

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

SOCIAL CAPITAL AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN JAPAN:
FOR POLICY AND PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This study is about social capital—social relationships such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community. The purpose of this study is to grasp trends of social capital in Japan, to examine the relationship between social capital and civil society, and to explore how to create and utilize social capital and the role of nonprofits in the application to policy and practice. It considers the concept of social capital and how it is related to civil society through both qualitative and quantitative analyses. Case studies and comparative studies through interviews, participatory observations and literature reviews were conducted to examine the process of social capital creation, accumulation and utilization from the perspective of civil society. Empirical analyses were conducted to explore the relationship between social capital and nonprofits and to examine if social capital affects the size of nonprofits in communities. Challenges and prospects are discussed on how nonprofits and other actors can develop and utilize social capital in public policy and in practice as well as the value of social capital and its effects on civil society.

Summary of each chapter is as follows:

Chapter 1 is the introduction of this study which explains the background and purpose of this study. Then, various theories and concepts of social capital are introduced with conceptual and measurement challenges as well as the concept of civil society and the nonprofit sector.

Chapter 2 examines the trends of social capital in Japan. First, a literature review on social capital studies in and on Japan was conducted. Then, a detailed analysis was conducted on the Cabinet Office Survey on Social Capital, the first survey designed to measure social capital in Japan. This quantitative analysis leads to the case studies of three prefectures in order to grasp the process of changes and regional differences. These analyses led to the following findings: Social capital in Japan has undergone a great deal of transformation and indicates diverse characteristics with the manifestation of major regional and city-rural gaps. It has developed more thin, outward-looking and bridging characteristics with the expansion of the role of nonprofits. In communities with rich social capital, nonprofits utilize various community

resources and create new values for sustainable and visionary communities with cross-sector partnerships.

Chapter 3 provides an empirical analysis of nonprofits and social capital. The relationship between social capital and nonprofits are first reviewed. Following an examination of prevailing theories and studies on the existence and growth of nonprofits, the regional distribution of nonprofits and its factors are analyzed at the municipal level based on the computation of the number of specified nonprofit corporations in municipalities. Social capital as aggregate as well as social capital components such as trust and norms were found to affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level, controlling for socio-economic and political factors. Furthermore, various socio-economic and political factors such as the rate of the elderly population, income, workers in different industries, the ratio of daytime population, and enactment of ordinances to support nonprofits were also found to affect the distribution of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level.

Chapter 4 explores case studies on how nonprofits create and utilize social capital. The case studies were conducted in three fields of nonprofits: intermediary, environment and disaster relief. Following **Chapter 5** examines the role of social capital in partnerships in two fields: public-nonprofit partnerships and university-community partnerships. Chapters 4 and 5 are based on interviews, participatory observations as well as literature review. Major findings from these two chapters are: How much and how social capital has been accumulated, utilized and newly developed in a community is a vital key to promoting partnerships among government, businesses, nonprofits and schools/universities, that bring successful public interest activities including disaster relief and environmental protection, and thereby contribute to value creation and sustainable civil society. The construction of “bridging” social capital through nonprofits, government, businesses, neighborhood associations and universities is crucial for promoting partnerships and empowering communities.

Last **Chapter 6** explores how social capital can be applied to public policy and be created in practice. A comparative analysis of seven countries was conducted through interviews, participatory observations and a literature review. Many countries were found to encompass a

social capital perspective in broad policy arenas, and have pursued evidence-based policies through solid measurement and research initiatives. The Japanese government has also shown an interest in social capital in public policy and this move should be further promoted. Moreover, nonprofits can play a vital role in advocating, formulating and implementing social capital related policies. Finally, each citizen, nonprofit, government, business, school and university has its own role in creating social capital: Citizens and nonprofits play a crucial role in creating social capital, and government and businesses can play a facilitator role in the formation of social capital as well as sometimes directly create social capital themselves. Likewise, development and utilization of social capital through cross-sector partnerships are the underpinnings of creative, vibrant and sustainable community and civil society.

The significance of this study is considered as follows:

1) This study analyzed the trends of social capital in Japan from the perspective of civil society, in particular, emerging nonprofits as well as some aspects of traditional neighborhood associations; 2) it examined the relationship between social capital and nonprofits through various fields both qualitatively and quantitatively; 3) it conducted an empirical analysis on factors affecting the size of nonprofits at the municipal level from the perspective of social capital; and 4) this study proposed the role of nonprofits and various actors in creating and utilizing social capital in policy and practice as well as discussed policy implications.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and Purpose

This study is about social capital—social relationships such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community. The purpose of this study is to grasp trends of social capital in Japan, to examine the relationship between social capital and civil society, and to explore how to create and utilize social capital and the role of nonprofits in the application to policy and practice. It considers the concept of social capital and how it is related to civil society, particularly emerging nonprofits through both qualitative and quantitative analyses. In particular, this study focuses on various aspects of social capital in Japan with some comparisons with foreign countries.

Both qualitative and quantitative analyses were conducted for this study: Case studies and comparative studies through interviews, participatory observations and literature reviews were conducted to examine the process of social capital creation, accumulation and utilization from the perspective of nonprofits. An empirical analysis was conducted to explore the relationship between social capital and nonprofits and to examine if social capital affects the size of nonprofits in communities. Challenges and prospects are discussed on how nonprofits and other actors can develop and utilize social capital in public policy and in practice as well as the value of social capital and its effects on civil society.

This first chapter introduces the background and purpose of this study, theoretical frameworks of social capital, the concept of civil society and nonprofits, and the overview of the nonprofit sector in Japan.

Social conditions that Japan faces now seem very dark: The majority of people in Japan no longer regard Japan as a country of safety and assurance of security. In this situation, ties among family members, schools and community have become very weak, and there are many people, both young and old, who feel isolated from society.

A 2004 study by Hokkaido University found that 23 percent of junior high-school students and 8 percent of elementary school students in Japan show symptoms of depression, the rates being higher than the U.S. and Europe. Many respondents also expressed feelings of isolation and sadness. Moreover, NEET—young people who are not willing to go to work, school or job training and do not have connections with society—have become a big social problem in present-day Japan. At the same time, Japan has become a rapidly aging society, and many elderly live by themselves.

The author proposes that social capital is a vital key to solving this situation and to empowering community, and examines how this would be achieved. Social capital is understood as an invisible capital such as trust, networks and norms that facilitate cooperation in a community based on the relationships among individuals and organizations as proposed by Robert Putnam and other social capitalists.

Social capital is considered to be a basis for the governance of modern economy and society (Miyakawa and Omori 2004). In this study, I focus on the role of nonprofits because nonprofits are considered to play a vital role in creating and providing social capital. In Japan, social capital has long existed and has been fostered in communities. Putnam (1993) introduces the system of rotated trust union as an example of the original type of social capital. In Japan, *ko* (mutual assistance organization or trust union) and *yui* (cooperation with each other at the time of rice planting) have long served to connect people in the community based on mutual trust. I am to explore what changes have occurred thereafter in modern Japan.

1.2 Theories of Social Capital

Research on social capital has been increasing rapidly over the last decade among scholars, government and international organizations worldwide.¹ This section provides an overview of major theoretical frameworks and essential terms in understanding the concept of social capital.

¹ For general understanding of social capital, please see Putnam (1993, 2000), Baron et al. (2000), Field (2003) and Halpern (2005). For multiple theoretical perspectives and critiques on social capital, please see Lesser (2000), Schuller et al. (2000), Edwards et al. (2001), Lin et al. (2001) and Dasgupta and Serageldin (2003).

1.2.1 Definition of social capital

Various researchers have defined the concept of social capital in many ways. Social capital is often translated into Japanese as “*syakai kankei shihon*,” or “social relational capital,” emphasizing its relational aspect. In Japanese, the direct translation of social capital, “*syakai shihon*” indicates a different meaning: social infrastructure such as roads and airports. Social capital discussed in this study is not a hardware capital, but an invisible, software capital.

The idea of social capital goes back to Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century, who was impressed by the great civic spirit of America. According to Putnam (2000), the term social capital was first used by Lyda J. Hanifan in 1916, an educationalist and a state supervisor of rural schools in West Virginia in the U.S. Hanifan (1916:130, 1920:12) defined social capital as “those tangible substances [that] count for most in the daily lives of people; namely, goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit,” considering social capital as necessary for community building and democracy, which is the basis of today’s social capital concept.

Various researchers have used the term since then such as Jane Jacobs (1961) in the field of urban studies, and French economist Pierre Bourdieu (1986) in its relation to other forms of capital, particularly cultural capital, and American sociologist James S. Coleman (1988, 1990) from the context of sociology of education.²

The concept of social capital has spread worldwide mainly through the research of American political scientist, Robert D. Putnam. His first work on social capital, *Making Democracy Work* (Putnam 1993) compared the difference between state government performance of Northern and Southern Italy, arguing the difference in government performance derives from the different level of social capital accumulated in communities. Putnam (1993: 167) defined social capital as “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” Putnam then published the paper “Bowling alone” in 1995 and the worldwide bestseller book

² For details on the historical and theoretical developments of the concept and the term “social capital,” please see Putnam (2000), Putnam and Goss (2002), Field (2003) and Halpern (2005).

Bowling Alone in 2000, which examined the decline of social capital in the U.S. with comprehensive data nationwide.

Not only scholars but also international organizations have defined the concept of social capital from their own perspectives. Two such organizations are the World Bank and OECD. The World Bank has been working on the concept of social capital from the perspective of sustainable development and economic prosperity since the mid-1990s. The World Bank (website) defines social capital as “the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions” with an explicit inclusion of institutions in its definition. On the contrary, OECD’s (2001:41) definition: “networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among group” highlights social networks; and this definition is used in several OECD countries formally or operationally.

Among various definitions, social capital in this study is defined as *social relationships such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community* following Putnam’s definition. I intend to highlight “social relationships” between and among individuals, organizations and communities in the concept in order to apply the concept to both policy and in practice. Table 1.1 describes major definitions of social capital with key characteristics.

Table 1.1 Definitions of Social Capital

Discipline	Scholar/ institution	Definition	Key characteristics
Education	Hanifan 1916, 1920	Goodwill, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit.	Highlighting importance for renewed community involvement to sustain democracy; holding both private and public benefits; and a basis of today's concept of social capital.
Economics	Bourdieu 1986	The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, namely, membership in a group.	One form of capital in relation to others, particularly cultural capital; highlighting socio-economic resources embodied in social networks in unequal societies; and focusing on the individual, families and social groups.
Sociology	Coleman 1988, 1990	Defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: They all consist of some aspect of social structure, and they facilitate certain actions of actors within the structure.	Highlighting socio-structural features helping individual to overcome the rational choice dilemma of collective action; and stressing the social context of education and educational performance and equality.
Political science	Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000	Features of social life - networks, norms, and trust - that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives; and connections among individuals -social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them.	Highlighting civic life and social connectedness through three components: trust, norms and networks; it is simultaneously a public and private good; focusing on neighborhoods, communities, regions and nation states; and most widely used worldwide.
Political science	Fukuyama 1995, 1999	An instantiated set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permits them to cooperate with one another.	Cooperation and trust leads to lower transaction costs; highlighting its relations to civil society; and focusing on nation states and cultural contexts.
Development/ Economics	World Bank website	The institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society's social interactions. It is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society, but the glue that holds them together.	Encompassing a broad meaning; and an explicit inclusion of institutions to operationalize the concept.
Economics/ Development	OECD 2001	Networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups	Highlighting the importance of networks within and among groups; and being adopted in several OECD countries.
Public policy	Nishide (this dissertation)	Social relationships such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community	Highlighting the relationships between and among individuals, organizations and communities; and following the widely used definition of Putnam's.

Source: Created by the author based on each literature with reference to Putnam (2000), Putnam and Goss (2002), Field (2003) and Halpern (2005).

1.2.2 Forms of capital

There are different forms of capital, and social capital is considered as one form. Bourdieu (1986) categorizes social capital as one form of capital through the comparison with other types of capital, particularly cultural capital:

Economic capital refers to monetary income and other financial resources and assets, and finds its institutional expression in property rights;

Cultural capital exists in various forms including long-standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialization process, formal educational qualifications and training, and the accumulation of valued cultural objects; and

Social capital is the sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilized through membership in social networks of individual actors and organizations.

Social capital is also viewed from the perspective of human capital as proposed by Gary S. Becker (1975), Coleman (1988) and OECD (2001):

Human capital refers to the “knowledge, skills, competencies and attributes embodied in individuals that facilitate the creation of personal social and economic well-being” (OECD 2001:13). Coleman (1988) regards social capital as contributing to the development of human capital: The more social capital exists, the more human capital will be developed, and OECD (2001) regards their relationship as interdependent.

In sum, one type of capital does not exist solely. All forms of capital are considered to influence each other. Therefore, social capital, a form of capital, exists interdependently with other forms of capital such as economic, cultural and human capital.

1.2.3 Dilemma of collective action

Dilemma of collective action is a concept in game theory as exemplified by the dilemma of prisoners and the underpinning of the common good. The dilemma is a situation in which members of a group take an irrational action as a whole even though the same action is rational on an individual basis. It defines a circumstance which results in a bad situation for everyone because someone does not cooperate even when they understand that if each person does,

everyone gains from a desirable result, and results in a loss for those who cooperate and an undeserved gain for those who do not. Social capital is considered to solve the dilemma of collective action through voluntary cooperation based on trust and networks, namely, a “soft” solution, not through a rigid and hard solution such as institutional design (Putnam 1993).

1.2.4 Components of social capital: trust, norms and networks

As in the definition of social capital in this study and Putnam’s suggest, major components of social capital are categorized into the following three:

Trust refers to expectations toward the intention of others and toward social orders. It is to expect others to be honest and take cooperative action. Trust is divided into two types: particularized trust (thick trust) toward people you know and generalized trust (thin trust) toward the general public including people you do not know. Generalized trust is the kind of trust in which you think that you are able to believe those you do not know based on a moral expectation that others share the same basic values as yourself. Specialized trust refers to trust in which you judge the trustworthiness of others based on experience and information. Trust is important in all kinds of trade (Arrow 1972), and trust lowers transaction cost (Fukuyama 1995). Trust produces voluntary cooperation and networks of civic engagement, while simultaneously, cooperation and networks facilitate trust. Education and exchanges with diverse people is the key to creating and developing trust (Uslaner 2003). It is generalized trust, rather than specialized trust, that extends the scope of trust.

Norm is a psychological recognition that people think and hold in their heart such as rules and standards that stipulate established actions, shared understandings and values. Among various norms, norms of reciprocity, which refers to an interdependent exchange of interests, are crucial for considering the concept of social capital (Putnam 1993). Reciprocity is divided into balanced reciprocity, an exchange of equivalent values at the same time, and generalized reciprocity based on mutual expectations that even if it is unbalanced at one point, it will be balanced in the future (Putnam 1993). Norms of reciprocity are exemplified by the Japanese saying, *Otagaisama*, or a feeling of give and take. For example, a disaster relief volunteer may

feel that s/he wants to act for the victims without seeking direct benefits and expect that others will help in the event that s/he becomes a victim of a disaster in the future. Old Japanese customs of mutual assistance, *Ko* and *Yui*, and *Chiiki-tsuka*, a local time bank which spread all over modern Japan are considered to be institutionalized norms of reciprocity.

Network refers to a structure of mutual relationships among individuals and group actors. It refers to a connection among individuals and groups in a family, organization and community. Network is divided into vertical networks such as the relationship between a supervisor and a subordinate in a company, and horizontal networks such as environmental groups and chorus groups. In rich horizontal networks, citizens cooperate widely, but however rich a vertical network is, voluntary cooperation is not easy to produce (Putnam 1993). “Weak” ties such as those with acquaintances and members of nonprofits bridge various people than “strong” ties among family members and close friends (Granovetter 1973). Networks take other forms including formal and informal, and inward- and outward-looking (Putnam and Goss 2002).

1.2.5 Three types of social capital: bonding, bridging and linking

Putnam (1993, 2000) made a significant distinction between two types of social capital: bonding and bridging. Bonding is more inward-looking with a tendency “to reinforce exclusive identities and homogeneous groups,” while bridging is “more outward-looking and encompass people across different social divides” (Putnam 2000:22). Woolcock (1998) of the World Bank added a third type, linking social capital from the perspective of developmental assistance.

Bonding is a closed connection in a homogeneous group. This is like a glue that strengthens internal bonds such as trust and a sense of solidarity among family members, close friends, neighbors and neighborhood associations. Bonding is inward looking, and nurtures common identity and a sense of belonging, a spirit of mutual assistance and teamwork. It is necessary for a self-help group and socially isolated and excluded people to gain mutual trust and a sense of security (Jochum 2003). However, bonding has the potential of producing a downside to social capital, i.e., excluding others or outsiders, limiting the freedom and privacy of individuals, and prevailing lower levels of norms.

Bridging is a loose, open, horizontal and crosscutting connection between and among different and diverse people and groups. It is an outward-looking and open connection such as nonprofits and environmental movements, and serves as a “lubricant” necessary for producing and sustaining generalized trust and norms. It is characterized by comprehensiveness, inclusion and diversity. It is useful for understanding diversity and respect, expansion of professionalism and knowledge, access to diverse resource and creation of innovation (Jochum 2003).

Linking social capital is a vertical connection beyond power and hierarchy across individuals and groups of differing levels of power, wealth and social position. It means those with a lower social position and weaker power gain an access to people and institutions with power and resources such as representatives of public and private institutions like political parties and banks (Woolcock 1998). For example, it is a capacity of nonprofits to raise funds from government, to advocate social problems which they strive to solve, and to influence public policy. It is crucial to trust in governance and is useful to advocacy and influence (Woolcock 1998, Jochum 2003).

Almost all organizations may include bonding, bridging and linking types of social capital, but the distribution of the three is different among different organizations. Balancing of the three types of social capital in an organization or community is considered critical. Table 1.2 provides a comparison of the three types of social capital from different aspects such as the scope of relationships, orientation and outcomes.

Table 1.2 Characteristics of the Three Types of Social Capital

Type	Bonding	Bridging	Linking
Definition	Closed connection in a homogeneous group like a glue that strengthens internal bonds	Open and horizontal connection between and among different people and groups like a lubricant	Vertical connection beyond power and hierarchy across individuals and groups of different power
Scope of relationships	Within an organization	Between and among organizations	Across organizations, power and hierarchy
Characteristics	Common identity, bonds and a sense of belonging	Diversity, inclusion and comprehensiveness	Power and authority
Orientation	Inward-looking	Outward-looking	Outward-looking
Connections and networks	Closed, thick and often vertical	Open, thin and horizontal	Open and vertical
Trust	Specialized trust, mutual trust and a sense of security	Generalized trust	Trust in governance
Outcome	Support, mutual help, involvement, teamwork, and collective action	Understanding of diversity, respect, professionalism, knowledge, and resource	Advocacy, influence, financial and nonmonetary support
Downside	Possibility of social exclusion, abuse, restrictions on individual freedom, and downward leveling of norms	Possibility of a lack of bonds, and unequal distribution	Possibility of a mechanism for insider-trading and political favoritism without accountability and control
Example	Close friends, neighborhood associations and religious groups	Environmental groups and nonprofit organizations	Ability of nonprofits to raise funds from government

Source: Created by the author based on Putnam (1993, 2000), Woolcock (1998), Jochum (2003), Halpern (2005) and Healy (2005).

1.2.6 Two dimensions of social capital: cognitive vs. structural

There are two dimensions in the concept of social capital: cognitive versus structural:

Cognitive social capital refers to connections at the psychological level. This is a “habit of heart” (Bellah et al. 1985) such as norms, values, beliefs, trust, behaviors and attitudes. For

example, it is an attachment to community, identity and understanding of diversity and tolerance. It is reflected in social and cultural background, and created through bonds and cooperation.

Structural social capital is a connection at the substantial level. It indicates networks, roles, rules, proceedings, social organizations and an organizational structure: an ordinance to promote partnerships, a time bank and a civic activities center, for instance. It is developed through a decision-making process by groups and a sense of responsibility of leaders.

What cognitive and structural social capital has in common is the expectation of reciprocal cooperative actions.

1.3 Significance of the Concept

The premise of social capital is that it has visualized the value of intangible social relationships such as trust, norms and networks. The concept of social capital shifts the focus of analysis from the behavior of individuals to the pattern of relations; it acts as a link between different levels of analysis; multi-disciplinary and inter-disciplinary approaches offer the ground for theory development; and it “reinserts issue of value into the heart of social scientific discourse” (Schuller et al. 2000:36).

Diversified outcomes of the concept of social capital have been also proposed from health and well-being (Berkman and Kawachi 2000, Kawachi and Berkman 2003, Mohan et al. 2004, Healy 2005, Helliwell 2006), increased generosity and giving (Brooks 2005), human capital and educational performance (Coleman 1988, 1990, OECD 2001), economic growth (Knack and Keefer 1997, Omori 2004), making democracy work (Putnam 1993, 2000, Couto 1999), strengthening civil society (Fukuyama 1999, Putnam 2000, Hooghe and Stolle 2003) and community regeneration (Saguaro Seminar 2000, Putnam and Feldstein 2003, Inaba 2004, ESRI 2005). As such, outcomes of social capital are broad and diverse at individual (micro), community (meso) and national (macro) levels as shown in Halpern (2005).

1.4 Measurement

Measurement approaches of social capital vary to a great degree and still in the discussion stages to reach an agreement. Vague and broad concept makes it difficult to operationalize and measure empirically. Still, various scholars, national governments and international organizations have tried to measure social capital based on their own perspectives. For example, Office for National Statistics of the U.K. Government [ONS] has its own social capital measurement framework (Harper 2001, ONS website). Likewise, World Bank has developed an integrated questionnaire to measure social capital (Grootaert et al. 2004).

Measurement issues on social capital are mainly categorized into the following threefold:

Context-dependent characteristic. The concept of social capital is multifold and varies in different contexts, and thus, taking the context and culture into consideration is essential to measure (Tsujinaka 2002a, 2002b). The measurement approach also varies depending on the interests of scholars, targeting fields and focus issues, making it difficult to develop a uniformed measurement framework. However, OECD had endeavored to create core measurement frameworks through holding conferences on measurement of social capital in 2002 and 2003. Likewise, ONS has developed a harmonized question set to be applied in part or on the whole to various fields depending on the nature of the focus fields.

Circularity of cause and effect. The concept of social capital inherits both the cause and effect aspects. Putnam (2000) regards the cause and effect relationship of social capital as circular. Prevailing empirical research adopted social capital in two different ways; one as an independent variable (cause) and the other as a dependent variable (effect), which leaves the operationalization of the concept and interpretations of the empirical results to scholars and fields.

Level of analysis: Definition of social capital includes both structural and cognitive level, and is multidimensional. Furthermore, some scholars view the concept as a property of community, while others regard it as an individual property, or even as inheriting both aspects. These diverse dimensions and levels make it difficult to measure the concept as a whole, and to

examine whether social capital components and overall social capital match. There is a danger to use aggregate data due to its context-dependent characteristics (Schuller et al. 2000). However, an indicator to measure overall social capital is also considered to be necessary to capture social capital as one concept. For example, Inoguchi (2000, 2002) used aggregate data to look at the landscape of social capital in Japan.

Moreover, it is difficult to collect data on the exact concept of social capital particularly on the cognitive dimension such as trust and norms. Therefore, a proxy for social capital is often used such as volunteering rate, membership in organizations or though negative dimension, crime rate, and whether the proxies really represent social capital is also debated. Taking these measurement issues into consideration, conducting both quantitative and qualitative analyses would be appropriate to measure various dimensions of social capital.

1.5 Challenges

Social capital is generally understood to have positive effects. However, it is not a panacea and encompasses negative dimensions, too. Portes (1998) points out the downside of social capital as exclusion of outsiders while excessively claiming on group members, restrictions on individual freedom and privacy, and downward leveling of norms. Moreover, social capital is not equally distributed universally due to its cumulative characteristics. Social capital may also be used for unsocial or destructive purposes such as terrorism, mafia or gangs. Thus, taking these negative dimensions into consideration would be critical in utilizing and applying the concept into public policy and in practice.

Concept of social capital itself receives many critiques. For example, whether this is really a “capital” or not; and whether this is a new concept or just a different term for or collection of similar concepts. Moreover, the concept of social capital is used to explain too wide range of social issues, and this over-versatility is questioned (Schuller et al. 2000).

Putnam's (1995, 2000) study has also brought up many debates such that the trend of social capital has not declined in the U.S., rather, new forms of civic engagement such as through tertiary organizations have increased while old forms of civic engagement have declined.

Regardless of these conceptual and measurement challenges, I argue that the concept of social capital has significant value and explore the concept from the perspective of civil society in varied fields.

1.6 Concept of Civil Society and Nonprofits³

In this study, social capital is examined in relation to civil society, particularly nonprofits. The concept of civil society has long been discussed by various scholars with diverse meanings including ancient great thinkers Aristotle, Immanuel Kant, Thomas Paine, James Madison, G.F.W. Hegel to Alexis de Tocqueville in the 19th century and Robert N. Bellah et al. in modern times (Hodgkinson and Foley 2003). Most simply, civil society is the “*organized, nonstate, nonmarket sector*” (Pekkanen 2006:3). It is “the sphere of institutions, organizations and individuals located between the family, the state and the market in which people associate voluntarily to advance common interests” according to an operational definition of Anheier (2004:22). In Japan, civil society is generally understood as a society in which nonprofits play an important role and construct systematic networks with government and businesses (Yamauchi 2006d).

On the other hand, the term civil society is often used as synonymous with the nonprofit sector, the third sector and nonprofit organization. In general, it encompasses voluntary groups of all kinds including nonprofits, foundations and think tanks (Pekkanen 2006). Likewise, the nonprofit sector is often called the *third sector, independent sector, voluntary sector* or

³ For detailed discussions on the history, concept and definition of civil society, please see Akuhata-Brown (1999), O'Connell (1999), Encarnacion (2003), Hodgkinson and Foley (2003), Alagappa (2004) and Anheier (2004). For theories and research on the nonprofit sector, please refer to Powell (1987), Salamon and Anheier (1997), Frumkin (2002), Anheier and Ben-Ner (2003), Anheier (2005) and Powell and Steinberg (2006).

For civil society and the nonprofit sector in the world and international comparison, please see Salamon et al. (1999, 2003, 2004), Anheier (2004) and Yamauchi (2006a); and for those in Asia, please see Yamamoto (1995), Group Action Planning for International Cooperation (1997) and Alagappa (2004).

charitable sector. In this study, the term *nonprofit sector* is mainly used, because it holds the “benefit of currency and simplicity” (Frumkin 2002:15).

Nonprofit organizations or nonprofits are non-profit and non-governmental private organizations with various social activities such as health and welfare, education, culture and international cooperation (Yamauchi 2006b). Although the scope of nonprofit organizations varies among countries, the structural-operational definition of nonprofit organizations is characterized by organizations, private, not profit distributing, self-governing, and voluntary (Salamon and Anheier 1997, Salamon et al. 2003). The Johns Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Research Project developed the International Classification of Nonprofit Organizations [ICNPO] with 12 categories of nonprofit activities including culture and recreation, environment and religious congregations (Salamon et al. 2003).⁴

The terms “nonprofit organization” and “nonprofits” are used to emphasize its difference with for-profit corporations. On the other hand, the term “non-governmental organization” is used to emphasize its difference with government. Recently, considering the negative connotation of “non” profit or “non” government, the term “civil society organization” has come to be also used as an alternative. Civil society organizations are defined as “self-organized groups characterized by: voluntary participation...; relative autonomy from family, market and state; and a capacity for collective action to advance common interests” (Anheier 2004:23). Similar terms are “community-based organizations” or “grassroots organizations,” which develop activities based on communities, and “voluntary organizations,” which develop activities mainly through volunteers. In this study, the terms “nonprofits” and “nonprofit organization” are mainly used.

⁴ The 12 fields of nonprofit activities categorized by the ICNPO are 1) culture and recreation, 2) education and research, 3) health, 4) social services, 5) environment, 6) development and housing, 7) civic and advocacy, 8) philanthropic intermediaries, 9) international, 10) religious congregations, 11) business and professional, unions, and 12) other (Salamon et al. 2003).

1.7 The Nonprofit Sector in Japan⁵

The nonprofit sector in Japan is composed of various community-based and grassroots organizations without legal status and incorporated organizations under various legal provisions. The narrowest scope of the nonprofits is the specified nonprofit corporations authenticated (*ninsho*) under the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the “NPO Law”) enacted in 1998, which reaches almost 30,000 as of November 30, 2006 (Cabinet Office of Japan [COJ], NPO Homepage website).

The narrow scope includes public interest corporations (approximately 25,300) and corporations under special legal provisions such as social welfare corporations. Public interest corporations are categorized into incorporated foundations (12,600) and incorporated associations (12,700) (The Japan Association of Charitable Organizations [JACO] website) under Article 34 of the Civil Code enacted in 1896, which provides that foundations and associations relating to academics, technology, charity, ceremony, religion and other public interests and do not pursue profits are able to be incorporated with the approval of the jurisdiction of each government. However, the recent reforms to public interest corporations have led to the establishment of new nonprofit corporation system in 2006 targeting to public interest corporations but not dealing with specified nonprofit corporations.

Corporations under special laws include private school corporations (12,000 in 2005, law enactment in 1947), medical corporations (42,000 in 2006, law enactment in 1948), social welfare corporations (18,000 in 2005, law enactment in 1951) and religious corporations (182,000 in 2005, law enactment in 1951).⁶

⁵ For details on civil society and the nonprofit sector in Japan in the English language, please see Amenomori (1997), Yamamoto (1998), Yamaoka (1998a), Sternau (1999), Kawashima (2001), Japan NPO Center (2002), Tsujinaka (2002c, 2003a), Schwartz and Pharr (2003), Yamauchi (2003a), Nishide (2004a), Pekkanen (2003, 2005, 2006) and Haddad (2005).

For those in the Japanese language, please see Yamaoka (1997, 1998b, 1999), Yamauchi (1997, 1999, 2002, 2004a, 2004b, 2006b), Nakamura and the Japan NPO Center (1999, 2001), Hatsutani (2001), Iriyama (2004) and Tsukamoto et al. (2004).

For research trends on the nonprofit sector in Japan, please see Shiozawa and Yamauchi (2000), the Japan NPO Research Association Editorial Board (2001), Nishide (2004b) and various issues of *The Nonprofit Review*, the Journal of the Japan NPO Research Association [JANPORA] (website) (an online journal downloadable at (<http://www.osipp.osaka-u.ac.jp/janpora/npreview/npreview.htm>) [English and Japanese].

⁶ The source of the number of each type of corporations is various government documents and websites examined

The broad scope includes cooperatives and community businesses. The broadest scope includes civil society groups without legal status. Pekkanen (2003) categorizes these groups in a broad sense into five: neighborhood associations (298,000), children's groups (130,000), elderly people's groups (150,000), other civic groups (598,000) and voluntary groups with offices (42,000).⁷

In this study, I adopt the broadest scope of the nonprofit sector in Japan with a main focus on emerging specified nonprofit corporations as well as traditional neighborhood associations on the ground that these two types of organizations are or have been active actors for the development of civil society in Japan with distinctive characteristics. An overview of these two types of organizations is provided below.

Neighborhood associations in Japan are self-governing associations of community residents which aim to improve community life. They are often called *Jichikai* (self-governing association) and *Chonaikai* (ward association). Neighborhood associations were the lowest structure of local public administration before World War II, and now they exist in local communities all around Japan (Yamaoka 1998, Pekkanen 2003, 2005). At present, about 298,000 neighborhood associations exist in Japan, and up to 90 percent of them were set up through government encouragement (Pekkanen 2003).

Neighborhood associations have provided services to support local functions and complemented local public administration. They assist with health, festivals and ceremonies at public events held in the neighborhood, and provide fire and crime prevention activities. Citizens in Japan have long fostered trust and associations among neighbors and have promoted a sense of belonging to their neighborhood and the community. However, the membership of neighborhood associations has recently been on the decline due to the declining sense of belonging to community and busy lives. Still, neighborhood associations are strong in the promotion of social capital (Pekkanen 2005).

in December 2006.

⁷ For the whole picture of the scope of the nonprofit sector in Japan, please see Yamaoka (1998b) and Yamauchi (2003a). Please see Tsujinaka (2002c, 2003a) and Pekkanen (2003) for the landscape of civil society organizations in a broad sense.

Contrary to the decreasing membership of neighborhood associations, emerging specified nonprofit corporations have surged all over Japan, particularly after the Great Hanshin Earthquake in 1995, and were incorporated under the NPO Law enacted in 1998. The number has been increasing rapidly over the last 8 years, now reaching almost 30,000 (Figure 1.1). This number exceeds community centers (19,000), elementary schools (23,000) and even traditional public interest corporations (25,000) (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology [MEXT] 2003a, 2003b, website and JACO website). About 400-500 specified nonprofit corporations are incorporated every month, and the number has been steadily increasing. Moreover, civic and voluntary groups without legal status are considered to surpass 100,000.

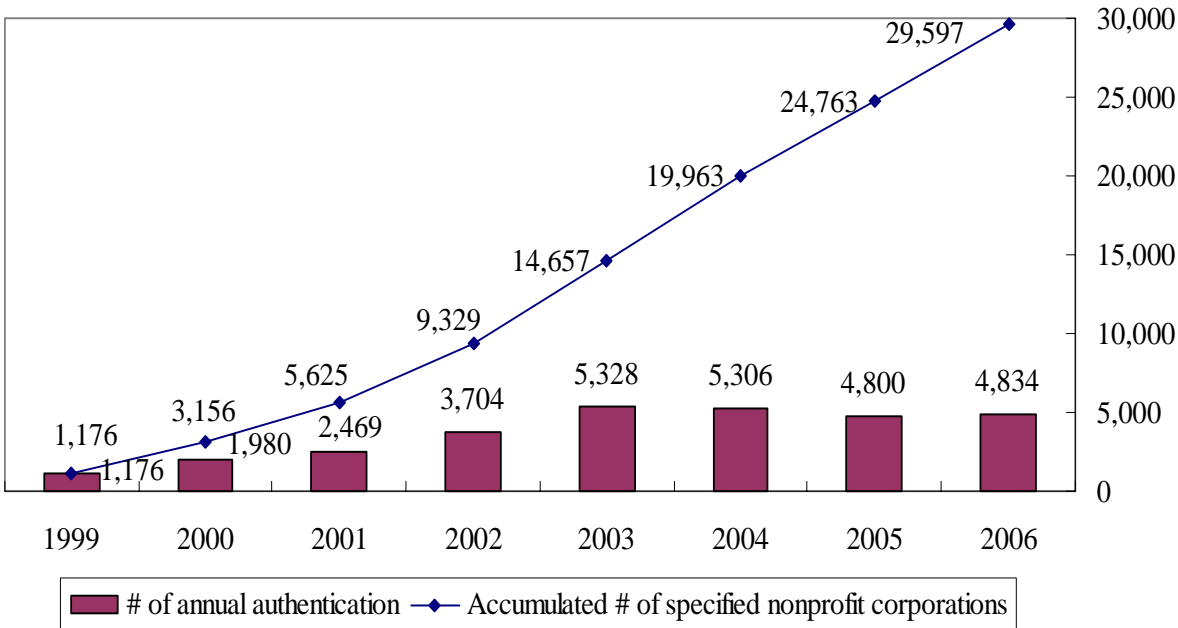


Figure 1.1 Development of Specified Nonprofit Corporations in Japan

Source: Created by the author.

Data: COJ, NPO Homepage (website).

Note: The numbers of specified nonprofit corporations incorporated through the authentication by the Cabinet Office and each prefecture as of December 31 each year except for 2006, which data indicate the number as of November 30.

Social recognition toward nonprofits has also surged dramatically in Japan recently: According to COJ (2004a, 2004b), 50.3 percent of people recognize the existence of nonprofit organizations, a more than double increase from 21.4 percent in 2000, and only 10.5 percent have never heard of nonprofits, indicating a rapid decrease from 47.2 percent in 2000.

As for the distribution of nonprofits, the share of specified nonprofit corporations per capita is the highest in Tokyo. Kansai regions such as Kyoto and Osaka also hold a large number of specified nonprofit corporations. Overall, the number of specified nonprofit corporations is large in big cities than in rural areas.

