively to at least one of the activities included in the questions. Moreover, 40 to 60 percent of groups either participated in or indicated a position concerning at least one of twelve major policy events in the 1980s and 1990s.[5] In other words, about half of the civil society organizations surveyed are actively involved in policy processes as an interest group or a pressure group (see Chapter 8 for further details).

Third, we found that 10 to 20 percent of the groups demonstrate active support with a clear political party preference on issues related to election campaigns, party contact, policy proposals, budget activities, and participation in deliberative bodies (*shingikai*). In both Japan and Korea, 10 to 20 percent of the groups surveyed believe that they are quite influential with regard to policy enforcement and policy revision. However, we have not examined the correlation between this perceived influence and the level of participation in political campaigns. For our purposes, we simply want to state that 10 to 20 percent of the groups are in fact engaged in political activities.

3. Differences between Tokyo and Ibaraki

We compared survey results from organizations in Tokyo and Ibaraki in Figure 3-2 and showed the actual results (percentages) in parentheses. In some instances, there are some similarities, but we also see differences with regard to certain responses.

Generally speaking, there are more active groups in Ibaraki than in Tokyo. Among the responses to 22 items (questions) examined here, survey respondents in Ibaraki recorded lower percentages in nine items compared to Tokyo, including policy proposals, active engagement with the state administration, administrative consultation, contacting opposition parties, providing information to the mass media, and lobbying. The percentage of groups in Ibaraki that are engaged in these activities, however, was not

[5] The 12 major events include the revision of Foreign Exchange and Foreign Trade Control Law of 1980 (December), the Second Rincho (Commission on Administrative Reform) report of 1983, the United Nations PKO Law of 1992, and the final decision to solve the *Jusen* housing loan problem in 1995. See the questionnaire found in the codebook (Tsujinaka 1999a[J]).

significantly lower than that in Tokyo.

On the other hand, survey respondents in Ibaraki indicated higher percentage figures in 13 items when compared to the respondents in Tokyo. These items are: policy interest, overall political goals, active involvement in local government administration, positive relationship with either local or national government, lobbying through politicians concerning national affairs, lobbying through politicians concerning local affairs, contacting the ruling party, budget activities, participation in election campaigns, participation in at least one of 12 select political events, indicating a public position concerning any one of 12 select political events, and two items concerning self-measured influence. Groups in Ibaraki appear to be far more active in the following areas: election campaigns, budget activities, lobbying through politicians concerning local affairs, and active involvement in local government administration.

As shown above, civil society organizations in Ibaraki are not only as active as those in Tokyo, but are, in fact, much more active. It is possible to assume, however, that the differences that we found stems from the number of organizations in each group category.

4. Types of groups and their compositional characteristics

In general, we found that there is a three-layered structure in the world of groups, but within each type of organization, the patterns vary. Figure 3–3 shows details of the responses we received wherein percentages for each type of group are extracted from the overall totals. The numbers shown are absolute ratios.

Let us first look at Figure 3–3 starting from the top. Labor and political organizations are far more actively engaged in various issue areas than other organizations. In the areas following, civil, economic, agricultural, and professional groups demonstrate high activity levels. We also see that political, civic, and agricultural organizations, followed by economic, labor, and civil service organizations, are quite active in relation to political actors such as political parties, administration, and the mass media, We also find that economic and agricultural organizations have active relationships with the administration, while political, labor, and civic organizations have

similar relationships with political parties and the mass media. Political, agricultural, labor, economic, and civic groups are active in areas such as budget activities, election campaigns, lobbying, and political events.

Overall, we surmise that political and agricultural organizations are the most active, followed by labor, civic, and economic organizations. Furthermore, political, agricultural, and labor organizations rate themselves relatively high in the self-evaluated influence ranking.

Through our analysis, we find different levels of subjective involvement, actor relationships, and behavior patterns according to different types of groups. As discussed previously, all groups are interested in policy. We found that with regard to certain issues, 60 to 80 percent of the organizations that we surveyed engage in lobbying activities. At least 30 percent of groups in general (90 percent for political organizations) participate in election campaign activities, a particularly political and partisan activity.

Our results suggest that the structure of Japanese civil society organizations is divided into three layers: interest in policy, lobbying activities, and involvement or engagement in politics. However, there are groups that are politically active, such as political, labor, and civic organizations, and those that are not.

5. Characteristics of groups in Japan

Tables 3–2 and 3–3 show certain characteristics of our surveyed organizations in Japan in comparison to those in Korea, the U.S., and Germany.

First of all, we need to mention that the three-layered structure discussed above is not a unique feature found only in Japan. We can find similar structures in Korea, the U.S. and Germany, and can surmise that this feature may be shared among liberal democratic states. Although these three countries are by no means similar, even among advanced industrialized liberal democracies, some resemblance, coupled with similarities in the number of organizations and active organizations must be emphasized.

Given that there are important similarities among the countries, in this section we compare the characteristics of Japan with those of the other three countries in terms of simplified frequencies.

Table 3–1 The Level of Political Participation of Civil Society Organizations (Japan, Korea, U.S., and Germany)

Variable Name		Variable (Japan, Korea, U.S., Germany)	Category	Selection Method	Notes	Comparative Frequency and Composition											
						Japan			Korea			United States			Germany		
						Organi-zations (N)	Distri-bution (%)	Population parameter (N)	Organi-zations (N)	Distri-bution (%)	Population parameter (N)	Organi-zations (N)	Distri-bution (%)	Population parameter (N)	Organi-zations (N)	Distri-bution (%)	Population parameter (N)
Subjective involvement	Policy interests	Q2/Q2/Q10/Q3	1-21 Policy items	Any one answer	Item 22 ("other") not included. Categories differ in the U.S. survey.	1379	98.3%	1403	349	98.9%	353	590	82.5%	715	585	98.0%	597
	Political goals	Q3/Q3/Q9/Q4	3 Protecting standard of living and rights of members			375	26.1%		150	40.4%		486	65.0%		145	22.6%	
			5 Advocating on members' behalf to gain subsidies from local and national governments			155	10.8%		37	10.0%		199	26.6%		122	19.0%	
			6 Assisting members in licensing and accreditation procedures			**135**	**9.4%**		63	17.0%		86	11.5%		62	9.6%	
			8 Providing policy recommendations based on technical knowledge			245	17.0%		123	33.2%		544	72.7%		29	4.5%	
			9 Providing education for the good of the general public			**394**	**27.4%**		152	41.0%		609	81.4%		206	32.0%	
			All	Any one answer		**804**	**55.9%**		259	69.8%		687	91.8%		365	56.8%	
Relationship with political actor	Administration	Q8/Q8/Q12/Q7 (Positive relationship)	4 Cooperating with and supporting policies and budget activities of the national government	With regard to national policies	Categories are somewhat different in the U.S. survey (correspond to categories 7, 4, 5, and 6)	**200**	**13.9%**		56	15.1%		433	57.9%		93	14.5%	
			5 Exchanging opinions with the national government			504	35.0%		181	48.8%		459	61.4%	748	133	20.7%	
			6 Sending representatives to council and/or advisory bodies			**187**	**13.0%**		85	22.9%		421	56.3%		95	14.8%	
			7 Offering positions to government officials after retirement			121	8.4%		24	6.5%		89	11.9%		9	1.4%	
			All	Any one answer		629	43.7%		224	60.4%		544	72.7%		184	28.6%	
		Q9/Q9/Q12/Q8	4 Cooperating with and supporting policies and budget activities of the national government	With regard to local policies	Categories are somewhat different in the German survey (category 1 in Germany was categories 1 to 4 in Japan)	254	17.7%		75	20.2%		470	62.8%		93	14.5%	
			5 Exchanging opinions with the national government			**582**	**40.5%**		198	53.4%		484	64.7%		283	44.0%	
			6 Sending representatives to council and/or advisory bodies			**248**	**17.2%**		92	24.8%		482	64.4%		180	28.0%	
			7 Offering positions to government officials after retirement			147	10.2%		24	6.5%		102	13.6%		12	1.9%	
			All	Any one answer		730	50.8%		243	65.5%		587	78.5%		324	50.4%	
		Q12/Q12/N.A./Q11 (Administrative cooperation)	1 Yes			458	31.8%		143	38.5%		—	—	—	194	30.2%	
			2 No			822	57.2%		160	43.1%					449	69.8%	
		Q11/Q11/N.A./Q10	1 to 3（National / Local Lobbying）	Responses of either "somewhat frequently" or "very frequently"		**542**	**37.7%**		178	48.0%					380	59.1%	
			(Lobbying through politicians regarding national administration policies)			**443**	**30.8%**		159	42.9%		—	—	—	285	44.3%	
			(Lobbying through politicians regarding local administration policies)			**383**	**26.6%**		136	36.7%					332	51.6%	
		Q21/Q24/Q17/Q23	3 Contacting govt dept and agencies	Responses of either "about half the time", "most of the time", or "always"		**417**	**29.0%**		164	44.2%		348	46.5%		228	35.5%	
	Political party	Q21/Q24/Q17/Q23	1 Contacting parties (ruling coalition)			234	16.3%		82	22.1%		287	38.4%		99	15.4%	
			2 Contacting opposition parties			**115**	**8.0%**	1438	71	19.1%	371	281	37.6%	748	122	19.0%	643
	Mass media	Q21/Q24/Q17/Q23	13 Offering info to the mass media		(Items 11 and 13 combined.) For Germany, 12 (10)	**234**	**16.3%**		94	25.3%		184	24.6%		298	46.3%	
Activities	Budget activities	Q16/Q19/N.A./Q15	1 Yes			***183***	***12.7%***		31	8.4%		—	—	—	78	12.1%	
			2 No			1146	79.7%		300	80.9%					565	87.9%	
	Election activities	Q15/Q16/Q16/Q14	1～5			***213***	***14.8%***		45	12.1%		111	14.8%		27	4.2%	
			1 Asked organization members to vote for a particular candidate and/or political party	Responses of either "about half the time", "most of the time", or "always"		***164***	***11.4%***		33	8.9%		43	5.7%		18	2.8%	
			2 Asked members of your organization to inspire the general public to vote for a particular candidate and/or political party			83	5.8%		26	7.0%		32	4.3%		17	2.6%	
			3 Made financial contributions to a particular candidate and/or political party			73	5.1%		12	3.2%		67	9.0%		2	0.3%	
			4 Provided personnel to a particular candidate and/or political party for an election campaign			***72***	***5.0%***		18	4.9%		11	1.5%	748	6	0.9%	
			5 Recommended a member of your organization as a political party candidate			***73***	***5.1%***		15	4.0%		24	3.2%		11	1.7%	
			6 Publicized any commentaries or results of the election (U.S. only)			—	—		—	—		79	10.6%		-	-	
	Overall lobbying activities	Q21/Q24/Q17/Q23	1,2,3,10,12,13,14	(Items 11 and 13 combined.) For Germany, 12 (10)		**620**	**43.1%**		202	54.4%		440	58.8%		438	68.1%	
			10 Organizing mass meetings		Item 9 in the German survey	**91**	**6.3%**		42	11.3%		72	9.6%		71	11.0%	
			12 Running advertisements in the media about positions on issues		Item 11 in the German survey	**52**	**3.6%**		35	9.4%		35	4.7%		100	15.6%	
			14 Forming coalitions with other organizations		Item 13 in the German survey	**115**	**8.0%**		44	11.9%		325	43.4%		254	39.5%	
12 select political events	Participation	Q25/Q28/N.A./N.A.	1～12	Responses of either "average" or "greater than		567	39.4%		145	39.1%		—	—	—	-	-	
	Public position	Q25/Q28/N.A./N.A.	1～12			846	58.8%		237	63.9%		—	—	—	-	-	
Success	Implementation	Q28/Q31/N.A./Q27	1 Yes			**205**	**14.3%**		57	15.4%		—	—	—	209	32.5%	
			2 No			991	68.9%		202	54.4%					434	67.5%	
	Revise or stop passage	Q29/Q32/N.A./Q28	1 Yes			**93**	**6.5%**		41	11.1%		—	—	—	169	26.3%	
			2 No			1065	74.1%		211	56.9%					474	73.7%	
Subjective evaluation of influence in area of acitivities	–	Q7/Q7/N.A./Q6	1 A lot of influence	1, 2		**53**	**3.7%**		18	4.9%					75	11.7%	
			2 Some influence	1, 2, 3		**157**	**10.9%**		43	11.6%					218	33.9%	
			3 Influential to a certain extent			432	30.0%		150	40.4%		—	—	—	148	23.0%	
			4 Almost no influence			449	31.2%		110	29.6%					122	19.0%	
			5 No influence			222	15.4%		30	8.1%					53	8.2%	

Note: N.A=No Answer

Bold italic text indicates the highest figures for Japan in this category

Bold text indicates the lowest figures for Japan in this category

Table 3–2 Lowest Percentages Compared among Four Countries (Figures shown in bold in Table 3–1)

Questions concerning….				
Political goal	U.S. 92%	K 70%	G 57%	J 56%
Public education	U.S. 81%	K 41%	G 32%	J 27%
Defending rights	U.S. 65%	K 40%	J 26%	G 23%
Relationship with the administration				
National administration policy and cooperation	U.S. 35%	K 15%	G 15%	J 14%
Local government administration policy and cooperation with budget activity	U.S. 53%	G 39%	K 20%	J 18%
Membership in advisory bodies	U.S. 37%	K 23%	G 15%	J 13%
Contacting the government	U.S. 47%	K 44%	G 36%	J 29%
Lobbying through politicians on the national administration level		G 44%	K 43%	J 32%
Lobbying through politicians on the local administration level		G 52%	K 37%	J 27%
Lobbying through either the national or local levels		G 59%	K 48%	J 38%
Contacting the ruling party (parties)	U.S. 38%	K 19%	G 19%	J 8%
Contacting the mass media	G 47%	K 25%	U.S. 25	J 16%
Overall lobbying	G 68%	U.S. 59%	K 54%	J 43%
Other groups/coalitions	U.S. 43%	G 16%	K 12%	J 8%
Mass meetings/gatherings	G 44%	K 11%	U.S. 10%	J 8%
Paid advertisements	G 22%	K 9%	U.S. 5%	J 4%

Note: Note: J=Japan; K=Korea; U.S.=United States; G=Germany

Table 3–2 lists questions in which associations in Japan responded positively but had the lowest percent compared to other countries that were able to provide similar data (U.S, Korea, and Germany). The numbers are shown in absolute ratio.