The fields of health and social welfare (57.8%) hold the greatest rate of activities among the 17 activity fields listed in the NPO Law. The fields of social education (46.5%), intermediary support (44.9%) and community development (40.4%) are also active (Figure 1.2).

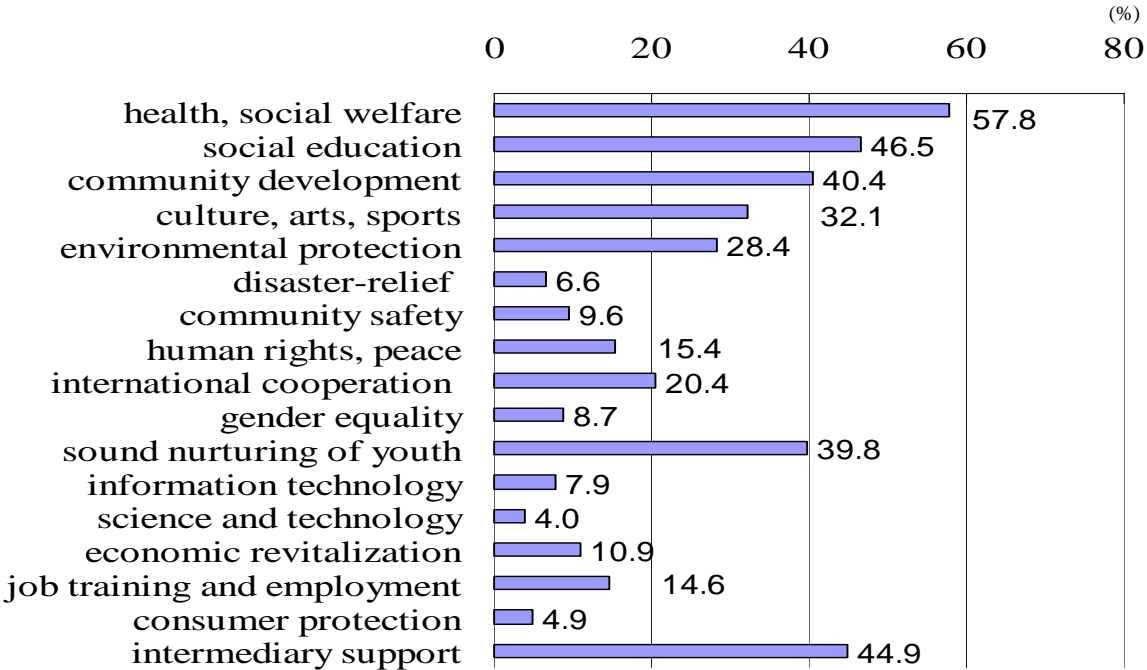


Figure 1.2 17 Activity Fields of Specified Nonprofit Corporations in Japan

Source: Created by the author.

Data: COJ, NPO Homepage (website).

Note: The data is as of September 30, 2006. An organization may have activities in multiple fields and the total percentage does not become 100%.

As to recent developments in the legal and tax systems, the 2003 Amendments to the NPO Law have added 5 activity fields, simplified application procedures and reinforced measures to exclude misuse of the law by gangs. In 2001, the new tax system of approved nonprofit corporations has been enforced. Individuals and corporations are able to gain a tax-deduction through giving to the approved nonprofit corporations meeting certain eligibility requirements. However, eligibility is so strict that only 48 specified nonprofit corporations, or 0.0017 percent of the total specified nonprofit corporations have been approved as “approved” nonprofit corporations as of October 1, 2006 (National Tax Agency website). Since 2002, the reforms to the public interest corporation system have been discussed at the national government and councils with public discussions and discussions among nonprofits.

Table 1.3 is a comparative analysis of neighborhood associations and nonprofits including their social capital characteristics and challenges.

Table 1.3 Comparison of Neighborhood Associations and Nonprofit Organizations in Japan

	Neighborhood Associations (<i>Jichikai</i> and <i>Chonaikai</i>)	Nonprofit Organizations (NPO)
Number of organizations	9,000 (w/ legal status) 298,000 (w/o legal status)	30,000 (w/ legal status) (specified nonprofit corporations) more than 100,000 (w/o legal status)
Law	Local Autonomy Law (Article 260)	Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the "NPO" Law) (1998)
Purpose	mutual benefit	public good
Norm	tradition and a sense of duty	compassion and individual initiative
Orientation	fair burden of responsibility community	flexibility, diversity and pioneering issue and mission
Scope	comprehensive to community	limited to a specific issue or field
Membership unit	household	individuals and organizations
member	community leaders and residents	professional staff and citizens
choice	semi-compulsory	free choice
trend	decreasing	increasing
Financial base	government subsidies, membership fee, and contracting	membership fee, contributions, revenue from activities, government subsidies and contracting
Functions and activities	cleaning parks and roads, community safety, community development, disaster prevention, fire prevention, holding events, mutual communication, community administration, supporting affiliated groups (children, youth, elderly and women)	tackling diverse issues (child-bearing, community development, environment, art and sports) for a specific mission including health and welfare, child support, environment, disaster relief, art and culture and sports
Relationship with government and local government policy	cooperative and complementary relationship, providing subsidies, government information and meeting space	partnership and devolution, program delegation and provision of enabling environment including meeting space
Social capital characteristics	bonding (within community) inward-looking closed to community, exclusion particularized trust strong and weak networks	bridging (across community) outward-looking openness, inclusion generalized trust horizontal and weak networks
Challenges	democratic management aging and fix of officers membership increase youth involvement parochialism professionalism autonomy from government	philanthropic insufficiency particularism paternalism amateurism community involvement financial stability trust and reliability

Source: Created by the author with reference to Salamon (1987, 1997), Pekkanen (2003), Matsuno (2004) and Nagano (2005).

1.8 Outline of the Study

This dissertation is composed of six chapters. Chapter 1 provides an overview of the development of the concept of social capital, major theories and significant terms necessary to understand its concept, measurement and conceptual issues, and the concept of civil society and an overview of the nonprofit sector in Japan.

Chapter 2 reveals the current state of social capital and its relations to civic activities in Japan. It introduces major findings from the first comprehensive social capital survey in Japan by the Cabinet Office Survey on Social Capital. It also reviews qualitative changes in social capital and regional differences, particularly cross-sector relationships through three cases.

Chapter 3 explores the regional distribution of nonprofits quantitatively and empirically analyzes factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level with the computation of the number of specified nonprofit corporations in municipalities.

Chapter 4 presents case studies on three nonprofit activity fields from the perspective of social capital: 1) Intermediary organizations undertaking the creation of social capital, 2) environmental organizations creating social capital through their activities, and 3) the role of social capital in disaster relief.

Chapter 5 explores social capital in partnerships in two fields: One is public-nonprofit partnerships with the comparison of the process of formulating partnership ordinances and guidelines with three cases, and the other is university-community partnerships in creating and utilizing social capital.

Finally, chapter 6 examines how social capital can be applied to public policy and what role nonprofits can play in creating social capital and in policy development through a comparative analysis of seven countries. Challenges and prospects for applying social capital in public policy and the role of nonprofits and other actors in policy and practice are discussed.

1.9 Significance of the Study

This study is considered to contribute to the field of social capital research and the nonprofit sector research mainly in the following four aspects:

1) This study analyzed the trends of social capital in Japan from the perspective of civil society, in particular, emerging nonprofits as well as some aspect of traditional neighborhood associations;

2) It examined the relationship between social capital and nonprofits through various fields both qualitatively and quantitatively. It examined such fields as intermediary, environment, disaster relief, public-nonprofit partnerships and university-community partnerships in order to grasp the multidimensional concept of social capital in relation to the nonprofit sector in Japan.

3) It conducted an empirical analysis on factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level from the perspective of social capital. Adopting the municipal level as the unit of analysis of specified nonprofit corporations nationwide is very challenging, however, the computation of these corporations at the municipal level helped this analysis; and

4) This study proposed the role of nonprofits and various actors in creating and utilizing social capital in policy and practice as well as discussed policy implications.

CHAPTER 2 TRENDS OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN JAPAN

2.1 Introduction

The wide attention among academics, governments and practitioners in Japan and abroad gained by the concept of social capital was mainly triggered by Robert Putnam's studies (1993, 1995, 1996, 2000). As indicated in section 1.2, this study follows Putnam's definition and defines social capital as social relationships such as trust, norms and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community. It is true that social capital should be discussed with cultural contexts taken into consideration (Harper 2002, Tsujinaka 2002a, 2002b). However, the concept itself seems basically the same in Japan and in other countries such as the U.S. and Europe. Social capital is considered to have various social outcomes as I introduced in section 1.3. Social capital can be considered as a vital key to community empowerment, or power of community⁸ and strengthening civil society.

Governments in many countries such as Australia, Ireland, New Zealand and the U.K. have shown a great interest in measuring social capital in the context of policy applications (see chapter 6 for details). COJ has also begun to study social capital focusing on its relationships with voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities. However, early social capital research in Japan mainly focused on aspects of development assistance and political science such as political participation. Only a few earlier studies have dealt with nonprofits and volunteering.

Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to clarify the current state of social capital and its relationship with civic activities in Japan. Findings from the first comprehensive survey designed to measure social capital in Japan, with particular focus on civic activities are analyzed in detail, and then, qualitative analysis of three prefectures with distinctive social characteristics is conducted to examine the characteristics of communities with rich social capital.

⁸ Power of community consists of three powers: the power of residents' interest in community, the power of community resources, and the power of community governance (Miyanishi 1986).

2.2 Social Capital Studies in/on Japan

There has been a growing literature on social capital in Japan over the last 5 years. Several major social capital studies have been translated into Japanese such as the works of Jacobs (1961), Coleman (1990), Putnam (1993, 1995, 2000), Fukuyama (1995, 1999), Baker (2000), OECD (2001) and Uslaner (2003). These translated works have contributed greatly to furthering the recognition of the social capital concept in Japan.

Major academic studies on social capital in Japan are such as the following:

Sociological studies on trust focused on or took up Japan in comparative perspectives. Fukuyama (1995) contends that Japan as well as the U.S. is a high trust society, in which trust reduces transaction costs and improves economic efficiency. On the contrary, Yamagishi (1998, 1999) argues that Japan is a society based on assurance of security (*anshin*), a sense of security being assured without feeling worry or concern unlike the American high trust society. At the same time, Japan is moving toward a trust-based society with social intelligence (Yamagishi 2003). Uslaner (2003) contends that Japanese social capital is comparatively high, but that it is necessary to promote policies to reduce economic inequality in order to increase trust.

In the development field, *Aid and Social Capital* (Sato 2001) and *Social Capital and International Cooperation: Toward Sustainable Outcomes* (Japan International Cooperation Agency [JICA] 2002) are the two main works. JICA's work (2002) has sought the application of the social capital concept to development strategies in specific areas such as primary health care, community development and education.

An economic aspect of social capital has been studied by Inaba (2002, 2005) and Omori (2002, 2004). Inaba (2002) argues that horizontal networks such as nonprofits are necessary to reconstructing trust in the society and for economic growth. Omori (2002, 2004) proposed various channels by which social capital is produced. Miyakawa and Omori (2004) analyzed social capital for economic revitalization and healthy community. Moreover, Yamauchi's (2004c) seminal articles in *Nihon Keizai Shimbun* stimulated a wide interest in social capital among economists and policy makers in Japan.

In the field of political science, relationship between political participation and social capital were analyzed (Hirano 2002, Ikeda 2002, Inoguchi 2000, 2002). Social capital was found to have a positive influence on political participation in some of these studies.

Some scholars have also begun to explore social capital in the field of civil society and the nonprofit sector recently. For example, Inaba (2002) maintains that nonprofits function as a supplier of social capital that increases trust and norms among social components. He argues that citizens strengthen a sense of belonging to society by taking part in volunteer activities, and foster such cultural and social norms. Inaba (2002) further indicates that the activities of nonprofits and their service provision in and of themselves foster social capital, and simultaneously, nonprofits as the “third sector” create social capital in general, and thus, nonprofits hold a significant role in fostering social capital: co-ops in Japan have fostered a sense of reassurance and trust through the safety inspection of goods and consumer education, for instance. Yamauchi (2003) made a composite Civil Society Index composed of volunteering, giving and nonprofits indices, and tried to grasp the regional gaps of civic activities in Japan at the prefecture level. He found out that the overall Civil Society Index tends to be high in the western part of Japan compared to the eastern part, and the tendency of gaps are different among each component of the index. Moreover, the Study Forum on Social Capital and Community Power held at the OSIPP of Osaka University from 2004 to 2005 has produced a research report *Social Capital in Japan* (Yamauchi and Ibuki 2005) analyzing social capital in Japan from various perspectives.

Not only scholars from various disciplines but also the Japanese government have shown a growing interest in social capital as applicable to policy making. COJ has extended studies on various aspects of social capital in Japan though it has not directly used the term “social capital” in their reports, highlighting the “ties” of people and organizations in community and society. The major findings from four recent COJ reports are as follows:

White Paper on Quality of Life FY2004 (COJ 2004a) set “ties” as a keyword for community life and introduced the activities of nonprofits in various communities. In the White Paper, connections among individuals are considered to be the basis for supporting community

activities, and nonprofits are considered to play an important role in creating new public value in communities.

National Survey on Lifestyle Preferences FY2003 (COJ 2004b) revealed attitudes of people toward their relationships and links with other people and society. Two-thirds of the respondents do not have close relationships with neighbors, and almost half do not feel the need to relate closely to their neighbors. As for community activities, about 80 percent of respondents feel that residents in a community should tackle the issues of crime and disaster prevention as well as welfare and nursing for the elderly. Half would like to participate in volunteering, nonprofit and/or community activities in the future. The impediments for participation are lack of time for activities (35.9%) and a lack of a motive to participate (14.2%). Only 10.2 percent of working people responded that their workplace has a system of volunteering leave. 37.8 percent of respondents regard the most serious factor causing the deterioration of safety as “the declining consciousness that committing a crime is a bad thing due to the deteriorating function of education at family and school.” Half (49.3%) of all respondents feel that “insufficient discipline in a family and the weakening of family relationships” are the major factors for juvenile delinquency and youth crime.

Survey on Partnerships Toward Community Revival (COJ 2004c) examines the state of partnerships between government and nonprofits in the context of promoting community renewal. The survey found that all prefectures and more than 80 percent of municipalities (cities, towns and villages) contract out to nonprofits. Partnerships are formed especially in the fields of environment, health and welfare, intermediary and community development. Governments feel the significance of partnership projects with nonprofits lies in the “provision of diverse services that governments alone cannot provide,” “construction of equal partnerships,” “promotion of voluntary participation of residents to community activities,” and “improving efficiency of government.”

Survey to Local Governments on Nonprofits in Towns and Villages (COJ 2004d) categorizes the characteristics of nonprofits and community organizations in towns and villages as follows:

Nonprofits hold the characteristics of “voluntary efforts of citizens,” “flexible ideas and mobile reaction,” and “expertise in a specific field,” whereas community organizations “develop activities that cover overall life through mutual cooperation” based on their activities and “have cooperative relationships with government.” 95 percent responded that the cooperation between community organizations and nonprofits are important, but 97 percent answered that cooperation between the two has not progressed in these areas.

Major social capital studies in and on Japan are summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Major Social Capital Studies in and on Japan

Theme	Author and date	Major perspectives and findings
Overall state of social capital in Japan	Inoguchi 2000, 2002	Social capital in Japan has increased unlike the U.S., especially civic participation and generalized trust.
	COJ 2003	Social capital in Japan has declined in trust and civic participation in some parts, but has increased in others, and regional gaps also exist.
	Yamauchi and Ibuki 2005	Analysis of trends of social capital in Japan from various fields including education, demographics and ICT.
Civic activities, volunteering, nonprofits and civil society	COJ 2003	Social capital and civic activities are in a mutually strengthening relationship.
	Yamauchi 2003b	Regional differences of civic activities exist at the prefectural level.
	Inaba 2002, Nishide and Yamauchi 2005	Nonprofits play a vital role in social capital creation and provision.
	Haddad 2004	Community determinants of volunteer participation at traditional community-based organizations.
	Kage 2003a	War has impacts on civic engagement.
	Nakajima 2003	Institutionalization of nonprofits have impact on their capacity to generate social capital.
	Pekkanen 2004, 2005	Neighborhood associations without advocacy have fostered social capital in Japan.
	Ishida 2005	Volunteering rate is influenced by social capital in a community.
	Nishide 2004b, 2006b	Nonprofits can utilize social capital to achieve their mission as well as creating it.
	Nishide 2005a	Gender and social capital with the focus on civic activities as well as social and political participation.

(Table 2.1, continued.)

Theme	Author and date	Major perspectives and findings
Community, community development, city planning, crime and safety	ESRI 2005	Creation of social capital and investment in community improves the feelings of assurance for security of individual life, and social capital is vital for community regeneration.
	Komiya 2005	Development of social capital is necessary to improve safety in community based on the broken window theory.
	Azuma and Ishida 2005	Building up a sense of trust is significant to enable the creation of safe communities.
	Hokkaido Prefectural Governor's Policy Department 2006	Social capital and community empowerment is necessary for partnerships and local governance. Conducting case studies on social capital creation and community empowerment.
Politics, and civic and political participation	Kawakami 2006	Connecting various community resources rapidly and daily and utilization of its social capital contributed to the development of community.
	Hirano 2002, Ikeda 2002	Social capital has a positive effect on political participation (voting behavior) in Japan.
	Yamauchi, T. 2002	Social capital for issue-based networks.
	Sakamoto 2005	It is a civic power rather than social capital that makes local government work in Japan.
Agriculture and rural communities	Shintani 2006	Civic participation nurtures sustainability of community with rich social capital.
	JIID 2005a	Research on the importance of social capital in policies on agriculture and rural communities. Interviews were conducted in Europe regarding the LEADER program and policy applications of social capital.
	JIID 2005b	Possibility of measuring social capital in rural communities and introduction of policies like LEADER program in Japan.
Development	Kobayashi et al. 2005	Social capital and development trends in rural areas in Japan and Sweden.
	Sato 2001, JICA 2002	Social capital can be used as a development tool and strategy such as in the field of primary health care and primary education.
	Inaba 2002	Social capital (trust) and total factor productivity.
Economy	Omori 2002, 2004	Social capital influences economic performance through diversified channels.
	Yamazaki 2004	Social capital is important to improve economic efficiency.
	Inaba 2005	Government has a responsibility to foster social capital, particularly for those possessing public goods characteristics.
	Ogawa 2005	Social capital can have positive and negative influences on economy: reducing transaction costs, while excluding new business entry.

(Table 2.1, continued.)

Theme	Author and date	Major perspectives and findings
Business and Finance	Shintani 2004, 2005	Various global networks of a firm contributes to the creation of social capital, and industry cluster affects its creation.
	Nakajima, Y. 2005	Utilization of social capital and human resource in business.
	Toi 2006	Social capital for financial reforms.
ICT	Norris 2003	Capacity of ICT for promoting social capital may find parallels in the U.S., Europe and Japan regardless of different patterns.
	Kawai 2006	ICT has an effective function in creating social capital in a community.
Network	Kanemitsu 2003	Social network explorations toward a social capital theory.
Trust	Fukuyama 1995, 1999	Japan is a high trust society like the U.S.
	Yamagishi 1998, 1999, 2003	Japan is a society with a high sense of assurance for security and with a low level of trust, but is moving toward a trust-based society.
	Uslaner 2002, 2003	Japan should improve economic equality and promote exchanges of youth with diverse backgrounds to increase generalized trust.
	Miyagaki 2003	Mutual trust is critical in human service, and taking a semi-formal approach is desirable.
Measurement	Omori and Yonezawa 2002	Review of existing surveys applicable to measurement of social capital in Japan.
	Tsujinaka 2002a, 2002b	Cultural contexts should be taken into consideration in measuring social capital.
	Yamauchi 2005b	Survey of various measurement of frameworks of civil society including social capital.
	Sakamoto 2006	Experiential analysis has a significant potential in the study of social capital.
Theoretical perspective		Kage 2002, Tsujinaka 2002b, 2002c, Miyakawa 2004, Morotomi 2003, Sakamoto 2003
Translation from English to Japanese		Jacobs 1961, Coleman 1990, Putnam 1993, 1995, 2000, Fukuyama 1995, 1999, Baker 2000, OECD 2001, Prusak and Cohen 2001, Norris 2003, Uslaner 2003

Source: Created by the author based on each literature.

2.3 Cabinet Office Survey on Social Capital

2.3.1 Overview

In this section, I present findings from COJ (2003) Survey on Social Capital contracted to the Japan Research Institute (JRI). The survey consists of both existing surveys relating to social capital and the original survey it conducted. The aims of the study were to review the existing viewpoints on social capital, verify the relationships between social capital and civic activities, grasp the quantitative trends of social capital, and review the future civic activities from the perspective of social capital formation in Japan (COJ 2003).

In conducting the research project, COJ set up the “Social Capital Research Committee” consisting of experts on social capital and the nonprofit sector in Japan. Professor Naoto Yamauchi, the author’s supervisor was chairman of the committee. Moreover, the OSIPP Center for Nonprofit Research and Information at Osaka University collaborated with JRI, and hosted the “Social Capital Study Forum” twice a month from 2002 to 2003, inviting social capital researchers from various fields in Japan in order to understand the concept of social capital and also to work around the proposed social capital survey. I myself was a research cooperater for COJ Survey and also was engaged in the Forum.

2.3.2 Existing surveys

In Japan, no previous efforts were made to comprehensively systemize and itemize social capital until the survey introduced here. However, other related surveys that can contribute to the quantitative understanding of social capital indicators do exist. The major surveys are *the Survey of Japanese People's Attitudes towards Their Home Prefecture*, *Nationwide Survey on the Japanese National Characteristics*, and *the World Values Survey*. The measurement approaches and indicators of these existing surveys are indicated in Table 2.2. In contrast to the above surveys based on individual interviews, *Basic Social Life Survey*, *National Census*, and *Statistics related to Nonprofits* are broadly utilized as time-series and cross-area data (Omori and Yonezawa 2002).

Table 2.2 Existing Surveys applicable to Social Capital Understanding in Japan

Title	Survey Conductor	Purpose	Measurement
Survey of Japanese People's Attitudes towards Their Home Prefecture	NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute	Structural analysis of people's attitudes towards their prefecture with such questions as lifestyle environment and feelings of attachment to one's hometown.	First in 1978, second in 1996. Opinion surveys to 42,300 people with over 16 years old nationwide on 90 items in 1996.
World Values Survey	Dentsu Institute for Human Studies (90-93), Nippon Research Center (thereafter)	Worldwide survey targeting individuals in the fields of politics, economics, labor, religion, family and environment.	Samples in Japan (and the number of countries): 1362 in 1990 (37); 1054 in 1995 (23); and 1011 in 2000.
Nationwide Survey on the Japanese National Character	The Institute of Statistical Mathematics	Quantitative clarification of the views of the Japanese people and characteristics of thought patterns through survey on the attitudes of the Japanese in daily life.	Mail survey started in 1953 and conducted every 5 years (11th in 2003). Sample of 2,350 over or equal to 20 years old to under 80 years old in 2003.
A Cross-national Survey of 7 Countries	The Committee of the Comparative Study of National Character	Comparison of attitudinal structure of people in different cultural areas.	From 1985-1994 (depending on the country). Personal interviews over or equal to 18 years old. Other countries include U.S., U.K. and Italy.
East Asia Value Survey	The Institute of Statistical Mathematics	Grouping and comparison of general attitudinal structure, in particular, on trust within and among groups and on institutions and leaders.	Comparison with other countries including China, Korea and Singapore.

Source: COJ (2003) with additions and revisions based on the Institute of Statistical Mathematics (website) and NHK Broadcasting Culture Research Institute (website).


2.3.3 Survey methodology

COJ (2003) identified three major components of social capital as social associations and exchanges (networks), social participation (norms) and trust with five sub-indicators as shown in Table 2.3. The hypotheses of the survey were: 1) each component of social capital measured is in a mutually dependent relationship and may improve each other; 2) in particular, voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities may vitalize each component and trigger overall improvement; 3) the accumulation of social capital is one of the factors that facilitate the improvement of social problem-solving capacity and efficient management of the social system; and thus, the revitalization of voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities contributes to the improvement of social problem-solving capacity and efficient management of the social system, through the accumulation of social capital (COJ 2003).

More specifically, the following questions were verified through the analysis of existing surveys and the original survey: 1) Has social capital in Japan declined? What are its social influences? (changes in social capital over time); 2) Does the different levels of social capital accumulation make problem-solving capacity and efficiency different? (social outcomes of social capital); and 3) Is social capital formed through revitalization of voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities? (formation of social capital as social significance and effects of voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities). Hypotheses 1) and 2) were supported through the micro-analysis based on individual survey responses, and hypothesis 3) was supported through the analysis of the survey and the macro-statistical data from existing surveys (COJ 2003).

Table 2.3 Social Capital Index and Its Component Indicators

Component Index	Sub-indicators	Base Indicators
I. Associations and Exchanges Index (simple mean rate of 1-5)	Associations with neighbors	1) Levels of associations with neighbors
		2) Number of people associated with neighbors
	Social exchange	3) Frequency of associations with friends and acquaintances
		4) Frequency of associations with relatives
		5) Participation in activities such as sports and hobbies
II. Trust Index (simple mean rate of 6-9)	Generalized trust	6) Generalized trust in others
	Mutual trust and assistance	7) Expectations and trust in neighbors
		8) Expectations and trust in friends and acquaintances
III. Social Participation Index (simple mean rate of 10-12)	Participation in social activities	9) Expectations and trust in relatives
		10) Participation in community-based activities
		11) Participation in voluntary, nonprofits and civic activities
		12) State of philanthropy



Integrated Social Capital Index (Simple mean rate of component indices I to III)

Source: COJ (2003).

The actual survey was conducted from January to March in 2003. The total response rate was 66.9 percent with 3,878 samples. The survey adopted two methods. One was questionnaires sent by mail toward 3,800 persons over or at the age of 20 with the stratified sampling classified by sex, age and regional block. The number of mail-survey respondents was 1,878 with the response rate of 49.4 percent. The other method was questionnaire on the web toward 2,000 persons among the registered 150,000 persons nationwide. The web survey collected 2,000 samples with 100 percent response rate. The results of the mail questionnaire survey and web questionnaire survey were later integrated into social capital index by adjusting the different response rates. The survey asked questions on trust in others, daily associations, activities in community, own life, and demographics.

2.4 Survey Findings

2.4.1 Overview

First, an analysis of the existing macro data and surveys revealed the overall tendency of social capital in time and by region in Japan. Some aspects of social capital have declined over time, while others have not. Levels of social capital differ between big cities and rural areas, and by region as indicated in section 2.4.3 below.

Major survey findings show that each component of social capital is related. Moreover, people who participate in certain kinds of activities (voluntary activities, community-based activities, and sports and recreation) tend to have a higher level of trust in society and community, a broader network in community, and a higher satisfaction in life than those who do not participate. The survey supported the hypotheses that each component of social capital and voluntary and nonprofit activities have a positive correlation, that social capital may be fostered through voluntary and civic activities, and that civic participation may be promoted with the accumulation of social capital. In short, the survey suggests that social capital is fostered and is expected to produce social outcomes through the promotion of voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities (COJ 2003).

Each component of social capital was found to have a positive correlation and the possibility of mutually strengthening other components. Those with a high degree of associations and social participation also show a high rate of trust indicators. Conversely, those with a high degree of trust and social participation also have a high rate of association indicators (COJ 2003). More specifically, positive correlations were high with general trust compared to mutual trust and mutual assistance. Although it is impossible to tell the cause and effect relationships, it may be assumed that people with a high degree of associations and social participation foster trust in general through their active associations and participation, or conversely those with high general trust have wide associations and participation as Hirano (2002) and Uslaner (2003) argue. The Integrated Social Capital Index with three component indices reveal that these rates are relatively low in big cities such as Tokyo and Osaka compared

to other areas. The areas with higher networks, trust, and social participation tend to be interrelated.

2.4.2 Changes over time

COJ (2003) also conducted an analysis of the changes of social capital over time using the data of *Basic Social Life Survey* and *NHK Survey of Japanese People’s Attitudes towards Their Home Prefecture*, which made a time comparison possible. The analyses of these data demonstrate that the changes of the aggregate quantity of social capital in Japan are not clear but that there exist some major changes such as the following (Figure 2.1):

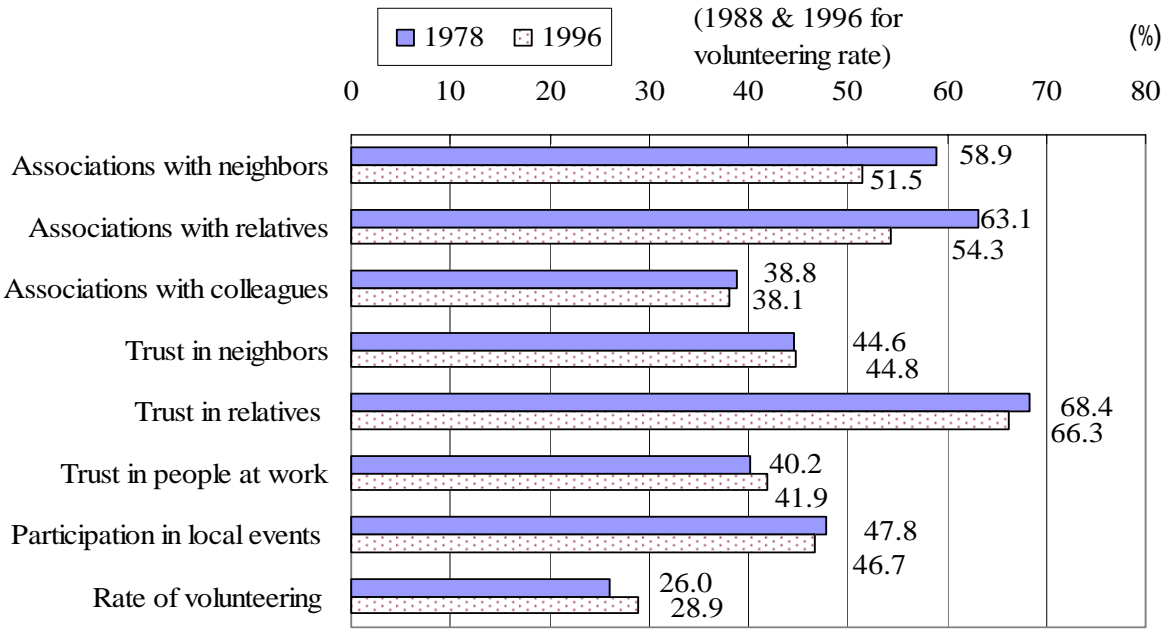


Figure 2.1 Changes in Social Capital Over Time

Source: Created by the author.

Data: COJ (2003).

Associations with neighborhood have decreased over the last two decades. In almost all regions, associations with neighborhood (in 96 percent of regions) and with relatives have decreased over the two decades. Although the average of associations is lower in big cities like

Tokyo and Osaka, the declining rate is severe in other rural areas. Associations with colleagues have increased in big cities like Tokyo and Osaka while other areas show mixed changes. In the majority of regions, trust in neighbors and relatives has decreased over the two decades. On the contrary, trust in people at work tends to have increased nationally. The willingness to participate in local festivals and community events has decreased in two-thirds of regions, while big cities indicated status quo on the increase over the two decades. Volunteering rate in the field of social service activities has shown an increase in more than 80 percent of the regions. This result confirms the argument of Inoguchi (2000, 2002) that social capital in Japan has increased over 50 years and is resilient due especially to emerging nonprofits. Putnam (1995, 2000) indicated a severe decline of social capital in the U.S. particularly in traditional forms of participation and trust. Unlike Putnam's (2000) argument that increasing new forms of nonprofits do not compensate for the decline of traditional forms of participation, the COJ survey indicated the reverse situation: The emerging nonprofits have complemented declining participation in neighborhood associations.

2.4.3 Regional distribution

The result of COJ further found regional differences that would be very helpful in grasping the elements for community empowerment with rich social capital. The patterns of the gaps were found between big cities and rural areas over time (Figure 2.2). The tendency of decline is high in rural areas, while big cities have a tendency to maintain or recover each component of social capital such as trust and social participation. Since various civic activities and social capital are in a mutually strengthening relationship, the decline of community-based social capital is a national tendency, while new civic activities seem to be the major factor in changing the decline.

The city-rural gap may also indicate that people in big cities want to recover a sense of belonging to community in their busy lives in the city, while people in rural areas are less willing to engage in community-based activities. For example, according to the *NHK Survey of Japanese People's Attitudes towards Their Home Prefecture* in 1996, people who responded

positively to the question, “Are you willing to participate in activities and festivals in the community?” increased in two big metropolitan areas, Kanto (Tokyo, Kanagawa and Gunma, etc.) and Kansai (Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo and Nara), while other areas showed declining ratios from 1978 to 1996.

Kyoto has experienced the most notable changes over the last two decades. Social capital in Kyoto has increased in all respects, and showed the highest rate of increase for trust in neighborhood and colleagues at work, and for associations with neighborhood. The Nonprofit Organizations Index computed by Yamauchi (2003b) ranks it the second highest, and the share of specified nonprofit corporations ranks the highest among all the prefectures. The major factor may be the fact that one tenth of people in Kyoto are engaged in universities and that Kyoto has always had vibrant collaborations in communities.

Other distinctive areas are Fukui and Okinawa. Yamauchi (2003b) identifies that Okinawa has the highest level of blood giving. Data of COJ (2003) reveals that Fukui indicates a balanced distribution of different components of social capital: trust, associations and social participation.

Moreover, the regional gaps of the Social Capital Index have a similar tendency to the regional gaps of the Civil Society Index calculated by Yamauchi (2003b) (Figure 2.3). Civil Society Index combines nonprofit organizations index, giving index and volunteering index. Comparison of Figures 2.2 and 2.3 below has confirmed that a region with rich social capital also tends to have vibrant civic activities and vice versa.

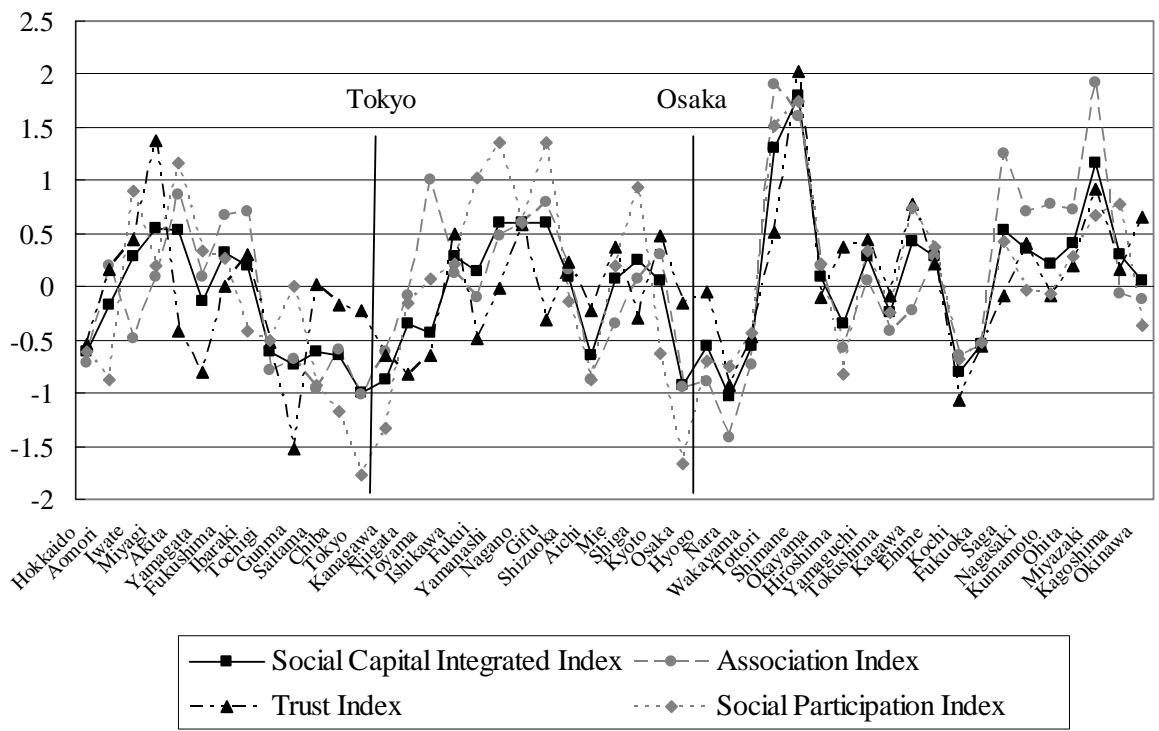


Figure 2.2 Social Capital Index by Prefecture
Source: COJ (2003) with additions.