Table 3–3 similarly lists questions in which associations in Japan responded positively but, this time, had the highest percent compared to other countries that were able to provide similar data (U.S, Korea, and Germany). The numbers are shown again in absolute ratio.

A more detailed analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, however, it is obvious that there are distinct differences among the four countries.

In other words, save for certain questions concerning election campaign activities,

Table 3–3 Highest Percentages Compared among Four Countries (Figures shown in italic bold in Table 3–1)

Questions concerning ….				
Offering posts after retiring from national administration	J 8%	K 7%	U.S. 6%	G 1%
Election activities (general)	J 15%	U.S. 15%	K 12%	G 4%
Election activities (asked members to vote for a certain politician/party)	J 11%	K 9%	U.S. 6%	G 3%
Election activities (staff support)	J 5%	K 5%	U.S. 2%	G 1%
Election activities (recommend members for a candidate)	J 5%	K 4%	U.S. 3%	G 2%

Note: Note: J=Japan; K=Korea; U.S.=United States; G=Germany

overall, organizations in the U.S. show the highest percentages in terms of political participation. American organizations appear to be particularly active in policy-making processes and coalition-building activities such as policy recommendations, public education, and lobbying. Unlike the U.S., organizations in Japan record the lowest percentages among the four countries in all areas except for election-related activities. Those in Korea show higher percentages in terms of relationships between groups and the administration, and in most instances, overall, this country's organizations rank in the middle of our four-country profile. Comparatively speaking, German organizations are particularly active in lobbying activities, but demonstrated low figures in items related to election activities and administration. Moreover, the results from the German organizations are either at the high or low end of the overall spectrum of results.

This data is useful for the purpose of making hypotheses. As far as these findings are concerned, the percentage of Japanese groups engaged in offering posts after retirement and election campaigns is higher compared to other countries, but lower than the other three countries with regard to group activities and lobbying. Our next task is to explore the factors that may explain why this is the case.

6. Evaluation of the influence of other actors

As shown in the lower half of Table 3–1, compared to Korea and Germany, there are only a handful of civil society organizations in Japan that believe they are influential with regard to certain issues. Furthermore, the number of groups that have achieved the passage or revision of policies is low.

Examining how groups evaluate the influence of other political actors provides us with important clues for creating hypotheses concerning civil society organizations and political systems of various countries (particularly those examined to date).

The question that we asked in this section is slightly different from those in other sections because we asked the heads of each organization how they evaluate the influence of other organizations in terms of politics. More specifically, we asked, "To what extent do you think the following groups influence politics in Japan? Please rate the following on a scale from 1 (very little influence) to 7 (a great deal of influence) (Q26).

Table 3–4 shows the average score reported by each actor in each country. The data is categorized according to the score, ranking, and calculation of differences between Japan and the other three countries. This data is also shown in a bar graph in Figure 3–4.

Let us first look at the differences between Japan and the other three countries in Table 3–2. The numbers in the columns headed by "J-K", "J-U", and "U-G" show the differences in average scores between Japan and Korea, Japan and the United States, and Japan and Germany, respectively.

Areas such as the bureaucracy, agricultural organizations, foreign governments, international organizations, and foreign organized interests are ranked much higher in Japan than in the other three countries. Local government was ranked slightly higher or about the same. Mass media, labor organizations, consumers' organizations, NGOs, civic organizations, and residents' movements were ranked lower compared to the other three countries. Women's organizations and academics ranked slightly lower or about the same. Political parties, economic and business organizations, major companies, and social welfare organizations in Japan were ranked at a similar position as in the other three countries.

We cannot be certain about the relationship between the results from our survey and

Table 3-4 Evaluation of influence of other actors (Japan, Korea, U.S., and Germany Compared) (Metropolitan Areas, Averages)

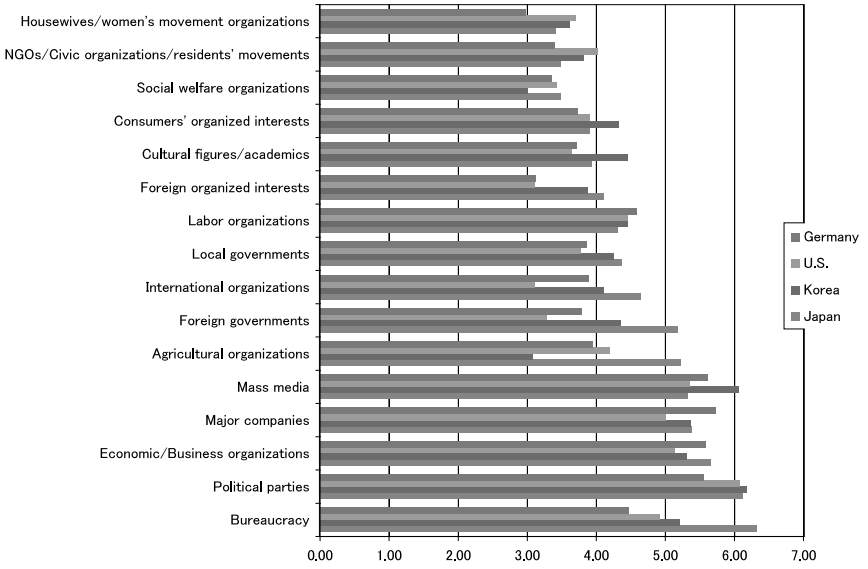
Area	Japan	Korea	U.S.	Germany	J - K	J-U	J-G	J Ranking	K Ranking	U Ranking	G Ranking	J Ranking-K Ranking	J Ranking-U Ranking	J Ranking-G Ranking
Bureaucracy	6.32	5.21	4.92	4.47	1.11	1.40	1.85	1	5	5	6	-4	-4	-5
Political parties	6.12	6.18	6.08	5.56	-0.06	0.05	0.57	2	1	1	4	1	1	-2
Economic/Business organizations	5.65	5.30	5.14	5.58	0.35	0.51	0.07	3	4	3	3	-1	0	0
Major companies	5.38	5.36	5.00	5.73	0.02	0.39	-0.35	4	3	4	1	1	0	3
Mass media	5.32	6.06	5.35	5.61	-0.75	-0.03	-0.29	5	2	2	2	3	3	3
Agricultural organizations	5.22	3.07	4.19	3.95	2.14	1.03	1.27	6	15	7	7	-9	-1	-1
Foreign governments	5.18	4.35	3.28	3.79	0.83	1.90	1.39	7	8	14	10	-1	-7	-3
International organizations	4.64	4.11	3.10	3.89	0.53	1.54	0.75	8	11	16	8	-3	-8	0
Local governments	4.37	4.25	3.77	3.86	0.11	0.60	0.50	9	10	10	9	-1	-1	0
Labor organizations	4.30	4.45	4.46	4.58	-0.15	-0.16	-0.27	10	7	6	5	3	4	5
Foreign organized interests	4.11	3.87	3.11	3.12	0.23	1.00	0.99	11	12	15	15	-1	-4	-4
Cultural figures/academics	3.93	4.45	3.64	3.71	-0.52	0.29	0.22	12	6	12	12	6	0	0
Consumers' organized interests	3.89	4.33	3.90	3.73	-0.44	-0.01	0.17	13	9	9	11	4	4	2
Social welfare organizations	3.49	3.01	3.43	3.36	0.48	0.06	0.13	14	16	13	14	-2	1	0
NGOs/Civic organizations/ residents' movements	3.48	3.81	4.02	3.40	-0.34	-0.54	0.08	15	13	8	13	2	7	2
Housewives/women's movement organizations	3.42	3.62	3.70	2.97	-0.2	-0.29	0.45	16	14	11	16	2	5	0

Note:J=Japan; K=Korea; U=United States; G=Germany

actual political power, but we were able to find some similarities and differences among the four countries surveyed.

Overall, these various groups and organizations were ranked higher in Japan than in the other three countries. Looking more closely at these rankings, the evaluations of the influence of German actors were the most similar to those in Japan, and those in the U.S. were the most different. In comparison, evaluations in Korea appear to be somewhere in the middle.[6]

Figure 3–4 Evaluation of Influence of Other Actors (Japan, Korea, U.S., and Germany Compared) (Metropolitan Areas, Averages)



[6] We used two ways to measure the level of similarities: simple correlation between rankings, and the sum of the absolute value in the differences of rankings.

Summary

In this chapter, we comprehensively examined the level of political participation of various groups and overall interest group activities to prepare for our analysis of interest group behaviors. First, we found a three-layered structure wherein nearly 100 percent of the groups that we surveyed are interested in policy, 30 to 70 percent participate in lobbying activities, and 10 to 20 percent take part in political activities such as election campaigns. However, we also find that there are groups that are politically active and those that are not. In general, political, agricultural, and labor organizations are politically active. And, in Japan, organizations can be further divided into those groups that have a high degree of politicization and those with a somewhat lower degree. Moreover, through comparative data analysis involving Korea, the U.S., and Germany, we see that Japanese groups are active in issue areas such as election campaigns and budget activities, but relatively inactive in other areas.[7] In terms of evaluating their own success, groups in Japan do not think they were active in effecting or revising policies compared to those in the other three countries. Generally speaking, Japanese groups do not believe that they are particularly influential.

When evaluating the influence of other actors, in the case of Japan, the bureaucracy, agricultural organizations, and foreign and international actors are considered powerful, while, on the other hand, the mass media, labor, consumer, and civil organizations are weak. The evaluations of political parties and economic organizations were more or less the same among the four countries. These results provide unique hypotheses for the study of Japanese civil society, which we will continue in the following chapters.

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[7] To be sure, politicization of civil society organizations in Japan is low, but that does not necessarily mean a low performance of governance. The low level of politicization could mean a high level of self-governance.

Chapter 4

Organization Profiles

Yutaka Tsujinaka, Hiroki Mori, and Yukiko Hirai

1. Organization (*dantai*) classifications

Most of the organizations (*dantai*)[1] that we call organized interests in this monograph do not necessarily identify themselves as being organized interests or pressure groups. In real society, these organizations call themselves *Keidanren* (Japan Federation of Economic Organizations) or ABC Doctors' Association. When we examine the political processes of certain organizations, we use the title that they have chosen for their organization. However, when we conduct a quantitative analysis, such as that undertaken in our survey, we need to classify organizations into several groups and label them according to their activities.

We follow the same procedure when we analyze individuals. For example, in certain case studies, we use an individual politician's name, such as Kakuei Tanaka or Yasuhiro Nakasone. But here again, when conducting a quantitative analysis, we use more general categories such as "LDP members" or "political leaders" to identify these people. Similarly, in studies of voting behavior, the names of individual voters never appear in the study, but rather, variables or attributes such as gender, age, political opinions, and behaviors are used.

Given the necessity for some sort of classification system, how can we classify organized interests? Certain attributes (e.g., size of their budgets and membership figures) as well as orientation (e.g., purpose of establishment and policy interests) can

[1] In this chapter, we use the word "organization(s)" to refer to the Japanese term *dantai* and the phrase "organized interests" to refer to *rieki dantai*.

serve as criteria. Thus, for the purposes of our research, we will divide organized interests into 10 categories: (1) agricultural organizations, (2) economic organizations, (3) labor organizations, (4) educational organizations, (5) administrative organizations, (6) welfare organizations, (7) professional organizations, (8) political organizations, (9) civic organizations, and (10) "other."

These ten classifications are a refinement of Muramatsu et al.'s eight classifications (1990), which in turn were based on the work of V.O. Key, Jr. (1964). In our study, we divided one of Muramatsu's classifications, "civil/political organizations," into two separate categories, namely, "civic organizations" and "political organizations" and added a further category ("other" organizations). We basically followed Muramatsu's classifications, but with one critical refinement. In Muramatsu's method, researchers classified organizations into one of eight categories in the sampling phrase of their study, regardless of how the organizations identified themselves. On the other hand, in our study, we asked the organizations themselves to identify which classification best describe their organization (Q1).

Table 4-1 is a summary of the responses we received for Q1. Seventy percent of the organizations in Tokyo and 80 percent in Ibaraki declared that they fall into one of nine

Table 4–1 Organization classifications

	Tokyo	Ibaraki
1. Agriculture	2.4	28.9
2. Economic	19.0	15.2
3. Labor	7.6	11.2
4. Education	8.6	2.5
5 Public administration/bureaucracy	9.5	5.1
6. Social welfare	5.9	4.6
7. Specialist/professional	9.4	4.1
8. Politics	2.0	2.5
9. Civic	4.2	3.6
10. Other	28.2	18.8
Not applicable	2.4	2.5
Total	100.0	100.0
N	1,438	197

other classifications besides "other" organizations. When we designed the questionnaire, we tried to determine the best number of classifications and ultimately decided that 10 classifications, including this "other" classification, seemed appropriate to identify most organizations.