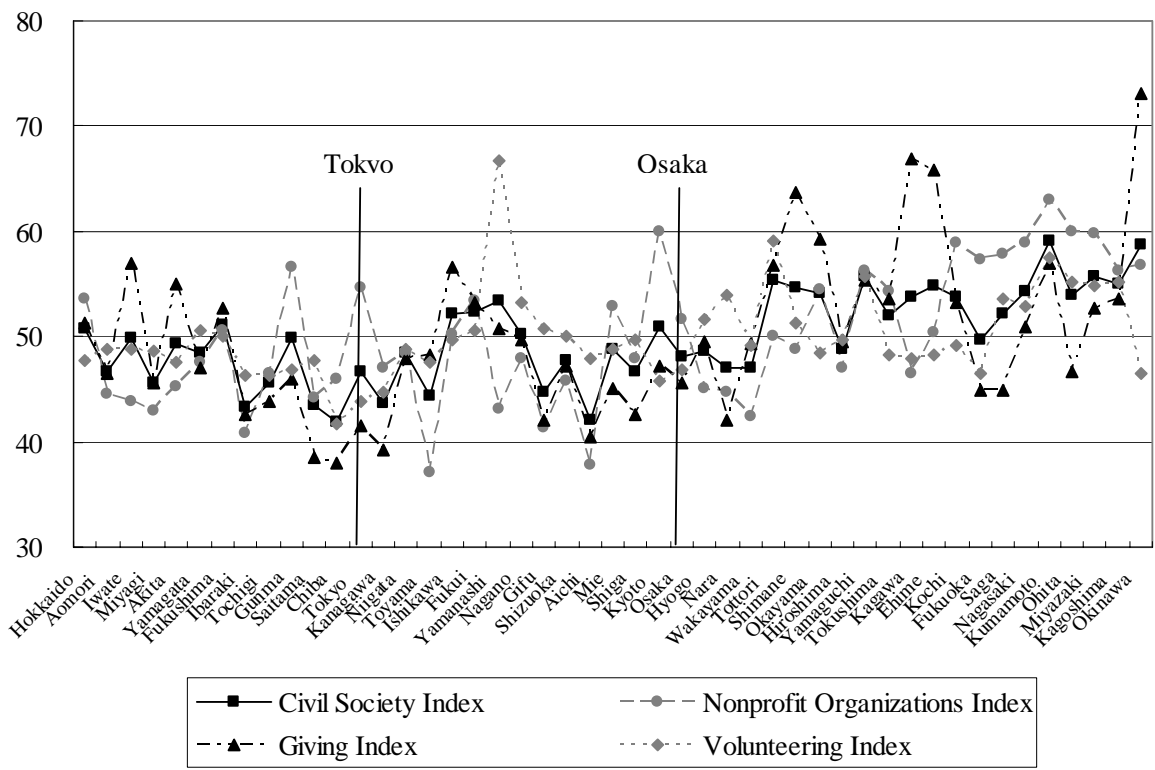


Figure 2.3 Civil Society Index by Prefecture
Source: Yamauchi (2003b) with additions.

2.4.4 Civic activities and social capital

Relationships between Each Component of Social Capital and Civic Activities. Each indicator of social capital such as social associations, trust and social participation and its relationships with participation in volunteer and civic activities show that in the samples with higher social capital ratio than the average, the participation rate in volunteer and civic activities is also high and vice versa. This leads to the assumption that a certain positive correlation exists between each component of social capital and the amount of volunteer and civic activities.

A notable outcome is that those who participate in volunteer and civic activities show high social capital components specifically in the aspects of their relationships with neighbors such as wide associations, high expectations and trust in neighbors, a high participation rate in community-based activities, and the active community-based activities in their community. This may suggest that those who participate in civic activities have a higher level of trust in and associations with their neighbors and community than those who do not.

The Effect of Participation in Civic Activities on Social Capital. The survey data revealed what the respondents gained most through participation in volunteer, nonprofit and civic activities: networks with various people in the community (67.6%), feelings of contribution to the community and society (53.7%), fellows who can share values (49.5%), and increased knowledge and know-how (45.4%)⁹ (Figure 2.4). This result indicates that a major outcome of civic activities is social capital development.

Comparison of participation rates in various activities including sports, hobbies and recreation, civic activities and community organizations suggests that the gains from the participation in community-based activities ranked worst in four items out of nine including a sense of accomplishment (29.6%) and fellows who can share values (34.4%). A surprising result was that the ratio of respondents who participated in volunteer activities and gained “deeper attachment to communities” was higher (25.1%) than those who participated in community-based activities (22.8%). A significant difference between participation in volunteer

⁹ The percentages indicate the rates of response from the mail questionnaires. The percentages for the web version reveal the similar tendencies for each question and thus were omitted in this study.

activities and other activities was the sense of contribution to community and society. This suggests that people are able to feel more sense of contribution to community and society by taking part in volunteer activities (53.7%) than other activities including community-based activities (42.8%) (Figure 2.4).

Many respondents who participated in voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities answered that they were able to widen associations with various people such as people of different ages and generations and various occupations. Comparison with other activities indicates that participation in voluntary activities widens more diverse networks with people in different categories compared to neighborhood activities and sports. For example, the rate of respondents who answered, “associations with people who have different occupations have widened,” was 76.7 percent among those who participated in civic activities, in comparison to 68.3 percent among those who participated in neighborhood activities. On the contrary, the respondents widened associations with neighbors more through neighborhood activities (80.7%) than through civic activities (72.4%). This result indicates that civic activities have a more “bridging” element than neighborhood activities.

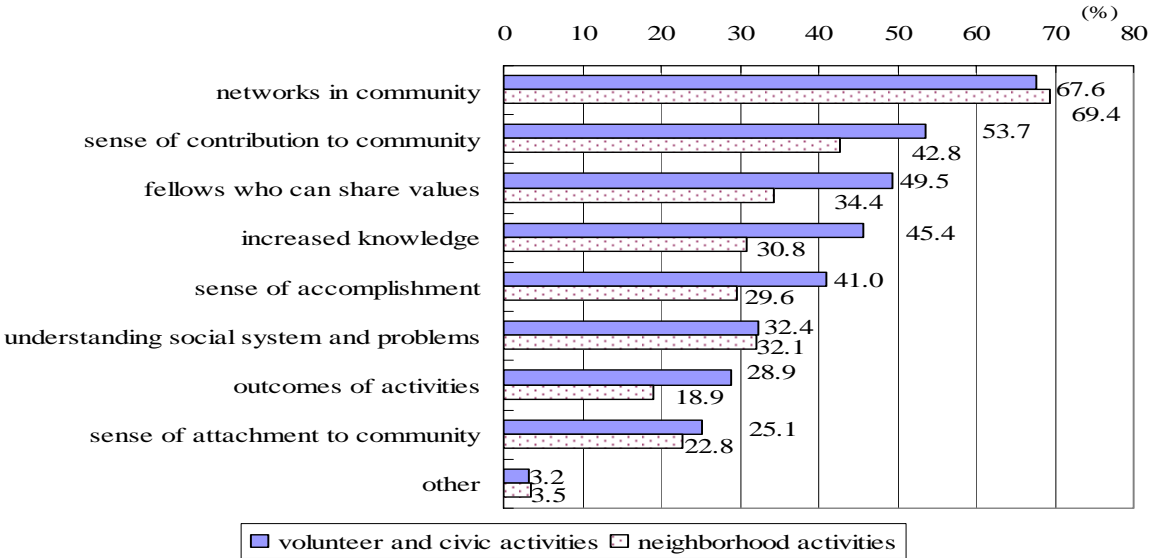


Figure 2.4 Gains from Participation (Civic Activities vs. Neighborhood Activities)

Source: COJ (2003) with revisions.

The Effect of Social Capital on Promoting Civic Activities. The survey results revealed that people who do not participate in civic activities at the moment but are willing to participate in the future tend to have higher levels of trust in others in general and trust in others at an unknown place, and more dense associations with neighbors, friends and acquaintances outside work than those who are not willing to participate. For example, 31.9 percent of respondents who do not participate in civic activities but are willing to participate in the future indicated that most people are trustworthy, while only 17.2 percent of respondents who are not willing to participate in civic activities answered that most people are trustworthy. It may also be said that people with higher social trust and denser networks are more likely to participate in voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities.

However, trust in nonprofits is far behind other types of organizations in Japan. To the question, “Do you consult with or count on people or organizations such as the followings?” responses that families, friends and public institutions can be trusted were high, whereas responses that nonprofits cannot be trusted were the highest (48.2%) (Figure 2.5). Therefore, it is a critical yet necessary challenge for nonprofits in Japan to gain the trust of society because nonprofits are supposed to play a significant role in social capital creation.

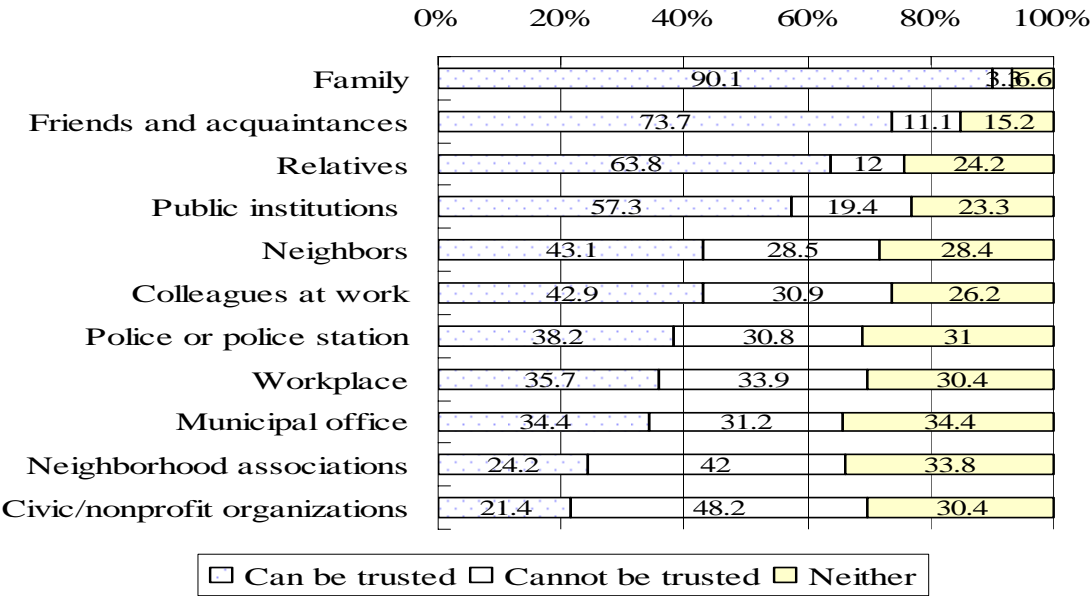


Figure 2.5 People/Organizations that can be Trusted

Source: COJ (2003) with revisions.

These analyses reveal that social capital and civic activities are considered to hold the following relationships: Each component of social capital and voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities have a positive correlation, social capital may be fostered through voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities, and civic participation may be promoted with the accumulation of social capital (COJ 2003). In other words, creation of social capital and promotion of civic activities are interrelated and are in a mutually strengthening relationship. The results of the survey verified that social capital is fostered and is expected to produce social outcomes through the promotion of voluntary, nonprofit and civic activities.

2.4.5 Limitations of data

The survey was the first comprehensive one specifically aimed at studying various aspects of social capital in Japan. It is significant to grasping the current state of social capital in Japan. However, several measurement issues remain for future consideration.

First, this survey did not deal with participation in politics and religion. In Japan, the “separation of politics and religion” is a particularly critical principle at the government level, due to the malady of combining the two during WWII. Thus, the Japanese government and even the general public often consider it a taboo to discuss politics and religion in public. Therefore, in designing the questionnaire, this survey purposefully had to avoid the questions and analyses regarding participation in politics and religion. However, as these two aspects constitute major social capital components in the U.S. and Europe, it may well have a similar potential in Japan, too. Without measuring these two crucial components, it is impossible to obtain a comprehensive and accurate picture of social capital in Japan.

Second, the survey measured only adults of age 20 or older. This excludes young people, especially students who have been engaged in emerging service-learning activities or community service activities at schools or universities. It is important to measure the growing students’ service activities triggered by the recent education policy of the MEXT to promote service-learning and community-service activities at every level of educational institutions since the late 1990s (see section 5.3 for details).

Third, the survey did not ask whether the volunteer activities were voluntary or quasi-mandatory at universities or required by government or one's workplace. It did ask the question on the motivation of participation with such options as on one's own initiative or asked by acquaintances. However, the important thing is who asked, whether it was friends, neighbors or traditional neighborhood associations, a supervisor at workplace or local government. In Japan, there are many forced or quasi-mandatory "volunteer" activities especially in rural areas. Thus, it is hard to grasp the true state of volunteering without asking whether it was quasi-mandatory to participate.

Regardless of these methodological issues, the survey has a great significance in quantitatively clarified the overall current state of social capital and stimulated interests of academics and practitioners in social capital in Japan.

2.5 Changes in Social Capital by Region and Over Time

2.5.1 Overview

The above sections introduced the quantitative state of social capital in Japan. Now, in this section, the following questions are addressed: How and why the quality of social capital is different among different communities and how it has transformed over the years? I focus on three actors in community; local government, nonprofits and neighborhood associations and tries to find out the relationships, collaborations and partnerships among the three actors as a form of network. I focus on these three actors because the relationships among the three have been changing rapidly and they, especially nonprofits, are considered to be a vital actor for social capital creation. Likewise, trust, norms of reciprocity, and roles of nonprofits in communities are also discussed to examine the factors for a community with rich social capital.

I adopt a qualitative analysis so as to focus on the process of change and the interaction of various actors. Thus, case studies of three prefectures in Japan—Fukui, Kyoto and Okinawa—were conducted. These three prefectures were selected based on prevailing survey results showing distinctive social capital trends in the Social Capital Index (COJ 2003) and the

Civil Society Index (Yamauchi 2003). These three prefectures have rich social capital holding distinctive qualities: Fukui has shown a high rate of civic participation such as high rates of volunteering and nonprofit incorporation, and different components of social capital accumulated in a balanced way. Kyoto has increased social capital in almost all respects in the last two decades and now holds the highest share of specified nonprofit corporations. Okinawa has shown a high level of both generalized and particularized trust and a high rate of giving, especially in the form of blood giving. Sofue (1971) argues that characteristics of people by prefecture exist and are influenced by various factors such as social structure and climate, and I would like to take this point into consideration, too.

I examine how various components and nature of social capital have been accumulated, utilized and newly formed in each community, and what roles nonprofits have played in social capital creation. I interviewed key informants such as executive directors of nonprofits and government officials in charge of nonprofits and neighborhood associations. For Fukui, I have also conducted a participatory observation.

The changes in quality of social capital are analyzed using the four classifications identified by Putnam and Goss (2002): type (formal vs. informal), level (thick vs. thin), orientation (inward-looking vs. outward-looking) and function (bridging vs. bonding) of social capital (Table 2.4). Moreover, the perspectives of social capital components: norms of reciprocity, trust and relationships among nonprofits, government and community organizations as networks are also used as an analytical framework. The comparison of the major characteristics of each prefecture is summarized in Table 2.5.

Table 2.4 Four Classifications of Social Capital

Type	Formal	Informal
Level	Thick	Thin
Orientation	Inward-looking	Outward-looking
Function	Bonding	Bridging

Source: Created by the author based on

Putnam and Goss (2002), Sakamoto (2002) and COJ (2003).

Table 2.5 Comparison of Major Characteristics of the Three Prefectures

	Fukui	Kyoto	Okinawa
Characteristics of social capital found in previous research	Inoguchi (2002) suggests Hokuriku region with rich in social capital # of specified nonprofit corporations per capita: 6th Volunteering rate: 5th	Overall increase in community, theme based, and blood relationships #1 increase in trust in neighbors and coworkers #1 share of nonprofits #2 index of nonprofits	<i>Moai</i> , a rotated trust union, an original type of social capital is still practiced High rate of giving, esp. blood High levels of generalized and particularized trust
Social indicators with high rankings	Largest # of company executives Highest rates of double income household and working hours for women Highest average savings balance Lowest violent crime, 2nd highest life expectancy and 2nd largest number of libraries	Highest rate of advancing to higher education Top # of universities per capita # of doctors per capita: 2nd # of state-designated important cultural assets: 2nd	#1 rates of population increase, youth and birthrate Top rate of business opening and closing #1 rate of people playing baseball and bowling Longest hours on socialization, and the shortest working hours
Population	0.83 million	2.64 million	1.32 million
Location	Western central along the Sea of Japan Coast	Central part Old capital of Japan	Most southern part Surrounded by sea
Climate	Very cold and lots of snows in winter	Various climate types	Subtropical Warm all year round
# of specified nonprofit corp.	173 (as of 11/30/06) 21 (per 100,000)	759 29	262 20
Pref. Govt. rules on civic activities	Ordinance (00) Basic plan (00) Guideline (04)	Proposal (00) Guideline (01) Ordinance (03) Action Plan (in progress)	Guideline (03)
City Govt. rules on NPO/ civic activities	Sabae Ordinance (03) Fukui Ordinance (04)	Kyoto Guideline (98) Kyoto Basic Plan (01) Kyoto Ordinance (03)	Naha Proposal (99)
NPO Support Centers	Fukui Prefecture (01) Sabae City et al. (total 3)	Kyoto NPO (98) Kyoto City (03)	Okinawa Prefecture (03) Naha City (00)
Cases of partnerships/ collaborations	International Club (w/ community center) Dream Plan project The NPO Forum in Fukui	Daigo Community Bus Miakonet Consortium of Universities in Kyoto	Community Salon (elementary school district) Takidun (integration of old and new in an island)
Other features	Top city for comfortable to live in (Fukui City)	10% of population is university related	Many nonprofits stipulate “support” as their activity

Source: Created by the author based on interviews, a participatory observation and various prefectural documents and websites.

2.5.2 Fukui

Fukui Prefecture, with a population of 0.83 million, is located in the western central part of Japan along the Sea of Japan and filled with beautiful nature. According to the data of Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications [MIC] (2004), Fukui is among the highest rankings of all prefectures for various socioeconomic indicators: The number of company executives per population, the rate of double-income household, average working hours for women, average savings balance per household, and the lowest rate of violent crime (1.34%). The second highest indicators include the average life expectancy both for men and women, and the number of libraries per million. Moreover, a recent survey by Kitakyusyu City Association in October 2004 indicates that Fukui City ranks the highest for the comprehensive indicator of “a city comfortable to live in” among 54 major cities in Japan due to the high home ownership rate and sufficient welfare facilities such as nursing homes among others.

As for the indicators directly related to social capital, volunteering rate (36.6%) ranks 5th, and the rate of specified nonprofit corporations ranks 6th (the upper rankings go to all large prefectures with metropolitan areas including Tokyo and Osaka). These statistical data reveal that Fukui is rich and safe and comfortable to live in with hard-working people and vibrant civic activities. Inoguchi (2002) suggests that Hokuriku region is richest in social capital among all regions in Japan. Fukui is one of the prefectures in the Hokuriku region, and ranks the highest for the volunteering rate and the rate of specified nonprofit corporations among this region.

Norms of reciprocity. The norm and practice of “mutual cooperation” has long been rooted in Fukui. Fukui has long suffered from a great earthquake just after WWII, and subsequently, many snow disasters, and flood disasters including one in July 2004 have hit Fukui (please see section 4.4 for details). Therefore, people inevitably have helped each other, and norms of reciprocity have long been established in the minds of people in Fukui.

Trust. Previous research indicates moderately low generalized trust of the people of Fukui. It may be due to the severe snowfalls in the long winter and the location facing a severe cold Sea of Japan, which has made people in Fukui conservative and thrift. On the contrary, trust between local governments and nonprofits have gradually developed through the process of

various partnership projects and continuous dialogues despite confusion and opposition to different ideas of the other side during the processes. Members in community organizations have also started to be interested in nonprofits and vice versa.

Networks: Relationships among nonprofits, government and community organizations. Governments in Fukui have made continuous endeavors to promote civic activities of both old and new forms. Fukui Prefectural Government took an early initiative to promulgate an ordinance and a basic plan to promote civic activities in 2000, and a guideline for partnerships with nonprofits was set up in 2004. At the municipal level, Fukui City has promulgated an ordinance for partnerships in 2004 with a steady civic participation in the process for two years. Sabae City, located next to Fukui City, also established a partnership ordinance in 2003 with citizen initiative. Fukui Prefecture set up a civic activities center in 2001 and three NPO support centers have been established within the prefecture (For details on partnership ordinances in Fukui, please see section 5.2).

In Fukui, community-based organizations have long been very active. More specifically, the mayor of Fukui City has been working on community development projects at all of the 43 elementary school districts with community centers as the core. It has strengthened the thick networks of community. Rate of membership in neighborhood associations is more than 85 percent. When the former mayor of Fukui City, Tetsuo Sakai was elected to Mayor in 1994, he advocated “city management with civic participation” in which every citizen plays each role and every citizen is able to participate (Fukui City 2004). For 10 years, Fukui City has given subsidies to all 43 elementary school and community center districts for their community development projects including the recent “Dream Plan” projects. Through citizen participation in workshops on the priority issues of their own community, each district has rediscovered their community assets and challenges, and focused on a specific issue to tackle through the Dream Plan projects such as environment, history or disaster relief. Through focusing on a theme, those community-based organizations also come to acquire a characteristic of a theme-community within the community.

Bridging networks with other communities has also started. In October 2004, a national convention on community development was held in Fukui City. Along with the convention, each of the 43 elementary school districts of Fukui City exchanged their information and experience with those who are tackling similar issues. Their partners were from other communities from all over Japan as well as within Fukui Prefecture. Through these interactions, they have been able to share their experience and expertise, and build new networks.

Despite the high rates of volunteering and specified nonprofit corporations, the actual state of many specified nonprofit corporations in Fukui were “hobby clubs” with “bonding”-based activities until very recently. Not many organizations had an interest in collaboration with other nonprofits or community organizations. Still, the “NPO Forum in Fukui,” a nationwide event on nonprofits was held in October 2004 through partnerships among Fukui Prefectural Government, Fukui City Government, and more than 30 members of the executive committee consisting of nonprofits, social welfare councils, co-operatives, and community organizations, with women and youth as the core members, of which I myself was a member. This triggered the first real equal partnership and collaboration to develop not only among nonprofits but also among government and community organizations through the process of planning and management of the Forum. NPO Messe was also part of the Forum, which introduced various nonprofit activities both in Fukui and in other prefectures. The Messe has become a platform for people engaged in nonprofit and community activities to understand each other’s activities and for community members to touch on various civic activities.

Partnerships between nonprofits and community organizations have also started since 2003, such as between the International Club [IC] and the Keimo district organization. Keimo has used its community center as their activity base but their activity has become routine due to decision making by the same elderly residents. IC is a nonprofit organization without legal status with young people of diverse backgrounds. IC had difficulty in finding activity spaces and opportunities to exhibit their activities in the community. In this situation, their partnership has produced a win-win relationship: Keimo was able to revitalize their activities through fresh and creative ideas of young people with diverse backgrounds. IC was able to find activity

spaces and was very glad to extend their networks in the community. Likewise, nonprofits that have developed activities based on a specific theme and mission, have started to turn their eyes to the community. At the time of the Fukui flood disaster in July 2004, more than 60,000 volunteers had gathered from all over Japan. Nonprofits have developed activities at the grassroots level such as publication of free papers full of useful information for local residents afflicted by the flood disaster, and have visited handicapped and elderly people living by themselves, who have been suffered from the disaster without knowing what to do or how to access help in the situation. The trust of local residents toward nonprofits has also been gained through their responsive activities (please see section 4.4 for details).

Kumiko Takashima, Executive Director of Knowledge Fukui, a specified nonprofit corporation, has also started to participate in neighborhood activities on the principle that community is the root of nonprofit activities. She said, “My activities have focused on ICT use by the handicapped. At the same time, I realized that I have to go back to my own community to make use of my experience and knowledge developed at the specified nonprofit corporation to better my own community. Community is, after all, my roots.”

These examples illustrate how people in community-based activities and theme-based activities have realized the importance of each other, started to participate in the other types of activities, and began to collaborate and construct partnerships. In sum, the norms and practice of “mutual cooperation” have long been rooted in Fukui, reflecting the experiences of many natural disasters. And thus, the ties and activities of neighborhood organizations, “thick” networks with a “bonding” type of social capital have been very strong and active. At the same time, vibrant activities in volunteering and nonprofits through horizontal and bridging networks have been revitalizing the community in Fukui. The government has also played a crucial role in promoting civic activities through various legal rules and support.

2.5.3 Kyoto

Kyoto, with a population of 2.64 million, is an old capital of Japan and filled with traditional culture, e.g., Kyoto holds the second largest number of important state-designated cultural assets. Kyoto can also be called a prefecture of academics: Kyoto holds the highest rate of students who advance to higher education, the largest number of universities per population, and 10 percent of the population is university level students, and university faculty and staff.

An analysis of the COJ (2003) study reveals that social capital in Kyoto has increased over the last two decades in all types of relationships: community-based, blood and theme-based relationships. Kyoto ranks the highest among all prefectures for its rate of trust in neighbors and those who interact at work. Moreover, the index of nonprofit organizations ranks the 2nd, and the share of specified nonprofit corporations is the highest in the Civil Society Index (Yamauchi 2003b). The vibrant civic activities are considered to derive from the fact that 10 percent of the population in Kyoto is related to universities, and their collaboration with the community has also been very active (Nishide 2002a, 2004d). Many organizations are based on academic associations due to the existence of many universities, and student-initiated nonprofits are very active in Kyoto.

Norms of reciprocity. The spirit of mutual-help has been formed among local residents in Kyoto. Takeshi Akiba, Associate Professor of Ritsumeikan University, who moved to Kyoto several years ago, sees norms of reciprocity in Kyoto as follows: People in Kyoto are very kind to people who do not belong to their daily lives such as tourists and college students. However, discriminatory attitudes toward foreign residents or the anti-construction movement for a facility for the handicapped suggest that Kyoto is a “bonding” community. On the other hand, many venture businesses in Kyoto were created by people outside of Kyoto and this may be the key to explaining high social capital in Kyoto; accepting outsiders to the business field, signifying the vibrant existence of “bridging” type of social capital, too. Therefore, Kyoto seems to possess both the strong bonding and bridging qualities of social capital.

Trust. Along with the long history and culture accumulated in Kyoto, its people exhibit moderately high trust in society. Akiba thinks that nonprofits organized by relatively intelligent

people have gradually gained the trust of government and citizens in Kyoto, whereas others are sometimes contemptuous of these activities.

Networks: Relationship among nonprofits, government and community organizations. The Kyoto City Government as well as the Kyoto Prefectural Government has very actively implemented policies for constructing the system of promoting nonprofits and civic participation. Kyoto City made a guideline for promoting civic activities for the first time as an ordinance-designated city in as early as January 1998, almost one year before the enactment of the NPO Law. Subsequently, Kyoto City has developed basic rules on the promotion of civic participation in the forms of a basic plan ('01) and an ordinance ('03), which have led to the establishment of the Kyoto City Civic Activities Center in a former elementary school. Likewise, Kyoto Prefecture has drafted a proposal ('00), a guideline ('01), and an ordinance ('03) and a scheme of an action plan is now underway, which includes active civic engagement in the process such as taking into account of public comments. Kyoto municipal governments have been very innovative and active on the arrangement of a structure for nonprofits and civic participation.

Both government and nonprofits recognize the significance of partnerships in the future and many partnership projects have also begun. As for the relationship between nonprofits and community organizations, there has been successful collaboration and partnerships. Osamu Hara of Kyoto Prefectural Government thinks that activities on community development are very active both for community-based and nonprofit organizations in Kyoto. Many nonprofits have been incorporated around community activities especially in the fields of nursing care and child bearing. Here are examples of successful partnerships in Kyoto.

Daigo Community Bus is an example of collaboration among various types of organizations. Forty organizations are partners in the management of the bus. These partners include hospitals, preschools, neighborhood associations, nursing homes, a newspaper company and a shopping center. Daigo Community Bus (website) aims to become a “bridge” for various aspects of civic life including health, recreation, shopping and voluntary activities which reflect the diverse needs of residents through small-scale and frequent operations of buses.

The Miako-net project integrates both bonding and bridging types of social capital with community-based activities while pursuing the establishment of a free information society. Miako-net is a free public wireless internet access project by the Sustainable Community Center of Japan [SCCJ], a specified nonprofit corporation based in Kyoto, which aims to make community services accessible to all people. Reiko Asano, Executive Director of SCCJ believes that this project exemplifies social capital. Miako-net is a “grassroots” project rooted in one community and which expands the infrastructure of this network to the public (SCCJ website). SCCJ constructs partnerships with universities such as Kyoto University and sets up access points in the campuses around the region. Asano regards the major factor for the success of Miako-net as utilization of social capital in the process.

University-community partnerships are also critical for increasing social capital (Nishide 2002a). Universities have played a crucial role in coordinating various actors in Kyoto. The Consortium of Universities in Kyoto is a nonprofit organization with almost all universities in Kyoto as members. It has developed various projects to meet the needs of students and community through various types of collaboration with diverse actors including other nonprofits and businesses through internship programs and partnership projects.

Regional collaboration centers and volunteer activity centers at universities have shown a rapid increase in recent years, too. Masami Tamamura of Rakusei Regional Study Center at the Kyoto College of Economics would like to promote partnerships among neighborhood organizations, nonprofits and government through the coordination of her college regional center, which was established in 2003. She thinks that something new will be created through the collaboration of nonprofits, local government, business, and educational institutions.

In sum, the government in Kyoto has been very innovative and has been instrumental in arranging structural social capital for civic activities through guidelines and ordinances. In Kyoto, ties among residents have been “thick” and the “bonding” type of social capital has been strong and active throughout its long tradition and culture. However, for the last two decades, universities have played an indispensable role in the creation of “bridging” social capital in Kyoto. Human capital and networks have been accumulated, and the power of young students

and expertise of faculty members have invigorated communities in Kyoto. At the same time, the high rate and networks of specified nonprofit corporations reveal that “thin” and “bridging” type of social capital is widespread in Kyoto.

2.5.4 Okinawa

Okinawa, with a population of 1.36 million, is located in the most southern part of Japan. It has a semi-tropical climate and is surrounded by a beautiful sea. Okinawa’s birth rate has always been steadily the highest, and people moving to live in Okinawa have also shown a steady increase. In 2005, approximately 26,000 people moved to live in Okinawa, showing its attractive location and warm characteristics of its people. Rates of opening and closing businesses both rank highest among all prefectures. The number of working hours is shortest (longest prefectures are in the Hokuriku Region, Fukui being the top). The rate of people playing baseball and bowling ranks the highest. Likewise, the number of hours for associations with others is the longest. These data reveal that people in Okinawa spend more time with their family and friends, and other activities including playing baseball with friends and colleagues than on working. Civic movements have also been very active in the face of long-standing issues of the U.S. bases in Okinawa.¹⁰

Norms of reciprocity. Moreover, an Okinawan term *Chimu-gurusa*, or “my heart aches,” indicating one’s sorrow over surviving war when many died is said to be the origin of social welfare in Japan. In traditional Japan, *ko* (mutual assistance organization or trust union) and *yui* (cooperation with each other at the time of rice planting) have long served to connect people in the community based on mutual trust. In Okinawa, citizens still participate in *moai* (people work cooperatively and jointly distribute profits among the community), a rotated trust union together with their friends, relatives or neighbors. Putnam (1993) introduces the system of rotated trust union as an example of the original type of social capital and these examples illustrate this. *Yuimaaru*, a spirit of cooperation, has also been prevalent in the area. Okinawa

¹⁰ Please see Eldridge (2001, 2004a, 2004b) for detailed history and political systems of Okinawa, particularly in relation to the U.S. bases after World War II.

has long suffered from wars and invasions, and thus, people in Okinawa had to mutually cooperate to survive with or without intention.

An interesting characteristic of nonprofits in Okinawa was found by Ryota Hitotsuyanagi of Okinawa NPO Plaza: Many specified nonprofit corporations include “contact, advice and support for management and activities of other organizations” as one of their activity fields in their articles of association. It is probably related to the spirit of mutual cooperation.

Trust. Generalized trust as well as particularized trust is very high in Okinawa. A famous Okinawan proverb, *Ichariba-chodei* says, “If you meet someone, both of you are brothers and sisters,” implying that people you meet all relate to you, and you must value the other as an important person to you. Thus, people in Okinawa have a culture of high trust in others. I myself was born and brought up in Okinawa and have been accustomed to this norm and a high level of trust. In Naha City, the capital of Okinawa, some nonprofits have formed relations of trust with the government. “The boundaries among nonprofits, government and community organizations are vague in smaller communities, and as a result, they have formed trust among themselves,” said Hitotsuyanagi.

Networks: Relationship among nonprofits, government and community organizations. Compared to Fukui and Kyoto, government in Okinawa has not been so active in making rules for promoting civic activities. Although Naha City has made a proposal on the promotion of partnership-oriented community development in 1999, no further active action has been taken since then except the establishment of the Naha Civic Activities Center. Okinawa Prefectural Government has just started rule-making and support for nonprofits: A guideline on the promotion of nonprofit activities was promulgated and the Okinawa NPO Plaza was established in 2003.

In Naha City, the Civic Activities Support Center was established in 2000 as a system to promote partnership-oriented community development. The Naha City also has a fund to support nonprofits. According to Takano Kamizato of the Naha City, the government entrusted a nonprofit to hold community coordinators as a trigger to community revitalization through partnerships with nonprofits. Another NPO center, Okinawa NPO Plaza is run by both Okinawa

Prefecture and a nonprofit organization, Okinawa Research Team. They both see great merits in the joint management of the Plaza and have constructed trust with each other.

In Taketomi island, there is only one specified nonprofit corporation called Takidun. Takidun was incorporated in 2003 with the mission of contributing to the maintenance of cultural assets and development of community through administration, maintenance and research of precious cultural assets such as the beautiful landscape, architecture, arts and culture. At the same time, however, nothing is successful without traditional community activities in the island. Takidun has engaged in community activities and Takidun and the community have developed trust and partnerships based on a respect of the each other's values in the community.

Atsuko Sakai, Representative of the Community Partnership Creative Study Team [CPCST] is engaged in the partnership project with the community through holding a Community Salon in the Daido elementary school district in the Naha City. The Office of CPCST is located in the Daido Community Hall. Many residents and elementary school children regard it as a platform to gather and to socialize with communities. The Salon has become an exchange platform for residents, members of nonprofits, and young people in schools. The commercial district and elementary schools have also formed collaboration through the project and they have held various events to understand more about their community and to participate in community development activities.

In sum, people in Okinawa spend the least time working, and spend more time for socializing with family, neighbors and friends. The value of generalized trust and mutual cooperation has long been rooted, and they continue to nurture this culture. Nonprofits are trying to rediscover and cherish these values and norms along with new ones.

2.5.5 Lessons learned

The major findings from the case studies indicate that the above three prefectures, each with rich social capital, have had a rich history of traditional associations, distinctive styles of cooperation, and that each community has endeavored to cherish these traditions. With the advent of new types of nonprofits in the last decade, however, the fabric of the community has

been transformed to a more thin, outward-looking and bridging one with the expansion of the role of nonprofits. At the same time, each community exhibits a balanced distribution of bonding and bridging, formal and informal, thin and thick, and inward-looking and outward-looking.

Table 2.6 summarizes the qualitative distribution of social capital in each case. What a “balanced” social capital means depends on the socio-economic, political, cultural and geographical situations of each community. Still, both types of social capital are found to be coexistent. For example, in Fukui, thick networks of traditional organizations and thin networks of nonprofits have created a synergy for a high social participation rate. The importance of collaboration among nonprofits, government and community-based organizations is recognized and successful examples of collaboration are revealed in each case.