Let us examine in more detail the organizations that chose the "other" category. Close to 30 percent of the organizations in Tokyo and 20 percent of those in Ibaraki indicated that they fall under the "other" classification. From this, we can speculate that organizations are somewhat diversified in urban areas. Which organizations belong to the "other" category and what can we learn from this analysis?

2. Organizations classified as "other"

Although we go into more detail later regarding the history of organizations in Japan, we want to emphasize that examining the "other" category is important. Obviously, this "other" category includes all kinds of organizations, but since the 1980s, various statistical reports have claimed an increase in the number of "other" organizations. For statistics relating to business establishments in particular, the "other" category has become the largest classification. This can be interpreted as evidence that the world of organizations in Japan is pluralistic.[2]

It is important to know which organizations are included in the "other" category because, as shown in our results tabulated in Table 4-1, it is the largest category in Tokyo and the second largest in Ibaraki. Table 4–2 is the summary of "other" organizations in Tokyo, as self-identified by each organization (the total number of organizations equals 417). We closely examined the free from answers and reorganized the categories within the "other" classification.

As shown, there are varieties of organizations in this category. One particularly interesting observation is that that many small- and medium-sized business cooperatives do not identify themselves as being "economic organizations." Moreover, there are a number of research and hobby organizations that do not consider themselves

[2] See Tsujinaka, 1996 and Tsujinaka, 2002.

Table 4-2 Breakdown of "other" classification (Tokyo)

Type of organization	Explanation	Organizations (N)
1. Not answered		100
2. Commerce and industry	Small- and medium-sized businesses particularly in the service sectors and cooperatives	68
3. Non-profit and cooperatives	Non-profit organizations, public corporations, and cooperatives	47
4. Academic, research, art, and cultural	Academic and artistic organizations	40
5. Sports	Sports organization, hobby and martial arts	40
6. Welfare and insurance	Health insurance organizations, medical organizations, and pension funds	26
7. Self-government, residents, and volunteer	Service, autonomous, and volunteer organizations	25
8. Friendship	Friendship organizations and alumni associations	17
9. International exchange	International exchange, friendship, and international cooperation organizations	16
10. Religious		12
11. Agricultural, forestry, and fishing		11
12. Specialized technical skills		8
13. Foreign government		4
14. Tax-related		3

"educational" organizations. In a similar fashion, many citizens' organizations do not identify themselves as "civic" organizations. Furthermore, many semi-public non-profit organizations are included in the "other" category.

3. Classification based on categories used in telephone directories or legal status: The issue of consistency

Besides the 10 classifications that we used in our survey, there are two other methods that can be employed to categorize organizations: One is the classification used in telephone directories, and the other is based on whether the organization has a legal status. The particular classification of an organization in the telephone directory reflects the organization's identity in society. On the other hand, an organization's legal status reflects its identity as created within the state's institutional framework. What are the relationships between these two types of classifications and self-declared classification?

3–1 Classification in the telephone directory

How much consistency can we find between the classifications used in the telephone

directory and each respondent's self-declared classification (Q1)? Let us look at Table 4-3. In the Yellow Pages of the 1997 NTT *Denwacho* (the Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Directory), NTT provides the following sub-classifications or subcategories for various organizations to identify themselves: (1) unions/organizations (main category), (2) unions/organizations (academic, cultural), (3) unions/organizations (fishery cooperatives), (4) unions/organizations (economic), (5) unions/organizations (social insurance), (6) unions/organizations (religious), (7) unions/organizations (political), (8) unions/organizations (agricultural cooperatives), (9) unions/organizations (agricultural, forestry, fishery), and (10) unions/organizations (labor). Organizations are allowed to choose more than one category.

As discussed in the previous section, the Yellow Pages are now on the internet, and some adjustments have been made to the classifications. But, here, we will use the hard-copy version that came out in 1997.

Let us examine the relationships between the "other" organizations and the 10 classifications in the Yellow Pages. Organizations that chose the "unions/organizations" category in the Yellow Pages are those that do not want to be listed in any of the additional remaining categories or are those that want to be listed in both the main category and the subcategories. The "union/organizations" category (the main category and the subcategories) can be considered as the "other" category in our classification system.

When we examine the data from Tokyo, there are only a few organizations listed in the "unions/organizations" category in the Yellow Pages.

However, more than 80 percent of the responses in three categories ("labor," "political," and "agricultural" organizations) in our classification system match those within the Yellow Pages ("labor," "political," and "agricultural cooperatives"/ "agricultural, forestry, and fishery" organizations). About half of our "economic" organizations correspond with the "economic" organizations in the Yellow Pages and 30 percent with "union/ organizations."

There are cases where there are no corresponding organizations in the Yellow Pages. For example, certain organizational classifications in our survey such as "civic,"

Table 4–3 Telephone Book Classifications by Organizational Type (Tokyo)

	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public Admin.	Social welfare	Professional	Politics	Civic	Other	Total**
Unions/organizations (main category)	0.0 (0)	31.5 (86)	7.3 (8)	61.8 (76)	44.9 (61)	82.4(70)	40.7 (55)	6.9 (2)	88.3(53)	49.6(207)	44.2 (636)
(Academic/cultural)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (7)	0.9 (1)	31.7 (39)	14.0 (19)	7.1 (6)	42.2 (57)	6.9 (2)	5.0 (3)	16.5 (69)	14.1 (203)
(Fishery cooperatives)	2.9 (1)	0.4 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.5 (2)	0.3 (5)
(Economic)	11.4 (4)	53.5(146)	2.7 (3)	3.3 (4)	16.2 (22)	1.2 (1)	12.6 (17)	3.4 (1)	3.3 (2)	16.3 (68)	19.4 (279)
(Social insurance)	5.7 (2)	9.5 (26)	0.9 (1)	0.8 (1)	17.6 (24)	8.2 (7)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (1)	8.2 (34)	7.0 (100)
(Religious)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.6 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.4 (14)	1.1 (16)
(Political)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	82.8(24)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.8 (26)
(Agricultural cooperatives)	51.4(18)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.3 (18)
(Agricultural/foresty/fishery)	28.6(10)	1.8 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.9 (4)	1.2 (1)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (1)	2.6 (11)	2.4 (34)
(Labor)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (2)	88.2 (97)	0.8 (1)	3.7 (5)	0.0 (0)	3.0 (4)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	2.9 (12)	8.4 (121)
Total %*	100.0(35)	100.0(273)	100.0(110)	100.0(123)	100.0(136)	100.0(85)	100.0(135)	100.0(29)	100.0(60)	100.0(417)	100.0(1438)

Figures in bracket indicates actual numbers.

* Percentage figures may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

**Totals for each type of organization do not include those organizations that did not indicate reponses.

"welfare," and "educational" organizations have no corresponding organizations in the Yellow Pages, but many are included in the overall category of "unions/organizations." According to our tabulations, 30 percent of the educational organizations and 40 percent of the specialist/professional organizations belong to the "academic/cultural" organizations category in the Yellow Pages. The "other" category, as discussed, is very diversified. Approximately half of the number of organizations falls within the general category of "unions/organizations" and 16 percent each with "academic/cultural" and "economic" organizations. Although we have not shown the data concerning Ibaraki in this chapter, we found similar and even more definitive trends. The numbers of political, agricultural, economic, and labor organizations very much correspond with the classifications in the Yellow Pages. Moreover, most of the welfare, professional, administrative, and educational organizations are found in the general category of "unions/organizations."

The self-expressed identity of political organizations and producer organizations such as labor, agricultural, and economic organizations very much corresponds with the classifications found in the Yellow Pages. On the other hand, non-producer organizations do not have a corresponding category. This is because the Yellow Pages' classification method reflects Japan's producer-organization-dominant socio-political structure.

3–2 Classifications based on legal status (*hojinkaku*)

Legal status (or legal-person status, *hojinkaku* in Japanese) is a status given to an organization that is recognized by law as a single unit. The various types of legal status given to such organizations may be based on the organizational classification system utilized in each country. In other words, categories of legal status such as foundations (*zaidan hojin*), corporate juridical persons (*shadan hojin*), quasi-governmental organizations (*tokushu hojin*), and social welfare corporations (*shakai fukushi hojin*) are classifications created by the state. States specify certain rights and obligations based on these classifications, as well as the corporate tax rates levied on these organizations. In reality, however, organizations decide which legal status they want, and the state does not have the power to decide which corporate status such organizations should get. Thus, obviously, we cannot say that the state has created these classifications. However, since it

is the state that gives permission to such organizations once their applications are submitted, legal classifications are considered as a kind of organizational classification made by the state (Pekkanen, 2000).

Table 4-4 examines the relationships between the 10 organizational classifications and legal status. From this table, we can comprehend the legal status of various types of organizations.

The last row of Table 4–4 shows the percentage of organizations without legal status. More than 70 percent of the political and civic organizations do not have legal status. Forty percent of the "other," "specialist/professional," and "education" organizations, as well as 30 percent of "labor" and "social welfare" organizations do not have legal status. Only 6 percent of "agricultural" organizations and 25 percent of "economic" organizations do not have legal status. To some extent, these results show the relationships between the state and each category.

On the contrary, many foundations (13 percent) and corporate juridical persons (20 percent) have legal status. Moreover, 9 percent of the small- and medium-sized cooperatives have legal status. It appears acceptable that even if organizations belong to the same category, they do not necessarily have the same legal status. In that sense, labor organizations are an exception because 52 percent have the same legal status. When we look at agricultural organizations, 44 percent have agricultural legal status, and 38 percent are either foundations or corporate juridical persons .

Similarly, 32 percent of economic organizations are members of small- and medium-sized business cooperatives, while 24 percent are foundations. More welfare organizations are members of either corporate juridical persons/foundations (25 percent in total) than are members of social welfare corporations (20 percent). In sum, there are more than two or three choices of legal status for agricultural, economic, and social welfare organizations. Hence, there seems to be a gap between the 10 organizational classifications and legal status classifications. The ease with which organizations can obtain legal status is one of the aspects of the relationships between the state and such organizations. Another aspect is the variations of legal status that organizations can choose. Our results indicate that there are diverse relationships between organizations and the state (politics and administration).

Table 4–4 Relationship between organizational classifications and legal status (Tokyo)

	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public admin.	Social welfare	Professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
Foundations (*zaidan hojin*)	5.9 (2)	3.7(10)	4.7 (5)	31.1(38)	20.6(28)	23.8(20)	13.0(17)	0.0 (0)	5.1 (3)	20.3 (84)	13.2 (186)
Corporate juridical persons (*shadan hojin*)	32.4(11)	19.9(54)	3.7 (4)	18.0(22)	31.6(43)	10.7 (9)	37.4(49)	0.0 (0)	11.9 (7)	14.3 (59)	20.4 (287)
Quasi-governmental organizations (*tokushu hojin*)	0.0 (0)	4.0(11)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.4(10)	4.8 (4)	0.0 (0)	3.6 (1)	1.7 (1)	1.5 (6)	2.4 (34)
Social welfare corporations (*shakai fukushi hojin*)	0.0 (0)	0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	20.2(17)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.2 (1)	1.3 (19)
Accredited territorial organizations (*ninka chien dantai*)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (1)	0.2 (1)	0.4 (5)
Labor unions (*rodo kumiai*)	0.0 (0)	0 (0)	52.3(56)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.2 (1)	4.1 (58)
Commercial and industrial associations (*chusho kumiai*)	0.0 (0)	11.2(30)	0.9 (1)	0.8 (1)	1.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (7)	3.1 (43)
Consumers' cooperatives (*seikyo*)	2.9 (1)	0.4 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.5 (2)	0.3 (4)
Agricultural cooperatives (*nokyo*)	44.1(15)	0.4 (1)	0.9 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.2 (1)	1.3 (19)
cooperatives (*chuko kyodo kumiai*)	8.8 (3)	33.1(90)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	3.7 (5)	0.0 (0)	3.8 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	7.3 (30)	9.6 (135)
Joint stock companies (*kabushiki gaisha*)	0.0 (0)	3.3 (9)	0.0 (0)	5.7 (7)	1.5 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.8 (1)	3.6 (1)	3.4 (2)	0.7 (3)	1.8 (26)
Other	2.9 (1)	2.2 (6)	1.9 (2)	1.6 (2)	11.8(16)	6.0 (5)	0.0 (0)	7.1 (2)	5.1 (3)	9.9 (41)	5.5 (78)
Without legal status	5.9 (2)	25.4(69)	38.3(41)	41.8(51)	22.8(31)	33.3(28)	42.7(56)	85.7(24)	72.9(43)	45.5(188)	38.4 (541)
Total number of organizations*	34	272	107	122	136	84	131	28	59	413	1408

Numbers inside the brackets indicate absolute figures.

*As the total figures for each classification are based on the respondents' responses to the survey, they may not add up to the total number of organizations.

**Totals for each type of organization do not include those organizations that did not indicate reponses.

4. Organizational attributes based on classification

In our research, we describe the structure and behavior patterns of organizations by using 10 organizational classifications. In the following sections, we will frequently refer to the 10 organizational classifications (in Tokyo). Therefore, we first turn briefly to introducing profiles of organizational categories. A more comprehensive comparison among Japan, Korea, the U.S., and Germany can be found in later publications.

4–1 Organizational resources

There are a variety of organizational resources for organizations to utilize, but in this chapter, we focus on representative resources such as the amount of their budgets, the size of their individual and institutional memberships, and the number of full-time employees.

Table 4–5 (1996 Budget and Organizational Classification Cross-tabulations, Tokyo) shows a comparison between the size of the organizations' budgets and their classification for Tokyo-based organizations. Generally speaking, except for political and civic organizations, most organizations have annual budgets of over 10 million yen. The annual budgets for agricultural organizations are particularly large. Forty percent of the organizations in this classification that are agricultural cooperatives are involved in a variety of businesses. More than 60 percent of the organizations surveyed have budgets over 200 million yen, and more than 30 percent have budgets over 1 billion yen. Moreover, 29.7 percent of the administrative organizations and 12.8 percent of social welfare organizations have budgets over 1 billion yen. Most of political and civic organizations have budgets of less than 100 million yen, and those with higher budget amounts are rare. The budgets for educational, labor, economic, and specialist/professional organizations vary from 1,000 to 1 billion yen, but the distribution pattern is similar. In other words, for example, the percentages of each of these four organizational classifications that have budgets between 100 million to 200 million yen are similar. Overall, except for agricultural and administrative/bureaucratic organizations that have large budgets, most categories show similar distribution patterns.

Table 4–5 1996 Budget and Organizational Classification Cross-tabulations (Tokyo)

Budget size (in units of 10,000 yen)	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
Under 100	0.0 (0)	1.6 (4)	1.0 (1)	5.3 (6)	0.8 (1)	1.3 (1)	2.3 (3)	3.8 (1)	3.4 (2)	0.8 (3)	1.7 (23)
Between 100 and 300	0.0 (0)	1.6 (4)	5.8 (6)	0.9 (1)	0.8 (1)	2.6 (2)	5.7 (5)	11.5 (3)	12.1 (7)	3.7 (14)	3.3 (43)
Between 300 and 500	0.0 (0)	2.3 (6)	1.0 (1)	5.3 (6)	3.1 (4)	5.1 (4)	3.9 (5)	11.5 (3)	13.8 (8)	5.3 (20)	4.4 (58)
Between 500 and 1,000	0.0 (0)	2.7 (7)	3.9 (4)	9.6 (11)	5.5 (7)	5.1 (4)	4.7 (6)	3.8 (1)	12.1 (7)	5.9 (22)	5.5 (72)
Between 1,000 and 3,000	3.4 (1)	21.8 (56)	23.3 (23)	16.7 (19)	10.2 (13)	21.8(17)	22.5 (29)	30.7 (8)	36.2(21)	20.1 (75)	20.3 (267)
Between 3,0000 and 10,000	10.3 (3)	29.2 (75)	23.3 (24)	28.1 (32)	16.4 (21)	17.9(14)	25.6 (33)	23.1 (6)	17.2(10)	25.9 (97)	24.1 (318)
Between 10,000 and 20,000	17.2 (5)	16.0 (41)	18.4 (19)	11.4 (13)	14.8 (19)	12.8(10)	15.5 (20)	7.7 (2)	3.4 (2)	12.6 (47)	13.8 (182)
Between 20,000 and 100,000	34.5(10)	19.1 (49)	16.5 (17)	14.9 (17)	18.8 (24)	20.5(16)	17.1 (22)	0.0 (0)	1.7 (1)	19.0 (71)	17.5 (230)
Over 100,000	34.5(10)	5.8 (15)	7.8 (8)	7.9 (9)	29.7 (38)	12.8(10)	4.7 (6)	7.7 (2)	0.0 (0)	6.7 (25)	9.5 (125)
Total Number of Organizations	100.0(29)	100.0(257)	100.0(103)	100.0(114)	100.0(128)	100.0(78)	100.0(129)	100.0(26)	100.0(58)	100.0(374)	100.0(1318)

* Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding..

** Values for row totals and aggregate totals are calculated after cross-tabulations.

When we look at organizations in Ibaraki (data not shown), the overall size of organizational budgets, except for those of agricultural and economic organizations, is smaller than those in Tokyo. However, in comparison, the size of budgets of these two types of organizations in Ibaraki and Tokyo are quite similar.

We also asked each organization to indicate the size of their individual and institutional memberships (Table 4–6, Organizational Membership Figures, Cross-tabulations, Tokyo). There are very few organizations that responded that they had no individual membership (administrative/bureaucratic organizations are a rare case in which 19 percent replied that they have no individual membership). On the other end of the scale, less than 5 percent of the organizations indicated that they have individual membership figures of more than 20,000 people. This means that most organizations have individual membership figures less than 20,000. Those that have a relatively large individual membership base are political, social welfare, agricultural, labor, and educational organizations, and the range is commonly between 1,000 and 20,000 people. Economic organizations have membership figures that are relatively smaller compared to other organizations, with their memberships more or less within 1,000 people. As for institutional memberships, many organizations indicate memberships of less than 100. In fact, administrative/bureaucratic organizations had no individual memberships, but appear to have a large base of institutional memberships (29 percent of them had more than 200 institutional memberships). Many educational and labor organizations have more than 100 institutional memberships. Overall, however, there are no conspicuous differences among the organizational categories.

As was the case in Tokyo, individual memberships in agricultural, labor, and social welfare organizations in Ibaraki (data not shown) is large. More than half of the agricultural organizations have memberships between 1,000 and 20,000 individuals. Except for individual memberships in specialist/professional organizations, which is relatively small, the size of organizational memberships in Ibaraki and Tokyo are quite similar.

We also asked each organization to indicate the number of regular (full-time) and non-regular (part-time) employees (Table 4–7, Number of Regular/Non-regular Employees in Organizations, Cross-tabulations, Tokyo). We found that most organizations across all

Table 4–6 Organizational Membership Figures (Cross-tabulations) (Tokyo)

Individual members (current) and organization classification (Tokyo)

Number of members	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
0	11.8 (2)	9.4 (14)	0.0 (0)	2.6 (2)	18.9(14)	5.7 (3)	5.0 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	8.1 (20)	7.0 (62)
1-99	17.6 (3)	44.3 (66)	11.0 (9)	9.1 (7)	16.2(12)	7.5 (4)	17.8 (18)	19.0 (4)	11.4 (5)	20.3 (50)	20.8(183)
100～999	23.5 (4)	30.2 (45)	36.6(30)	42.9(33)	32.4(24)	32.1(17)	33.7 (34)	23.8 (5)	47.7(21)	34.1 (84)	34.5(304)
1,000～4,999	17.6 (3)	10.1 (15)	31.7(26)	23.4(18)	17.6(13)	28.3(15)	27.7 (28)	14.3 (3)	29.5(13)	20.7 (51)	21.0(185)
5,000～19,999	29.4 (5)	5.4 (8)	12.2(10)	15.6(12)	6.8 (5)	13.2 (7)	8.9 (9)	23.8 (5)	6.8 (3)	9.3 (23)	9.9 (87)
20,000～	0.0 (0)	0.7 (1)	8.5 (7)	6.5 (5)	8.1 (6)	13.2 (7)	6.9 (7)	19.0 (4)	4.5 (2)	7.3 (18)	6.7 (59)
Total for all organizations (%)*	100.0(17)	100.0(149)	100.0(82)	100.0(77)	100.0(74)	100.0(53)	100.0(101)	100.0(21)	100.0(44)	100.0(246)	100.0(880)

Organization members (current) and organization classification

Number of members	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
0	17.4 (4)	7.1 (10)	12.0 (3)	18.2(10)	10.4 (8)	20.0 (6)	12.2(10)	0.0(0)	9.5 (2)	7.2 (15)	10.4 (71)
1～19	26.1 (6)	26.2 (37)	24.0 (6)	14.5 (8)	15.6(12)	13.3 (4)	15.9(13)	44.4(4)	23.8 (5)	56.7 (38)	19.8(135)
20～99	39.1 (9)	37.6 (53)	24.0 (6)	25.5(14)	23.4(18)	30.0 (9)	37.8(31)	55.5(5)	47.6(10)	32.4 (67)	33.2(226)
100～249	8.7 (2)	18.4 (26)	20.0 (5)	16.4 (9)	22.1(17)	20.0 (6)	19.5(16)	0.0(0)	9.5 (2)	18.4 (38)	17.9(122)
250～	8.7 (2)	10.6 (15)	20.0 (5)	25.5(14)	28.6(22)	16.7 (5)	14.6(12)	0.0(0)	9.5 (2)	23.7 (49)	18.6(127)
Total for all organizations (%)*	100.0(23)	100.0(141)	100.0(25)	100.0(55)	100.0(77)	100.0(30)	100.0(82)	100.0(9)	100.0(21)	100.0(207)	100.0(681)

Affiliated individuals (current) and organization classification

Number of members	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
0	25.0(2)	11.8(11)	4.3 (1)	25.0 (8)	11.4 (4)	27.8 (5)	24.4(11)	0.0(0)	7.1 (1)	10.4 (11)	14.5 (56)
1～99	25.0(2)	10.8(10)	4.3 (1)	9.4 (3)	5.7 (2)	5.6 (1)	11.1(59)	16.7(1)	7.1 (1)	9.4 (10)	9.6 (37)
100～999	9.4(3)	25.8(24)	17.4 (4)	18.8 (6)	8.6 (3)	16.7 (3)	26.7(12)	33.3(2)	42.9 (6)	22.6 (24)	22.7 (88)
1,000～19,999	12.5(1)	35.5(33)	26.1 (6)	31.3(10)	51.4(18)	33.3 (6)	31.1(14)	33.3(2)	21.4 (3)	34.0 (36)	34.1(132)
20,000～	0.0(0)	16.1(15)	47.8(11)	15.6 (5)	22.9 (8)	16.7 (3)	6.7 (3)	16.7(1)	21.4 (3)	23.6 (25)	19.1 (74)
Total for all organizations (%)*	100.0(8)	100.0(93)	100.0(23)	100.0(32)	100.0(35)	100.0(18)	100.0(45)	100.0(6)	100.0(14)	100.0(106)	100.0(387)

* Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

** Values for row totals and aggregate totals are calculated after cross-tabulations.

Table 4–7 Number of Regular/Non-regular Employees in Organizations, Cross-tabulations, Tokyo

Number of regular employees and organization classification (Tokyo)

Number of employees	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
0	0.0 (0)	3.2 (8)	13.7 (14)	9.0 (9)	3.2 (4)	13.7(10)	5.3 (6)	12.0 (3)	20.8(10)	8.0 (29)	7.5 (94)
1 to 4	25.0 (8)	54.0(134)	49.0 (50)	46.0 (46)	32.3 (40)	24.7(18)	51.8 (59)	56.0(14)	60.4(29)	54.1(196)	48.6 (607)
5 to 29	46.9(15)	37.1 (92)	28.4 (29)	36.0 (36)	49.2 (61)	47.9(35)	35.1 (40)	28.0 (7)	12.5 (6)	32.0(116)	35.5 (444)
30 to 49	3.1 (1)	2.4 (6)	2.0 (2)	5.0 (5)	4.8 (6)	2.7 (2)	5.3 (6)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2.5 (9)	3.0 (37)
More than 50	25.0 (8)	3.2 (8)	6.9 (7)	4.0 (4)	10.5 (13)	11.0 (8)	2.6 (3)	4.0 (1)	6.3 (3)	3.3 (12)	5.4 (68)
Total for all organizations (%)*	100.0(32)	100.0(248)	100.0(102)	100.0(100)	100.0(124)	100.0(73)	100.0(114)	100.0(25)	100.0(48)	100.0(362)	100.0(1250)

Number of non-regular employees and organization classification (Tokyo)

Number of employees	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total**
0	50.0(11)	64.0 (89)	56.6(30)	22.8(18)	43.2(35)	29.0(18)	45.5(40)	42.1 (8)	50.0(16)	44.0(111)	45.6(383)
1 to 4	13.6 (3)	30.9 (43)	34.0(18)	57.0(45)	38.3(31)	40.3(25)	44.3(39)	42.1 (8)	31.3(10)	44.8(113)	40.0(336)
5 to 29	18.2 (4)	4.3 (6)	7.5 (4)	13.9(11)	13.6(11)	25.8(16)	10.2 (9)	15.8 (3)	18.8 (6)	9.9 (25)	11.7 (98)
30 to 49	9.1 (2)	0.7 (1)	0.0 (0)	2.5 (2)	1.2 (1)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.4 (1)	0.8 (7)
More than 50	9.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	1.9 (1)	3.8 (3)	3.7 (3)	4.8 (3)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.8 (2)	1.8 (15)
Total for all organizations (%)*	100.0(22)	100.0(139)	100.0(53)	100.0(79)	100.0(81)	100.0(62)	100.0(88)	100.0(19)	100.0(32)	100.0(252)	100.0(839)

* Percentages may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

** Values for row totals and aggregate totals are calculated after cross-tabulations.

categories had between 1 and 30 regular employees, and that about 25 percent of the agricultural organizations had more than 50 regular employees. Moreover, more than 10 percent of administrative/bureaucratic and social welfare organizations have more than 50 regular employees. On the other hand, more than 20 percent of civic, and 10 percent of labor, social welfare, and political organizations do not have any regular employees at all. Like Tokyo, in Ibaraki (data not shown), most organizations have 1 to 30 regular employees, but the number is larger for agricultural organizations in Ibaraki than their counterparts in Tokyo.

4–2 Organizational purpose/activities

Table 4–8 (Organizational Classifications and Purpose/Activities (Tokyo)) shows the data collected from the Tokyo organizations in regards to their organizational purpose and activities. We identified basically two types of organizational activities: internal and external.[3] Internal activities include information provision, education and training opportunities, and procuring grants and other financial incentives for members. Some organizations also pursue the economic interests of their members. External activities include policy recommendations and education/awareness campaigns aimed at the public. Overall, it seems that most organizations emphasize activities that serve their members.

Most of the organizations provide information, education, and training to their members. Especially, over 80 percent of agricultural (83 percent), economic (96 percent), labor (86 percent), and specialist/professional (82 percent) organizations consider such activities to be the main purpose of their organizations. Many agricultural, economic, and labor organizations pursue the economic interests of their members, but educational and civic organizations do not. Twenty-one percent of political organizations facilitate public policy through the administration (*bengi o hakaru*), yet less than 20 percent of the other

[3] Four types of activities are derived from principal component analysis. Two of them are internal activities ("providing services for members" and "representing economic interests of members") and the other two are external activities ("political activities" and "external services").