Table 2.6 Qualitative Comparison of Social Capital in the Cases

	Fukui	Kyoto	Okinawa
formal / informal	formal > informal	formal > informal	formal < informal
Thick / thin	thick + thin	thick + thin	thick + thin
inward-looking / outward-looking	inward > outward →inward + outward	inward > outward →inward + outward	inward + outward →expanding both
bonding / bridging	bonding + bridging	bonding + bridging	bonding + bridging

Source: Created by the author.

The common characteristics of social capital components in each case are found to be as follows: Norms of reciprocity have long been rooted; a level of high trust has been partially established among nonprofits, government and organizations, while for those without a high level, the nature of trust is different in that it is indifferent, contemptuous or distrustful; and networks and partnerships among nonprofits, government and community organizations are recognized as important, and they started to construct various forms of partnerships including other actors in the community such as universities, commercial districts, nursing homes and preschools. Table 2.7 compares the three components of social capital in the cases.

Table 2.7 Comparison of Social Capital Components in the Cases

	Fukui	Kyoto	Okinawa	
Norms of reciprocity	Rooted (history of disasters)	Rooted (tradition)	Rooted (tradition and history of war)	
Trust	Generalized trust	Moderately low	Moderately high	Very high
	Trust among actors	Partly high	Partly high	High in general
		Partly indifferent	Partly contempt	Partly distrust
Networks	Government vs. nonprofits/community	Long partnership (govt & community)	Partnership just began	Partnership just began
	Neighborhood orgs. vs. nonprofits	Partnership just began (no contact or relationships before, but increased recognition of the importance of collaboration)		
	Other actors for collaborations/partnerships	Commercial districts, universities, elementary schools, preschools, hospitals, nursing homes and mass media		

Source: Created by the author.

The major characteristics identified through the cases as crucial factors for nurturing social capital are summarized as follows (Table 2.8):

Fukui holds the highest rate of executives in business, indicating high entrepreneurship. Rate of double-income household is the highest, and working hours of women is the longest. In other words, women are very powerful in Fukui. Kyoto has many universities, and 10 percent of people in Kyoto are university related. So, university resources including the power of students and faculty expertise are pioneers in vibrant civic activities and in creating new values in community. People in Okinawa place high value on trust and norms of reciprocity and spend many hours on socialization with others, all of which are important components of social capital. Moreover, nonprofits in Okinawa integrate cultural and historical assets of the community and create new values for a sustainable community.

I have conducted case studies of three prefectures in Japan to grasp the varying nature of social capital, the process of change, and interactions among different actors in a community with a focus on the role of nonprofits. Key characteristics that are considered to affect social capital creation are identified, but these characteristics may have some compounding effects.

Therefore, for future research, empirical analysis is desirable for grasping the factors that directly affect social capital creation. Research at the local level (city, town and village) is especially desirable for grasping the real situation at the community level. Moreover, continuous case studies of more different communities with diverse characteristics can also be conducted for comparison of various aspects.

Table 2.8 Summary of Findings from the Cases

	Fukui	Kyoto	Okinawa
Characteristics of SC from previous research	Civic participation	Networks (blood, community, nonprofits) ant trust	Generalized trust
	Volunteering, nonprofits		Giving
Factors considered to promote social capital	Entrepreneurship	Universities, power of youth	Entrepreneurship
	Power of women and youth, and government policy	Expertise and knowledge, government policy and entrepreneurship	Time and value for socialization, trust and cooperation

Source: Created by the author.

2.6 Implications

Based on the findings, the following implications can be discussed for future consideration regarding the production and accumulation of social capital in communities. The implications are derived from two aspects: roles of various actors in community, and factors for rich social capital in community. Then, a few thoughts on future research are discussed.

2.6.1 Role of various actors

Citizens and communities will be empowered through the formation of social capital and vibrancy of civic activities. Each nonprofit, community organization, government, business, school and university and citizen is a significant player for fostering social capital. The role of nonprofits is a particularly crucial key.

Role of nonprofits: Nonprofits are considered to play the most significant role in social capital creation. Social expectations toward nonprofits as a new public-interest entity, whose activities are flexible and creative to a degree unachieved by government or businesses, are increasing. The activities of these specified nonprofit corporations as well as voluntary and civic organizations without legal status have expanded over the recent years. The Japanese people expect nonprofits as the third sector to play a crucial role in creating public benefit, public value and trust in the society. Inaba (2002) advocates the necessity of horizontal networks of nonprofits in the creation of social capital. He argues that social capital is fostered through creating a third sector of nonprofits that is able to deal responsively and flexibly with various needs.

On the other hand, the survey result of COJ revealed that trust in nonprofits in Japan is still very low. It is imperative for nonprofits to build the capacity to provide high quality service and conduct appropriate organizational and program evaluations as well as information disclosure, all of which will increase the social trust in nonprofits.

It is also critical to take historical and cultural contexts into consideration as Tsujinaka (2002a, 2002b) argues. The notable cultural and social contexts of Japan are the declining activities of traditional neighborhood associations, and contrasting increase of nonprofits aiming for specific themes. Neighborhood associations have played significant functions in mutual assistance among neighbors and in their sense of belonging to the community. However, a recent quasi-mandatory participation and bureaucratic systems have disengaged people, especially of the younger generation from neighborhood associations. The rate of participation in neighborhood associations and activities has declined as the survey results indicate.

In addition, the survey results indicate that people no longer feel as much the sense of accomplishment or a sense of contribution to the community through traditional community-based activities. The trend is more toward new theme-oriented nonprofits. However, looking solely at new nonprofits would not make any sense. Big cities like Tokyo and Osaka may be able to survive without traditional neighborhood associations. On the contrary, in rural communities, people are not able to avoid the significant and numerous functions of

neighborhood associations in providing mutual trust and assistance. Thus, revitalizing both emerging nonprofits and traditional neighborhood associations, and bridging the two for interaction are expected to create an integrated social capital which furthers vibrancy of civic activities in the communities. For this reason, coordinators and intermediaries are of vital importance in bridging various nonprofits and entities in the communities.

Moreover, nonprofits can bring in fresh ideas, bridge, coordinate and facilitate various networks of people and organizations, and create new values. For example, the Daigo Community Bus in Kyoto and the Community Salon in Okinawa as discussed in the cases above bridge various actors including preschools, elementary schools, nursing homes, community centers, hospitals, and commercial districts, and create new values such as easy access to various aspects of civic life and vibrant commercial districts with civic activities as the core. CUK in Kyoto has established an NPO internship program and credit exchange programs among various universities in Kyoto for the first time, which became a model to other communities and regions. Likewise, the NPO Forum in Fukui was based on the partnerships among nonprofits, prefectural and city governments, businesses, universities and commercial districts. With the initiative of members of nonprofits in Fukui, nonprofits have involved and bridged many individuals and organizations in the process of planning and managing the Forum. They have utilized diverse ideas and resources to envision a community through partnerships with various actors.

In other words, nonprofits can play the role of “person of wind” in community building. The words “person of land” and “person of wind” are often used in the field of community development in Japan. A person of land is a person who has lived in the community, and a person of wind points to a person from outside the community who brings in a new, fresh idea into the community. Person of land refers to residents in the community and person of wind can refer to nonprofits that bring in creative ideas into the community. The designation of “person of wind” is very useful to the revitalization of community activities. They may be the key persons to coordinate conflicting traditional community activities, and they may be able to connect different types of people. Miako-net, a person of wind, has been trying to improve the access to

information of diverse residents in the community. Responding to various needs of citizens that cannot be fulfilled by government and businesses is a basic role of nonprofits. Through flexible responses and service provision, nonprofits can nurture trust and networks. For example, nonprofits in Fukui have provided responsive services to the elderly living alone at the time of the flood disaster, and have constructed trust and networks in the community. Nonprofits can provide “face-to-face” support to those who are isolated in the community, through visiting the homes of the elderly living alone, or by providing support for children who do not or are unable to go to school. At present, 40 percent of specified nonprofit corporations are acting within a specific community, and a new community with people who share same interests and issues in the community has been formed.

On the other hand, nonprofits have not yet established a firm reputation for playing an important role in the Japanese society, though social recognition of the existence of nonprofits is gaining momentum. This situation suggests that how they gain social trust and to what extent they do so are big challenges for nonprofits. The low trust in nonprofits may be partly due to the growing number of nonprofits that take advantage of the NPO law, and undertake illegal and immoral activities. Accountability, a code of ethics and evaluation are increasingly necessary for nonprofits to gain social trust. It is imperative for nonprofits to build the capacity to provide high quality service and conduct appropriate organizational and program evaluations as well as information disclosure and code of ethics in order to gain social trust.

Role of community organizations. We are not able to deny the significant and numerous functions of neighborhood associations in providing mutual trust, assistance and assurance in communities. Community is the basis for the lives of citizens. Neighborhood associations can facilitate the rediscovery of various assets and resources in the community, and the recovery of a sense of belonging to and pride in community by residents.

Therefore, as discussed above, revitalizing both nonprofits and traditional neighborhood associations, and bridging the two for interaction are expected to create social capital and further vibrancy of civic activities in the community. As a first step, awareness of nonprofit and community activities through the NPO Messe and various activities are important. Mass media

can also play an important role on this respect. Both nonprofits and neighborhood associations should deepen understanding with each other for collaboration and partnerships. Neighborhood associations are expected to value young people and women through democratic management geared toward their empowerment.

Role of government. Government has the capacity to play a significant role in facilitating the creation of social capital through the promotion of various policies and systems in broader fields, particularly in the promotion of civic activities and nonprofits. It is necessary to formulate policies which construct social spaces and mental incentives for citizens to be able to easily engage in the community (Inoguchi 2002). For example, improving the quality and scope of the preferential tax treatment may foster a culture of giving, and the provision of space, information and money will promote civic activities. Likewise, spreading the Specific Zones for Structural Reform, an experimental program of the national government, is an innovative scheme for prefectures and cities to conduct experimental, creative and innovative projects to envision a future of diverse communities.

Local government is also crucial. Prefectural and municipal governments understand the real situations of each community, and can adopt policies appropriate to their own community. Local government can arrange the environment, space and opportunities which facilitate network formation among nonprofits, community organizations, businesses, schools and universities and government. For example, various types of rules stipulated by the Prefectural Governments of Kyoto and Fukui with citizen participation in the process have surely promoted the incorporation of nonprofits in the regions. Kyoto Prefecture is now in the process of setting up an action plan to promote civic action. The style of “action plan” may involve more citizens in the process and can be a model for other communities in the actual implementation of the rules. Setting up nonprofit support centers/civic activities centers is critical to providing opportunities and space for people to gather, exchange information, and construct partnerships and collaboration, and for sharing various civic activities with the public, too. Fukui City has a plan to set up a civic activities center where nonprofit and community activities are “visible” to local communities and to those interested in volunteering and partnerships with nonprofits.

Considering the complementary and strengthening relationships between social capital and human capital, various actions in education are also vital to fostering social capital. Social capital is expected to create human capital through education and training. Similarly, education and training can improve its effectiveness through support by community-based networks. Therefore, the education policy which promotes service learning at schools and universities and community services in communities would be more and more crucial. For example, the case of CUK can be a model for internships and service learning involving many students and nonprofits in communities. The promotion of exchanges between youth and people from various backgrounds should also be put into action (Uslaner 2003).

Government and public policy may prevent the decline of social capital to a certain degree (Fukuyama 1999). One precaution in public policy making is that the downside of unequal distribution of social capital should be taken into account, and a “no harm” policy is as important as promoting social capital (Aldridge and Halpern 2002). Thus, it is crucial to promote “bridging” social capital with open and horizontal networks rather than “bonding” social capital.

In addition, it is critical to promote various research and studies including data collection on social capital, its measurement and social outcomes at both national and local government levels. The data to measure social capital is now limited in Japan mainly because no survey has been designed to systematically measure social capital especially at local government levels. Therefore, it would be desirable to measure social capital regularly and understand the changes in time and by area.

Role of business. Business corporations can also play a role of facilitator for participation. As mentioned, only 10 percent of workers have access to the system of volunteering leave, and a lack of time was found to be a major impediment for participating in volunteering and civic activities. In this situation, dissemination of the volunteering leave system would trigger more civic activities of workers. Introduction of flexible working hours and a support system for child bearing will also stimulate workers to participate in various social activities. Moreover, as a member of community, business enterprises can tackle social and community problems through

socially responsible investment (SRI) and corporate social responsibility (CSR). These actions will increase the trust and networks of business enterprises in the community and society, too. In particular, social enterprises are considered to play a clear important role in producing social capital in the U.K. government (Department of Trade and Industry 2002). The role of creating social capital is expected to rise with the rise of social enterprises in Japan.

Role of citizens. The smallest unit of fostering social capital is family. Connections and trust within a family through communication are a prerequisite for social capital formation. Engaging in the education of children will also be desirable considering its effect on social capital. It also applies to the associations with neighbors and friends, and participation in various activities. In particular, giving and volunteering are considered to be one of the most important elements of social capital formation. Participation in politics and policies through voting and advocacy is also imperative.

2.6.2 Factors for social capital creation

Several factors effective for creating social capital in community are inferred from the cases (Table 2.9).

Cross-sector and multiple partnerships. Partnerships between nonprofits and governments, and nonprofits and community organizations create new values. Moreover, as indicated in the cases above, multiple partnerships can create more synergy and new values with diverse ideas, wisdom and resources than partnerships just between A and B. Multiple partnerships may involve more citizens in the community for the co-production of new values. For example, the Daigo Community Bus involves 40 partner organizations to improve various aspects of civic life through the small-scale and frequent operation of community buses.

Utilization of community resources. Community is full of precious resources such as people, products, money and culture. It is important to recognize what kind of resources exists in the community. Making a community asset map of a community through citizen participation may be the first step to its utilization. Utilization of diverse resources in universities is found in the cases of CUK and Miako-net. Dream Plan projects of Fukui City have triggered residents to

rediscover the value of their community and recover a sense of attachment to community. The project has led to the attracting of many tourists to the district, too.

Recognizing community resources often lead to the integration of old and new assets in the community. Takidun in Okinawa has recognized the landscape of the whole town as a cultural asset and eco-tourism resource, and the importance of balancing the two through continuous communication with community members and with outsiders.

Creation of values for sustainable and visionary community. Multiple partnerships can create new values for a sustainable and visionary community as illustrated in the three cases. For example, the Daigo Community Bus has improved the operation of buses in order to meet the diverse needs of citizens such as accessibility to hospitals, preschools and shopping through civic involvement in the process of decision making. It has also become a trigger attracting many citizens to diverse community events held in conjunction with the bus schedule. Miako-net has promoted the value of a free information society through a free public wireless internet access project based in the grassroots community.

System to promote civic activities. Constructing systems to promote civic activities are also found to be vital for promoting social capital. Guidelines and ordinances have become a formal basis for partnerships and civic participation. The NPO support centers function as a platform for network building in community.

Table 2.9 Key Factors to Develop Social Capital in Community

Factor	Outcome	Examples in the Cases
Multiple partnerships (Nonprofits as a bridge)	More synergy	Miako-net
	More citizen involvement	Daigo Community Bus NPO Forum in Fukui
Utilization of community resources	A sense of attachment to and pride in community	CUK Miako-net
	Attract people within and outside community	Dream Plan IC
	Integration of old and new assets	Takidun
Creation of values for sustainable and visionary community	Adapt to change in future	Daigo Community Bus
	People can have dreams and envision future	Community Salon
System to promote civic activities	Basis for partnership	Guidelines & ordinances
	Trigger citizen	NPO support centers
	Participation	NPO Forum/NPO Messe

Source: Created by the author

2.6.3 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the first comprehensive survey to measure social capital in Japan with a focus on civic activities. Citizens will be empowered and communities sustainable through the formation of social capital and vibrancy of civic activities. Each citizen, nonprofit, government and business can play a role in fostering social capital. The role of nonprofits will be especially crucial to producing social capital. Also, this chapter has tried to grasp the changing nature of social capital and the role of nonprofits in Japan.

Through the case studies of Fukui, Kyoto and Okinawa, social capital in Japan was found to have transformed to more thin, outward-looking and bridging characteristics with the expansion of the role of nonprofits. At the same time, communities with rich social capital share the common characteristics of a balanced distribution and integration of a different nature of social capital depending on their community characteristics. Nonprofits utilize various community

resources and create new values for sustainable and visionary communities, forming partnerships with local governments, community organizations and other actors such as schools and universities, and commercial districts.

In other words, nonprofits play a vital role in social capital creation and provision in community. They also play a crucial role as “a person of wind” to bring in fresh ideas and utilize various community resources, be a “bridge,” coordinator and facilitator to bridge various networks of people and organizations in communities, and create collaborations and partnerships with local governments and community organizations and other community actors. Nonprofits integrate old and new assets, and create new values for sustainable and visionary communities geared toward a community with rich social capital. At the same time, social capital contributes to creating values and reinvigorating the community through cross-sector partnerships in particular with vibrant nonprofits.

CHAPTER 3 EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS OF NONPROFITS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

3.1 Introduction

Trends of social capital in Japan were examined in chapter 2 through the perspective of nonprofits, and social capital and nonprofits were found to be in a mutually strengthening relationship. Now, how exactly are nonprofits and social capital related? A common argument in the existing research is recognition that nonprofits are a vital actor in creating and providing social capital (Putnam 1993, 2000, Salamon 1997, Dekker and Uslaner 2001, Inaba 2002, Putnam and Feldstein 2003, Nishide 2004c, 2004d).

Salamon (1997, 2002), Boris (1999) and Frumkin (2002) regard creation of social capital as one of the several functions of nonprofits. For example, Salamon (1997) explains three different roles of nonprofits as 1) being a value guardian, namely, practicing the provision of public goods through individual initiatives; 2) advocacy and issue classification; and 3) creating and sustaining social capital. Likewise, Frumkin (2002) categorizes functions of nonprofits into four: 1) service delivery; 2) civic and political engagement (including building social capital); 3) social entrepreneurship; and 4) values and faith.

Many researchers have actually used the number of nonprofits as one of the indicators of social capital (Putnam, 2000, Hall 2002, Inoguchi 2000, 2002, and many others). Inaba (2002) argues that nonprofits function as a provider of social capital to improve trust and norms among people in society. He points out two aspects: 1) the activities and service delivery of nonprofits foster social capital in the form of a sense of assurance for security, trust and norms; and 2) nonprofits as the third sector create social capital in a comprehensive way. For example, COJ (2003) points out a possibility of positive feedback between nonprofit activities and social capital, and that a community with vibrant community activities and nonprofits and trust in friends and neighbors tend to indicate low rates of crime and unemployment, and a high rate of longevity (please see Chapter 2 for details).

Likewise, arguments on the relationships between social capital and nonprofits can mainly be divided into three: First, nonprofits are a component of social capital (Putnam 2000, Jochum 2003), second, nonprofits are a crucial actor in creating social capital which is an important role of nonprofits (Boris 1999, Salamon 2002), and third, nonprofits also need social capital, which is a tool they can utilize (Jochum 2003). The relationship between nonprofits and social capital is illustrated in Figure 3.1 through the integration of these arguments.

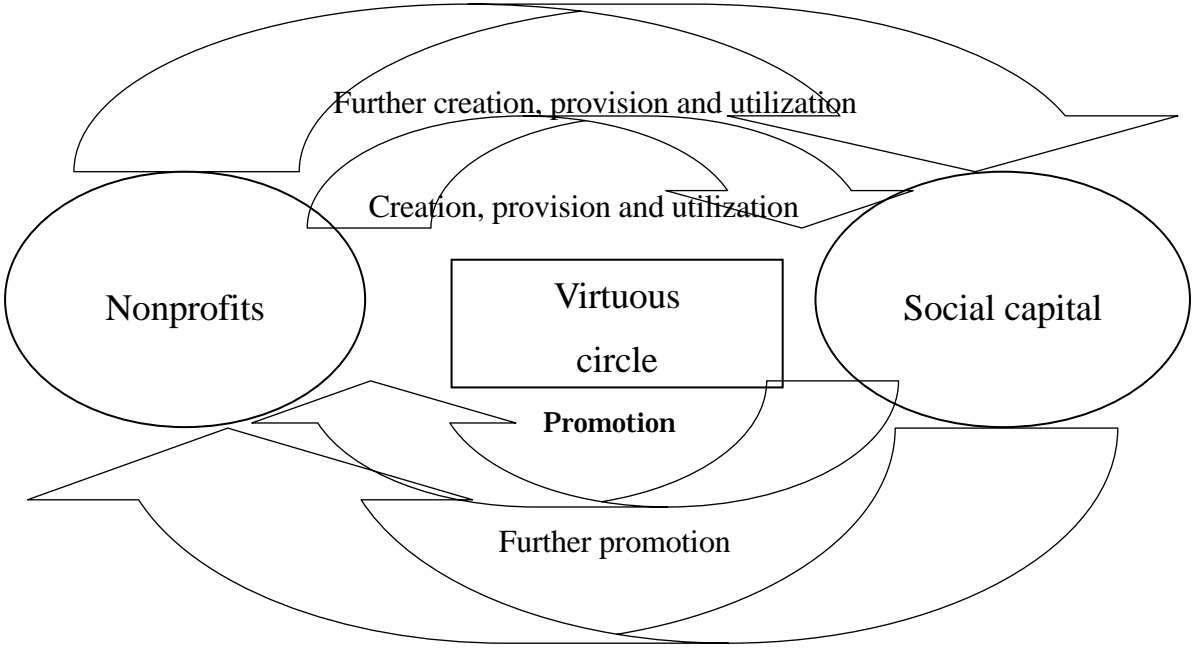


Figure 3.1 Relationships between Nonprofits and Social Capital

Source: Created by the author referring to COJ (2003) and Jochum (2003).

However, not all nonprofits produce social capital in the same way. As for the type of and participation in voluntary associations, Putnam (2000) contends that nonprofits that involve face-to-face communication among members and substantial participation are vital to creating social capital. On the other hand, Wollebaek and Selle (2002) stress the importance of multiple and passive membership in voluntary organizations rather than face-to-face contact in an association. Stolle and Rochon (2001) and Eastis (2001) argue that different kinds of voluntary organizations produce very different types of social capital. Moreover, members of a bridging

organization, rather than a bonding organization, have an ability to cooperate with strangers and to cope with diversity (Dekker and Uslaner 2001). Stolle and Rochon (2001) demonstrate that diversity and weak ties of voluntary associations influence positively on the level of generalized trust.

Social capital can also facilitate the vibrancy of nonprofits. COJ (2003) regards the relationship between nonprofits and civic activities and social capital as mutually strengthening and as positive feedback. Although the cause-and-effect relationship is vague, social capital such as trust, norms and networks in a community is considered to lead to vibrant civic and nonprofit activities, and vice versa. Major arguments on the relationships between nonprofits and social capital are summarized in Table 3.1 below.

Table 3.1 Major Arguments on the Relationships between Social Capital and Nonprofits

Scholar/year	Findings and perspectives
Role of nonprofits in creating social capital ("SC")	
Putnam 1993, 2000, Putnam and Feldstein 2003	Vibrant voluntary associations are important to produce SC. Associations instill in their members habits of cooperation, solidarity and public-spiritedness.
Salamon 1997, 2002	Nonprofits play a crucial role in creating and maintaining SC (community building role of nonprofits). Citizen involvement in nonprofits create connections between individuals and learn norms of cooperation encompassing political and economic life, and thus, expand SC of a nation.
Boris 1999	Nonprofits create networks and relationships that connect people and organizations. These relationships produce SC, the cooperative networks that permit individuals to work together for common goals.
Frumkin 2002	Nonprofits build social capital within communities as a part of their civic and political engagement function.
Inaba 2002	Nonprofits have a role as a provider of SC. Nonprofit activities and service delivery nurture trust and norms, and the nonprofit sector develops SC.
Miyakawa 2004	It is a voluntary solidarity of the civic sector that is expected to bear the central role in creating and providing SC.
Nishide 2004c, 2004d	Nonprofits play a most vital role in creating SC, especially through collaboration with various actors in community.

(Table 3.1, continued.)

Types and forms of nonprofits producing SC	
Putnam 2000	Associations that involve face-to-face interaction among members are more effective in producing SC than large and hierarchical organizations (tertiary organizations).
Eastis 2001	Different organizational settings of associations produce different types of SC.
Stolle and Rochon 2001	Different types of voluntary organizations and degree of diversity within an association create various types of SC.
Dekker and Uslaner 2001	Members of a bridging organization, rather than a bonding organization, have an ability to cooperate with strangers and to cope with diversity.
Wollebaek and Selle 2002	Belonging to multiple associations, regardless of face-to-face interaction (passive participation), is the productive source of SC.
SC as a factor for nonprofit founding	
Saxton and Benson 2005	SC (diversity, political participation) is a factor for nonprofit founding. However, various aspects of SC do not affect the growth of the nonprofit sector in the same way.
SC as a tool for nonprofits	
Jochum 2003	Nonprofits can utilize SC as a tool for capacity building.
Mutual relationship between SC and nonprofits	
COJ 2003	SC and civic and nonprofit activities are in a mutually strengthening relationship and produce positive feedback.
Yamauchi 2004c	If SC and civic activities are in a positive feedback, policies to promote nonprofit and volunteer activities may indirectly lead to the development of SC, and can expect to revitalize civic activities.
Conditions and factors for nonprofits to create SC	
Putnam and Feldstein 2003	Taking a long period of time to conduct face-to-face conversations among individuals and small groups; talking success stories; making a common physical space and a virtual space.
COJ 2003	Existence of leadership and a coordinator who constructs relationships among people, a public space for communication, norm to construct a horizontal and open network, expansion of networks based on trust.
ESRI 2005	Factors for success in regenerating community functions (e.g., process of plan, do and see; participation of various actors) depend on the quality of SC in community, and nonprofits relate to the creation of SC.

Source: Created by the author based on each literature.

3.2 Regional Distribution of Nonprofits and Its Factors

Nonprofits and social capital, and the relationship between the two do not necessarily function equally everywhere, regardless of their mutual relationship. Social capital is a characteristic of a community (Putnam 1993, 2000), and nonprofits, which are the major creator of social capital, seem to be distributed unevenly among different communities.

Why are nonprofit organizations formed in the first place? A more basic question is why an organization is created and takes a different form such as government, for-profit corporations or nonprofits? Various organizational theories have tried to answer this question since the late 1960s (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Major Organizational Theories
Explaining Organizational Founding and Its Forms

Theory	Key arguments	Major proponents
Population ecology theory	Organizational forms fit niches through the natural selection process of variation, selection and retention.	Aldrich 1979, Hannan and Freeman 1977
Resource dependency theory	Organizations depend on their environment for resources and strive to manage the environment to minimize their dependence. Organizations employ various types of inter-organizational linkages, which help reduce dependence and obtain other resources.	Pfeffer and Salancik 1978
Contingency theory/ Rational-contingency theory	Best organizational methods depend on the nature of environment the organization is reacting to. Organizations rationally make decisions to reach goals in an environment with constraints and opportunities.	Lawrence and Lorsch 1967
Transaction cost/ public choice theory	Organizations are formed in response to uncertain markets and environments. Existence and operation of organizations are influenced by the transaction of goods and services with a focus on cost rather than production.	Williamson 1975
Institutional theory	Organizations may increase their ability to grow in a competitive environment by satisfying their stakeholders through institutional isomorphism.	DiMaggio and Powell 1983

Source: Created by the author based on Hall (1999) and Kuwada and Tao (1998).

Anheier (2005:150) contends that the resource dependency approach is particularly useful for “understanding the perpetual quest for a balanced mix of revenue sources” in the context of nonprofits. However, these organizational theories have not necessarily explored the founding of nonprofits. On the contrary, scholars on the nonprofit sector have investigated the determinants on the size of the nonprofit organizations from various fields such as economics, sociology and political science since the mid-1970s. The major economic theories explaining the existence and founding of nonprofits include government failure theory (Weisbrod 1975, 1986), market failure theory (Hansmann 1980, 1987), entrepreneurship theory (Young 1986) and interdependence theory (Salamon 1995). For example, in the interdependence theory, Salamon (1995) points out four weaknesses in the nonprofit sector as philanthropic insufficiency, particularism, paternalism and amateurism, calling them as voluntary failure, and contends that the relationship between nonprofits and government is partnerships. Major sociological and political theories are social origins theory (Salamon and Anheier 1998), social cohesion theory (Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen 1992) and the welfare mix theory (Evers and Svetlik 1993).

However, none of these theories from respective disciplines have explained fully the existence of nonprofits. On the contrary, social capital theory as proposed by Putnam (1993, 2000) and others is a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach, cross-cutting economics, sociology, political science and other sciences even though proposed by scholars from distinctive disciplines. I firmly argue that this interdisciplinary social capital theory has a significant value in explaining the existence and growth of the nonprofit sector, regardless of its weaknesses as other theories inherent. Please see Table 3.3 for key arguments of theories explaining the existence of nonprofits with their key proponents and weaknesses.

Table 3.3 Major Theories Explaining Organizational Founding of Nonprofits

Theory	Key arguments	Key proponents	Key weaknesses
Economic theories			
Government failure theory/ heterogeneity theory/public goods theory	Nonprofits provide public and quasi-public goods unsatisfied by the provision by government. Higher demand heterogeneity tends to increase the size of the nonprofit sector.	Weisbrod 1975, 1986, Corbin 1999, Matsunaga and Yamauchi 2004	No explanation for why nonprofits, rather than for-profit organizations arise to fill unsatisfied demand for public goods; and assumes inherent conflict between government and private and nonprofit provision.
Market failure theory/ contract failure theory/ trust theory	In the existence of information asymmetry between consumers and providers, consumers tend to select nonprofits on the ground that they are more trustworthy rather than for-profit corporations due to the non-distribution constraint of nonprofits.	Hansmann 1980, 1987	Other institutional response possible; non-distribution constraint weakly enforced; indirect profit distribution possible; and a lack of consideration for the role of politics.
Voluntary failure theory/ interdependence theory/ third-party government theory	Nonprofits precede government in providing public benefit goods due to initially lower transaction costs, but voluntary failure corresponds with the government's strengths, and thus, they develop synergistic and cooperative relationship rather than competitive relationship.	Salamon 1987, 1995	Assumes neutral, yet well-meaning state; equates value-based and non-value-based behaviors; when will synergies develop and when not is unclear.
Entrepreneurship theory/supply-side theory	Existence of nonprofits is reflected on demand heterogeneity served and created by social entrepreneurs with an incentive to maximize non-monetary returns.	Young 1986, James 1987	Assumes neutral state; and equates religious and secular value-based behavior.
Stakeholder theory/consumer control theory	Stakeholders decide to exercise control over delivery of service in the existence of information asymmetries between consumers and providers. Nonprofits may be regarded as stakeholder controlled organizations.	Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen 1992	Scope of theory is limited to experience of information asymmetry problems faced by deeply concerned stakeholders.

(Table 3.3, continued.)

Theory	Key arguments	Major proponents	Major weakness
Sociological, historical and political theories			
Social origins theory	The embeddedness of the nonprofit sector in a complex set of relationships, social classes and regime types influences on the size of the nonprofit sector. It is a comparative-historical theory with liberal, social democratic, corporatist and statist models.	Salamon and Anheier 1998, Salamon et al. 2000	Difficulty in empirical testing of counter-factual because a nonprofit form varies significantly over time and across countries and cultures.
Social cohesion theory	Socially cohesive societies with homogeneous preferences and bonds of citizens tend to form nonprofits because stakeholders have more opportunities to identify and share their common demands and values.	Ben-Ner and Van Hoomissen 1992	Empirical results vary and do not necessarily support the model.
Welfare mix theory	Complicated social issues facing the welfare states need to be complemented by small-scale solidarities of community-based voluntary associations. Voluntary associations are components of welfare mix.	Evers and Svetlik 1993	Problems deriving from institutionalizations; and risk of shrinking functions of advocacy and social movements.
Interdisciplinary theory			
Social capital theory	Communities with higher levels of social capital tend to hold vibrant voluntary associations.	Putnam 1993, 2000, Saxton and Benson 2005	Broad and multidimensional definition and unclear cause-and-effect relationship make empirical analysis difficult.

Source: Created by the author based on various literatures with reference to Powell (1987), Matsunaga and Yamauchi (2004), Tsukamoto et al. (2004), Anheier (2005) and Saxton and Benson (2005).

Various empirical analyses have also been conducted to test these different theories explaining the size and growth of the nonprofit sector at different levels: cross-country, state and county (Table 3.4). Saxton and Benson (2005) examined the nonprofit founding at the county level in the U.S. through the social capital theory based on the hypothesis that communities with higher levels of social capital should experience more extensive growth in the nonprofit sector. They found that two core dimensions of social capital, namely, political engagement and "bridging" social ties have a significant positive impact on county-level nonprofit founding, and at the same time, a mix of different ecological and environmental factors such as government spending and organizational density also affect the size of the nonprofit sector.

In Japan, several scholars point out the uneven distribution of nonprofits in Japan and its factors, too. However, few studies are based on grounded theories. A study on nonprofit activities in towns and villages by COJ (2004d) revealed that activities of nonprofits in towns and villages are not vibrant, and that the number of nonprofits and their fields of activities are also unevenly distributed in towns and villages. Kusakabe (2002) and Yamauchi (2003b) compared the regional distribution of nonprofits and civil society at the prefectural level through the creation of their own respective indices (Table 3.5).

All the empirical research on factors affecting the size of nonprofits in Japan has been conducted at the prefectural level (Table 3.6). The existing literature found that the number of specified nonprofit corporations is affected by various socio-economic factors including population (Sawamura 2001), assets and income level and industry structure (Fukushige 2002). Kage (2003b) found that a prefecture with many public interest corporations also holds a large number of specified nonprofit corporations (complementary relationship), while a prefecture with many traditional organizations such as public halls and senior clubs in which have many members hold fewer specified nonprofit corporations (substitute relationship). Haddad (2004) analyzed the number of specified nonprofit corporations as a measure of the level of volunteer activity and found that working women and TV viewing affect the number of specified nonprofit corporations.

Nonprofits in Japan are oftentimes based on community, and considering the relationship between nonprofits and social capital, which is a characteristic of a community (Putnam 1993, 2000), the focus should be on community on a smaller scale such as municipalities rather than prefectures. However, all previous empirical analyses were conducted at the prefecture level, and it is not sufficient in order to understand the whole picture. Considering the scope of social life such as the scope of activities of nonprofits, housing, consumption and employment, a broad unit of prefecture alone is not able to clarify all the conditions and its factors, and a more detailed unit of analysis such as municipality would be more appropriate.¹¹ Of course, a more detailed unit smaller than a municipality may be even more appropriate. However, due to the limit of the data availability, the municipality level is adopted for this study.

¹¹ The level of administrative scope in Japan is divided into 47 prefectures and 3,100 municipalities (696 cities and 2,404 towns and villages) as of July 31, 2004. However, through the mergers and acquisitions of municipalities promoted by the national government over the last 5 years, the number has decreased to less than 2,000 as of April 2006, which might lead to a comparatively different picture of the distribution of specified nonprofit corporations.

Table 3.4 Empirical Analysis on the Size and Growth of the Nonprofit Sector

Scholar/ Year	Theory/ hypothesis	Method	Unit of analysis/ data	Dependent variable	Independent variable	Co- effi- cient	Findings and arguments
Salamon et al. 2000	Test of the social origins theory with the test of other theories: heterogeneity theory and interdependence theory.	regression model	country n=22 (including Japan)	Full-time equivalent paid nonprofit employment as a share of nonagricultural employment	religious heterogeneity index private giving as a share of nonprofit revenues government support as share of nonprofit revenues government social spending as a share of GDP	- + +	Government spending has a positive impact of the size of the nonprofit sector, which supports the interdependency theory. However, religion has no explanatory power contrary to the demand heterogeneity theory. However, the single-factor explanations are insufficient, and the social origins approach explains the size of the nonprofit sector as influenced by an integral part of a social system with complex set of historical forces.
Matsunaga and Yamauchi 2004	Test of the government failure theory, complementary financing hypothesis, social cohesion, contract failure and sociological theories in explaining the size of the nonprofit sector	two-way fixed effects model	U.S. state n=50 panel data	The nonprofit sector size with cross-section dimension of 50 states and time- series dimension from 1992 to 1999	age race unemployment state and local government direct expenditures per gross state product public subsidies urbanization crime rate personal income	+ + + + + +	Observable demand heterogeneity such as by age, unemployment, state and local government direct expenditures has a positive effect on the size of the nonprofit sector.
Saxton and Benson 2005	Examination of the extent to which nonprofit organizational founding are determined by various forms of social capital. Social capital theory Ecological and environmental approach Hypothesis is that communities with higher levels of social capital should experience more extensive growth in their nonprofit sectors, controlling for other relevant social, political and economic factors	event count regression model	U.S. county n=284 panel data Social Capital Community Benchmark Survey	# of 501(c)(3) organizations in each county N=11,929	Social capital variables: diversity of friendships political engagement giving and volunteering associational involvement informal social networks social trust Environmental variables: change in population median household income unemployment residents over 65 government spending Ecological variables: organizational density prior organizational founding	+ + - + + + +	Two core dimensions of social capital (political engagement and "bridging" social ties) have a significant impact on county- level nonprofit founding. However, the level of interpersonal trust does not lead to an increase in nonprofit founding. The growth of a community's nonprofit sector is dependent on a mix of ecological and environmental factors

Source: Created by the author based on each literature.