Table 4–8 Organizational Classifications and Purpose/Activities (Tokyo)

Purpose/activities (%)	Agriculture	Economic	Labor	Education	Public administration/ bureaucracy	Social welfare	Specialist/ professional	Political	Civic	Other	Total*
Information provision	**82.9(29)**	**96.0(262)**	**85.5(94)**	**55.3(68)**	**69.9(95)**	**48.2(41)**	**82.2(111)**	**75.9(22)**	**70.0(42)**	**68.3(285)**	**74.6(1064)**
Education and training	**62.9(22)**	**73.6(201)**	**76.4(84)**	**75.6(93)**	**52.2(71)**	**36.5(31)**	**65.2 (88)**	**31.0 (9)**	**43.3(26)**	**46.3(193)**	**58.2 (830)**
Pursuit of economic profits	**65.7(23)**	**72.2(197)**	**87.3(96)**	8.9(11)	**22.1(30)**	10.6 (9)	18.5 (25)	**20.7 (6)**	8.3 (5)	**20.6 (86)**	**34.6 (494)**
Protection of living standards and rights	**48.6(17)**	**31.9 (87)**	**89.1(98)**	5.7 (7)	16.9(23)	**24.7(21)**	17.0 (23)	**34.5(10)**	**28.3(17)**	16.3 (68)	**26.3 (375)**
Procuring grants and other financial incentive	**20.0 (7)**	**21.6 (59)**	13.8(15)	6.5 (8)	7.4(10)	3.5 (3)	11.9 (16)	13.8 (4)	3.3 (2)	7.2 (30)	10.9 (155)
Facilitating public policies	14.3 (5)	19.0 (52)	9.1(10)	1.6 (2)	7.4(10)	2.4 (2)	4.4 (6)	**20.7 (6)**	5.0 (3)	8.9 (37)	9.5 (135)
Information gathering and provision	**22.9 (8)**	**27.8 (76)**	16.4(18)	17.1(21)	15.4(21)	17.5(15)	**27.4 (37)**	17.2 (5)	**25.0(15)**	**20.6 (86)**	**21.4 (305)**
Policy recommendations	14.3 (5)	17.6 (48)	16.4(18)	15.4(19)	17.6(24)	7.1 (6)	**35.6 (48)**	**44,8(13)**	15.0 (9)	12.5 (52)	17.2 (245)
Education/awareness campaigns	**20.0 (7)**	**22.1 (60)**	**20.0(22)**	**30.1(37)**	**41.9(57)**	**28.2(24)**	**37.0 (50)**	**48.3(14)**	**46.7(28)**	**22.3 (93)**	**27.6 (394)**
Financial aid	0.0 (0)	5.1 (14)	5.5 (6)	7.3 (9)	2.2 (3)	12.9(11)	4.4 (6)	6.9 (2)	15.0 (9)	7.9 (33)	6.7 (95)
Providing general services	**20.0 (7)**	**20.1 (55)**	9.1(10)	**22.0(27)**	17.6(24)	**27.1(23)**	14.8(20)	10.3 (3)	**28.3(17)**	15.6 (65)	18.0 (256)
Other	2.9 (1)	4.0 (11)	4.5 (5)	8.1(10)	15.4(21)	**24.7(21)**	9.8(13)	13.8 (4)	18.3(11)	**25.7(107)**	14.5 (206)
Total for all organizations	35	273	110	123	136	85	133	29	60	417	1426

Figures in bracket indicate absolute figures.

Respondents were allowed to indicate multiple responses.

* Values for row totals and aggregate totals are calculated after cross-tabulations.

organizational types indicate that this activity is one of their central purposes. More than 20 percent of the agricultural and economic organizations assist in procuring grants and other financial incentives. This is the highest percentage among organizations with regard to this type of activity.

In terms of external (often one-sided) activities, a high percentage of administrative/bureaucratic, specialist/professional, political, and civic organizations are engaged in education or awareness campaigns. This percentage, however, is still lower than the overall percentage for internal activities for all organizations. Specialist/professional and political organizations are more active than other organizations in advocating policies. Less than 30 percent of organizations are engaged in providing financial aid and other general services, and in this category, there are no major differences among organizational categories. Similar to their counterparts in Tokyo, organizations in Ibaraki (data not shown) appear to spend more time on activities for their members rather than externally oriented activities.

Table 4–9 (Organization Classifications and Policy Interests) summarizes the various policy interests of organizations.[4] We can see that policy interests among organizations in each category are more or less evenly dispersed. Twenty to 36 percent of the organizations are interested in policy areas ranging from social welfare to regional development. As to be expected, a high percentage of agricultural organizations are interested in agricultural policies (97 percent), labor organizations are interested in labor policies (95 percent), and social welfare organizations are interested in welfare policies (91 percent). There are, however, policy areas which showed surprising popularity such as environmental policy, in which most of the organizations demonstrated high percentages of interest (political organizations, 59 percent; civic organizations, 57 percent, economic organizations, 44 percent; specialist/professional organizations, 42 percent; labor organizations, 40 percent; and agricultural organizations, 40 percent).

Generally in Tokyo, many organizations demonstrated interest in new policies related to civic activities such as social welfare, environment, education and sports, international, and consumer-oriented issues. Following this came policies related to the

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[4] See Tsujinaka, et al., 1999 [J], *Senkyo* (November 1999) for comparisons with Korea.

Table 4–9 Organizational Classifications and Policy Interests

All organizations n=1438		Agriculture n=35		Economic n=273		Labor n=110		Education n=110		Administration/ bureaucracy n=136		Social welfare n=136		Specialist/ professional n=135		Political n=29		Civic n=60		(Ibaraki) All organizations n=197	
social welfare	36	agriculture and forestry	97	business	74	labor	95	education and sports	82	social welfare	40	social welfare	91	international	47	social welfare	66	environment	57	agriculture and forestry	43
environment	34	business	43	trading	54	social welfare	66	international	43	business	29	public finance	26	education and sports	44	ocal administratior	62	social welfare	52	money and banking	41
business	33	environment	40	money and banking	48	consumer	54	communications	24	public finance	24	international	19	environment	42	public finance	59	international	42	public finance	39
education and sports	30	money and banking	37	consumer	45	public finance	46	social welfare	24	money and banking	24	legal rights	18	science	33	environment	59	education and sports	38	business	33
international	28	consumer	37	environment	44	environment	40	environment	22	environment	24	ocal administratior	18	social welfare	30	consumer	55	regional development	32	social welfare	33
public finance	28	regional development	29	public finance	43	money and banking	36	public finance	20	construction	24	education and sports	18	business	28	international	55	ocal administratior	32	regional development	32
consumer	27	public finance	23	labor	28	business	35	science	20	ocal administratior	22	money and banking	15	regional development	25	transport	52	consumer	30	consumer	31
money and banking	26	labor	17	regional development	28	legal rights	33	money and banking	18	consumer	22	labor	15	construction	23	diplomacy	48	public finance	23	environment	31
labor	23	social welfare	17	construction	26	ocal administratior	29	regional development	15	trading	19	environment	12	communications	22	security	48	legal rights	23	labor	27
trading	23	trading	14	communications	26	transport	27	labor	15	international	18	consumer	9	public finance	20	money and banking	45	transport	20	local administratior	27
regional development	20	communications	14	transport	23	trading	24	consumer	15	regional development	17	regional development	8	money and banking	16	construction	45	money and banking	18	trading	22
communications	19	construction	11	social welfare	19	communications	22	legal rights	13	science	16	communications	7	trading	16	legal rights	45	construction	18	construction	21
construction	17	science	11	ocal administratior	18	international	22	business	12	labor	15	diplomacy	6	transport	15	public safety	41	diplomacy	18	communications	17
ocal administratior	17	international	11	agriculture and forestry	17	security	21	diplomacy	11	agriculture and forestry	15	business	5	consumer	15	education and sports	41	public safety	17	transport	16
transport	16	transport	9	science	16	regional development	18	ocal administratior	11	transport	14	trading	4	labor	13	trading	38	agriculture and forestry	17	education and sports	14
science	15	ocal administratior	9	international	13	public safety	18	trading	8	communications	13	construction	4	agriculture and forestry	13	business	38	security	13	legal rights	10
agriculture and forestry	15	diplomacy	6	education and sports	9	construction	17	transport	8	education and sports	13	science	2	ocal administratior	10	communications	38	business	12	international	10
diplomacy	10	education and sports	6	diplomacy	8	diplomacy	16	agriculture and forestry	8	public safety	6	security	2	diplomacy	9	labor	38	communications	12	security	8
legal rights	10	legal rights	3	security	5	education and sports	15	construction	7	diplomacy	4	public safety	2	security	8	regional development	34	science	12	diplomacy	7
security	8	security	0	public safety	4	agriculture and forestry	11	security	5	security	3	transport	1	legal rights	5	agriculture and forestry	31	labor	12	public safety	7
public safety	7	public safety	0	legal rights	2	science	10	public safety	2	legal rights	2	agriculture and forestry	1	public safety	4	science	28	trading	8	science	4

economy and special interests such as business, public finance, money and banking, trading, regional development, communications, and construction. Organizational interests regarding traditionally state-related policies such as diplomacy, legal rights, security, and public safety were relatively low. Overall we found that there are several layers of policy interests among the organizations.

The results were quite different in Ibaraki (data not shown). In Ibaraki, the first group (or layer) includes policies related to economic and special interest. New "civic" policies followed in popularity. Traditionally state-related policies showed low percentages overall. Organizations that demonstrated interest in more than five policy issue areas were the following organizations: political (69 percent), labor (61 percent), and economic (56 percent) organizations. Forty percent of civic, specialist/professional, agricultural, and educational organizations, and less than 30 percent of administrative/bureaucratic, and social welfare organizations showed interest in more than five policy areas.

Overall, in terms of policy interests, this analysis suggests that there are two types of organizations: those that are interested in a wide variety of policies and others that are more focused. However, almost all organizations have policy interests in social welfare, the environment, and public finance. Moreover, the number of identified policy interests among organizations in Ibaraki was slightly higher than those in Tokyo. Furthermore, organizations in Ibaraki appear to be interested in a wider variety of policy issue areas.

4–3 Cooperation and discord[5]

Organizations have relationships with various political actors. Although we will discuss their relationships with these political actors in more detail in later chapters, here, we would like to briefly reflect on the relationships among organizational categories. In Q27 of our survey, we asked our respondent organizations to rate their relationships with each of 16 other groups (the bureaucracy, political parties, economic/executive organizations, major companies, the mass media, agricultural organizations, foreign governments, international organizations, local government, labor organizations, foreign

[5] See Tsujinaka, et al., 1999 [J], *Senkyo* (October 1999) for a comparison with Korea.

interest groups, scholars, consumers' organizations, welfare organizations, NGOs/civic/residents' organizations, and women's organizations). Respondents could indicate their answers based on a scale wherein "1" indicated that there was a high degree of conflict between the organization and the group, "4" indicated a neutral type of relationship between the two, and "7" indicated a high rate of cooperation.

Table 4–10 (Cooperation and Discord among Organizations) summarizes the results. Since 4.0 is neutral, we deemed that relationships rated higher than 4.5 are considered to be cooperative, while those in the 4.0 or lower ranges were considered to be antagonistic. On the right-hand side of the table, we have included a comparison between Tokyo and Ibaraki. There are no conspicuous differences between the two, but it appears that organizations in Ibaraki are much clearer in terms of the type of relationships that they have with other organs. When examined more closely within categories, we found that organizations in the same category are naturally cooperative with each other.

In analyzing our results, we found that we can divide organizations into two major sets. The first is the set of organizations that have clear preferences. In other words, there is a large gap between the average rating for cooperative organizations and the average rating for antagonistic organizations. The second set of organizations appears to be cooperative with all other organizations. In the first set, we find labor (3.1 rating difference between the most cooperative and the least cooperative organizations), agricultural (2.3), social welfare, political, and civic organizations. In the second set, we have economic (0.8), educational and specialist/professional (0.9), and administrative/bureaucratic organizations.

Let us now examine each organizational category. Agricultural organizations have friendly relationships with other agricultural organizations. Generally, they are neutral to other groups, but antagonistic toward foreign actors and major companies. As for economic organizations, they surprisingly did not show antagonism towards labor organizations. The level of cooperation among economic organizations is not necessarily high compared to other organizational categories. While economic organizations view their relations with labor organizations as neutral, labor organizations clearly show antagonism toward economic organizations.

Educational organizations and scholars are relatively cooperative. Educational

Table 4–10 Cooperation and Discord among Organizations

	Agricultural organizations	Economic organizations	Labor organizations	Education organizations	Administrative/ bureaucratic organizations	Social welfare organizations	Specialist/ professional organizations	Political organizations	Civic organizations	All Tokyo organizations	All Ibaraki organizations
Higher than 5.5	Agri orgs (6.0)		Labor orgs (6.2)			Soci welf orgs (5.8)		Poli parties (5.5)			
Higher than 4.5	Local govt (5.1) Political parties, consumers' orgs (4.8) Bureaucracy (4.7)	Econ orgs (5.0) Bureaucracy (4.7) Local govt (4.6)	Soci welf orgs (4.8) Civic orgs, women's orgs (4.7) Political parties, consumers' orgs (4.6)	Scholars (4.9) Local govt (4.7) Mass media (4.6) Bureaucracy, soci welf orgs (4.5)	Bureaucracy (5.0) Local govt (4.8)	Local govt (5.0) Civic orgs (4.6)	Scholars (4.9) Mass media (4.6) Bureaucracy, intl orgs (4.5)	Soci welf orgs (4.8) Local govt (4.5)	Civic orgs (5.3) Consumers' orgs, soci welf orgs, local govt (4.8) Women's orgs (4.6) Mass media (4.5)	Local govt (4.6) Scholars, soci welf orgs (4.5)	Local govt (5.2) Agri orgs (5.0) Poli parties, soci welf orgs (4.5)
Higher than 4.0	Mass media, scholars, soci welf orgs, women's orgs (4.3) Labor organizations (4.2) Econ orgs, civic orgs (4.0)	Poli parties (4.4) Major companies, mass media, consumers' orgs (4.3) Scholars (4.2) Soci wel orgs, civic orgs, intl orgs (4.1) Labor orgs, agri orgs, women's orgs, foreign govts (4.0)	Scholars, local govt (4.3) Intl orgs (4.2) Mass media (4.1)	Econ orgs, civic orgs (4.4) Poli parties, major companies, consumers' orgs (4.3) Women's orgs, intl orgs (4.2) Agri orgs, foreign govts (4.1) Labor orgs, foreign interest groups (4.0)	Econ orgs, major companies, scholars (4.4) Poli parties, soci welf orgs (4.3) Mass media (4.2) Intl orgs (4.1) Labor orgs, agri orgs, consumers' orgs, foreign govts (4.0)	Consumers' orgs, women's orgs (4.4) Bureaucracy, mass media, scholars (4.3) Labor orgs, econ orgs, poli parties, major companies (4.1) Foreign govts (4.0)	Soci welf orgs, women's orgs, local govt (4.3) Labor orgs, econ orgs, poli parties, major companies, consumers' orgs, civic orgs (4.2) Foreign govts (4.1) Agri org, foreign interest groups (4.0)	Econ orgs, civic orgs (4.4) Scholars, consumers' orgs (4.3) Mass media, women's orgs (4.2) Agri orgs, bureaucracy, major companies (4.1) Labor orgs, intl orgs (4.0)	Scholars (4.4) Labor orgs, poli parties, intl orgs (4.2) Agri orgs (4.1) Foreign govts, intl orgs (4.0)	Bureaucracy, poli parties, mass media (4.4) Labor orgs, econ orgs, consumers' orgs, civil orgs (4.3) Major companies, women's orgs, intl orgs (4.2) Agri orgs, foreign govts (4.1) Foreign interest groups (4.0)	Econ orgs, consumers' orgs (4.4) Labor orgs, bureaucracy (4.3) Women's orgs (4.2) Mass media, scholars, civic orgs (4.1)
Higher than 3.5	Major companies, intl orgs (3.9) Foreign govts, foreign interest groups (3.8)	Foreign interest groups (3.9)	Agri orgs, foreign govts (3.9) Foreign interest groups (3.8) Bureaucracy (3.5)		Civic orgs, women's orgs, foreign interest groups (3.9)	Intl orgs, foreign interest groups (3.9) Agri orgs (3.8)		Foreign govts (3.9) Foreign interest groups (3.7)	Econ orgs, major companies (3.9) Bureaucracy (3.8)		Major companies (3.8) Foreign govts, intl orgs (3.7) Foreign interest groups (3.5)
Less than 3.5			Major companies (3.3) Econ orgs (3.1)								

organizations maintain neutral relationships with most organizations. Administrative/bureaucratic organizations are relatively cooperative with the bureaucracy and local governments, however, they are not quite as cooperative with civic and women's organizations. Social welfare organizations are cooperative with other social welfare organizations as well as local governments and civic organizations.

Specialist/professional organizations are cooperative with scholars and the mass media. Political organizations have strong relationships with political parties, but not so with foreign governments and foreign organizations. Civic organizations are cooperative with other civic organizations, consumers' organizations, social welfare organizations, local governments, and the mass media, but not so with economic organizations and the bureaucracy. Each organizational category's attributes are clearly reflected in their relationships with other organs.

Summary

In this chapter, we confirmed that 70 to 80 percent of organizations classify themselves as one of the 10 organizational classifications we created for the survey. We also compared our classifications with telephone directory classifications and legal-status classifications. Next, based on the 10 organizational classifications, we examined the attributes, orientations, and the cooperative/non-cooperative relationships among organizations. We believe that asking respondents to identify their own classification yielded interesting results. For example, we find that agricultural and economic organizations have advantages over other organizations in terms of organizational resources. Ibaraki has more of those organizations compared to other types, and they have many resources with few apparent differences compared with organizations in Tokyo. We also found that organizations in Ibaraki have wide policy interests.

By using our 10 organizational classifications, in the following chapters we will examine the relationship between Japanese civil society and politics.

Chapter 5

Organizational Existence and Activity Patterns in Relation to Activity Areas

Hiroki Mori and Yutaka Tsujinaka

1. Organization activity areas

The Japan Interest Group Survey (JIGS) not only covers pressure groups that are active in policy processes but also all organized interests that exist in social processes. Hence, when we develop our argument based on the survey data, we need to reconsider various assumptions. Each organization's location and its activity areas, for example, must be thoroughly examined. There are many ways to approach these issues, but in this book, we will focus on geographic area.

Japanese organizations conduct their activities in three main geographic areas: the local-level area (including municipal areas covering the municipal level to the prefectural level), the national level (throughout Japan), and transnational level (global level).

In this survey, in order to examine each organization's activity areas, we asked each organization to choose from the following (Q5): (1) municipal (*shichoson*) level, (2) prefectural (*ken*) level, (3) regional (*koikiken*) level including several prefectures, (4) national (*zenkoku*) level, and (5) global (*sekai*) level.

As is clear from Table 5–1, there is a large difference in geographic scale between organizations in Tokyo and those in Ibaraki. More than 60 percent of the organizations in Tokyo are engaged in national and transnational activities. This percentage is higher than we expected. In Ibaraki, on the other hand, more than 80 percent of the organizations' activities are conducted either at the prefectural level or below prefectural level. A little over 10 percent of the organizations in Tokyo are engaged in transnational activities, and this shows globalization is at work in civil society.

Table 5–1 clearly shows that more than 90 percent of agricultural and economic organizations in Ibaraki are engaged in activities below the prefectural level. On the other

Table 5–1 Geographic Area of Activities

	Municipality (*shichoson*)	Prefecture (*ken*)	Region (*koikiken*)	Nation (*zenkoku*)	Global (*sekai*)	N
Tokyo						
All	14.3	11.0	11.1	49.7	13.8	1388
Agriculture	28.6	22.9	2.9	45.7	0.0	35
Economic	16.2	13.2	16.5	48.9	5.1	272
Labor	16.8	14.0	23.4	39.3	6.5	107
Education	4.9	7.4	7.4	67.2	13.1	122
Administration/ Bureaucracy	11.9	14.8	8.9	57.0	7.4	135
Social welfare	24.7	15.3	8.2	40.0	11.8	85
Specialist/ Professional	4.5	3.8	7.5	63.2	21.1	133
Political	20.7	24.1	10.3	34.5	10.3	29
Civic	32.8	8.6	6.9	27.6	24.1	58
Ibaraki						
All	51.8	33.5	8.4	4.2	2.1	191
Agriculture	76.8	14.3	7.1	1.8	0.0	56
Economic	69.0	24.1	3.4	3.4	0.0	29
Labor	18.2	36.4	27.3	18.2	0.0	22

hand, the activity areas of labor organizations in Ibaraki are broader. Not only are they active at the prefectural level and above, but they are larger as well.

When the same question was posed to organizations in Tokyo, we found that almost all organizations, save for civic organizations, conducted activities on the national level.

The area of activities for civic organizations is quite unique. Among civic organizations, the most popular activity area was the municipal level (32.8 percent). Moreover, the percentage of globally active civic organizations is the highest compared to other organizational groups. A large percentage of civic organizations, hence, are either municipally oriented or globally oriented. Other organizations can be divided into two types. The first group is organizations of which more than 60 percent are engaged in activities above the national level (e.g., specialist/professional, education, and public administration organizations). The second is a polarized group where 40 to 50 percent are engaged in local activities, and the rest in national activities (e.g., agricultural, political, and social welfare organizations). The remaining organizational groups are economic and labor organizations. These are most active at the national level and are relatively active at the regional level.

We have examined each organizational group's geographic activity patterns. In the sections below, we will focus on organizations in Tokyo and examine each organizational

group's attributes, policy preferences, information sources, political targets, and its relationships with public administration and political parties. This chapter will examine the activity areas of organizations, an issue that to date has not been thoroughly examined in the study of interest groups and political processes.

2. Location, attributes, and orientation

2–1 Location

Where do organizations base their activities?

In Table 5–2, we divide organizations into two groups, namely, those that are located inside the 23 wards of Tokyo (1,222), and those outside (147). Similarly, in Ibaraki, Table 5–2 divides organizations into those that are in Mito, the capital city of Ibaraki prefecture and the Hitachi-naka area (72), and those that are outside (117). In Tokyo, organizations that are located inside the 23 wards are active nationwide, while those outside the 23 wards are engaged in local activities. In Ibaraki, we find that many organizations are active at the prefectural level, while most organizations outside the Mito and Hitachi-naka areas are local in scope. As such, we assume that organizations chose their office location according to their areas of activities.

2–2 Legal status, the number of employees, and budget

Table 5–3 examines organizations' legal status, the number of regular full-time employees, and the size of their budgets in relation to areas of activities. In terms of legal status, a relatively fewer number of organizations that conduct activities on the municipal

Table 5–2 Area of Activity and Office Location

	Tokyo		Ibaraki	
	Ward (*ku*)	Outside ward (*kugai*)	Mito	Other
Municipality (*shichoson*)	9.6	52.4	22.2	70.9
Prefecture (*ken*)	10.6	16.3	65.3	12.8
Region (*koikiken*)	11.3	10.2	9.7	7.7
Nation (*zenkoku*)	54.1	12.9	1.4	6.0
Global (*sekai*)	14.5	8.2	1.4	2.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	(1222)	(147)	(72)	(117)

Note: The area described as "Mito" is comprised of the immediate area of Mito and Hitachi-naka.

Table 5–3 Area of Activity and Corporate Status, Number of Regular Employees, and Budget (%)

	Corporate status (%)	Number of regular employees (%)		1998 budget (%)	
		More than 10	None	More than 100 million yen	Less than 5 million yen
Municipality (*shichoson*)	53.3	12.1	10.6	19.6	15.6
Prefecture (*ken*)	68.6	23.5	5.9	33.3	9.2
Region (*koikiken*)	61.7	17.5	5.8	36.4	10.4
Nation (*zenkoku*)	62.3	20.3	6.1	43.2	6.5
Global (*sekai*)	57.8	30.7	5.2	44.3	7.8
All	61.5	23.2	7.6	40.7	9.4

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.

level have a certain legal status. As shown in Table 5–3, as the size of the geographical area in which they conduct activities expands, the number of employees and the size of their budgets also increases.[1]

2–3 Policy interest

Table 5–4 shows the relationship between organizations' policy interests and their activity areas. There are policy areas in which the ranking stays very much the same across activity areas, but there are also those that fluctuate. For example, environmental and welfare policies are ranked high in every geographic area. On the other hand, national security and law and order issues are ranked low. However, in terms of ratio, municipal-level organizations show relatively higher interest in those issues. Regional development and local administration policies are dealt with by organizations that are active at the municipal-level, while policies relating to various industries are dealt with by organizations active at the prefecture to national levels. Policies related to international cooperation are dealt with by organizations active at the national and global levels.

[1] We did not find a similar tendency in Ibaraki where less than 15 percent of organizations are active at the regional level and above. On the other hand, organizations that are active at the municipal level have larger budgets and higher numbers of employees. The ratio of organizations that have a certain legal status is also high.

Table 5–4 Activity Area and Policy Interests (percent)

Municipality (*shichoson*)		Prefecture (*ken*)		Region (*koikiken*)		Nation (*zenkoku*)		Global (*sekai*)	
Social welfare	45.2	Social welfare	45.1	Business	39.6	Environment	35.8	International cooperation	67.2
Environment	39.2	Business	39.9	Social welfare	39.0	Business	35.8	Education and sports	47.9
Consumer	37.2	Public finance	35.9	Money and banking	36.4	International cooperation	33.3	Environment	34.9
Public finance	36.7	Consumer	30.7	Labor	35.7	Social welfare	32.9	Social welfare	28.6
Regional development	36.2	Money and banking	30.1	Public finance	33.8	Consumer	27.7	Science and technology	24.5
Local administration	35.2	Labor	30.1	Trading	30.5	Public finance	25.5	Diplomacy	22.9
Business	35.2	Environment	28.1	Environment	29.9	Money and banking	24.9	Communications and information	20.3
Money and banking	31.7	Local administration	24.2	Consumer	27.9	Trading	24.3	Business	19.8
Labor	25.1	Education and sports	19.0	Public works projects	24.7	Labor	22.3	Public finance	19.8
Trading	24.6	Regional development	19.0	Education and sports	20.8	Communications and information	22.0	Trading	17.7
Education and sports	20.6	Trading	18.3	International cooperation	20.8	Education and sports	20.8	Regional development	17.2
Public works projects	20.1	Public works projects	18.3	Regional development	19.5	Science and technology	18.4	Money and banking	15.1
International cooperation	15.6	Communications and information	14.4	Communications and information	18.2	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	17.8	Consumer	14.6
Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	13.6	International cooperation	13.7	Local administration	15.6	Highways and transportation	17.4	Labor	12.5
Highways and transportation	14.6	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	13.7	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	13.6	Regional development	17.0	Legal Rights	12.5
Communications and information	14.1	Highways and transportation	13.1	Highways and transportation	13.6	Public works projects	16.5	Local administration	12.0
Legal rights	14.1	Legal rights	10.5	Diplomacy	11.7	Local administration	12.3	Agriculture, forestry, and fisheries	11.5
Public safety	13.1	Public safety	6.5	Science and technology	11.7	Diplomacy	7.8	Highways and transportation	11.5
Security	10.1	Security	5.2	Legal rights	8.4	Legal rights	7.7	Security	11.5
Science and technology	8.5	Diplomacy	5.2	Security	7.8	Security	6.5	Public works projects	9.9
Diplomacy	8.0	Science and technology	4.1	Public safety	4.5	Public safety	6.2	Public safety	8.8

Note: Figures are percentages of organizations with policy interests in each geographic area.