Table 3.5 Literature Creating Index to Analyze the Regional Distribution of Specified Nonprofit Corporations in Japan

Scholar/ Year	Purpose and Overview	Method/ Unit of analysis	Components of Index	Findings
Kusakabe 2002	Comparison of the size of specified nonprofit corporations at 47 prefectures using a developed NPO Index	Civil (NPO) Index/ prefecture n=47	Civil (NPO) Index uses application of the studentized residuals, calculated on the basis of regression analysis.	Disparity exists in the relative scale of the nonprofit sector among the prefectures. Prefectures with high Civil (NPO) Index: Tokyo, Gunma, Kyoto, Fukui, Mie and Kouchi.
Yamauchi 2003b	Measurement of vibrancy of civic activities by prefecture with the creation of Civil Society Index	Civil Society Index/ prefecture n=47	Civil Society Index is a composite index of (i) the nonprofit organization index (share of the specified nonprofit corporations, share of nonprofit organizations, and the share of employment at the nonprofit sector), (ii) giving index (household orientation of giving, orientation of giving to community chest, and blood donation index), and (iii) volunteer index (rate of volunteering, days of volunteering, number of volunteers in the welfare field).	Regional disparity of civic activities exists, and the characteristics of the disparity are different by each index. Prefectures with a high share of specified nonprofit corporations: Kyoto, Gunma, Mie, Kouchi, Shiga, Fukui and Okinawa. Prefectures in which local government understands, and actively supports and promotes nonprofits and civic activities indicate a high share of specified nonprofit corporations.

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

Table 3.6 Empirical Research on Factors Affecting the Size of Specified Nonprofit Corporations in Japan

Scholar/ Year	Theory/ hypothesis	Method	Unit of analysis/ data	Dependent variable	Independent variable	Co- effi- cient	Findings and arguments
Sawamura 2001	A prefecture with high population, area size, urbanization, aging, and economic wealth holds a large number of specified nonprofit corporations	single regression model	prefecture n=47 cross- section	# of specified nonprofit corporations per capita	population area size urbanization aging economic wealth (household income and the amount of savings)	+	The number of specified nonprofit corporations is highly correlated with population, but not with other factors.
Fukushige 2002	Socio-economic factors (size, asset and income, price and industry structure) influence on the number of specified nonprofit corporations	multiple regression model reduced forms	prefecture n=47 panel data (two years)	# of specified nonprofit corporations per capita	area size population financial assets income wage (of men) disparity of prices workers in the secondary industry workers in the tertiary industry number of household population under 15 population over 64 # of councils in the opposite parties	+ - + + + - +	Not only scale factors such as population or area, but also other socio-economic factors like industrial structure, composition of population, asset and income influence on the authentication number of specified nonprofit corporations.
Kage 2003b (co-writing with Horiuchi)	Path-dependency theory (community with a large number of other types of organizations holds many specified nonprofit corporations influence of TV viewing socio-economic factors	single regression model	prefecture n=47 cross- section	# of accepted application for specified nonprofit corporations	old civil society number of public interest corporations networks trust number of churches number of part-time workers income unemployment rate Tokyo dummy	- +	Prefectures with a large number of old civil society hold a small number of specified nonprofit corporations (supplementary relationship), while those with a large number of interest public corporations hold a large number of specified nonprofit corporations (complementary relationship).
Haddad 2004	Determinants of volunteer participation: number of specified nonprofit corporations as a measure of volunteering activity	multiple regression model OLS	prefecture n=47 cross- section	# of specified nonprofit corporations	population density education working women TV viewing government expenditure	+ -	Working women and TV viewing affect the number of nonprofit corporations at prefecture level.

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

3.3 Methodology¹²

As indicated in the prevailing literature, the size of nonprofits is uneven among regions. Activities of many nonprofits are rooted in community through connections with various actors in the community, which are considered to contribute to the development of social capital in the community. If nonprofits are the core actor in creating social capital, it is critical to grasp the regional distribution of nonprofits and what socio-economic and political factors in the community are playing the role in it. Likewise, social capital can also be considered to affect the creation of nonprofits. Among many organizations in the nonprofit sector in Japan including traditional neighborhood associations, it is most noteworthy to pay attention to specified nonprofit corporations, which have shown a rapid increase in recent years. In addition, data on the number of traditional neighborhood associations is not available for all the prefectures and municipalities.

Moreover, how does the existence of nonprofits influence social capital in the community and social outcomes should also be examined. However, considering the fact that it is the nature of social capital to be developed over quite a long period of time, it is difficult to measure and evaluate how specified nonprofit corporations influence social capital and social outcomes at this moment due to the limited data availability and the year and the sample size of the existing survey. Therefore, this time, regional distribution of specified nonprofit corporations and factors affecting its size are examined. In addition, I consider what initiatives can be taken toward them, which might be able to contribute to the creation of social capital.

Existing regional analysis on social capital and nonprofits in Japan did little questioning of the unit of analysis. The reason why the existing literature almost all adopts the prefecture level as the unit of analysis is not positive and clear, but it rather derives from the lack of data at the municipal level. However, considering the “community” characteristics of nonprofits and social capital, the focus should be on community at a much smaller scale, one which encompasses the

¹² Major part of this section 3.3 summarizes arguments in Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

basis of daily life such as housing, employment and consumption, rather than just considering one on a wider scale such as that of the prefecture level. For example, Japanese local administration ranges from metropolitan core cities, commuter towns in the suburb, small and medium size cities, industrial cities to rural areas. These different characteristics of the cities and communities are considered to affect the development of social capital as well as the founding and activities of nonprofits. Therefore, the unit of analysis at the municipal level rather than the prefecture level is appropriate for the analysis of nonprofits and social capital in Japan.

Thus, the unit of analysis at the municipality level is adopted for this study. To conduct the study, the data on the accumulated numbers of specified nonprofit corporations by municipality is necessary. However, such data is not publicly available.¹³ Therefore, collection and computation of such data was required. The number of specified nonprofit corporations in the 3,100 municipalities nationwide as of July 31, 2004 was calculated by Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) through COJ, NPO Homepage (website) and websites of the sections on nonprofits in all 47 prefectures.

3.4 Analysis of the Regional Distribution of Specified Nonprofit Corporations¹⁴

Quantitative analysis on the regional distribution of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level was conducted. Nonprofits are distributed unevenly at the municipal level.¹⁵ An average of six specified nonprofit corporations exist in each of the 3,100 municipalities. It is noteworthy that 1,333 or 43 percent of all municipalities do not have any specified nonprofit corporations, and more than half of towns and villages do not have any specified nonprofit

¹³ Although data on specified nonprofit corporations at the prefecture level is disclosed at COJ, NPO Homepage and also is updated every month, data on specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level is not computed nationally.

¹⁴ Major part of this section 3.4 summarizes arguments in Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

¹⁵ If the date of renewal of the data on specified nonprofit corporations at website is before July 31, 2004 or after July 31 because the date of renewal is not able to be identified, the dates of the number of the specified nonprofit corporations indicate different periods: Yamagata (4/1), Ibaraki (7/28), Saitama (10/7), Yamanashi (7/7) and Osaka (6/9). Please note that due to the existence of dissolved corporations and those without a clear office location and the date of renewal, the numbers used here do not necessarily match the authentication number of specified nonprofit corporations by prefecture disclosed on COJ, NPO Homepage website.

corporations. It is also noteworthy that more than 80 percent of municipalities have less than 5 specified nonprofit corporations. For example, 685 municipalities have only one specified nonprofit corporation, and 574 municipalities have 2-4 specified nonprofit corporations. On the other hand, almost all big cities with a population of or more than 100,000 have more than 5 specified nonprofit corporations. Many big cities even have tens to hundreds of specified nonprofit corporations. Table 3.7 indicates an uneven distribution of specified nonprofit corporations among municipalities.

Table 3.7 Distribution of the Specified Nonprofit Corporations by Municipality

# of specified nonprofit corporations	# of towns and villages	# of cities under 100,000 population	# of cities over and equal to 100,000 population	total number of municipalities
1000 and more	0	0	1	1
500<1,000	0	0	2	2
200<500	0	0	5	5
100<200	0	0	9	9
50<100	0	0	37	37
20<50	0	4	74	78
10<20	4	56	68	128
5<10	49	171	28	248
2<5	405	166	3	574
1	641	44	0	685
0	1,305	28	0	1,333
Total	2,404	469	227	3,100

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

Data: Statistics Bureau, MIC, 2000 Census and websites of prefectures.

Note: Numbers in gray areas indicate three largest numbers of municipalities by specified nonprofit corporation.

The area with the largest number of specified nonprofit corporations is the 23 wards of Tokyo, the capital of Japan. This area holds 3,673 specified nonprofit corporations or 20.7 percent of all specified nonprofit corporations in Japan. This highly exceeds its share of the population (6.5%). More specifically, the share of specified nonprofit corporations authenticated by COJ covers 56.7 percent, which indicates a concentration of the headquarters of specified

nonprofit corporations in Tokyo.¹⁶ The second largest city with specified nonprofit corporations is Osaka, and the third is Yokohama. The upper rankings are composed of ordinance-designated cities, prefectural capitals, and major cities with a large population. Most specified nonprofit corporations in these areas were authenticated by each prefecture unlike many those in Tokyo. There is a big disparity of regional distribution of specified nonprofit corporations among the top 50 cities, and the number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita also indicates large regional gaps at the municipal level.

Specified nonprofit corporations within a prefecture also indicate regional differences. Specified nonprofit corporations are concentrated on prefectural capitals in many prefectures, and the number is not large in other cities, towns and villages. Moreover, there is a tendency for specified nonprofit corporations to concentrate in a few big cities within a prefecture including prefecture capital, and also a tendency for continuous distribution across prefectures in metropolitan areas including the Kanto and Kansai regions. These tendencies clearly suggest that the distribution of specified nonprofit corporations depends not only on the prefecture level but also on the conditions of the smaller municipal levels: cities, towns and villages.

Table 3.8 shows the distribution of specified nonprofit corporations according to different population size of municipalities, showing the relationships between the size of population and the number of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level. The size of population at major municipalities is smaller than 30,000. On the contrary, the size of specified nonprofit corporations is larger at the small share of municipalities with the larger population size with the exceptions such as municipalities with a population of between 500,000 to 1 million showing relatively small number of specified nonprofit corporations.

¹⁶ Article 9 of the NPO Law provides that an organization with offices in multiple prefectures is to be authenticated by COJ and an organization with offices in one prefecture is to be authenticated through the jurisdiction of the prefecture.

Table 3.8 Distribution of Specified Nonprofit Corporations by Population Size

Population Size	Number of municipalities		Population per 10,000		Number of specified nonprofit corporations		Authenticated by the Cabinet Office		Authenticated by Prefecture Office	
		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)		(%)
1 million and more	13	(0.4)	2,788	(22.0)	7,081	(39.9)	1,108	(72.4)	5,973	(36.8)
500,000<999,999	12	(0.4)	754	(5.9)	1,060	(6.0)	50	(3.3)	1,010	(6.2)
300,000<49,999	40	(1.3)	1,534	(12.1)	1,925	(10.8)	81	(5.3)	1,844	(11.4)
150,000<299,999	81	(2.6)	1,682	(13.3)	2,142	(12.1)	107	(7.0)	2,035	(12.5)
100,000<149,999	81	(2.6)	976	(7.7)	1,126	(6.3)	56	(3.7)	1,070	(6.6)
50,000<99,999	229	(7.4)	1,582	(12.5)	1,641	(9.2)	52	(3.4)	1,589	(9.8)
30,000<49,999	276	(8.9)	1,061	(8.4)	964	(5.4)	26	(1.7)	938	(5.8)
10,000<29,999	908	(29.3)	1,540	(12.1)	1,193	(6.7)	37	(2.4)	1,156	(7.1)
5,000<9,999	788	(25.4)	570	(4.5)	438	(2.5)	8	(0.5)	430	(2.7)
0<4,999	672	(21.7)	205	(1.6)	185	(1.0)	5	(0.3)	180	(1.1)
Total	3,100	(100.0)	12,693	(100.0)	17,755	(100.0)	1,530	(100.0)	16,225	(100.0)

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions.

Data: Statistics Bureau, MIC, 2000 *Census* and websites of prefectures.

Note: Numbers in gray areas indicate three largest numbers of specified nonprofit corporations in municipalities by population size.

3.5 Factors Affecting the Size of Specified Nonprofit Corporations

3.5.1 Model

An empirical analysis on the factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations was conducted at the municipal level, in order to take into account the fact that the effects of social capital are smaller than at the prefecture level.

Analysis in section 3.4 indicates that population is a major factor affecting the regional distribution of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level as well as at the prefecture level. Here, the focus is on factors other than population in order to explore the characteristics of a community which facilitates the creation of specified nonprofit corporations. Regional gaps that are not affected by population size can be meaningful in considering local government policies on nonprofits and the relationship between nonprofits and social capital. Nonprofits are considered to facilitate the creation of social capital. Likewise, social capital is considered to be a significant factor in the creation of nonprofits. Taking the years of data available into

consideration, it is difficult to measure the effects of nonprofits on social capital at this moment. Therefore, only the case if and how a social capital factor affects the size of the specified nonprofit corporations would be examined in this study. Social capital in this study refers to social relationships such as trust, norms of reciprocity and networks that facilitate cooperation among members of a community as defined in Chapter 1. Three hypotheses of this study are as follows:

Hypothesis 1: An increase in various components of social capital has positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, controlling for various socio-economic and political factors;

Hypothesis 2: An increase in social capital as a whole has positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, controlling for various socio-economic and political factors; and

Hypothesis 3: Various socio-economic and political factors have effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality.

The number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita is adopted as a dependent variable in order to focus on the regional gaps that are not explained only by the population size. Seventeen independent variables representing social capital and socio-economic and political factors are adopted as shown in Table 3.9.

The social capital factor is examined at two levels. First, social capital components are examined through three variables: the recycle rate of garbage, the migration rate and the rate of foreigners. These three variables respectively illustrate critical elements of social capital: norms, networks and trust. The recycle rate of garbage is considered as a manifestation of norms, the migration rate as open and bridging networks and the rate of foreigners as trust such as generosity toward diversity in a municipality.

Second, social capital as aggregate is also considered to affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations at municipality. Therefore, a social capital index was created through the computation of the deviation value for each component of social capital and integrated in one index with the consideration of a weighting issue.

Of course, it is not only social capital but various socio-economic and political factors that may also influence the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality. Therefore, the model on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in this study is denoted as

$$SNC = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SC1 + \beta_2 SC2 + \beta_3 SC3 + \beta_4 POP1 + \beta_5 POP2 + \beta_6 ECN1 + \beta_7 ECN2 + \beta_8 ECN3 + \beta_9 ECN4 + \beta_{10} SOC1 + \beta_{11} SOC2 + \beta_{12} SOC3 + \beta_{13} GOV1 + \beta_{14} GOV2 + \beta_{15} GOV3 + \beta_{16} GOV4$$

and

$$SNC = \beta_0 + \beta_1 SOCIAL\ CAPITAL\ Index + \beta_2 POP1 + \beta_3 POP2 + \beta_4 ECN1 + \beta_5 ECN2 + \beta_6 ECN3 + \beta_7 ECN4 + \beta_8 SOC1 + \beta_9 SOC2 + \beta_{10} SOC3 + \beta_{11} GOV1 + \beta_{12} GOV2 + \beta_{13} GOV3 + \beta_{14} GOV4$$

Please see Table 3.9 for the definitions and measurement of each variable. Factors affecting the number of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level and through the social capital perspective have been examined empirically for the first time. Please note, however, that this study focuses only on the city level because most of the specified nonprofit corporations were found to be concentrated in the cities and only a few specified nonprofit corporations exist in towns and villages as indicated in section 3.4. Thus, considering the low statistical trustworthiness of the number of specified nonprofit corporations in towns and villages, only its numbers in all 696 cities nationwide was adopted for this analysis.

Table 3.9 Definition and Measurement of Variables

Type	Abb	Definition	Measurement	Unit	Data Source	Year
Dependent variable						
	SNC	number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita	(number of specified nonprofit corporations/total population)*100,000	organization	Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) calculated based on COJ, NPO Homepage (website) and websites of prefectures on nonprofits.	2004
Independent variables						
	sc1	recycle rate of garbage	recycle rate of garbage	%	Disposal and Recycle Department, the Ministry of Environment, <i>Japanese Disposal Management</i> .	2000
Social capital	sc2	migration rate	number of migration/total population	%	<i>Annual Report on Migration based on Basic Registry of Residents</i> .	2002
	sc3	rate of foreigners	number of foreigners/total population	%	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>2000 Census</i> .	2000
Social Capital (SC) Index		mean deviation value of social capital components	(deviation values of sc1+ sc2 + sc3)/3	deviation value	See sources of sc1, sc2 and sc3.	
Demographics	pop1	rate of youth	number of people under 15/total	%	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>2000 Census</i> .	2000
	pop2	rate of the elderly population	number of people over 64/total	%		2000
	ecn1	income per capita	income/total population	JPY	Japan Marketing Education Center, <i>Individual Income Indicators</i> .	2000
	ecn2	unemployment rate	number of unemployment/working population	%	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>2000 Census</i> .	2000
Economy	ecn3	rate of workers in the secondary industry	number of workers in the secondary industry/number of total workers	%	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>Research Report on Office and Business Statistics</i> .	2001
	ecn4	rate of workers in the tertiary industry	number of workers in the tertiary industry/number of total workers	%	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>Research Report on Office and Business Statistics</i> .	2001

(Table 3.9, continued.)

Type	Abb	Definition	Measurement	Unit	Data Source	Year
	soc1	ratio of daytime population	number of daytime population/total population	ratio	Statistics Bureau, MIC, <i>2000 Census</i> .	2000
Society	soc2	number of community centers per capita	(number of community centers/total population)*100,000	number	MEXT, <i>Research Report on Social Education</i> .	2002
	soc3	number of crimes per capita	(number of crimes identified/total population)*100,000	number	National Police Agency, <i>Statistics Report on Crime</i> .	2002
	gov1	public finance index	Public finance index (municipality finance)	index	Local Government Finance Bureau, MIC, <i>Research on the State of Finance in Municipalities</i> .	2001
Government/ politics	gov2	ordinance to support nonprofits	Ordinance to promote nonprofits: Introduced or to be introduced=1, other=0		Nihon Keizai Shimbun and Nikkei Industry and Consumption Research Institute, <i>Comparative Data on Local Government at Nationwide Cities and Wards</i> .	2002
	gov3	Tokyo dummy	Tokyo 23 wards=1, other=0			2004
	gov4	prefectural capital dummy	prefectural capital=1, other=0			2004

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

3.5.2 Findings

Major findings from the multiple regression analysis using a cross-sectional data are reflected in Figure 3.2 and Table 3.10 below. Eleven independent variables were found as factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level.

Findings 1: Hypothesis 1: An increase in various components of social capital has positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, controlling for various socio-economic and political factors was supported.

Among the three social capital components, the regression coefficients on the recycle rate of garbage and the rate of foreigners are statistically significant and are both positive, while networks in the form of the migration rate was found not to influence the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level. An increase in two major social capital components—norms in the form of the recycle rate of garbage, and trust in the form of generosity toward diversity through the rate of foreign residents were found to have positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality.

Norms. The recycle rate of garbage illustrates norms of reciprocity in a community. If many people in a community have a norm of consideration for environmental problems, they put their norms into action through garbage recycling. The recycle rate of garbage is a manifestation of norms, and thus, an increase in the recycle rate of garbage (norm) has positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality.

Trust. The coefficient on the rate of foreigners is statistically significant and is positive, and thus, an increase in trust in the form of foreign residents was found to have positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality. The rate of foreigners was hypothesized as a manifestation of trust in the form of generosity toward diversity in a municipality: The more diverse the community becomes, the more people learn to respect diversity and nurtures generalized trust, and having many foreigners in a community indicates an embedded trust in the form of generosity toward diversity. Therefore, the more trust people have in the form of generosity toward diversity as indicated by the rate of foreigners, the more specified nonprofit corporations are created. Communications with people with different

backgrounds is crucial in developing generalized trust (Uslaner 2003) and diversity is crucial in bridging type of social capital (Jochum 2003).

The rate of foreigners also illustrates demand heterogeneity, the core element of the government failure theory: The more diverse the individual preference becomes, the more unsatisfied people will be with public goods provided by government, and thus, may depend more on the nonprofit sector (Weisbrod 1975 and 1986). The empirical result supports the government failure theory: Increased foreign residents depend more on specified nonprofit corporations in providing various services meeting their needs including support for language, employment, daily life and emergency, which are unsatisfied by government, and thus, the size of the specified nonprofit corporations increases. With many foreign residents in a community, many specified nonprofit corporations are created to tackle diverse problems facing foreign residents as well as to interact and communicate with them.

Networks. The coefficient on the migration rate is not statistically significant contrary to the hypothesis and previous literature such as Putnam's (1995, 2000). An increase in the migration rate (network) was found not to affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality. However, this result may be due to the zero-sum effects of both sides of networks: bonding and bridging types: The migration rate can be interpreted as both bonding and bridging types of networks in a community:

First, a high migration rate can also be considered as a manifestation of vibrant "bridging" networks, open and inclusive networks in the community, the pivotal aspect of social capital. An increase in the migration rate is considered to have positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality on the ground that a community with a high migration rate indicates a community rich in "bridging" networks of people in different backgrounds from various regions. For example, as indicated in a case study in section 2.5, Okinawa prefecture has the highest rate of population increase with 26,000 immigrants from other prefectures in a year, expanding various bridging networks. My experience of living in different prefectures such as in Okinawa, Tokyo and Fukui also proves that immigrants from other prefectures are very active in constructing networks, finding and trying to solve problems in a new community

with the utilization of networks, experiences, cultures and perspectives of the old community. Second, a high migration rate is also considered as a lack of bonding type of networks. Putnam (1995) attributes one of the plausible explanations of the decline of social capital in the U.S. to the high mobility of citizens and urban sprawl, which tend to destroy a fundamental system.¹⁷ If people reside in one community for a long time, they may have attachments to community and commit themselves to community issues and events, and networks among people in the community may develop. However, if the migration rate is high, networks in a community are considered to be difficult to develop. Yoshioka (2005) found that a municipality with a high rate of homeownership is rich in social capital, which regards homeownership as a proxy for people's intention to live in the same community.

Therefore, an increase in the migration rate may have negative effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, because such community is considered to have many "bonding" networks rather than "bridging" networks. However, Putnam and Goss (2002) admit that geographic mobility of citizens has declined in the U.S. and this cannot be a cause for the decline of civic participation. Still, the migration rate was not excluded here on the ground same as Hooghe (2003a) that migration rate seems to have been increasing in our country.

Findings 2: Hypothesis 2: An increase in social capital as a whole has positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, controlling for various socio-economic and political factors was supported. The coefficient on the Social Capital Index is statistically significant and the sign is positive, therefore, social capital as a whole was found to positively affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality.

Findings 3: Hypothesis 3: Various socio-economic and political factors have effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality was supported as follows:

Demographics. The coefficient on the rate of the elderly population is statistically significant and is positive. This result can be explained both from the demand and supply sides.

¹⁷ Putnam (1995, 2000) attributes other major factors for declining social capital in the U.S. to changing role of women in society through increasing working women, various demographic changes such as the declining birthrate and increasing divorce rate, changing lifestyle and leisure time such as an increase in TV viewing time.

A community with a high rate of the elderly population holds many specified nonprofit corporations created to support diverse needs of the elderly people. It can be illustrated by the fact that 57.8 percent of all the specified nonprofit corporations develop activities in the health and social welfare field. Also, elderly people may have many opportunities to create nonprofits and to participate in volunteering activities utilizing their knowledge, skills, talents and networks especially after retirement. On the other hand, the coefficient on the rate of youth is not statistically significant regardless of the recent increase of youth volunteering, which may be due to the year of data not reflecting these changes.

Economy. The coefficient on income per capita is statistically significant and is positive. Prevailing literature argues that economic wealth in a community does not necessarily affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations or the vibrancy of civic activities at the prefecture level (Sawamura 2001, Yamauchi 2003b). However, this analysis indicates that economic wealth does facilitate nonprofit activities at the municipal level.

The coefficient on the rate of workers in the secondary industry is statistically significant and the sign is negative, whereas the coefficient on the rate of workers in the tertiary industry is statistically significant and is positive. The coefficient on the rate of workers in the secondary industry is the only statistically significant variable with the negative sign. This may be because nonprofits are considered to be typical of the service industry (Sawamura 2001). An area with an accumulation of the service industry may be a more suitable environment for facilitating nonprofit activities than an area with the accumulation of secondary industry, in which many big companies hold many factories substituting nonprofit activities. Considering the fact that the central industry in municipalities has been shifting toward tertiary industries such as the service industry, specified nonprofit corporations can be said to be components of city functions. The unemployment rate does not have an explanatory power.

Society. The coefficient on the ratio of daytime population is statistically significant and its sign is positive. This suggests that the existence of various city functions work as resources for the management and activities of specified nonprofit corporations. On the other hand, the coefficients on the number of community centers per capita and the crime rate are not

statistically significant. An empirical analysis of COJ (2003) reveals that an increased social capital in a prefecture decreases the crime rate, however, crime rate was found not to affect the size of the specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level.

*Politics.*¹⁸ The coefficients on the ordinance to support nonprofits, Tokyo dummy and prefectural capital dummy are all statistically significant and are positive: The size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality is influenced by their relationships with local government. Cities with an ordinance to support nonprofits and those planning to promulgate such ordinances tend to have more specified nonprofit corporations. Although the number of municipalities promulgating ordinances to support nonprofits has been increasing since 2000, the number of municipalities with such ordinances is still minor. Therefore, the content and influence of such ordinance should be respectively argued.

The coefficients on Tokyo dummy and prefectural capital dummies are also statistically significant with the positive sign. This can also be deduced from the extreme regional disparity between the number of specified nonprofit corporations in a prefectural capital and a city with a population of more than or equal to that of the capital. The influence of prefectural capital is explained by the fact that the vast majority of specified nonprofit corporations with officers in multiple prefectures under the jurisdiction of COJ are concentrated in Tokyo, the center of politics and economy.

Although the coefficient on the public finance index is not statistically significant, various financial policies of local governments on nonprofits are considered to have effects on the creation of specified nonprofit corporations. The data on government expenditure on nonprofits employed by prevailing research such as Salamon et al. (2000) is not available at the municipal level in Japan and this indicator may lead to a different result.

In sum, respective components of social capital (norms—recycle rate of garbage, and trust—the rate of foreigners) and social capital as a whole (Social Capital Index) were found to

¹⁸ A political system in a community is also considered to be a crucial factor affecting the size of the nonprofit sector. However, this study did not empirically analyze this point due to data availability at the whole city level. For details on the relationship between social capital and political system as well as politics in Japan, please see Hirano (2002), Ikeda (2002), Tsujinaka (2002c), Kim (2005), Pekkanen (2005, 2006) and Sakamoto (2005).

have positive effects on the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality, controlling for various socio-economic and political factors. Moreover, a demographic factor (the rate of the elderly population), economic factors (income and the rates of workers in secondary and tertiary industries), a social factor (the ratio of daytime population) and political factors (ordinances to support nonprofits, capital Tokyo and prefectural capitals) were also found to affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations in a municipality. This result reveals that specified nonprofit corporations are a city-based sector. At the same time, politics and policies of local government in the form of ordinances to support nonprofits and prefectural capital affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations, which suggests that government, particularly local government policies on nonprofits may strongly influence the vibrancy of nonprofit activities. Summary results of the empirical analysis are shown in Figure 3.2 and Table 3.10.

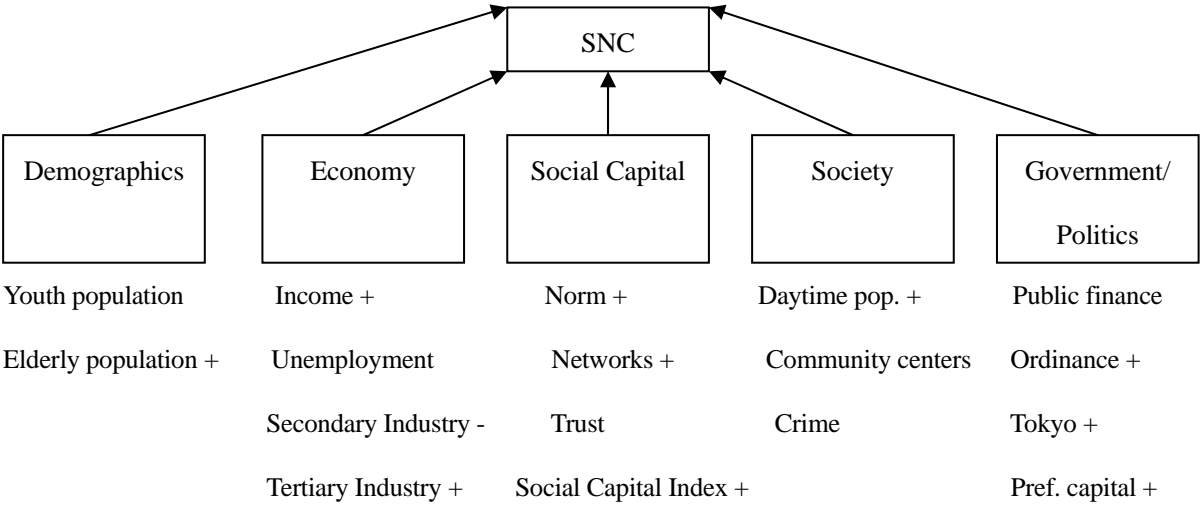


Figure 3.2 Summary of the Empirical Analysis

Source: Created by the author.

Table 3.10 Factors Affecting the Size of Specified Nonprofit Corporations at the City Level

Dependent variable: number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita					
		model 1	model2	model3	model4
Type of independent variable	Independent variable	standardized coefficient	standardized coefficient	standardized coefficient	standardized coefficient
Social capital	sc1	0.094 *** (2.719)	0.091 *** (2.660)		
	sc2	0.022 (0.456)	not selected		
	sc3	0.122 *** (2.973)	0.008 *** (3.083)		
	Social Capital Index			0.165 *** (3.923)	0.162 *** (3.931)
Demographics	pop1	0.049 (1.004)	not selected	0.057 (1.178)	not selected
	pop2	0.165 * (1.863)	0.116 ** (2.465)	0.208 ** (2.497)	0.152 *** (3.236)
Economy	ecn1	0.440 *** (4.869)	0.313 *** (6.256)	0.431 *** (4.779)	0.310 *** (6.102)
	ecn2	0.075 (1.601)	not selected	0.072 (1.548)	not selected
	ecn3	-0.192 *** (-3.154)	-0.209 *** (-3.688)	-0.160 *** (-2.793)	-0.166 *** (-2.98)
	ecn4	0.142 ** (2.559)	0.150 *** (2.752)	0.134 ** (2.420)	0.141 ** (2.571)
Society	soc1	0.199 *** (4.299)	0.174 *** (4.398)	0.191 *** (4.244)	0.171 *** (4.424)
	soc2	0.044 (1.228)	not selected	0.045 (1.259)	not selected
	soc3	-0.030 (-0.605)	not selected	-0.024 (-0.488)	not selected
Government/ politics	gov1	-0.063 (-0.908)	not selected	-0.042 (-0.613)	not selected
	gov2	0.072 ** (2.209)	0.076 ** (2.321)	0.071 ** (2.163)	0.073 ** (2.239)
	gov3	0.104 *** (3.088)	0.114 *** (3.490)	0.106 *** (3.132)	0.112 *** (3.428)
	gov4	0.132 *** (3.498)	0.128 *** (3.484)	0.139 *** (3.723)	0.137 *** (3.696)
	constant	-27.833	-17.290	-34.737	-24.124
	N	696	696	696	696
	R ²	0.315	0.310	0.312	0.308
	Adjusted R ²	0.298	0.300	0.298	0.299
	F-value	19.480	30.715	22.080	33.885

Source: Nishide and Hanibuchi (2005) with additions and revisions.

Note: *p<.10. **p<.05. ***p<.01. T-values in parentheses.

Analysis is by ordinary least squares. At the models 2 and 4, variables were selected based on the Stepwise method: Probability of F-value less than or equal to 0.05 is included, and probability of F-value more than or equal to 0.10 is excluded.

3.6 Implications

Role of Citizens and Nonprofits. Communities in which many people have a high awareness and interest in various community and social issues such as environment and diversity and translate the awareness into action have many nonprofits tackling community issues. For example, this study found that a city with a high recycle rate of garbage and a high ratio of foreigners has as many specified nonprofit corporations.

In a society of declining birthrates and increased aging, it is critical to nurture an awareness and norms for the elderly to be able to live vibrantly. As the analysis found that the rate of the elderly population affects the size of specified nonprofit corporations, it is critical to expand activities supporting the elderly, and also for healthy elderly to be able to engage in nonprofit activities.

We should not forget that giving and volunteering by citizens are the essential elements in creating social capital. Facing many recent disasters, the victims gained courage through the giving and volunteering of many citizens. This awareness and the actions of citizens are considered to be the source of social capital and community empowerment.

Nonprofits have to be aware of and be responsible for their role of creating social capital. Social capital is created through the initiatives of citizens, and nonprofits also have a role in it. Nonprofits have the role of providing opportunities for citizens to participate in them through giving and volunteering, of extending the networks of citizens and of conducting civic education.

Policies on Nonprofits and Community. While citizens and nonprofits are the main actors in creating social capital, government is mainly a supporting actor facilitating them. Government needs to include the concept of social capital in public policy. Dissemination of the concept through understanding of policymakers, nonprofits and citizens will lead to concrete policy development. Putting social capital as an indicator of public policy is now becoming a “global standard” (Tsujinaka 2003b).

A community which develops active and supportive policies on nonprofits and provides an enabling environment for nonprofits exemplifies vibrant nonprofit activities. It is pivotal for local government to promulgate ordinances to support nonprofit activities and to promote partnerships for institutionalization. This study found that the existence of ordinances to support nonprofits positively affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations. Many municipalities have yet to promulgate ordinances, and thus, the cause and effect relationship cannot be explained. However, government policies on nonprofits can be considered to affect nonprofit activities.

A wealthy community and a community with the accumulation of city functions were found to have many specified nonprofit corporations. This suggests that nonprofits are easily able to develop their activities in a community with an accessible environment and many management resources. The initiative of local government is particularly critical in communities in which the private sector does not sufficiently provide the environment and resources for nonprofits. Therefore, it would be desirable for local governments to support the creation of an environment and resources to enable nonprofits to develop their activities flexibly. In other words, fostering and providing human resources, physical resources, financial resources and information resources, and a means to utilize such resources are crucial.

Moreover, policies to facilitate the interest of citizens in community, social and education policies to foster generosity and respect for diversity are also essential.

Policies on Rural Areas. This study identified the concentration of specified nonprofit corporations in big metropolitan areas. This coincides with the result of the COJ (2004d) and the Council on Quality of Life, COJ (2004). More than half of towns and villages do not have any specified nonprofit corporations, while some towns and villages have a large number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita. Policies on towns and villages, particularly rural areas need to be reconsidered in the midst of decentralization and the mergers and acquisitions of municipalities.