3. Information sources and political targets

3–1 Activities and information sources

Where do organizations get the information necessary to conduct their activities? Table 5–5 summarizes the results of the survey question asking organizations to choose their top three most important sources of information out of a list of 12. In order to rank the data, we gave 3 points to the most important source, 2 points to the second most important, and 1 point to the third most important. As can be seen from the table, the ranking depends on the geographical scale of activities. The general trends are as follows: (1) organizations seek information from the local government when they act within a given local area, and, as the area of activity expands, they ask the state for information; (2) the dependence on specialists and scholars rises as the area of activity expands; (3) political parties and Diet members are not a source of information in any of the areas of activities; (4) organizations active in regional areas rely on mass media and technical reports or papers; and (5) other cooperating organizations and their members are an important source of information, and organizations that are active nationally and globally rely on such members, while those active locally rely on other cooperating organizations.

3–2 Target of activities

Next, let us examine which bodies (public administration, political parties, and the law courts) organizations active in various geographical areas target to address their claims. In our survey, Q19 asks, "When you try to make your organization's opinion heard or defend the interests of your organization, which of the following three bodies (public administration, political parties, and law courts) do you think is the most effective to contact?" Table 5–6 summarizes the percentages of responses as chosen by organizations at various geographical levels. As is clear from Table 5–6, at every level, public administration is the main choice, followed by political parties, and lastly, law courts. When we examine these results more closely, we note that many organizations that are active nationally and locally tend to target public administration. Organizations active at the regional level tend to choose political parties, and those active at the municipal level

Table 5-5 Activity Area and Information Sources

Ranking	Municipality (*shichoson*)		Prefecture (*ken*)		Region (*koikiken*)		Nation (*zenkoku*)		Global (*sekai*)	
1	Cooperating organizations	1.00	Local government	1.00	Cooperating organizations	1.00	Central government	1.00	Specialists	1.00
2	Local government	0.93	Cooperating organizations	0.09	Central government	0.96	Organization staff	0.70	Organization staff	0.97
3	Organization staff	0.61	Technical papers	0.88	Technical papers	0.94	Cooperating organizations	0.66	Cooperating organizations	0.85
4	Technical papers	0.54	Central government	0.57	Mass media	0.76	Technical papers	0.64	Technical papers	0.73
5	Mass media	0.52	Mass media	0.54	Organization staff	0.67	Mass media	0.44	Central government	0.66
6	Central government	0.46	Organization staff	0.54	Local government	0.54	Specialists	0.39	Mass media	0.65
7	Local political representatives	0.27	Specialists	0.20	Specialists	0.40	Companies	0.19	Other	0.33
8	Specialists	0.24	Other	0.12	Companies	0.36	Local government	0.14	Companies	0.23
9	Other	0.18	Local political representatives	0.10	Other	0.12	Other	0.11	Local government	0.18
10	Companies	0.12	Diet political representatives	0.08	Diet political representatives	0.10	Diet political representatives	0.04	Diet political representatives	0.06
11	Political parties	0.10	Political parties	0.06	Political parties	0.08	Political parties	0.03	Political parties	0.02
12	Diet political representatives	0.09	Companies	0.04	Local political representatives	0.03	Local political representatives	0.01	Local political representatives	0.01

Note: Ranking calculation method: 3 points given for information sources ranked as “1” by the organizations; 2 points given for information sources ranked as “2”; and 1 point given for information sources ranked as “3”. Figures in the table are comparisons of the information sources ranked as “1” by the organizations in each geographic area.

Table 5–6 Target of Activities (Ranked #1 in the survey)

	Public administration	Political parties	Law courts
Municipality (*shichoson*)	38.2 (1.00)	16.1 (0.42)	9.5 (0.25)
Prefecture (*ken*)	36.6 (1.00)	16.3 (0.45)	5.2 (0.14)
Region (*koikiken*)	29.2 (1.00)	18.2 (0.62)	7.1 (0.24)
Nation (*zenkoku*)	39.9 (1.00)	15.1 (0.38)	6.1 (0.15)
Global (*sekai*)	31.8 (1.00)	9.4 (0.30)	5.2 (0.16)
All	35.7 (1.00)	14.5 (0.41)	6.5 (0.18)

Notes:
1. Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.
2. Because of missing values (non-responses), horizontal and vertical totals may not add up to 100%.
3. Figures in brackets describe the percentages of organizations that indicated "1" with regard to "public administration" in the survey.

and the regional area target law courts.

The gap between public administration and political parties is the smallest for organizations that conduct activities at the regional level. The reason why organizations operating at the regional level do not choose public administration is perhaps because there is no institution to cover such an unconventional regional unit. As for organizations that are active globally, there is no single decisive target to which they can address their needs and claims.

4. Organization-public administration relations

As examined in the previous section, local government organs are considered an important source of information. At the same time, these are considered as an effective political target. This section provides a closer examination of organization-public administration relations.

4–1 Various aspects of organization-public administrative relations

In this survey, we asked the following questions regarding each organization's relationships with state administrative organizations and national governments (Q8), as well as local governments (Q9).

(1) Do you need to get accreditation or approval by the national (local) government?

(2) Do they impose legal restrictions or is licensing required?

(3) Do they give your organization administrative guidance?
(4) Do you support and cooperate with the policy-making processes and budget-making processes of the national (local) government?
(5) Do you exchange information regarding organizations and industries?
(6) Do you send your organization's members to council and/or advisory committees (*shingikai*)?
(7) Does your organization offer positions to national (local) government officials after retirement?

Table 5–7 summarizes replies to the above questions and is divided into three major sections. One section shows the relationships between organizations and the national level, the second, between organizations and the local level, and the third, between organizations related both to the national and local government level.

Depending on the activity area, the relationships among organizations and the national and local government levels vary. Generally speaking, except for the global level, as the activity area expands, the relationship between organizations and national-level bodies is strengthened. Organizations that are active at the prefectural level have strong ties with local government. Moreover, as we can see from the third section in Table 5–7, organizations that are active in the regional area have closer relationships with the national and local-level governments than other organizations.

4–2 Direct contact with public administration

Let us now look at how much contact organizations have with public administration. In our survey, we asked, "When your organization directly contacts the administration, who (ranking or position) do you call or meet with?" At the national level, we provided four answers to choose from: the minister/director level, the section chief level, the subsection chief or clerk level, and the general staff level. As for the local level, the four choices are governor-mayor level, the section chief level, the subsection chief or clerk level, and the general staff level.

If the organization chose at least one of the positions out of the four, we considered it to be a positive answer that the organization has contact with the administration.[2] Table

Table 5-7 Relationship between Organizations and Public Administration

National	Accreditation or approval	Licensing	Administrative guidance	Cooperation and support of policies and budget	Exchanging opinions	Sending representatives to council or advisory bodies	Offering post-retirement positions	Subsidies
Municipality (*shichoson*)	29.6	29.1	33.2	12.1	16.1	3.5	3.5	7.5
Prefecture (*ken*)	28.8	35.9	40.5	17.0	26.8	5.2	4.6	10.5
Region (*koikiken*)	46.8	44.2	48.1	5.8	38.3	9.7	3.9	11.7
Nation (*zenkoku*)	40.4	35.2	54.3	17.5	44.5	19.7	12.6	15.5
Global (*sekai*)	38.0	20.3	30.7	9.9	32.3	10.4	7.3	19.3
All	37.3	32.6	44.5	13.9	35.0	13.0	8.4	13.5

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations and area of interest in each geographic area.

Local	Accreditation or approval	Licensing	Administrative guidance	Cooperation and support of policies and budget	Exchanging opinions	Sending representatives to council or advisory bodies	Offering post-retirement positions	Subsidies
Municipality (*shichoson*)	36.7	26.6	38.7	19.1	26.6	16.1	6.5	35.7
Prefecture (*ken*)	47.1	39.9	49.7	18.3	35.9	16.3	7.2	24.2
Region (*koikiken*)	35.7	32.5	42.9	7.8	29.9	7.8	2.6	7.8
Nation (*zenkoku*)	11.9	11.7	18.4	7.2	20.6	6.8	1.6	3.6
Global (*sekai*)	11.5	10.4	10.9	5.7	19.3	6.8	1.0	4.2
All	21.6	18.6	25.7	9.7	23.4	9.0	2.9	10.8

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations and area of interest in each geographic area.

Both National and Local	Accreditation or approval	Licensing	Administrative guidance	Cooperation and support of policies and budget	Exchanging opinions	Sending representatives to council or advisory bodies	Offering post-retirement positions	Subsidies
Municipality (*shichoson*)	22.2	21.1	22.1	8.0	12.1	2.5	0.5	4.5
Prefecture (*ken*)	20.3	29.4	32.7	13.1	20.9	4.6	1.3	4.6
Region (*koikiken*)	28.6	30.5	35.1	3.9	27.3	5.8	1.3	2.6
Nation (*zenkoku*)	9.9	10.4	17.0	5.2	18.3	5.4	1.2	1.4
Global (*sekai*)	10.4	8.3	9.9	3.6	16.7	5.2	1.0	2.6
All	14.7	15.6	19.8	6.0	18.0	4.8	1.0	2.4

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations and area of interest in each geographic area.

5–8 summarizes the results in terms of percentages. Within Japan, as the activity area expands, contact with public administration increases, while as the area of activity contracts, contact with local government increases. This is quite clear from Table 5–8.

Let us now look more closely at the contact pattern of organizations with the national and local government levels according to activity area (Table 5-9). We identified four contact patterns: (1) contact with both the national and local governments; (2) contact only with the national government; (3) contact only with the local government; and (4) contact with neither.

Contact patterns differ greatly according to area of activity. Organizations that are active at the municipal and prefectural levels tend to contact local governments only, while nation-level organizations contact the national government only. Many organizations active at the regional and global levels tend to contact both the national

Table 5–8 Contact with Public Administration (Raw Percentages)

	Central government	Local government	At least either (*ippo*)
Municipality (*shichoson*)	24.1	68.3	71.9
Prefecture (*ken*)	37.9	69.9	75.8
Region (*koikiken*)	58.4	55.2	70.1
Nation (*zenkoku*)	74.8	37.7	78.8
Global (*sekai*)	64.6	39.1	67.2
All	58.4	46.3	72.6

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.

Table 5–9 Patterns of Contact with the National and Local Government (%)

	Contact with both (%)	Contact with national government (%)	Contact with local government (%)	No contact (%)
Municipality (*shichoson*)	21.1	3.0	47.2	28.6
Prefecture (*ken*)	32.0	5.9	37.9	24.2
Region (*koikiken*)	43.5	14.9	11.7	29.9
Nation (*zenkoku*)	33.6	41.2	4.1	21.2
Global (*sekai*)	36.5	28.1	2.6	32.8
All	32.1	26.3	14.2	27.4

Note: Horizontal totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

2 The original question asked about the frequency of contact. Organizations can be divided into those that had contact and those that did not. We did not ask about the frequency of contact, rather, only whether the organization had any type of contact.

and local governments. This may be due to the fact that the activity areas and (administrative) regions do not match. Less than 30 percent of organizations contact neither the national nor the local government.

4–3 Indirect contact with administration

Organizations not only contact public administration directly but also indirectly. In order to grasp how organizations contact public administration indirectly, in Q11 of our survey, we asked, "Does your organization appeal to the government 'indirectly' through any of the following people?" The choices for answers are: (1) Diet members from the local area; (2) Diet members from other areas; (3) heads in the local area or local government representative. To contact local-level government, the choices are: (1) Diet member for the local area; (2) local political representatives; and (3) other powerful people in the local community.

Table 5–10 summarizes the results according to areas of activity.[3] In general, the most popular answer was "Diet members from other areas." However, the percentage of respondents that chose this answer was 24 percent, which was much lower than the figure for direct contact (refer to Table 5–8, in which we found that 58.4 percent or organizations contacted the central government overall). Organizations that are active at the prefectural and regional area levels contact their local Diet members, while those active at the regional and national levels contact "other Diet members." Organizations active at the regional level also contact heads of the local area and local-level representatives. These results show that in order to influence Diet members, the area of activity needs to be large to some extent.

Table 5–10 reorganizes the results according to whether organizations directly contact public administration organs or political parties.[4] Generally speaking, organizations that make any form of contact with the administration (See ② in each table) tend to use indirect means. Moreover, those that have indirect contact with political

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3 The original question asked about the frequency of contact. Here, organizations are divided into those that had contact and those that did not. We only asked whether the organization had any contact.