Community-based relationships have been deeply rooted in rural areas. However, these areas require a change in the face of depopulation, declining birthrate and aging society.

Cooperation and collaboration between neighborhood associations and nonprofits are recognized as crucial in most of the towns and villages, yet the collaboration between the two has not progressed very much due to a lack of mutual understanding (Council on Quality of Life, COJ 2004). Still, I argue that nonprofits with professionalism and a new way of thinking differ from neighborhood associations rooted in community and facilitate the attractiveness of a community, and will lead to community revitalization with the synergy of bonding and bridging types of social capital. Analysis of successful and failed cases of collaborations between nonprofits and neighborhood associations and nonprofits in rural areas is necessary to apply successful factors to other areas.

Specified nonprofit corporations and intermediary organizations are concentrated in prefectural capitals and major cities. However, the role of nonprofits and intermediary organizations and coordinators connecting various community actors is getting more critical in rural areas considering the scope of local government in which jurisdiction tends to be wider through the mergers and acquisitions of municipalities and the scope of a community in which social capital is created.

Limitations of Data and for Future Research. Factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level through the social capital perspective were examined for the first time. However, the quantity of available data at the municipal level limited its scope of empirical analysis. Access to national data at prefecture level is comparatively easy in Japan, whereas access to national data at the municipal level is very limited. Therefore, conducting an empirical analysis with various prefectural level data would be meaningful to test diverse factors including education level and political system.

However, the purpose of this study was to empirically analyze factors affecting the size of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level, the more appropriate unit of analysis than the prefecture level for examining social capital and nonprofit activities. Therefore, a detailed empirical analysis at the prefecture level and a limited empirical analysis at the smaller municipality level are considered as in a trade-off relationship.

Refinement of the model with various variables at the municipal level is necessary for future research. For example, an easy access to data on the number of specified nonprofit corporations at the municipal level and also by activity field such as social welfare and art and culture at the municipal level is desirable. Moreover, data on social capital such as trust, norms and networks, e.g., membership in specified nonprofit corporations and neighborhood associations at the municipal level is also necessary in order to examine the relationship between the relationship among specified nonprofit corporations, neighborhood associations and social capital. In addition, data on neighborhood associations and education level, which are considered to affect the size of specified nonprofit corporations, should also be readily available at the municipal level. Home Office of the U.K. government has been spending a considerable amount of money on measuring social capital such as through the Citizenship Survey from 2001 biannually. It is also desirable for the Japanese government to be headed for such a direction to grasp the vital aspects of civic life.

CHAPTER 4 CASE STUDIES ON NONPROFITS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

4.1 Introduction

Following the empirical analysis in the last chapter, various cases in three fields of nonprofit activities are examined in this chapter in order to qualitatively analyze the process of social capital creation and utilization: intermediary, environment and disaster relief. The three fields were selected from the following reasons:

1) Several intermediary organizations abroad are already aware of the role of nonprofits in creating social capital rather than other service delivery types of nonprofits. Intermediary organizations are considered to be influential in spreading the concept and usefulness of social capital into various types of nonprofits as a whole through its bridging role;

2) Environmental activities are considered to be one of the oldest and important nonprofit activities in Japan. Moreover, environmental activism across borders of nations has been influential in world politics (Wapner 1996), and an analysis of organizations in the environmental field is considered to have a major impact on the future governance of nonprofits both in Japan and abroad; and

3) Development of nonprofits in Japan has its roots in disaster relief at the Kobe Earthquake in 1995. Moreover, I myself experienced a disaster relief in Japan: the Fukui Flood in 2004. My experience of volunteering for the disaster relief opened my eyes on the usefulness of social capital in a community, and I was motivated to deeply analyze the disaster-relief activities of nonprofits for disaster relief in the face of increasing disasters in various parts of the world.

4.2 Intermediary

4.2.1 Overview

Existing research indicates a positive feedback of social capital and civic activities, and types and forms of nonprofits producing social capital. However, it has been unclear how nonprofits actually produce each kind of social capital or how they use each kind of perspective, approach and strategy for that purpose. Therefore, this section compares case studies and analyzes how nonprofits deal with the creation of social capital and how nonprofits utilize it.

Case studies of three intermediary nonprofits were conducted to examine what kind of perspectives and approaches nonprofits adopt and what activities they undertake to produce and utilize social capital: Social Capital Inc. [SCI] in the U.S., the National Council for Voluntary Organizations [NCVO] in the U.K. and The Wheel in Ireland. These nonprofits have a mission to develop social capital and to take a social capital approach to their activities and advocacy. The reason why these three organizations were chosen is because these organizations clearly adopt the development of social capital in their mission statement, purpose of a program and/or as a perspective. I conducted an interview with David Crowley, founder and representative of SCI in May 2006. Cases of NCVO and The Wheel are based on an ESRI (2005) Interview in Europe which I also attended as a research cooperator in February 2005.

Each organization develops unique programs. SCI was established in 2002 in Woburn, Massachusetts with a population of 38,000 in the suburb of Boston to create social capital itself and to strengthen community through the accumulation of social capital. Its activities range from training of community coordinators to connecting diverse community actors. NCVO is an umbrella organization of 3,700 member organizations created in 1919 in the U.K. It aims to share the voice of the voluntary and community sector, to encourage vibrant activities of organizations with improving quality of service and to challenge new things. NCVO conducts research on how nonprofits can utilize social capital. The Wheel was created in 1996 to pursue empowerment of the voluntary and community sector in Ireland. It provides information to 15,000 voluntary and community organizations in Ireland, shares the needs and voice of the

sector, and conducts advocacy for the sector. The overview of each organization is summarized in Table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 Overview of the Three Organizations

Organization	Social Capital Inc. (SCI)	National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)	The Wheel
Location	Woburn, the suburb of Boston, U.S.	London, U.K.	Dublin, Ireland
Target organization/ area	Community around Boston (e.g., Woburn with the population of 38,000)	Voluntary and community organizations in the UK	Voluntary and community organizations in Ireland
Year of establishment	2002	1919	1996
Membership, staff, budget	3,000 members, 7 staff, US\$200,000	3,700 organizations, 100 staff, 5 million UK pound	1,500 organizations, 9 staff, 920,000 EURO
Vision	of a nation in which individuals connect with neighbors and play an active role in forming the fate of community.	of a society in which people are inspired to make a positive difference to their communities.	of a society that is characterized by the active participation of people in communities all over Ireland, who strive for the common good and who are connected to each other on a local, national and international level.
Mission	To strengthen communities by connecting diverse individuals and organizations through civic engagement initiatives.	A vibrant voluntary and community sector deserves a strong voice and the best support. NCVO aims to be that support and voice.	To enable community and voluntary organizations achieve their maximum potential, increase benefit to the public and in the process create a better Ireland.

Source: Created by the author based on SCI (2005, website), NCVO (website), The Wheel (2005, website), ESRI (2005) and interview.

4.2.2 Background on the interest in social capital

Each organization is affected by the book of Putnam (2000), which describes the collapse of community and decline of social capital. SCI was created through the compassion of David

Crowley (2005, Preer 2005) toward Putnam's book, which was the direct motive in creating an organization pursuant to the accumulation of social capital itself. NCVO became interested in the concept of social capital through the promotion of the government including Prime Minister Blair, the former Chief of Department of Interior, David Blunkett as well as Putnam's research. NCVO questioned the concept of social capital as having diverse and confusing interpretations. It was interested in the actual relationships between social capital and voluntary and community organizations, and how social capital is useful for nonprofits in practice. The Wheel paid attention to the importance of social capital in designing the role and programs of the sector and itself through the report by the National Economic and Social Forum [NESF] (2003) on policy implications of social capital. It was also influenced by the book of O'Ferral (2000), which describes the relationships between citizenship, public service and voluntary organizations from the perspective of medical care in Ireland.

4.2.3 Perspective on social capital

The recognition that social capital is important is common to each organization. However, the approach toward social capital is different in each organization. SCI regards social capital as an organizational framework for community development and increasing civic engagement. NCVO regards social capital as a tool for nonprofits based on mutual relationships. NCVO proposes that social capital is an effective tool for nonprofits to understand community, evaluate organizational resources and impacts to design a strategic plan and to facilitate capacity building. The Wheel, which paid attention to the concept of social capital through designing their roles and programs, indicates a vision of society with rich social capital: a society in which people strive to a common purpose in every community in the nation, and are connected with each other at the community, national and international levels, and participates positively in community.

4.2.4 Strategy

Each organization has its own strategy. SCI tries to construct networks of community at the national level that cooperate for the increase of the level of civic engagement and supply of social capital. NCVO strives to develop and provide a tool of social capital for utilization by nonprofits in practice as well as in theory. The Wheel tries to act as a “bridging” mechanism connecting respective components of the voluntary and community sector.

4.2.5 Social capital related programs

Each organization conducts unique programs relating to social capital. SCI has constructed its own “SCI Model” relating to the creation of social capital (Figure 4.1).

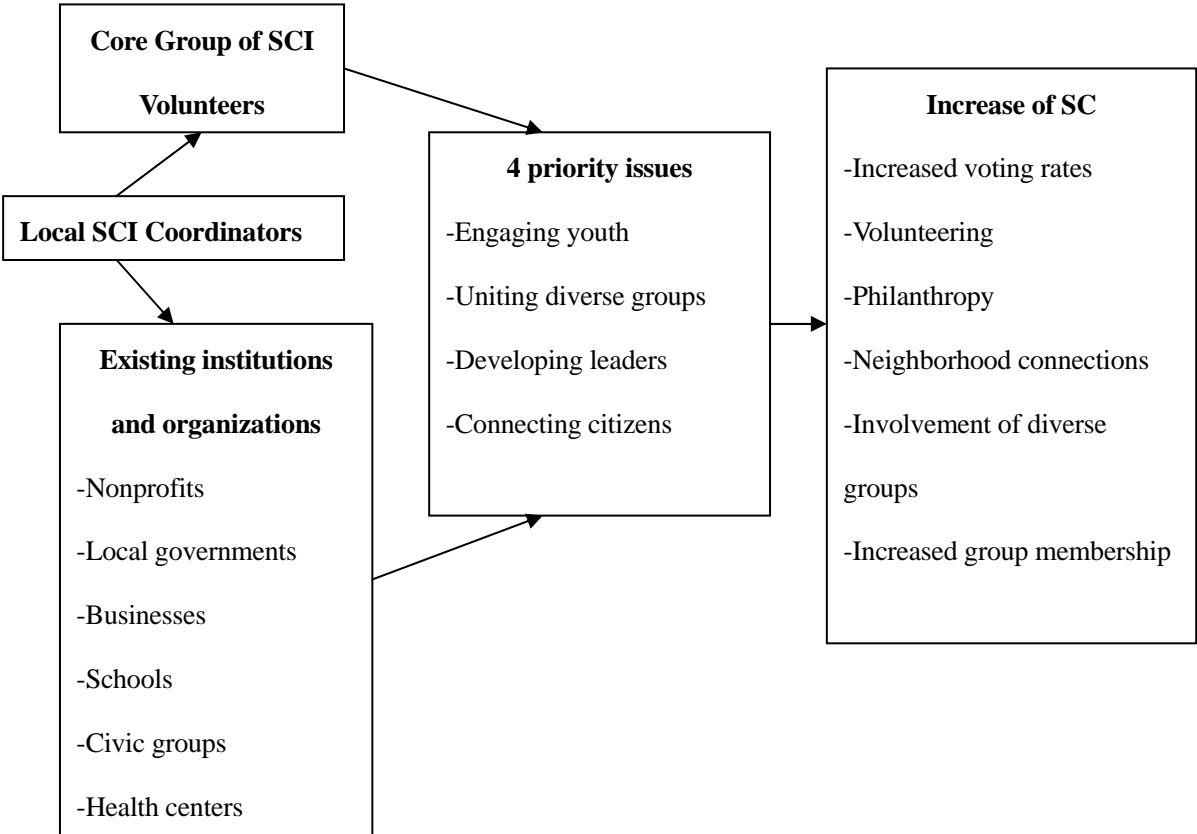


Figure 4.1 Overview of SCI Model

Source: SCI (2005).

NCVO began research in 2002 on how social capital is useful for nonprofits in practice. It published three reports on social capital in rural areas, social capital for nonprofits in practice, and the role of public policy in creating social capital (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 Research on Social Capital at NCVO

Author	Year	Title	Summary
Yates, Holly and Jochum, Veronique	2003	It's Who You Know that Counts: The Role of the Voluntary Sector in the Development of Social Capital in Rural Areas	Conducting qualitative analysis on how voluntary organizations contribute to the formation of social capital in rural areas.
Jochum, Veronique	2003	Social Capital: Beyond the Theory	Clarification of the concept of social capital for NCVO and the voluntary sector. It makes practical proposals for the voluntary sector.
Begum, Halima	2003	Social Capital in Action: Adding Up Local Connections and Networks	Joint research with the Center for Civil society. Discussions on the role of public policy in creating social capital based on two case studies in the eastern London.

Source: Created by the author based on each literature and ESRI (2005).

It also designed a social capital framework to measure social capital at the organizational level (Table 4.3). NCVO is in the process of developing and spreading a social capital audit based on this framework (Table 4.4).

Table 4.3 Social Capital Framework at NCVO

- Community composition	- Decision-making processes
- Connections and networks	- Identity and belonging
- Community capacity	- Norms and values
- Involvement and participation	- Satisfaction and the quality of life

Source: Jochum (2004).

Table 4.4 Social Capital Audit Proposed at NCVO

-
- What types of social capital does an organization benefit from?
 - What are its strengths and weaknesses in terms of social capital?
 - What practices and processes within the organization encourage or inhibit social capital?
 - What support and capacity building are needed?
-

Source: Jochum (2004).

4.2.6 Measurement and evaluation

Each organization has been trying to measure and evaluate social capital and social capital related programs from their own perspectives. SCI has been collaborating with a team of graduate students in order to conduct community surveys every year. NCVO is working on the dissemination of the social capital audit to as many voluntary organizations as possible. The Wheel conducts both quantitative and qualitative analysis by each function through members and participants (The Wheel 2005).

4.2.7 Challenges

Each organization is faced with various challenges from their own perspectives and conditions. SCI makes it a challenge to conduct a process of community plan with diverse stakeholders through partnerships with major community organizations. SCI is considering the application of a model applicable to the background of each community based on a bonding social capital. NCVO considers it difficult to construct “bridging” and “linking” types of social capital whereas constructing a “bonding” type of social capital is relatively easy, and strives to construct the difficult two types of social capital. Likewise, the Wheel tries to construct a bridging type of social capital through the expansion of networks in communities other than Dublin, the capital of Ireland, and to expand a linking type of social capital such as the expansion of contributions and support from business corporations to the voluntary and community sector.

4.2.8 Implications

This section has introduced three intermediary organizations tackling social capital in policy and in practice. Background, definition and recognition, strategy, activities, measurement and evaluation, and challenges of each organization are summarized and compared in Table 4.5. Lessons from the three case studies are that nonprofits have a role to create social capital at different levels of individual, organization, community and country; and that nonprofits hold different types of functions and strategies to create social capital.

Table 4.5 Initiatives of the Three Organizations on Social Capital

Name	Social Capital Inc. (SCI)	National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)	The Wheel
Background	Success of issue-specific interventions depends on the creation of social capital at the community level and civic engagement. However, current activities tend to develop issues specific programs rather than strengthening the fabric of the whole community. SCI decided to fill the gap, develop professional knowledge on creating social capital at the community level and to create civic engagement.	In the face of heightening interest by policy makers and scholars, it had a question on the theoretical and often confusing concept of social capital with many interpretations, and became interested in the relationships between voluntary and community organizations and social capital, and how social capital is useful for voluntary and community organizations.	Reading of the Putnam's <i>Bowling Alone</i> , and became interested in social capital as an important concept in tackling various social problems.
Definition	Collective value of social networks and norms of reciprocity arising from it (cf. Putnam's <i>Bowling Alone</i> .)	Norms and social relations integrated in a social structure. It is a stock of active connections among people connecting members of community and enabling coordinated actions.	Adopting the definition of Putnam.
Recognition on SC and its role	Social networks have a value. Focusing on the possibility as an organizational framework to increase civic engagement and community development based on Putnam's <i>Bowling Alone</i> .	A tool to understand community problems, evaluate resources and impacts of an organization, to design a strategic plan, and to facilitate capacity building.	Central concept to tackle with social problems and practiced particularly in rural areas.

(Table 4.5, continued.)

Name	Social Capital Inc. (SCI)	National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)	The Wheel
Strategy	Creating national networks of communities cooperating with the increase of the level of social capital provision and civic engagement.	To develop and provide practical and useful tools for nonprofits and also to be able to acquire expertise and theoretical background.	Act as a mechanism to connect different elements of the community and voluntary sector.
Activities relating to social capital	Facilitation of cooperative efforts to create social capital in 4 priority areas of youth civic engagement, connecting diverse people and organizations, development of community leaders and connecting citizens to information. Providing information relating to social capital.	Research and publications on social capital; and development of social capital audit to measure social capital at voluntary and community organizations.	Act as a resource center, advocate and a leader. 1) Resource center: creating database of 15,000 voluntary and community organizations and conduct training for the organizations, 2) Advocate: Cooperation through Spokes, issue-based networks and facilitate campaigns for a change, 3) Leader: Engagement with social partnerships and NESF.
Measurement and evaluation	Conduct an annual community survey to examine the long-term changes in social capital through the collaboration with a team of graduate students.	Social capital audit. Measurement of SC through qualitative analysis and publication of the research reports. (Table 4.2)	Conduct both quantitative and qualitative research to members and participants by function. O'Ferral (2000) <i>Citizenship and Public Service: Voluntary and Statutory Relationships in Irish Healthcare</i> .
Challenges and prospects	Conduct a process of community plans with diverse stakeholders through collaboration with major community organizations in order to expand to new communities.	Development of bridging and linking SC, and the development of social capital audit for voluntary and community organizations	Connections among sectors, and expansion of networks in communities outside of Dublin.

Source: Created by the author based on ESRI (2005), interviews, documents and websites of each organization.

Levels of creating social capital. Nonprofit create and utilize social capital at different levels of individual, organization, community and country (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Social Capital at Different Levels

Level	Creation and Utilization of Social Capital	Example of and organization in the cases
Individual	Facilitation of individual giving and volunteering, and expansion of opportunities for civic engagement	SCI
Organization	Strategic plan and evaluation through the social capital perspective, and capacity building	NCVO
Community	Community governance, community revitalization, and local government policy	SCI, The Wheel
Country	Advocacy and policy development with social capital perspective	The Wheel, NCVO

Source: Created by the author.

At the individual level, nonprofits facilitate giving and volunteering of individual, and expand opportunities for citizens to participate and engage in community. For example, SCI trains coordinators, and many volunteers with the coordinators are involved in and facilitate participation by community residents. At the organizational level, nonprofits can construct social capital within the organization. For this purpose, constructing its own social capital as the case of NCVO and evaluating its own organization and activities referring to social capital audit of NCVO and build capacities will be essential.

At the community level, community governance with the dialogues on the future of community through collaborations and partnerships of various community actors such as local governments and businesses lead to regenerating community. For example, SCI strives to increase social capital in community through tangible and measurable indicators such as an increase of voting rates and connections with neighbors through tackling priority community problems with the cooperation of local governments, business corporations, schools and civic groups.

At the national level, nonprofits can advocate and develop policies and conduct evaluations with the social capital perspective on the related policy fields of its activities. The Wheel has advocated the central government for the voluntary and community sector to gain access to the training fund, representing the voice of the sector. Moreover, The Wheel plays a pivotal role in developing policies on the voluntary and community sector through the engagement with social partnerships.

Types of social capital created by nonprofits. Different types of nonprofits were found to hold different functions and strategies to create different types of social capital such as bonding, bridging and linking. SCI is categorized as service delivery, intermediary and community organizations. It tries to construct a bonding type of social capital such as connections with neighbors, and its strategy is to create bridging social capital of diverse community actors based on the bonding social capital created in community. NCVO and The Wheel are categorized as intermediary and advocacy types, and they put emphasis more on bridging and linking social capital rather than bonding social capital.

This section examined how nonprofits can create and utilize social capital through three case studies and their comparative analysis. Discussions on the significance of social capital and its frameworks based on the missions and functions of each organization, and taking the social capital perspective into consideration to the strategic plans and programs of each organization are essential for nonprofits to create and utilize social capital as shown in the cases. Moreover, conducting a community survey through the collaboration with a university as practiced in SCI and evaluating the organization and its social capital through the social capital audit developed by NCVO is also desirable.

4.3 Environment

4.3.1 Overview

The above section examined intermediaries striving for nonprofits to create and disseminate social capital. Now, how are nonprofits actually develop or utilize social capital through their

activities? I introduce three examples of civic activities in the environmental field. I look at how each example was successful in environmental sustainability management and how social capital has functioned for its promotion. Environmental activities have a rich and long history in Japan, beginning with the anti-pollution movements in the 1960s. The environmental activities have evolved from these anti-movements to more advocacy-oriented activities with professionalism and collaboration and partnerships in order to form an open and common space (Hasegawa 2003). Moreover, the concept of sustainable community has gained a wide public attention recently in Japan. For example, the Law to Promote Reusable/Revival of Nature that envisions a society coexisting with nature was promulgated in December 2001. Morotomi (2003) argues the importance of grasping environmental concerns from the perspective of social capital in order to bridge them to sustainable environment.

Therefore, in this section, three examples from three different scopes and locations in Japan are introduced here: Ecoplan Fukui, Chubu Recycle, and the Japan Milk Carton Recycling Association [JMCRA]. Ecoplan Fukui is a specified nonprofit corporation based in a local community and has extended its activities and engaged various people in the area. Chubu Recycle is a specified nonprofit corporation in quite a big city and has utilized existing social capital such as commercial districts to further the recycling movement in the area. JMCRA is a nationwide network-based association which has utilized business corporations and supermarkets to systemize the recycling movement across the country and advocated the legislation of the Law to Promote Sorted Collection and Recycling of Containers and Packages. I am aware that selecting the three successful environmental examples may pose a selection bias but I would still like to illustrate the process and functions of social capital in forming environmental sustainability.

4.3.2 Ecoplan Fukui, Fukui¹⁹

There are many environmental organizations in Fukui City which has a population of 250,000. The rate of specified nonprofit corporations in the environmental field is very high in Fukui Prefecture. However, the majority of them are derived from local government initiatives rather than from citizens. Ecoplan Fukui is one of the few environmental nonprofits that were established with citizen initiatives.

Moriaki Yoshikawa has long been engaged in environmental activities through cooperatives and consumer movements. In 1998, he heard that the Fukui City was planning to promulgate basic environmental ordinances, and asked his volunteer colleagues to get together to propose opinions on the citizen side regarding the basic environmental rules. That is how Ecoplan Fukui was established in July 1998. Until then, laws and regulations were all made by local government. However, he felt citizens should contribute their opinions to the establishment of new environmental laws at the local level in Japan, which would affect the future generations and the environment of the community. In October 1998, the organization submitted a citizens' draft of an environmental ordinance to Mayor of Fukui. Then, the ordinance was promulgated in March 1999 at the environmental council which included two members of Ecoplan Fukui as councilors. In the beginning, the organization aimed to propose a draft of the rules. However, after the promulgation of the ordinance, the organization has transformed its role from proposing a draft with citizen initiative and citizen voices to an organization which takes actions based on the rules.

Main activities of Ecoplan Fukui are in the fields of natural environment, energy, recycling, environmental education and environmental management system. An overview of three activities among the five areas is as follows:

Natural Environment: Ecoplan Fukui has hosted environmental observation seminars, and has tried to find out the current situation of nature in Fukui, spreading the movement to the entire community.

¹⁹ This case is based on the interview with Moriaki Yoshikawa, representative of Ecoplan Fukui in 2003 and communications thereafter.

Energy: Solar power generation: They heard about solar power generation undertaken by a neighboring prefecture, Shiga, learned about its practice, and established a new organization, the Civic Power Generation Association in Fukui. It has been promoting the solar power generation in individual households.

Environmental Management System They have developed the ISO Home Version based on the ISO14001.²⁰ Many Japanese business corporations have been authenticated with the ISO14001 with a heightened awareness toward environment. Based on this system, Ecoplan Fukui, in partnership with the Fukui city government, has developed a system for individual households to lead an environmentally friendly life, the ISO Home Version. Ecoplan Fukui also does consultation for small and medium-sized companies regarding environmental management. For small and medium-sized companies, implementation of ISO14001 is very expensive and complicated. Therefore, Ecoplan Fukui with the Fukui City has been developing an environmental accreditation system that even small and medium-sized companies can adopt more simply and with less cost. For this purpose, 13 persons including consultants, those who were in charge of environmental issues and those retired from companies, established a new nonprofit organization, the “Fukui Environmental Improvement Support Center” in August 2003.

These activities of Ecoplan Fukui have been widely recognized in Fukui. Participants in its activities and those with environmental consciousness have also increased. Then, how has social capital functioned for the environmental sustainability system in Ecoplan Fukui?

Partnerships with other sectors: Ecoplan Fukui has established partnerships with the city wherever and whenever they are able to. For example, they have proposed the citizen drafts to the city government and home version ISO. They were ground-breaking in proposing from the citizen’s perspective, and therefore, made it easier for the city government to act. Also, Ecoplan Fukui mobilized mass media to take up their cause. An article on their activities and upcoming events in the local newspaper attracted new participants to their events.

²⁰ ISO14001 is an international environmental authentication system to set policies and objectives regarding environment and systemize them for implementation, and check the achievements and tackle the objectives at a higher level.

Social networks with professionalism: A major hallmark of Ecoplan Fukui is that the social networks of the leaders in the organizations and their various interests have extended their activities to create new organizations to tackle the new issues arising from their activities and to meet emerging needs in the community. Shared and multiple leadership, and respect for each other made it possible to smooth transfer and cooperation between horizontal networks of each member of the organizations and bridging different fields of people. Environmental sustainability cannot be realized by only one organization or one field of activity. However, Ecoplan Fukui, taking the most advantage of its horizontal networks and professionalism of each member, has extended their activities with their specialization and expertise.

Impact on community. As for power generation, it has seized good timing with a surge of the movement nationwide. Fukui Prefectural Government also started to offer subsidies for the houses that would like to implement solar power generation at home. The number of the solar power generated homes was around 50, one of the worst levels nationwide, but now, it has increased to 500. Mass media also took up the news and became an information bridge between citizens, the nonprofit organization and the city government.

4.3.3 Chubu Recycle, Nagoya²¹

Chubu Recycle is located in Nagoya with a population of 2.2 million. This organization was established by Yoshiyuki Hagiwara with a group of 50 citizens in 1980 to promote recycling following the similar civic organizations in Tokyo and Osaka. Its activities range from recycling of resources through “recycle stations,” dissemination of an energy saving system, support of reuse through free markets, and environmental education.

The organization has worked to promote recycling, guided by the following principles:

- To explore the ideal lifestyle from various viewpoints (food and disposal, etc.);
- To organize activities in which anyone can participate and which represent practical steps to create a new system in society (opportunities for citizens to practice);

²¹ Major part of this example summarizes arguments in COJ (2003) and Nakagawa and Sakurai (1999).

- To encourage people to transform themselves from passive consumers to creators of their own lifestyle (selecting food, clothes and lifestyle);
- To keep its ideas and actions free from outside influence through self-financing; and
- To promote collaboration among citizens, industry, local government, mass media, and people's organizations (Nakagawa and Sakurai 1999).

Chubu Recycle has now become a model for waste management through more than 20 years' experience, and demonstrates how the nature of civic action can be transformed from sporadic activities by some citizens into an organized work based on professionalism and commitment (Nakagawa and Sakurai 1999). How has social capital at Chubu Recycle produced environmental sustainability in the area?

Coordination and cooperation of various sectors: From its inception, Chubu Recycle was consciously promoting the coordination and cooperation of citizens, businesses, government, mass media, and civic organizations. This mission was fulfilled in the form of selecting a venue for events on recycling, because cooperation of businesses and community in the provision of a space would be necessary. For example, regarding the "recycling station," the system to collect resource trash/waste, citizens provided human resources, business corporations and local government provided funds, mass media provided publicity, and nonprofits played the role of managing and coordinating the overall system. In some communities, shopping districts and school districts have provided places for collecting resource waste. In other words, new social capital such as trust and networks with other sectors made it possible to collect human resources, financial resources and information necessary for recycling activities through utilizing existing social capital.

Utilization of nonprofits by the shopping district: The shopping district, which has provided places for recycling stations, has obtained trust from the community through conducting philanthropic recycling activities in cooperation with the nonprofits.

Revitalization of the existing social capital: In 1999, the "waste emergency declaration" was announced in the region due to the broad shortage of waste disposal facilities. Thus, the city requested the "recycling station" to extend its activities. Currently, the management of the

“recycling station” has been transferred from nonprofits to local residents called “civic recyclers.” The program of unnecessary goods database was transferred to the Nagoya city and the sales activities of organic vegetables became an independent stock corporation. It can be said that the nonprofit organization serves as an incubator for various programs on environmental management in the community.

Leadership: Leadership has also led enthusiasm of Hagiwara for recycling to concrete actions with the support of various supporters’ civic groups.

4.3.4 Japan Milk Carton Recycling Association [JMCRA], Tokyo²²

JMCRA is a nationwide network organization. It is located in Tokyo, the capital of Japan with a population of 13 million. A mother’s group led by Hatsumi Hirai started to collect milk cartons in 1984 as a way to show children that “adults value resources,” in order to urge a rethinking of the throwaway society. The movement soon spread nationwide, and in 1985, 11 citizen groups from various parts of Japan formally organized JMCRA. Now, affiliated networks extend to 420 groups and individuals nationwide.

Through the tenacious activities of JMCRA, the movement of collecting milk cartons had widely spread by the early 1990s, but the usage of the cartons for recycled paper products did not increase correspondingly. This prodded the association to exert efforts in urging paper companies to use recycled papers and for the public to buy recycled paper products (with a distinctive R marking). Recycling of milk cartons also became an official policy by 1995. From 1995, the movement has matured and faced new challenges. Economies of scale limit actual collection vis-à-vis the multiplication of collection bases. Still, JMCRA seems able to face these challenges as it sustains activities to further the movement, including information dissemination, national conventions, national recycling campaign, research and networking through handmade postcards.

Social capital at JMCRA has produced environmental sustainability management as follows:

²² Most part of this case summarizes arguments in Hirai and Nishide (1999).

Citizenry's initiative in partnership with other sectors: JMCRA has secured the citizenry's partnership with other sectors from the beginning and built trust and networks among the sectors. JMCRA has obtained support from ministries and agencies as well as from many enterprises. It was JMCRA that started to construct new relationships with government and businesses: the principal role in the partnership has been on the citizen side. Study meetings have also become an occasion for the national administration to understand the actual situations of recycling and environmental activities in various regions. JMCRA considers that an equal partnership cannot be realized if a civic group depends too much on governments and businesses, or restricts its own activities to what governments and businesses sanction.

Coordination of local bases: Whenever a collecting route is to be established in a region, JMCRA never fails to combine the route with a paper-making company nearby. Thus, the final destination of milk cartons stays clear. If a problem occurs, the paper-manufacturing company and the collecting group can consult each other. This coordination and bridging the citizens and local companies is an efficient and effective way to promote the movement in each region. Moreover, acting locally in cooperation with the local companies became possible through the coordination.

Flexible structure and culture: JMCRA has flexible relationships with other groups, which has broadened its networks and deepened cooperation. The Association's loose organizational structure has contributed to the dynamism of its activities.

Persistent advocacy: Activities and advocacy of the organization have led to the establishment of a legal framework for milk carton recycling. JMCRA has kept submitting demands to the Ministry of Health and Welfare and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry for the legal sanctioning of milk carton recycling. It has led to the promotion of the Law to Promote Sorted Collection and Recycling of Containers and Packages, which stipulated a milk carton as an item to be collected separately. This piece of legislation could not have passed without the tenacious involvement of JMCRA. Now at major supermarkets, the recycle bins for milk cartons have become a very common item.

Focus on target as well as broad range of activities: JMCRA has focused its activities on recycling of milk cartons, a very familiar product. The mission statement of JMCRA specifies that it “aims to reconsider the society through recycling of milk cartons.” This strategy made it possible to disseminate the movement across the country with gaining citizen compassion and action in a short time. At the same time, JMCRA has developed a broad range of activities, ranging from the overall environmental education and communication to governance in civic activities. Having a universal theme and conducting a wide range of activities have prevented the movement from falling into a stereotyped collection of milk cartons just for the sake of collection.

Expertise: Over the years, JMCRA has become the sole information source regarding milk carton recycling for government, businesses and citizens. It has accumulated extensive experiences and know-how regarding the subject.

4.3.5 Lessons Learned

Through the three examples on environmental organizations, the following lessons can be learned as to how social capital has played the role of producing sustainable environmental management system.

Cross-sector partnerships in creating and utilizing social capital: In all the three cases, they have collaborated and partnered with existing social capital such as commercial districts, other civic organizations, business corporations and governments. Even if civic environmental organizations are the core for the promotion of sustainable environment, it is impossible to realize an ideal situation without the understanding, trust and cooperation of other sectors and every citizen in the community. In this sense, it is essential to collaborate with other organizations and sectors to disseminate their activities and to change the attitudes and actions of citizens toward the environment.

Openness to innovation and utilization of bridging social capital. All three examples are both creative and innovative. Chubu Recycle and JMCRA have worked on the systems of recycling. Ecoplan Fukui has been keen to incorporate the initiatives undertaken in other areas.

When they think that other areas are doing good things, they actively adopt them through utilization of their bridging networks. The ordinances and regulations had also been promulgated by local governments in Fukui, which resulted from Ecoplan Fukui taking the initiative to propose regulations reflecting citizens' concerns.

Sharing a sense of crisis. In each case, the leaders felt a sense of crisis about the current environment surrounding them, and that sense of crisis triggered their positive actions. For example, Yoshikawa of Ecoplan Fukui felt that local governments alone could not tackle environmental issues and Hirai of JMCRA felt the dangers of a throwaway society. Hagiwara was alarmed by waste dumping. The leaders' perspectives and concrete actions were vital for the creation of social capital.

Long-term vision. Energy and environmental issues, among others, should be tackled with a long-term framework spanning 50 years to 100 years. In each case, the motivation of the leaders in establishing their organizations for environmental activities is long-term. This is vital in dealing with environment on a sustainable basis.

In sum, the major common elements of each example for sustainable environmental management are as follows: utilization of existing social capital and cross-sector partnerships (trust and networks), innovation and creativity, sharing a sense of crisis, and leadership and commitment. Sustained and joint efforts of citizens, local businesses and local government organizations have made possible the significant environmental improvements in each of the cases.

This section has revealed that social capital and civic activities, and specifically environmental sustainability are interrelated. The examples suggest that utilization of social capital, specifically bridging social capital is very effective for sustainable environmental management. Nonprofits can collaborate with traditional neighborhood associations and commercial districts and vice versa, and through bridging social capital, empower the community to improve the quality of community life.

4.4 Disaster Relief

4.4.1 Introduction

This section discusses the role of social capital in disaster relief with an overview of the development of civil society in Japan over the last decade since the Kobe Earthquake in 1995. The year 1995 is called the “year of volunteering” in Japan because over 1.37 million people nationwide volunteered in Kobe, and it was the trigger for the development of civil society in Japan. Japan has experienced many natural disasters such as floods, typhoons and earthquakes over the last decade, and perceptions and approaches to tackling disasters have changed through the evolution of disaster relief nonprofits and volunteers. How has civil society in Japan transformed through the process, and what are the key factors for its development and successful disaster management? I argue that social capital such as trust, networks and norms of reciprocity plays a vital role.

First, I review literature on disaster and social capital, briefly mention a research methodology, and describe the development of civil society in Japan over the last decade in addressing disasters. Then, I discuss how social capital influences on disaster relief, and newly develops and benefits community through the case of the Fukui Flood Disaster. I will specifically focus on the role of disaster relief nonprofits, grassroots organizations and intermediaries. Challenges and prospects for disaster relief activities in preparing for the future disasters in relation to social capital are also discussed.