4 We will discuss the operationalization of political party contact later.

Table 5-10 Contact with Public Administration

＜Nation＞

		Municipality (*shichoson*)	Prefecture (*ken*)	Region (*koikiken*)	Nation (*zenkoku*)	Global (*sekai*)	All
Diet members from local area	(1)	22.6	26.8	26.0	13.6	9.4	17.1
	(2)	43.8	48.3	38.9	16.7	14.5	22.5
	(3)	15.9	13.7	7.8	4.6	0.0	9.1
	(4)	38.9	50.6	58.2	32.1	23.1	38.2
	(5)	3.2	2.6	1.1	2.3	4.3	2.7
Diet members from other areas	(1)	14.6	24.8	27.9	27.1	20.8	24.3
	(2)	31.3	37.9	43.3	33.3	30.6	34.2
	(3)	9.3	16.8	6.3	8.6	2.9	9.2
	(4)	24.1	46.8	59.7	60.3	55.8	51.1
	(5)	3.3	2.6	3.4	6.8	7.9	5.8
Heads in the local area and local political representatives	(1)	21.6	22.9	28.8	8.6	9.9	13.3
	(2)	37.5	43.1	26.7	9.3	14.5	15.9
	(3)	16.6	10.5	7.8	6.3	1.5	9.4
	(4)	33.3	42.9	40.3	19.8	25.0	28.4
	(5)	7.7	2.6	2.3	1.6	4.3	2.9

＜Local Government＞

		Municipality (*shichoson*)	Prefecture (*ken*)	Region (*koikiken*)	Nation (*zenkoku*)	Global (*sekai*)	N
Diet member for the local area	(1)	14.6	19.6	18.8	6.8	9.9	11.1
	(2)	16.2	25.2	29.4	14.2	22.7	19.3
	(3)	11.1	6.5	5.8	2.3	1.7	3.6
	(4)	25.0	36.4	40.3	16.8	32.1	24.4
	(5)	2.2	2.6	2.3	0.7	5.0	1.9
Local political representatives	(1)	48.2	44.4	23.8	10.7	12.5	22.6
	(2)	60.3	56.1	50.6	23.8	29.3	40.6
	(3)	22.2	17.4	13.0	2.8	1.7	6.2
	(4)	70.4	76.6	67.2	26.3	28.8	46.6
	(5)	22.0	11.8	8.0	1.2	6.4	6.1
Other powerful figures in the local community	(1)	21.1	17.0	18.8	7.8	11.5	12.5
	(2)	26.5	23.4	30.6	17.7	26.7	23.1
	(3)	9.5	2.2	4.3	1.9	1.7	2.8
	(4)	26.9	24.7	35.8	15.6	26.9	22.4
	(5)	14.3	9.2	5.7	3.0	5.7	5.6

Notes: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.
(1) Relevant activities (total)
(2) Cases where there is direct contact with the local government
(3) Cases where there is no direct contact with the local government
(4) Cases where there is contact with political parties
(5) Cases where there is no contact with political parties

parties tend to go through politicians such as Diet members, local representatives, or local political figures (see ④ in each table). Direct contact with public administration figures is not the only means used by organizations that attempt any type of contact. Our survey found that there are organizations that attempt contact with the administration indirectly through politicians.

The percentage of organizations making indirect contact with local governments through politicians (11 to 23 percent) is not as large as direct contact (46.3 percent). Organizations active at the prefectural and municipal levels tend to contact local representatives.

5. Organization-political party relations

5–1 Contact with political parties

In our survey, we asked organizations how often they contact the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), the New Frontier Party (NFP), the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ), the Communist Party of Japan (JCP), the Japan Socialist Party (JSP/SDP), the Sun Party (*Taiyoto*), the New Party Sakigake, and other political parties. Our results are summarized in Table 5-11. When organizations chose at least one of the parties, we consider that organization as having contact with at least one political party.[5] The table also summarizes the results of our survey according to areas of activities. We can see from the table that as the area of activity expands, contact with political parties becomes less important. Conversely, the rate of contact with political parties increases as the activity area shrinks.[6]

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[5] The original question asked about the frequency of contact. Organizations can be divided into those that had contact and those that did not. We did not ask about the frequency of contact, rather, only whether the organization had any type of contact. If the organization did not indicate any of the seven political parties listed in the survey, then we consider that organization as having no contact.

[6] In Ibaraki, organizations' contact with political parties is highest at the municipal level. At other levels, we found no correlations between the areas of activities and the frequency of contact with political parties.

Table 5–11 Target Area of Activities and Contact with Political Parties (%)

	Has contact
Municipality (*shichoson*)	54.3
Prefecture (*ken*)	50.3
Region (*koikiken*)	43.5
Nation (*zenkoku*)	38.0
Global (*sekai*)	27.1
All	39.8

Note: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.

The ratio of organizations contacting political parties (overall 39.8 percent) is clearly lower than those contacting public administration (national level, 58.4 percent; local level, 46.3 percent; either, 72.6 percent). Organizations active at the local level are more likely to have frequent contact with political parties. This contact pattern is similar to the percentage of organizations that contact local government.

5–2 Which political party to contact

As shown in Table 5–12, organizations clearly prefer to contact the LDP. At every geographical level of activity, the LDP is the most popular party to contact. Moreover, except for the prefectural level, more than 80 percent of "organizations that contact political parties" contact the LDP.

When Table 5–12 is examined more closely, we see that the smaller the area of activity, the more organizations rely on political parties. This correlation is most clearly seen in the case of the LDP. Organizations active at the municipal level have the highest contact percentage (45.2 percent), and as the area of activity broadens, the percentage decreases.

Organizations engaging in local-level activities rely more on contact with the LDP than those conducting activities at other geographical levels. This trend is also seen with organizations' overall relationship with the JCP, but the correlation is not as strong. Other parties show the highest contact percentage at the prefectural level. Many grass-roots level organizations contact the LDP and the JCP. This demonstrates the strength of the support bases of both parties.

Table 5–12 Details of Contact with Political Parties

	Municipality (*shichoson*)	Prefecture (*ken*)	Region (*koikiken*)	Nation (*zenkoku*)	Global (*sekai*)
Liberal Democratic Party	45.2 (83.3)	39.9 (79.2)	35.1 (80.6)	32.9 (86.6)	24.5 (90.4)
New Frontier Party	19.1 (35.2)	22.9 (45.5)	18.8 (43.3)	19.0 (50.0)	13.5 (50.0)
Democratic Party of Japan	19.1 (35.2)	21.6 (42.9)	17.5 (40.3)	13.5 (35.5)	10.4 (38.5)
Japan Communist Party	12.6 (23.1)	11.8 (23.4)	4.5 (10.4)	5.8 (15.3)	6.3 (23.1)
Japan Socialist Party	16.1 (29.6)	18.3 (36.4)	15.6 (35.8)	12.0 (31.7)	8.3 (30.8)
Sun Party	9.5 (17.6)	13.1 (26.0)	10.4 (23.9)	9.7 (25.6)	8.3 (80.8)
New Party Sakigake	9.5 (17.6)	13.7 (27.3)	9.7 (22.4)	9.7 (25.6)	8.9 (32.7)

Notes: Figures show the percentages of relevant organizations in each geographic area.
Bracketed figures are the denominator for "organizations with contact."

6. The relationships between administrative contact and political party contact

Many organizations contact the administration, while a relatively fewer number contact political parties. Can civil society organizations be divided into administration-oriented and political-party-oriented organizations? Let us keep this question in mind and examine the relationships between administrative contact and political party contact. From the results of our survey, we identified four patterns: (1) contact with both the administration and political parties; (2) contact with political parties only; (3) contact with the administration only; and (4) contact with neither.

Table 5–13 summarizes the four contact patterns. In general, we found that contact with both the administration and political parties was the most popular pattern with 40 percent, followed by contact with the administration only at 35.9 percent. The least popular pattern was that of contacting political parties only with less than 5 percent. In other words, most organizations do not rely exclusively on contact with political parties, but prefer to contact the administration or both the administration and political parties.

Let us now examine the relationships between the four patterns and activity areas. In smaller activity areas, the most preferred pattern is for organizations to contact the

Table 5–13 Relationship Between Contact with Public Administration and Political Parties.

	Contact with both	Political Parties	Public Administration	No contact
Municipality (*shichoson*)	42.7	11.6	28.6	17.1
Prefecture (*ken*)	43.8	6.5	32.0	17.6
Region (*koikiken*)	37.0	6.5	33.1	23.4
Nation (*zenkoku*)	34.3	3.6	44.5	17.5
Global (*sekai*)	24.5	2.6	42.7	30.2
All	34.4	5.4	38.2	22.0

Note: Horizontal totals may not add up to 100% because of rounding.

administration and political parties. At this level, contact with political parties only was the least popular, but the percentage increases as the area of activity gets smaller. More than 10 percent of organizations at the municipal level contact political parties only.On the other hand, those organizations that contact only the administration tend to be organizations operating at national and global levels. Moreover, over 30 percent of organizations that are active globally contact neither the administration nor political parties.

Summary

In this chapter, we examined the relationships between various organizations' areas of activities and their attributes, based on samples that were randomly selected and highly representative. This chapter provides a new dimension to the study of both organized interests and political processes by focusing on geographical "political space," which to date has not been systematically examined.

The overall results are summarized as follows:

(1) Organized interests conducting activities in the Tokyo and Ibaraki areas differ greatly in terms of the size of their activity areas. In Tokyo, many organizations are active at the global and national levels, while over 80 percent of the organizations in Ibaraki are active below the prefectural level.

(2) Depending on its area of activity, an organization's location, size, political interests, and its main sources of information differ greatly.

(3) In terms of the relationships between organizations, on the one hand, and public administration and political parties, on the other, it seems that organizations very much prefer to contact public administration bodies. More than twice as many organizations contact public administration bodies than those that contact political parties. Furthermore, the percentage of organizations contacting public administration bodies (both at the national and local government levels) is twice as high as those that contact political parties.

(4) As far as the relationships between an organization's areas of activities and public administration are concerned, we can say that the relationships between organizations and public administration deepen and the amount of contact increases as the area of activity expands. In the case of local governments, relationships at the prefectural level are strong and contact becomes more frequent as the activity area shrinks.

(5) Organizations that contact the administration employ both direct and indirect approaches. More specifically, organizations indirectly contact the national-level public administration through Diet members. At the local level, organizations contact the administration through local representatives.

(6) In terms of contact, the relationships between organizations and political parties are similar to those of organizations and local governments. This is because the number of opportunities for contact increases as the activity area shrinks.

(7) The most popular political party that organizations prefer to contact is the LDP. As the area of activity shrinks, contact with the LDP increases. Overall, organizations have a similar relationship pattern with the Japan Communist Party.

(8) Ultimately, it may be unnecessary to distinguish whether civil society organizations prefer to contact public administration bodies or political parties. Rather, it is better to divide them into "administration-oriented" and "political-party-and-administration-oriented" groups. The ratio of these two types of organizations is 8 to 7. "Administration-oriented groups" can be further divided into three sub-levels: national and local level, national level, and local government. The ratio for these is 5:4:2, respectively. The "political-party-and-administration-oriented" group can also be divided into sub-groups.

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Yutaka Tsujinaka

BA (Law), Osaka University
MA (Law), Osaka University
Dr (Law), Kyoto University
Professor, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba
Tel. +81–29–853–6289 / Fax +81–29–853–7454
E-mail: tsujinak@sakura.cc.tsukuba.ac.jp

Main publications

Muramatsu, Michio, Mitsutoshi Ito, and Yutaka Tsujinaka. *Sengo Nihon no Atsuryoku Dantai* (Pressure groups in post-war Japan). Tokyo: Toyo Keizai Shinposha, 1986.

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Choe JaeYoung

Ph.D. in Engineering, University of Tsukuba, 2003

Assistant Professor, University of Tsukuba, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Hiroki Mori

Ph.D. in International Political Economy, University of Tsukuba, 2000

Associate Professor, Faculty of Law, Doshisha University

Main Publications

Nihon shakai-tou no kenkyu: Rosen tenkan no seiji katei [A study of the Social Democratic Party of Japan: Political process of the policy change] (Tokyo: Bokutakusha, 2001)

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Yukiko Hirai

Ph.D. in Political Science (expected July 2008), Doctoral Program in Modern Culture and Public Policies, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba

E-mail: yukikks@hotmail.com

Main Publications

"Toruko no EU kamei ni muketa minshuka kaikaku: Kurudo mondai wo chuushin ni [Reform of the political system in Turkey: Toward membership of the EU]," *Tsukuba University Journal of Law and Political Science,* No. 39, 2005.

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Translation by:

Takafumi Ohtomo

Assistant Professor, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba

Leslie Tkach-Kawasaki

Ph.D. in International Political Economy, University of Tsukuba, 2006

Visiting Foreign Research Fellow, University of Tsukuba

Email: tkach@japan.email.ne.jp

Publications

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Series Editor

Yutaka Tsujinaka

BA (Law), Osaka University

MA (Law), Osaka University

Dr (Law), Kyoto University

Professor, Graduate School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Tsukuba

Tel. +81-29-853-6289 / Fax +81-29-853-7454 E-mail: tsujinak@sakura.cc.tsukuba.ac.jp

Main publications

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Special Research Project on Civil Society, the State and Culture in Comparative Perspective (University of Tsukuba) & International Comparison of Pluralistic Co-existence of Societal Groups and Civil Societies (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science), Monograph Series Ⅳ

Civil Society and Interest Groups in Contemporary Japan

March 2008

Yutaka Tsujinaka, JaeYoung Choe, Hiroki Mori, and Yukiko Hirai

Published by Yutaka Tsujinaka

University of Tsukuba, 1-1-1 Tennodai, Tsukuba-shi, Ibaraki-ken, 305-8571 Japan

Tel. +81-29-853-6289 Fax +81-29-853-7454

Printed by Inamoto Printing Inc. 6-28-8 Itaya, Tsuchiura-shi, Ibaraki-ken, 300-0007 Japan

Cover Design by Aya Shigeta

ISBN 978-4-902869-06-4