4.4.2 Disaster relief

Connections between people and mutual support, namely, the value of social capital is considered to be the most important lesson learned from the revival process of the Kobe Earthquake. Natural disasters and big social events affect social capital such as trust and networks. At the same time, social capital that has been accumulated in a society exerts influence on how society deals with disasters. Above all, civic engagement and civil society are influenced by a national crisis such as war and natural disaster (Putnam 2000, Kage 2003a). The

social capital survey by Putnam just after September 11, 2001 indicated an increase in people's interest in public affairs. The rate of increase was particularly high at 27 percent among young people who had little interest in public affairs previously, compared to 8 percent of those over 36 years old, and trust in various forms and trust in government and public institutions have also risen (Putnam 2002b).

At the same time, in natural disasters, social capital can take various forms and the structure of core networks influence how informal and formal support are received: Those in a network with strong bonding tend to receive more informal support, while those with few core networks would be effective in shaving information from outside (Hulbert et al. 2001). How much social capital has been accumulated, utilized and newly developed is a key to promoting partnerships in communities and it would most likely apply to partnerships in emergencies such as disaster relief. As such, disaster and social capital are mutually related.

4.4.3 Methodology

The evolution and interaction of nonprofits, volunteers, community, government and businesses are analyzed in addressing disasters through a case study and comparative analysis. Interviews and participatory observations were conducted at the Fukui Flood in 2004. This case was compared to other previous disaster relief activities including the Russian Tanker Spillover Accident in Fukui in 1997 as well as the Kobe Earthquake. Chuetsu (Niigata) Earthquake, which occurred three months after from the Fukui Flood, is also reviewed. The process of development and challenges of the disaster relief nonprofits and volunteers, and the role of social capital are explored. In addition, an analysis of the existing data on nonprofits, giving and volunteering in relation to disaster relief complements the qualitative case study in understanding the quantitative size and trend of change.

4.4.4 Developments in the last decade

Volunteering in the Kobe Earthquake in 1995 has made the public aware the importance of volunteering and nonprofits in the realization of civil society (Honma and Deguchi 1996).

Disaster relief nonprofits have accumulated networks and know-how for the past decade, and nonprofits, volunteers, the public and businesses have changed how they are engaged in disaster relief.

Japan faced many disasters in 2004 such as floods, typhoons and the Chuetsu (Niigata) Earthquake. Community can be a big force in healing the hearts of those affected by disasters: At the Chuetsu Earthquake, those affected were able to move to temporary housing with the unit of their local community, and a space for residents to get together was arranged for communication and exchanges in the community. This is the big lesson from Kobe in which people were isolated in temporary housing.

In the case of the Russian Tanker Oil Spillover Accident in Fukui in 1997, many volunteers gathered from across the nation, but a lack of coordination between the public and the private in accepting volunteers emerged. Learning from the past experiences, the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Center Council was set up at the time of the Fukui Flood, and private organisations including nonprofits and social welfare councils and local governments have periodically held discussions to prepare for coping with disasters. When the Fukui Flood occurred, human casualties were relatively small, and the prompt establishment of the headquarters of the disaster volunteer center based on the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Center Council and the gathering of more than 60,000 volunteers and donations from across the nation led to a prompt relief activities. The background behind this is related to social capital, which consists of trust, networks and norms, which facilitate cooperation and mutual assistance through connections among people.

When the Fukui Flood Disaster occurred in the summer of 2004, trust and networks among citizens, nonprofits and local government accumulated over the recent years had been utilized for organizing the huge participation of volunteers and management of the volunteer center. Through the process, the principles of partnerships that were just theoretical have been realized both on the nonprofit and public sides.

The following Table 4.7 is an overview of the development of civil society in Japan over the last decade with a focus on disaster relief. Table 4.8 summarizes four cases of disaster relief activities in Japan in the last decade: the Kobe Earthquake in 1995, the Oil Spillover

Accident in Fukui in 1997, the Fukui Flood and the Chuetsu Earthquake in 2004. The analysis is made from a social capital perspective including giving and volunteering and networks. It was found that quality of disaster relief has improved reflecting on the lessons from the precious disaster-relief activities. Coordination of volunteers and prompt response has been a huge challenge, however, public-nonprofit partnerships based on mutual trust and national networks of disaster volunteers and nonprofits have resolved the situation.

Table 4.7 Major Disasters and Development of Civil Society in Japan (1995-2005)

Year	Event relating to disaster and civil society
1995	Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (Kobe Earthquake)
	Japanese Year of Volunteering
	Establishment of Nishinomiya Volunteer Network
1997	Russian Tanker Oil Spillover Accident in Fukui
	Establishment of the Fukui Prefecture Disaster Volunteering Fund
	Training of disaster volunteers, coordinators and leaders started in Fukui and conducted every year
1998	Enactment of the Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (the NPO Law)
1999	Establishment of the Nippon Volunteer Network Active in Disaster
2000	Tokai Flood, Miyake Mountain Eruption, and Tottori Earthquake
	Establishment of the Disaster Volunteering Center Council in Fukui
2001	UN International Year of Volunteering
	Enactment of the System of Approved Nonprofit Corporations (eligible to tax-deductible donations)
2002	Reforms of the Public Interest Corporation System have been proposed
	Establishment of the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Net
2003	Amendments to the NPO Law (broader fields, more simple application)
2004	Fukui Flood, Niigata Flood, Typhoon 23, and Chuetsu (Niigata) Earthquake
	Amendments to the Fukui Prefecture Disaster Volunteering Fund (fund is applicable to volunteering outside the prefecture)
2005	10th anniversary of the Kobe Earthquake
	UN World Conference on Disaster Reduction in Kobe
	Establishment of Chuetsu Revival Conference
	Enactment of the Fukui Prefecture Ordinance to Promote Disaster Volunteering

Source: Created by the author based on various documents.

Table 4.8 Examples of Disaster Relief in the Last Decade

Disaster	Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (Kobe Earthquake)	Russian Tanker Oil Spillover Accident in Fukui	Fukui Flood	Chuetsu (Niigata) Earthquake
Mo./Year	Jan. 1995	Jan. 1997	Jul. 2004	Oct. 2004
Overview	Earthquake of 7.3 on Richter Scale	Pollution of the Japan sea and seaside	Heavy rain and flood in the northern part	Earthquake of 7 on Richter Scale
Victim	6,433 dead, 3missing, 43,792 casualties, 104,906 houses were wholly destroyed, 144,274 houses were half destroyed, 263,702 houses were partly destroyed and 13,591 houses destroyed by fire.	Pollution of the sea and seaside and economic damage for fishery and tourist industries.	4 dead, 1missing, 4casualties, 66 houses were wholly destroyed, 135 houses were half destroyed and 4,052 houses were flooded above floor.	46 dead, 627 casualties, 2,827 houses were wholly destroyed and 12,746 houses were half destroyed.
# of Volunteers	1,377,300 (20,000 per day average)	274,607	60,000	85,508
Amount of donations	JPY179,100,000,000 (US\$1.79 billion)	JPY 109,237,222 (US\$ 900 million)	JPY 415,861,773 (US\$ 400 million)	JPY 36,171,444,084 (US\$ 0.35 billion)
Major actors	Volunteers, business corporations, Osaka Volunteering Association	Junior Chambers of Commerce, social welfare councils, volunteers, local government	Cross-sector volunteering center (government, nonprofits, community and businesses), volunteers and the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Net	Cross-sector volunteering center (government, nonprofit, community and businesses), volunteers and the Niigata NPO Association
Outcome	Motive for volunteering and its social recognition, and the rise of many nonprofits including disaster relief organizations	Repeaters of volunteering; help by people with the experience of Kobe; and establishment of the Disaster Volunteering Fund	Effectiveness of the "set up and management by partnership" method; and school-wide and corporate volunteering; amendment to Disaster Volunteering Fund with a more bridging type	Utilizing lessons from Kobe: People in temporary housing were able to live with those in the same community, and space for getting together was established
Challenges	Slow response of government, affected people lived isolated from their own community	Collaboration between public and nonprofits for volunteer coordination and information networks	Response to the handicapped and the elderly; and information delivery	Response to the handicapped and the elderly

Source: Created by the author based on a case study and various related documents.
 Data: Central Community Chest of Japan (website), Fire and Disaster Management Agency (website) and the National Center for Volunteering Promotion (2006).

For the last decade since the Kobe Earthquake, disaster volunteers from nationwide have gathered in times of disasters (Table 4.9). Likewise, disaster-relief nonprofits have been spreading nationwide. Revitalization of such nonprofits is one major factor of social capital. Volunteering and nonprofits can also play the role of bridging and liaison between local government and those affected (Ogino 2005). How have they developed and what are the current conditions? Specified nonprofit corporations with disaster-relief activities has rapidly risen over the eight years since the enforcement of the NPO Law in 1998, and as of June 30, 2006, the number reached to 1,838 nationwide, which comprises 6.7 percent of all specified nonprofit corporations (Figure 4.2).

Table 4.9 Number of Disaster Volunteers at Major Disasters for the Last Decade

Disaster	Period	Number of volunteers
Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (Kobe Earthquake)	Jan. 95	1,377,300
Russian Tanker Spillover Accident in Fukui	Jan. 97	274,607
Kochi Flood	Sep. 98	8,000
Eruption of Mount Arisu in Hokkaido	Mar. 00	9,293
Flood in Tokai	Sep. 00	19,598
Western Tottori Earthquake	Oct. 00	5,384
Geiyo Earthquake in Hiroshima	Mar. 01	3,147
South Western Kochi Flood	Sep. 01	11,488
Northern Miyagi Earthquake	Jul. 03	4,065
Niigata and Fukushima Flood	Jul. 04	45,229
Fukui Flood	Jul. 04	60,208
Typhoon No.16 and No. 18	Aug.-Sep. 04	6,713
Typhoon No.21 and No. 23	Sep.-Oct. 04	11,924
Chuetsu Earthquake in Niigata	Oct. 04	85,508
Western Fukuoka Earthquake	Mar. 05	3,254
Typhoon No.14 Flood	Sep.05	more than 15,800
Heavy snowfall	Dec. 05	3,137

Source: Fire and Disaster Management Agency (website) and
the National Center for Volunteering Promotion (2006).

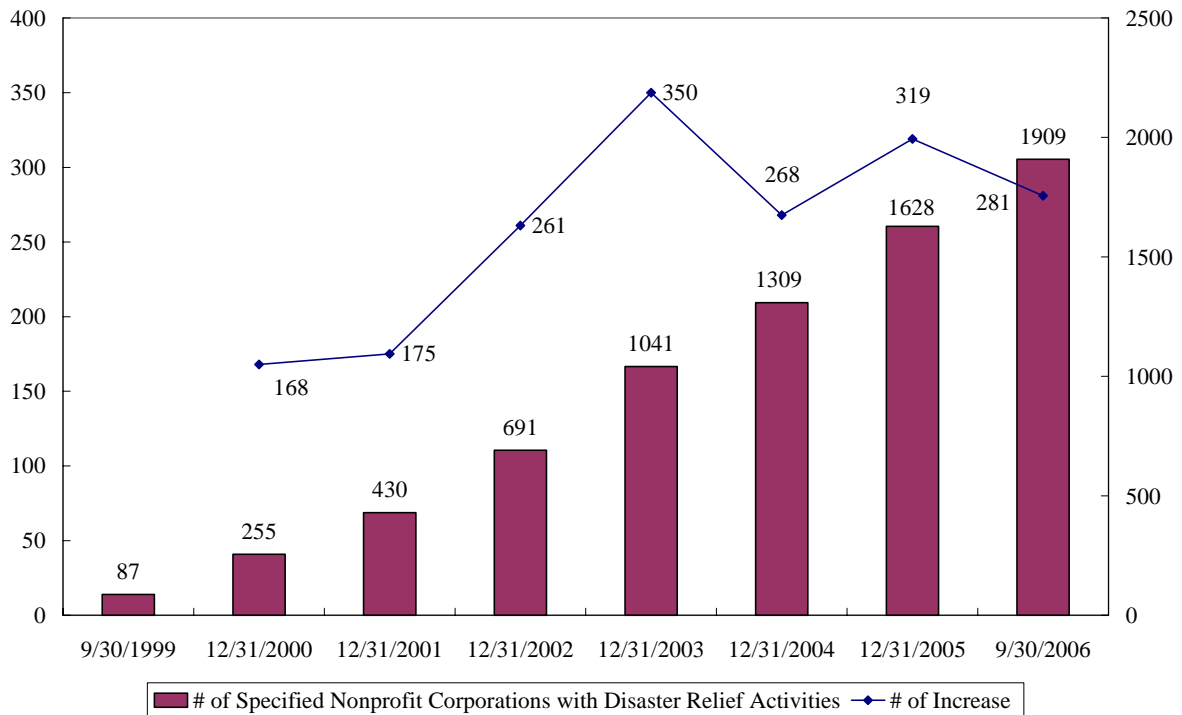


Figure 4.2 Specified Nonprofit Corporations with Disaster-relief Activities

Source: Created by the author.

Data: COJ, NPO Homepage (website).

These disaster relief nonprofits have spread nationwide, but regional distribution gaps exist (Figure 4.3). Tokyo holds the largest number of disaster relief nonprofits followed by Osaka, Shizuoka, Chiba and Gunma. With regard to the number of specified nonprofit corporations in disaster-relief activities, Tokyo again holds the largest number followed by Shiga, Iwate, Gunma and Yamanashi. Kansai region, which experienced the Kobe Earthquake, and other areas with disaster experiences such as floods and earthquakes, and areas in which great earthquakes are expected to occur have many specified nonprofit corporations with disaster-relief activities.

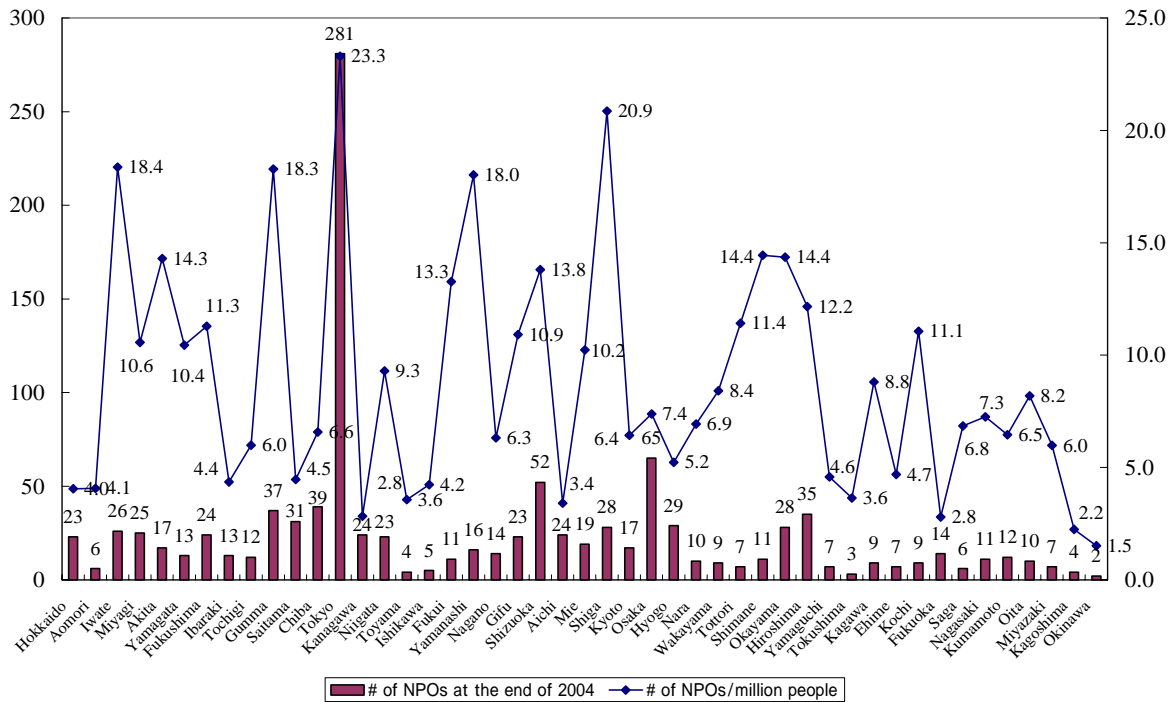


Figure 4.3 Distributions of Specified Nonprofit Corporations with Disaster-relief Activities by Prefecture

Source: Created by the author.

Data: COJ, NPO Homepage (website).

4.4.5 Disaster relief at the Fukui Flood

Background. The Russian Tanker Oil Spillover Accident occurred in the coast of the Japan Sea along Fukui in 1997. Approximately 90,000 people nationwide came to Fukui to volunteer to get rid of the oil from the seashore. The challenges at the relief activities were that it took time to build up an initial system to coordinate volunteers due to a lack of knowledge on disaster volunteers, and that there was no assurance for sustaining funds to support volunteer activities. Based on the reflection, Fukui Prefecture Government with the collaboration with those who were engaged in the disaster relief at the oil spillover accident created the Disaster Volunteer Handbook for comprehensive and effective implementation of disaster volunteers. At the same time, the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Center Council was created as a system to tackle with disaster volunteers through public-private-nonprofit partnerships.

Fukui Disaster Volunteer Net [FDVN], a specified nonprofit corporation was created based on the experience of volunteering at the oil spillover accident, and has developed various activities relating to disaster relief. Annual drill to set up a disaster volunteer center has been held, and trainings to foster volunteer coordinators have also been held. Fukui Disaster Volunteer Fund was also created based on the reflection of the Russian Tanker Oil Spillover accident. These collaborations and preparations at ordinary time were very helpful at the time of the Fukui Flood disaster relief and recovery.

Disaster-relief process. Heavy rain caused flooding in the north-eastern part of Fukui in July 2004. Two cities and three towns were flooded, destroying many houses. Emergency meetings of the Fukui Disaster Volunteer Center Council were held on the day the flood took place, and the Fukui Disaster Volunteering Headquarters was set up immediately. The Headquarters has supported the set up of local disaster volunteer centers in each area, and helped smooth coordination of volunteers (Figure 4.4).

Response after the relief activities. FDVN has played a vital role as the manager of the Headquarters emphasizing the “set up and management by partnership” method. Even after the disaster relief, FDVN influenced and affected the public agenda by highlighting problems that should be on the public agenda, and has been a critical third party agent in the implementation of policies on disaster volunteering and relief activities at both local and central government levels. It has made a great contribution to the promulgation of local ordinance: “Fukui Prefecture Ordinance to Promote Disaster Volunteering” (Table 4.10). At the time of the flood, FDVN served as an agent for change, a catalyst for defining issues and a developer of disaster volunteering leadership programs. FDVN has addressed and advocated for policies and programs on disaster volunteering that they deal with on the front line.

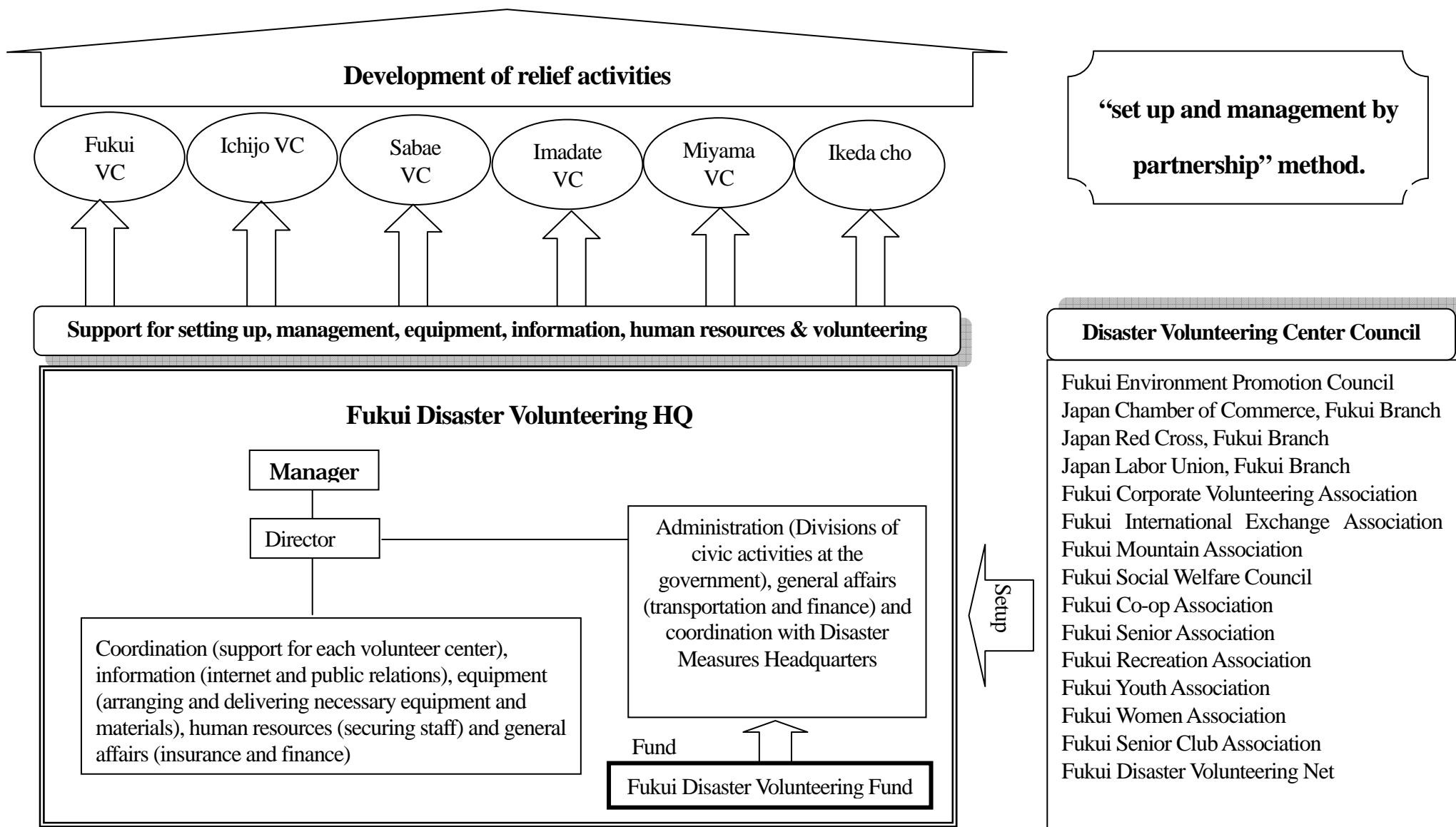


Figure 4.4 Fukui Disaster Volunteering Headquarters Organizational Map

Source: Fukui Prefecture (website) with additions.

Table 4.10 Outline of the Fukui Prefecture Ordinance to Promote Disaster Volunteering

Item	Content
Premise	Background and history of disasters
	Recognition of the strength of human bonds
	Sending a message of importance of disaster volunteering based on a partnership principle
	Advanced prefecture of disaster volunteering
Purpose	Promotion of disaster volunteering, and contribution to the realization of society that people can live with a sense of security with mutual help
Definition	Disaster volunteering
Mission	Close coordination and collaboration based on trust between citizens and government
	Respect for initiatives and autonomy of disaster volunteers and consideration for life and safety
	Proper and flexible response to the changes in the conditions of the affected
Responsibility of government	Providing and implementing a policy to promote disaster volunteering
	Measures necessary for disaster volunteering of citizens outside Fukui
Understanding of citizens	Citizens in Fukui would strive to deepen understanding toward disaster volunteering and to do disaster volunteering in every opportunity
Collaboration of businesses	Introduction and support of a volunteering leave system for employees to do disaster volunteering and the arrangement of other working system
Coordination and collaboration with local government	Close coordination with local government in formulating and implementing policies to promote disaster volunteering
	Coordination and collaboration with national government, other prefectures and disaster volunteering organizations
	Coordination and collaboration with those who can do disaster volunteering based on professional knowledge and experience in the fields of welfare, design, education and others
Promotion and enlightenment	PR, fulfill opportunity for education and training and other necessary policies
Human resource development	Human resource development of those who have professional knowledge on disaster volunteering
Research and development	Survey, data and information collection, analysis and research
Request for creating disaster volunteering HQ	Request for creating disaster volunteering headquarters
	Arrangement of facilities and information technology equipment for securing smooth management of disaster volunteering headquarters
Information dissemination	Swift collection and proper provision of information on an affected area through mutually coordinating and collaborating with various organizations
Support for disaster volunteering activities	Consultation and advice on disaster volunteering
	Securing a transportation for disaster volunteering in and outside the prefecture and necessary support
	Taking a necessary policy for securing support equality and clarity
Creation of funds	Creation of the Fukui Prefecture Disaster Volunteering Fund

Source: Created by the author based on Fukui Prefecture (website).

4.4.6 Findings

The major findings are that social capital plays a vital role in tackling disasters: in a crisis like a natural disaster, the value of social capital is tested within and outside the community; in an emergency, producing synergy through various types of social capital— bonding, bridging and linking—is as effective as in ordinary times; and in the process of disaster relief, a new social capital is produced within and outside the community.

Value of social capital in a community. In a crisis like a natural disaster, the value of social capital that has been accumulated within and outside the community is tested. People in communities with high rates of membership in neighborhood associations and high levels of associations with neighbors active in community activities were able to seek help from their neighbors. For example, social workers in the Minori Ward, who have looked after 300 elderly living alone in ordinary times, rescued them by evacuating them to safe places without waiting for a government instruction. Such dense connections in a community helped the elderly and the handicapped to evacuate at the time of disaster.

Accumulation of experience and know-how from previous disasters was also very helpful. The existence of a disaster relief nonprofit that has expertise and experience and national networks of disaster relief nonprofits played a major force. A disaster relief nonprofit, FDVN has made initiatives at the Fukui Disaster Volunteering Headquarters. Support and coordination have also been made available and spread through the networks among FDVN and other national disaster relief nonprofits and social welfare councils as well as among citizens and community organizations. National disaster relief nonprofits including the Nippon Volunteer Network Active in Disaster have created national networks.

Synergy of various types of social capital. In an emergency requiring disaster relief, producing synergy through various types of social capital—bonding, bridging and linking—is needed no less than in ordinary times. In the Fukui Flood, the Disaster Volunteer Headquarters was run through a “set up and management by partnership” method, with the engagement of more than 10 organizations including various nonprofits and local government. Before the Fukui Flood Disaster, partnerships between volunteer center and governments had always been

a challenge due to a lack of trust in and understanding of nonprofits, and concerns about the ability and professionalism of disaster relief nonprofits (Workshop on Support in Disaster 2002). Disaster relief activities were previously led by a disaster relief nonprofit, a social welfare council, or both. On the other hand, in Fukui, disaster relief activities have been made effective through partnerships among bonding and bridging organizations based on mutual trust, communication and networks among nonprofits, social welfare councils and governments in ordinary times.

Collaborations among various actors in the community including community organizations, nonprofits, local government, businesses, schools and universities and media have produced synergy. In Fukui, the power, bonding and bridging of community organizations and neighborhood organizations have, in addition to the power of volunteers, been realized and utilized.

Information sharing through various media and tools was also effective. For example, in Sabae City in Fukui, volunteers made and delivered brochures with necessary and useful information to every household in town every day, thus developing solidarity and goodwill of the people. It supports the argument of Senkawa (2003) that face-to-face trust among government, businesses and professionals utilizing internet and cellular phones are also helpful in disasters.

Creation of social capital. In the process of overcoming a crisis requiring disaster relief and recovery, new social capital was produced within and outside the community. Disaster relief volunteers and nonprofits and local governments have actively been engaged in relief activities in other areas with natural disasters. Norms of reciprocity have come to be rooted in the affected areas. Also, a sense of solidarity has been fostered among citizens in the community and there has been a movement to establish voluntary disaster prevention organizations in communities. In Fukui City, 591 out of 4,417 neighborhood associations have established these organizations after the flood disaster. Moreover, networks of local government and disaster relief nonprofits have been active in disasters that have occurred since in other places.

4.4.7 Challenges and prospects

Challenges and prospects for preparing for the future are proposed based on the findings.

Construction of daily networks and trust. It has been identified that daily networks and trust are pivotal in disaster relief. Namely, response in disaster is affected by the quantity and quality of social capital accumulated by then, and thus, development of social capital is crucial. Connections and networks among residents in a community have not been emphasized in the recent Japanese society; however, without these networks and connections, people are in danger in times of emergency (Miyanishi 1995). Response in emergency is based on daily activities and affected by their accumulation (Hatsutani 1996). Success of networks of mutual help organizations in the big disaster depends on how much networks have been constructed at ordinary times (Hotta 1997).

Therefore, improving the capacity of communities to respond to disaster means to activate the community as human networks, and for that purpose, creating rich and various relationships as well as creating organizations to support residents are crucial (Inui and Omori 1998, Research Project on the Recovery from the Earthquake Disaster, Ritsumeikan University 1998). It is also necessary to exchange dialogues and experiences through broad networks and to create an information platform in charge of bridging volunteering and the field (Hatsutani 1996).

Role of nonprofits: Nonprofits are the major creator of social capital and plays a pivotal role in creating social capital at emergencies like disasters as well as at ordinary times. Experience and know-how of disaster relief nonprofits are very precious in solving problems in a community, and the role of disaster relief organizations is to utilize their activities for disaster prevention in their community (Workshop on Support in Disaster 2002). For that purpose, partnerships between disaster relief nonprofits and community organizations including neighborhood associations are much more necessary. Nonprofits in other fields such as social welfare, children and art can also develop disaster relief activities utilizing their characteristics and expertise. Therefore, networks between disaster relief nonprofits and other types of nonprofits are also critical.

Role of government: The government can facilitate disaster relief activities by nonprofits and citizens because citizens are increasingly engaged in disaster relief leading to improved consciousness toward disaster prevention (Workshop on Support in Disaster 2002). Arranging a system to promote such action includes the Ordinance to Promote Disaster Volunteering in Fukui. I proposed that the significance of social capital such as trust and networks of civic engagement be adopted by the Fukui Prefectural Government in formulating the Ordinance in order to realize the sustainable development of a civil society with rich social capital and community power to tackle disaster on a community-wide basis.

Collaboration. In proactively respond to disasters, collaboration among different sectors are essential. Saito (1997) proposes construction of a collaborative crisis management system. Especially, public-nonprofit partnerships play a pivotal role in “bridging the critical gap in service delivery that in emergencies is not met by public organizations,” namely, “partnership and trust between government agencies at all levels and between the public and nonprofit sector agencies” is required for effective relief operations (Kapucu 2006:217).

Culture of disaster relief and prevention. It is necessary to create a culture of disaster relief, and with such a culture, people can trust human society even through unfortunate disasters (Noda 1995). Japanese measures for disaster reduction have emphasized hard infrastructure. However, improving the soft infrastructure of various networks such as people, materials, space and information, ward and local government will lead to an improved disaster reduction capacity of society (Mifune 1998). In addition, in order to increase initiative-driven citizens, it is critical to develop up networks among people, brush up on coordination skills and actively tackle problem-solving in the community (Hayashi 2001). Creating a culture of disaster relief means developing norms of reciprocity, which is one of the major components of social capital in the community.

This section examined significant activities in disaster relief through the application of the social capital concept over the rapidly changing decade. Moreover, participatory observations and advocacy through the study led to link research, practice and policy formulation for disaster relief activities and the development of civil society by utilizing social capital. It will be useful

in addressing the issues of disaster volunteering and relief from the perspective of social capital in order to take a comprehensive approach as well as community-based approach toward the issues.

Developing social capital of various forms through daily community life will enable prompt and appropriate activities in disaster relief. Cross-sector and multiple partnerships among nonprofits, community organizations and local government are vital in disaster relief activities. Through experiences and lessons of past disasters, it is expected that social capital will accumulate, the community empowered, and these experiences will be utilized nationwide. At the UN World Conference on Disaster Prevention (2005) in Kobe in January 2005, construction of an international cooperation system was proposed to comprehensively promote a disaster-proof country and community through collaboration and coordination among various actors, and the promotion of these initiatives will be required at various levels in and outside the community and country. Further development of civil society will lead to the security and safety of the whole society thanks to rich social capital. This is the key to a sustainable civil society.

CHAPTER 5 PARTNERSHIPS AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

5.1 Introduction

Following case studies from three different nonprofit fields in Chapter 4, this chapter focuses on crucial elements in considering social capital creation and its relationship with nonprofits: specifically partnerships. This chapter takes up two types of partnerships from the social capital perspective: one is public-nonprofit partnerships and the other is university-community partnerships. These two types of partnerships have been increasing in Japan recently, and examining these partnerships from the social capital perspective is surely meaningful to improve the effective implementation of partnerships and to increase social capital in a community.

5.2 Public-Nonprofit Partnerships

5.2.1 Introduction

This section discusses the crucial elements and challenges in promoting public-nonprofit partnerships through the perspective of social capital and proposes implications for partnerships. Recently, many local governments in Japan have promulgated ordinances and guidelines to promote public-nonprofit partnerships. The process and operations of promulgation indicate regional gaps and the author argues that social capital explains these gaps. In order to verify this argument, interviews and participatory observations were conducted to examine the process of formulating partnership ordinances and guidelines in the three cases: Fukui City, Sabae City and Fukui Prefecture.

Recently, ordinances and guidelines to promote public-nonprofit partnerships have been enacted in many parts of Japan. More than 80 percent of prefectures and more than half of major cities have already enacted either an ordinance or a guideline (International Institute for

Human, Organization and the Earth [IIHOE] 2004). However, enactment of ordinances or guidelines does not necessarily reflect actual progresses in partnerships. While the institutionalization of partnerships has been in progress, systems to promote partnerships at local government offices and opportunities for civic participation are not enough, and vary greatly from region to region (IIHOE 2004). Why are regional gaps produced in the process of enacting ordinances and progress in partnerships after implementation? Social capital can be considered a major key to solving this question. Therefore, this section explores crucial elements and challenges in promoting public-nonprofit partnerships through the perspective of social capital, and proposes roles for social capital and nonprofits in the process and operation of partnership ordinances and guidelines with some policy implications.

5.2.2 Literature on public-nonprofit partnerships and social capital

There are varied definitions of partnerships such as relationships in which decision making and responsibility are shared between citizens and government (Arnstein 1969) and relationships of co-production for governance encompassing self reform of citizens, nonprofits and local government (Nakagawa 2004), the creation of a new value by actors with different characteristics and positions based on a mutual understanding of a common vision, respecting mutual positions and autonomy (Fukui City Study Group on Community Building with Partnership 2003). I basically follow the third definition in which I was also engaged in and define partnerships in this study as relationships among different actors with different characteristics to create a new value based on mutual understanding and sharing a common vision.

The significance of public-nonprofit partnerships is the provision of better social services (Yamaoka 2001), accumulation of social capital with community empowerment (Nishide 2004c), synergy and civic governance. Salamon (1995) argues that the relationship between government and nonprofits is a partnership and interdependence due to voluntary failure: a philanthropic insufficiency, particularism, paternalism, and amateurism. Partnership is also a principle of action for reform, and developing trust is one reform through partnerships

(Nakagawa 2004). The purpose of partnerships is investment in social capital (Nakagawa 2004). Social capital in and of itself can also be considered as “partnership relationship capital” (Miyawaki 2004). Nonprofits are especially a crucial actor in creating social capital as has been discussed.

Communities willing to foster nonprofits and civic activities and communities in which the head of local government is very active in promoting nonprofits and civic activities tend to have a higher share of nonprofits (Yamauchi 2003b). Social capital is created through multiple partnerships among various actors in community—nonprofits, local government, community organizations, businesses and universities—and identifies and utilizes community resources, and creates new values for sustainable community with a common vision (Nishide 2004c).

The basic legal base for promoting public-nonprofit partnerships is a partnership ordinance which has been on the rise around the country. The significance of enacting a partnership ordinance is the realization of the principle of the Article 89 of the Constitution²³—insuring autonomy of organizations, prevention of excessive intervention, and prevention of the abuse of public money, and the necessity of partnership and support measures beyond providing a legal corporation under the NPO Law (Matsushita 2004).

In addition, high spirited citizens with a high rate of participation will be fostered through sharing the significance of partnerships through ordinances by citizens, nonprofits and local government.

5.2.3 Methodology

How social capital is created and accumulated in a community in practice has not been clear, though the accumulation of intermediaries such as social capital and partnerships leads to a further development of communities and social change. In Japan, the measurement of social capital has been conducted mainly at the prefecture level as indicated in chapter 3. However, trust and networks are built daily in a much smaller geographical area. Therefore, this chapter

²³ Article 89 provides that no public money or other property shall be expended or appropriated for the use, benefit or maintenance of any religious institution or association, or for any charitable, educational or benevolent enterprises not under the control of public authority.

also focuses on the city level, a smaller area than a prefecture and examines interactions between cities within the prefecture as well as their interactions with and beyond the prefecture.

I conducted three case studies of partnership ordinances and the guidelines: “Fukui City Ordinance on Partnership Promotion and Civic Activities Facilitation (Fukui City Ordinance),” “Sabae City Ordinance on Promotion of Community Development based on Civic Activities (Sabae City Ordinance),” and “Fukui Prefecture Guideline on Partnership with Nonprofits (Fukui Prefecture Guideline).”

Interviews were conducted with executive directors and staff of nonprofits and local governments engaged in the process of formulating ordinances and guidelines. A participatory observation was also conducted for the cases of Fukui City and Fukui Prefecture as a member of committees on promoting partnerships in each geographical area. Then, a comparative analysis was conducted on the background, process and characteristics of formulating ordinances, and the operation after the ordinance became effective in each case. At the same time, three points of view were adopted on what kind of social capital has been accumulated in each area, how each component of social capital has been utilized and newly developed.

The cases include the prefectural and city levels, and the number of nonprofits and networks at the prefecture level includes those of the other two cities. In this sense, it is difficult to compare different levels of local government. However, I emphasize the roles played by each level and the types and nature of social capital developed, and how different kinds of actors interact among themselves within the same prefecture and with the prefecture. Moreover, I intended to look at the cases of rural areas in relation to social capital and partnerships because rural location as well as government policies and nonprofit leadership are considered to influence the creation of collaborations and development of trust in rural communities (Snively and Tracy 2002).

5.2.4 Case studies

The Fukui City Ordinance on the Promotion of Partnerships and Facilitation of Civic Activities. Fukui City is the capital of Fukui Prefecture with a population of 250,000. It has

promoted community development with citizen involvement for 10 years. Partnerships gained attention with the enactment of the 5th comprehensive plan of the city in 2002, which defines the vision as “community development with citizen involvement through partnerships between citizens and city government.”

I was engaged in the process of drafting the bill, and have advocated the importance of social capital and by specifying its significance to the ordinance. In the Study Group on the Fukui City Community Development on Partnerships, which consists of city government staff and citizen committee members, we discussed partnerships, taking into account the consideration of the background and culture of Fukui City and the necessity of an ordinance, and at the same time, and held citizen forums on rulemaking on partnerships involving a wider group of citizens. As a result, the significance of social capital was specified in the committee report.²⁴

In the Rule Making Committee on Partnerships, both citizens and city government staff drafted the bill in cooperation, and 114 opinions were submitted as public comments, the largest number of public comments in the city. At the same, the Alliance of Members of Fukui City Assembly for Nonprofits was formed with 90 percent of the members of the assembly joining the alliance, and with the opportunity to promote the ordinance in the assembly heightened. In this situation, the Fukui City Ordinance was enacted in April 2004.

The characteristics of the Fukui City Ordinance are that it has positioned both the promotion of partnerships and the facilitation of civic activities as wheels. The significance of social capital was specified in the premise of the ordinance: “the spirit of mutual help is fostered person to person through partnerships.” The ordinance proposed that public-nonprofit partnerships encompass community organizations such as neighborhood associations and public halls should be promoted. The ordinance is regarded very effective and can be put into action

²⁴ “Nonprofits hold a function as a provider of social capital and is possible to respond to the diverse needs of citizens promptly and flexibly through the collaboration and partnership with government...Development of social capital that enriches intangible trust, norms and social networks of mutual aid is expected to lower crime, improve education and quality of life, lower administrative cost, and this is also a significance of partnership...” (Kishida 2003:18).

with the specific concrete city measures and promotion system.²⁵ With the ordinance in effect, the city government established a system to promote partnerships with the establishment of the Citizen Partnership Department and the appointment of an official in charge of partnerships in each department. The Committee on the Promotion of Citizen Partnerships was also established and the mayor served as the chair of the Committee. The Steering Committee on Partnership was also enacted. Furthermore, Fukui Civic Activities Fund was established with the contribution of both city governments and citizens.

The challenges that Fukui City faces are how to appeal to citizens for contributions to the Fund, promotion of partnership programs, collaboration among governmental departments and consciousness reform of citizens and government staff. Dialogue based on trust is important in collaboration among departments and consciousness reform, and steady efforts are desired in the future.

Sabae City Ordinance on the Promotion of Partnerships. Sabae City with a population of 65,000 is located adjacent to Fukui City. Many volunteers participated in the '95 World Gymnastics competition in Sabae. The World Gymnastics competition prompted the birth of many voluntary groups and organizations, and civic activities have been revitalized. Sabae City Civic Activities Center was set up in an old library on the basis of a proposal of civic organizations of 1999. Management of the facility is undertaken voluntarily by nonprofits, and diverse civic activities have developed in the city. The Third Session of the Three Prefecture Forum on Civic Activities in Fukui, Shiga and Mie Prefectures was held in Sabae in 1999, and many volunteers and civic organizations participated in it as well as those from managerial positions. In this process, networks and trust have been developed with nonprofits and local governments within and outside the Fukui Prefecture, namely, bridging social capital. Sabae Festival for Everyone has been held every year from 2000, and networks among nonprofits and citizens have also deepened.

²⁵ Some partnership ordinances enacted previously are divided into two types: one is a mission-oriented ordinance that specifies the visions and missions of the partnership, and the other can be said as a practical ordinance that expects that articles in the ordinance will actually be put into practice. The Fukui City Ordinance is the practical type according to Professor Noboru Hayase, Advisor to the Fukui City Ordinance, who highly evaluates the ordinance.

In Sabae City, the Sabae Civic Activities Center and the Civic Autonomy Research Group co-hosted a citizen workshop to create a citizen's draft bill for the long-term care insurance ordinance, and drafted a bill on civic participation from the process of two year's dialogues through the citizen initiated law making workshops (Hashimoto 2003). These experiences led to an increased interest of citizens and nonprofits in the promotion of civic activities and in rule making regarding partnerships and civic participation. Moreover, trust developed among citizens, nonprofits and local governments through the process of creating two draft bills with citizen initiatives led to a prompt and smooth process of creating a partnership ordinance.

The Citizen Meeting on Creating a Draft Bill of the Ordinance to Promote Civic Activities was set up in April 2003 through the appeals of three nonprofits in Sabae City. It has held citizen meetings and citizen workshops, and refined the draft based on these meetings, and submitted as a citizen bill in July. The bill was passed in August and has been in force since October.

A characteristic of the Sabae Ordinance is that it stipulated the "set up of a partnership coordinator" and "partnership pilot programs" and "partnership agreements" in the provisions. It also points out the importance of a coordinator who "bridges" local government and nonprofits professionally. Moreover, it also points out that collaboration with community organizations and participation in community activities is one role of nonprofits, and support for nonprofit participation in community activities as a role of the city. Collaboration among nonprofits and partnerships between nonprofits and community organizations are the challenges faced nationwide. In this sense, it is worthwhile to stipulate these roles in the ordinance. It took only three months from the first citizen meeting to the promulgation of the ordinance. It is due to the experiences of citizens drafting bills on the basis of existing networks and trust between nonprofits and the local government.

The Council for Promoting Civic Activities was set up with the implementation of the ordinance. All 18 committee members were selected through public recruitment and they discussed the system, programs and challenges in promoting partnerships. This Council holds such sessions as promotion of civic collaboration, pilot programs and future banks, and is able

to discuss deeply on a specific issue. A partnership coordinator who has a rich and long experience of civic activities and has developed diverse activities as a “bridge” was appointed. Understanding of the ordinance has spread among nonprofits and local government staff, but public understanding remains a big challenge.

Fukui Prefecture Guideline for Partnerships with Nonprofits. Fukui Prefecture with a population of 830,000 is filled with rich nature facing the Sea of Japan. Fukui City is the prefecture capital and Sabae City is next to Fukui City. Many citizens volunteered at the time of the Russian Tanker Spillover Accident in 1997. Fukui Prefecture is ranked 5th for the volunteering rate and 6th for the number of specified nonprofit corporations per capita, and norms of reciprocity have been rooted in the area as shown in section 2.5.

After the NPO Law took effect, Fukui Prefecture enacted the Ordinance to Promote Philanthropy and Civic Activities of Citizens and the Basic Plan to Support Philanthropy and Civic Activities of Citizens in 2000, which was relatively early compared to other areas. Based on these support systems and discussions at the Council on Promoting Philanthropy and Civic Activities of Citizens, Fukui Civic Activities Center was opened in 2001. Local government staff of the four prefectures of Fukui, Gifu, Mie and Shiga conducted a joint study on the system of partnerships between nonprofits and local government, and it became a motivation for Fukui Prefectural Government to tackle rulemaking in partnerships.

A movement to clarify the rules on partnerships with nonprofits has spread among staff in Fukui Prefecture as a responsibility of the prefecture following the example of other prefectures such as Tokyo and Osaka which have promoted the creation of guidelines on partnerships. In May 2003, a committee in the prefecture began to discuss partnership rulemaking. The government has reflected the comments and opinions of citizens and nonprofits as expressed through public comments and from hearings of nonprofits, in the Fukui Prefecture Guideline for Partnerships with Nonprofits in 2004, which clarifies the basic rules. This partnership guideline clarifies standards of evaluation in judging partners and programs, types and scope of partnerships as well as basic rules of partnerships with a description of the procedure to promote them.

The Fukui Prefectural Government also created the Manual for Partnership with Nonprofits for the government staff based on seminars at staff training sessions and is used among staff in implementing partnership programs with nonprofits. Furthermore, the Steering Committee to Promote Philanthropy and Civic Activities of Citizens was set up as a system to promote partnerships.

However, at the prefectural level, it has just clarified the attitude of the prefectural government and has not yet reached the stage of establishing an ordinance. It is critical for the promotion system to function as a first step. The major challenges are the promotion of a space for a dialogue between nonprofits and government, the evaluation of partnership programs, and the sharing of purpose from the beginning between nonprofits and government.

Development of civic activities, nonprofits and partnerships of the three cases in the last decade is summarized in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Development of Civic Activities, Nonprofits and Partnership
in the Three Cases (1994-2004)

Year	Nationwide events and those relating to the cases	Fukui City Ordinance	Sabae City Ordinance	Fukui Prefecture Guideline
1994	Establishment of C's: Group on Establishing a System to Support Civic Activities	Promotion of community development with citizen involvement	Increase of volunteers for World Gymnastics	
1995	Kobe Earthquake World Conference on Women	Disaster volunteering in Kobe	World Gymnastics in Sabae Establishment of many voluntary organizations	Volunteering and coordinating conference Disaster volunteering
1996	Bill on Promoting Civic Activities	"My town, my dream" program	Discussion on utilization of an old library	Three Prefecture Forum on Civic Activities in Fukui, Shiga and Mie; Guideline to Promote Volunteering
1997	Russian Tanker Oil Spillover Accident	Disaster volunteering at the Oil Spillover Accident	Disaster volunteering; a proposal of utilization of an old library by civic organizations	
1998	Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities		Basic plan on the utilization of old libraries	2nd Three Prefecture Forum Ordinance to Implement the NPO Law
1999	Yokohama Code Mino City Ordinance on Promoting Civic Activities		3rd Three Prefecture Forum Set up the Sabae Civic Activities Center Citizen draft on the long-term care insurance bill	3rd Three Prefecture Forum held in Sabae City, Fukui
2000	Enactment of the Long-term Care Insurance System	Plan and enlightenment of promotion of art and culture	1st Sabae Festival for Everyone; and workshop on a citizen bill	Ordinance and Basic Plan to promote philanthropy and civic activities
2001	International Year of Volunteering Approved nonprofit corporation system	Program of enlightening the long-term care insurance system (contracting out to a nonprofit)	2nd Sabae Festival for Everyone Drafting a citizen bill on civic participation	Opening of the Fukui Civic Activities Center 1st Forum on Volunteering and Nonprofits

(Table 5.1, continued.)

Year	Nationwide events and those common to the cases	Fukui City Ordinance	Sabae City Ordinance	Fukui Prefecture Guideline
2002	Middle corporation system; and comprehensive review of the public interest corporation system	Vision of the 5th Comprehensive Plan: community development with collaboration and partnership among citizens, nonprofits and partnership; set up a group in charge of nonprofits in government; partnership promotion seminar; study committee on community development with partnership; and civic activities seminar	2nd Sabae Festival for Everyone; a citizen draft on civic participation bill; and volunteering development lectures	Joint report of four prefectures of Fukui, Gifu, Shiga and Mie, Program of introducing nonprofit activities (commission), 2nd Form on Volunteering and Nonprofits, 1st Meeting of volunteers and nonprofits, Council to promote philanthropy and civic activities of citizens
2003	Amendments to the NPO law; enactment of the approved nonprofit corporation system; guideline on comprehensive reform of public interest corporation system; and designated administrator system	Alliance of Members of Fukui City Assembly for Nonprofits; proposal of bill on the promotion of partnerships; civic forum on community development with partnership; rulemaking committee on partnerships; and an outline of a draft bill on partnerships and public comment	Time bank Happy; citizen meeting on drafting the promotion of civic activities; citizen workshops, 4th Sabae Festival for Everyone; submitting the citizen draft; promulgation of the bill to promote partnerships; set up of a council to promote partnerships; and partnership coordinators	Committee in government on rule making on partnerships; research on nonprofits; partnership model program; 3rd Forum on volunteers and nonprofits; and 2nd meeting of volunteers and nonprofits; and council to promote philanthropy and civic activities of citizens
2004	Niigata and Fukushima Flood Fukui Flood, typhoons and Chuetsu Earthquake	Enforcement of the ordinance to promote partnership Establishment of civic partnership promotion division; committee on civic partnership promotion civic partnership promotion forum; flood disaster volunteering; and the Fukui Civic Activities Fund	Created a video to enlighten the ordinance on partnership Disaster volunteering; and designated pilot programs	Public comment Hearing from nonprofits; Guideline for partnership with nonprofits; manual on partnership with nonprofits; meetings of volunteers and nonprofits; and exchange forums for volunteers; Fukui Flood Disaster Headquarters; and NPO Forum in Fukui

Source: Created by the author based on interviews, documents and websites of each government.

5.2.5 Role of social capital in the cases

In the three cases, I examined how social capital has been accumulated in each area, and how social capital has been utilized and developed in the process of drafting bills, and how social capital has been deepened or newly created after the enactments. Three viewpoints such as trust between nonprofits and local government, networks accumulated in community, and norms of civic participation were employed.

As to the indicators for norms, I used rules, systems and facilities of civic participation and local government programs in related activities, the number of specified nonprofit corporations, neighborhood associations and registered volunteering, all of which are considered to manifest norms of reciprocity.

Different types of social capital have been accumulated deepening on community characteristics and its experiences. For example, networks of volunteers and opportunities for volunteering were heightened through the main activities of community halls in Fukui City and through the experience of the World Gymnastics competition. The sixth volunteering rate of Fukui Prefecture in the nation, and norms of participation in voluntary civic activities are rooted in the area. Fukui Prefecture has constructed open and bridging networks with neighboring prefectures through civic activities forums and collaborative research. In these cases, social capital has been developed through programs or events such as community development and community hall activities, volunteers for the World Gymnastics competition, and the Three Prefecture Forum on Civic Activities.

In the process of drafting the rules, various forms of civic participation including citizen workshops and public comments through utilizing the networks and trust formulated through the activities were undertaken. In Fukui City, new networks have been formulated through the influence of citizen power on politicians, namely, linking social capital, and the vast majority of members of the assembly established the Alliance of Fukui City Assembly Members on Nonprofits. Also, through discussions and dialogues, feelings of trust have been created, and in Sabae City where a certain degree of trust had already been in existence, solid trust relationships have been built.

As such, trust relationships were built and deepened through the process of drafting bills. In October 2004, Fukui City and Fukui Prefecture cosponsored the NPO Forum in Fukui, the first of this size in this field to be held in Fukui. In the executive committee, nonprofits, Fukui City and Fukui Prefecture have had many discussions and dialogues on equal partnerships, and trust and networks have been built through the process. Also, networks with citizens, nonprofits and local government within and across Fukui Prefecture, bridging social capital, have also spread.

In summer 2004, just after the enactment of ordinances and guideline in Fukui, Fukui experienced a heavy flood. Many volunteers participated in this disaster relief effort, and the management of the disaster volunteering center, and the trust and networks among citizens, nonprofits and government already accumulated in community were utilized at the time of the crisis. In the process, principles of partnerships such as equal partnerships and respect for autonomy, which had only existed in theory were put into action for both nonprofits and local government.

In the process of drafting bills on partnerships, social capital of various types already accumulated would be utilized, and new social capital created and deepened. Also, the institutionalization of the rules of partnerships will widen and deepen trust and networks, civic participation and norms of reciprocity. Through rulemaking on partnerships and through its implementation, social capital plays a vital role in community.

Common points in the three cases are that partnership ordinances were enacted through utilization of social capital already existing, and that it will further facilitate the accumulation of social capital.

Different points in the cases illustrate the process which leads to this virtuous circle. First is the different degree of accumulation of existing trust and networks. In Sabae City where trust and networks among voluntary organizations and local government have been established with the initiative of community organizations and events, these trust and networks have been deepened through the process of prompt promotion of partnerships based on community characteristics and relationships of trust. On the other hand, in Fukui City where some feelings of distance existed between nonprofits and local government, enduring dialogues and

discussions have developed mutual trust. Second is the gap due to different geographical scope. At the city level, face-to-face relationships have been constructed to some degree among nonprofits, local governments and citizens, and it is not so difficult to build social capital. On the other hand, at the prefecture level, it took much more time and energy to construct trust and networks. However, it has built a more bridging social capital compared to the city level with loose open relationships between organizations and people of different communities.

A summary comparison of accumulation, utilization and creation of social capital in the three cases is shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2 Accumulation, Utilization and Creation of Social Capital in the Three Cases

	Fukui City	Sabae City	Fukui Prefecture
Population (2000 Census)	252,274	64,898	828,944
Social capital already accumulated in community			
Trust	Loose and low trust	Some degree of trust	Loose and low trust
Norms			
Institutions, rules, supporting facilities and programs	Collaboration and partnership as vision and mission of the 5th comprehensive plan of the city: "My town, my dream program"	World Gymnastics competition in 1997, and civic activities center	Ordinance and guideline on supporting philanthropic activities of citizens; civic activities center; and convention of volunteers and nonprofits
# of SNCs (and per capita)	21 (7.9) (= per 100,000)	8 (12.3)	67 (8.1)
# of neighborhood associations (and per capita)*	1441 (5.7) 43 districts (= per 1,000)	156 (2.4) 10 districts	3,766 (4.5)
# (and rate) of registered volunteers**	10,870 (0.04) (= per capita)	3,863 (0.60)	81,709 (0.10)
Networks	Committee on Civic Activities Seminar Community development with public hall activities	Volunteering networks with the World Gymnastics competition	Civic Activities Forums with neighboring prefectures
Social capital utilized and created in the process of drafting partnership bills			
Trust	Initiation of trust through discussions and dialogues	Expansion of trust	Initiation of trust through discussions and dialogues
Norms	Public comment	Citizen workshop	Public comment
Networks	Committee on drafting partnership rule, Alliance of Assembly Members on Nonprofits	Networks among nonprofits, committee on the preparation for drafting ordinance bills	Hearing from nonprofits, Council on Promoting Civic Activities

(Table 5.2, continued.)

	Fukui City	Sabae City	Fukui Prefecture
Social capital created or deepened after the enactment of ordinances			
Trust	Trust built	Trust deepened and expanded	Trust built
Norms			
	Alliance of Assembly Members on Nonprofits	Council on Promotion of Partnership	
System and programs	Steering Committee on Partnership	Partnership coordinator	Council on Promoting Civic Activities
	Civic Activities Fund	Partnership pilot programs	
# of SNCs (ratio); and the rate of increase	51 (20.2) 155%	13 (20.0) 62.50%	136 (16.4) 62.50%
# of civic organizations	Approximately 100	Approximately 100	Approximately 900
civic participation	Disaster volunteering and contribution based on trust, networks and a spirit of mutual help.		
Networks	NPO Forum in Fukui, National Convention on Community Development	Disaster volunteers	NPO Forum in Fukui
	Disaster volunteers		Disaster volunteers

Source: Created by the author based on websites and documents of each government including ordinances and guidelines, and interviews

* Fukui Prefecture Decentralization Joint Research Committee (2004)

** Fukui Prefecture Council of Social Welfare (as of March 30, 2003).

5.2.6 Implications

Government stance on social capital. It is pivotal for government to make a clear stance on social capital in public policy and/or partnership policies in order to visualize the significance of social capital. Some foreign countries adopt the concept of social capital in public-nonprofit partnerships and broad policy areas. For example, the Government of Ireland put social capital as the core of public policy as a measure to frontier new political and partnership approaches to tackling social inclusion and improving quality of life (NESF 2003, Miyakawa 2004, see chapter 6). It tries to utilize the concept of social capital in various policy developments

including but not limited to active citizenship, community development and collaboration among public, private and nonprofit sectors. U.K. Government has also developed policies adopting the concept of social capital in various policy arenas such as the promotion of volunteering and civic participation and citizenship education (COJ 2003, ESRI, see chapter 6).

Likewise, in Japan, the Cabinet Office and local governments such as Hyogo Prefecture, Kobe City and Fukui City have paid attention to social capital. The Cabinet Office (2003) Survey on Social Capital may be the reason for this movement.

The midterm report of the Community Revitalization Research Committee (2004:6) listed maintenance of infrastructure including soft aspects such as social capital, proposing that “we should promote development of social capital utilizing community-based volunteering, nonprofits, functions of education, culture and sports including community school.”

At the prefecture level, Hyogo Prefecture (2003) proposed the development and expansion of common social capital. At the city level, Kobe City proposed “community development with partnerships and civic participation” as a basic attitude, and regards the “power of people, the power of community, and connections between people,” indicating “social capital” as a core concept (Kobe City Committee on the Promotion of Reconstruction and Revitalization 2004). Moreover, as described in the case studies, in Fukui City, the significance of social capital in community development through partnerships was clearly mentioned. As such, it is desirable for government to clearly stipulate the importance of social capital in the promotion of partnerships.

Utilization and creation of social capital through partnership processes. It takes a long time to develop social capital. Therefore, government should make clear the significance of social capital, and utilize and create social capital in the process of promoting public-nonprofit partnerships. Partnerships among citizens, nonprofits and government, and mutual trust are critical in the process of creating ordinances and implementing partnership programs as shown in the cases. Partnership programs require consistent adherence to norms in order to construct mutual trust.

Challenges to promoting partnerships are relationship building between nonprofits and persons in charge at government, a lack of understanding on the side of nonprofits (Kawakita 2000), understanding of nonprofits and equal partnerships (C's: Group on Establishing a System to Support Civic Activities 2003, Community Revitalization Center 2003, Cabinet Office 2004b). Program outcomes are higher when a nonprofit clearly shares discretion and responsibility, on the other hand, it is a big challenge for a nonprofit to construct enough trust to be able to bear the discretion and responsibility (Nakagawa and Kaneko 2003). Social capital greatly relates to solving such challenges. If nonprofits and governments continue dialogues, clarify their roles and burdens and the location of responsibility, and share the purpose and partake in the process through dialogues, mutual understanding and trust would surely be constructed.

Nonprofits' role as a creator and bridge of social capital. Nonprofits have a pivotal role in creating social capital. However, not so many nonprofits recognize this role. Positioning of social capital as a major pillar of a nonprofit's role will lead to the recognition of its social role and action. Moreover, nonprofits should recognize its role as a bridge connecting people to people, people to organizations, and organizations to organizations, and expanding bridging networks. In partnership with local government, they should consider the possibility of multiple partnerships with various local actors including neighborhood associations, commercial districts, and schools and universities. Role of coordinators and intermediaries will become crucial in connecting various actors.

In sum, how much social capital is accumulated, utilized and created is critical to creating rules on partnerships and promoting partnerships in practice and to empowering community. In this case, it is of key importance to pay attention to bridging social capital and construct not only bonding social capital, but also bridging capital. Just seeking a bonding type of social capital (i.e., deepening connections just within organizations) may lead to an exclusion of outsiders and different people and organizations. While internal bonds and connections are also important, a more inclusive and comprehensive bridging social capital is required to empower and revitalize community.

For example, as in the case of the Fukui Flood in 2004, the existence of both dense connections of neighborhood associations (bonding social capital) and loose national networks of disaster relief nonprofits (bridging social capital) led to prompt and effective relief activities. Both Fukui City and Sabae City respectively set up disaster volunteer centers. Fukui Prefectural Government supported these local disaster volunteer centers, and set up headquarters for a wider area and promoted relief activities through multiple partnerships with a clear division of labor (see section 4.4 for details).

It is critical for partners of partnerships to collaborate widely with other actors and the community, and construct and utilize both bonding and bridging social capital. Moreover, the promotion of multiple partnerships among community, schools and universities, and community organizations would create synergy. Constructing daily networks and trust among diverse people and organizations is a big challenge. Development of trust among organization leaders and staff is crucial for the formation of successful collaborations (Snaveley and Tracy 2002).

In the future, the promotion of partnerships and empowerment and revitalization of the community depends on the nonprofits' recognition of its role in creating social capital as well as a bridge and on government action in developing policies with a view to developing an environment which creates social capital.

5.3 University-Community Partnerships

5.3.1 Introduction

University-community partnerships (UCPs) are also crucial in relation to social capital as well as public-nonprofit partnerships. The relationship between education and social capital has long been discussed, and Lyda Hanifan, who used the term social capital for the first time, was an educationalist and used the term in the context of education and community building. Coleman (1988) has also argued the mutual relationship between human capital and social capital. Therefore, exploring UCPs in relation to social capital is considered to be worthwhile, particularly when Japanese universities and communities are faced with severe challenges.

Universities in Japan face a turning point: First is the dwindling birthrate, which has been, and will be, affecting the number of university students. Second, MEXT restructured national universities, changed their legal status to the Independent Administrative Institutions with the Center of Excellence design. Universities in Japan generally face financial and managerial challenges, and they are exploring ways for efficient and effective management in a changing and pressing environment. Since the late 1990s, many universities have initiated internship programs and explored partnerships with communities from the late 1990s. On the contrary, universities and communities in the U.S. seem to already hold rich and successful experiences of partnerships including service learning in the face of various challenges.

In this situation, it is pivotal to revisit the social roles of universities and their relationship with the surrounding communities, and how they have interacted, in order for universities to survive and manage themselves effectively, become real social institutions, and for communities to rethink the way they interact with them.

The purpose of this section is to explore the factors and processes for successful university-community partnerships from the perspective of social capital. Comparative analysis of the U.S. and Japan was conducted through interviews, participatory observations and literature review to learn the lessons from the rich experience of the U.S. initiatives. In this section, literature on the social roles of universities in the U.S. and Japan and the relationship between education and social capital are examined first. Then, prominent examples of UCPs in the U.S. and Japan are introduced to explore the ways for a win-win partnership with the discussions of implications from the social capital perspective.

5.3.2 Social roles of universities

Mission: The fundamental missions of universities are a tripartite of teaching, research and service. Among them, service has been secondary to the other two (Maurrasse 2001). Likewise, few faculty members and top administrators regard the education of students in democratic principles as central, even though it is a core of the university's mission (Checkoway 2001). In this situation, the prevailing literature suggests that universities should take more social and

civic responsibility, prepare students for active participation in democracy and engage more with the community (Hirsh and Weber 1999). Some feel that higher education has “an ethical and social responsibility to utilize its resources to help strengthen the local democratic process in the service of improving community life” (Lisman 1998:149). Many urban universities tie their missions to areas in which they reside and provide services to the surrounding community (Carr 2000). Universities have defined the meaning of service to them in ways consistent with the primary educational mission (Stanton et al. 1999).

Evolution: The role of universities in the U.S. and Japan has transformed from elite to mass education. American universities had remained local institutions through the first half of the 20th century. However, in the latter half of the century, universities have focused on scientific research, and served as an engine of technological advance and economic growth (Lisman 1998). With the transformation, the student population has shown greater socioeconomic and academic diversity. However, major criticisms regarding low quality and high cost exist. For example, the U.S. Department of Education [DOE] (1999) indicates that 11 percent of college students were not qualified to attend, and 13 percent had the minimal qualifications under the standardized system measuring academic performance.

Before World War II, Japanese education was similarly for the elite. However, since then, Japan’s higher education has served the needs of industry and the State under the fundamental ideology of equal opportunity in education, which contributed to the tremendous economic growth (Itoh 2002). On the other hand, some critics feel it has not created broad opportunities for social development: Rather it has lowered the quality of higher education (Hayes 1997), dehumanized people and caused a “moral vacuum” among students through excessive competition (Doyon 2001:466).

Current challenges: Universities in the two countries face both similar and different challenges. In the U.S., major challenges facing today’s universities are engagement/partnerships with communities, civic engagement of young people and students (Bennett 1999, Checkoway 2001, Damon 1998, Putnam 2000), and regaining public trust (Englert 1997) as well as the lower quality of education and its high cost.

In contrast to American universities, the challenges facing Japanese higher education today are declining birthrates, respecting diverse individuality, competition through excessive emphasis on equal opportunities, quality of education, and financial difficulties (Doyon 2001, Hayes 1997, Kitamura 1997). The striking decline of the educational functions of the home and local community and the advancement of urbanization has formed a backdrop against which various problems such as youth crime have emerged. The continuity of education from high school to higher education is also a critical issue (MEXT website).

Japanese universities are in the process of dealing with the changing social and economic environment with the intensification of international economic competition and aging population. The governments are also trying to promote the partnerships and collaboration of industry and academics (Sendai Urban Research Forum 1998). In the history of Japanese higher education, the current reforms are some of the most extensive and radical (Itoh 2002). In 2001, MEXT (website) mapped out specific measures and issues of educational reform in the “Education Reform Plan for the 21st Century.” Some of the principles promoted in the current reforms are enhancement, diversification and individualization of higher education and raising the quality of education and research to an international level (Doyon 2001, Itoh 2002, Kitamura 1997).

5.3.3 Relationship among universities, communities and social capital²⁶

Universities have various functions in a community. They are the creators and disseminators of knowledge and understanding which address community challenges, strong economic engines, employers, reservoirs of energetic faculty and students, and powerful social and economic units whose decisions affect communities (Carr 2000). Although universities and their local communities are “inextricably dependent on each other” (Nichols 1990:16), they have not necessarily established good relationships. On the one hand, the historic mission of

²⁶ For more details on civic engagement and service-learning in higher education in the U.S., please see Maurrasse (2001, 2002), Strong (2002), Campus Compact (2005, website), Corporation for National and Community Service (website) and National Service-Learning Clearinghouse (website).

America's land-grant universities was that of regionally situated institutions developing an array of resources to address regional issues and problems (Edwards and Marullo 1999).

Today many universities are located in socially and economically distressed urban areas due to uneven economic development and urbanization. If a neighborhood is deemed unsafe or deteriorating, the university might lose prospective students and faculty. Moreover, a power struggle and a lack of trust in the university often result in tensions and a lack of effective efforts of by UCPs (Englert 1997). In this situation, universities have learned that they cannot afford to be isolated from neighboring communities that face serious and pressing needs, which would affect the safety, health and management of their own institutions. Scholars have called upon universities to take civic responsibilities toward communities, to be good neighbors and form partnerships with them. Lisman (1998) argues that universities need to enlist their resources to strengthen local civic infrastructure, and must work with local community-based organizations in helping communities tackle their problems. Checkoway (2001) maintains that students can be prepared for participation in society by involving them in community studies and service learning projects with a strong civic purpose; and that faculty can play a role by conducting collaborative community-based research, changing faculty perceptions, and revising the reward structure.

Relationship among education, civic engagement and social capital: Education, particularly higher education is considered to contribute to and have great effects on civic engagement and social capital. Ehrlich (2000) contends that educational attainment is a powerful predictor of civic engagement. Damon (1998) claims that college education has a crucial role in the three attributes required for positive civic engagement: intellectual abilities, moral traits and practical experience in community organizations. Checkoway (2001) asserts that higher education can contribute to civic engagement, but that "most research universities do not perceive themselves as part of the problem or of its solution.

On the other direction, Putnam (2000) advocates the powerful effects of social capital on education during the college years. Extracurricular activities and involvement in peer social networks are strong predictors of college dropout rates and success. Actually, an empirical

research of Tian (2005) on the social capital effects on the dropout rates in Japanese elementary and junior high schools found that the dropout rates are lower in areas with rich social capital.

Education can also prepare students in acquiring civic literacy for democracy. O’Connell (1999) maintains that every level of formal education, including higher education, should prepare for citizenship and an understanding of the essential role of civil society in strengthening democracy. Lisman (1998) also argues that education is critical to the development of civic competence necessary for an effective participatory democracy. Stron (2002) collects many papers on civic engagement and higher education.

Based on these discussions, the relationship among the roles of universities, civic life, and the respective target population are summarized in Table 5.3: All the roles of the university are related to civic life, but differ in manner and target population.

Table 5.3 Relationship between Roles of University and Civic Life

Mission	Function	Civic Life	Target Population
Research	Knowledge creation	Greater understanding	Community at large
Teaching	Knowledge communication	Making better citizens	Students Citizens
Service	Knowledge application	Participation in communities	Community hands-on Nonprofit organizations

Source: Created by the author with reference to Kitamura (2002).

Scholars argue that civic engagement is essential to a democratic society, but that many Americans have reduced their engagement in public affairs (Checkoway 2001, O’Connell 1999, Putnam 2000). In particular, possibly due to declining civic education, young people are disengaged in political processes such as campaigning for social causes or political candidates, posing a critical problem for a democratic society (Bennett 1999). Current institutions have drifted away from their civic mission, and thus, they are uneven in their commitments: faculty members are unprepared for public roles, and community groups feel difficulty in gaining

access to them (Checkoway 2001). Damon (1998) claims that professors have not always put turning their students into good citizens as a top priority.

Putnam (2000) found the greatest decline of social capital among the better educated, as indicated by the fall of participation in public meetings among those who had attended college. In this situation, Ehrlich (2000) is concerned about the future of American democracy, and proposes that universities should prepare their students to become engaged citizens who understand and act to further collective civic goals.

5.3.4 Development and the state of UCPs in the U.S.

Historical developments: Universities in the U.S. have tried to address community issues in various forms and initiatives, not only by themselves but also with the encouragement of government and private initiatives. Among the first attempts to get universities to address community issues was the Morrill Act of 1864, providing federal land for the creation of state universities and community colleges. The “Progressive Era” of a century ago spawned important efforts of university presidents to address community problems. For example, the President of Columbia University, Seth Low, had a compelling vision of university-city relationships (Lisman 1998). Cooperative Education movement was founded at the University of Cincinnati in 1903, and educationalist John Dewey and philosopher William James marked intellectual foundations to service-based learning (National Service Learning Clearinghouse website).

During the 20th century, Congress proposed numerous national service programs. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914 aimed to assist universities in disseminating practical information to local residents (Maurrasse 2001). The 1960s and 1970s saw a variety of initiatives by federal government such as President Kennedy’s Peace Corps and President Johnson’s Volunteers in Service to America. The Higher Education Act of 1965 provided grants for university community service programs (DOE website). The National Center for Public Service Internship Programs founded in 1971 stimulated service learning-type programs (Wutzdorf and Giles 1997).

In the 1980s, initiatives went beyond government and an interest in service learning increased. The wide interest derived from a Carnegie Foundation report in the mid-1980s stating that the current educational crisis came from the failure to provide “education for citizenship” (Newman 1985:31). At the same time, the subsequent founding and activities of many organizations such as the Campus Opportunity Outreach League in 1984 and the Campus Compact in 1985 spurred significant momentum for the youth service movement (Wade 1997).

The initiatives in the 1990s accelerated and expanded service learning: The National and Community Service Act of 1990 increased college-based community service opportunities. The National and Community Service Trust Act of 1993 established the Corporation for National Service, which offers Learn and Serve America and the AmeriCorps program. Various private foundations also initiated funding for UCPs and service learning programs.

Current initiatives: Recognizing the cost of unhealthy relations with their local community, an increasing number of universities have been taking responsibilities toward their communities; increasing their engagement in addressing community problems, and investing in partnerships with communities (Glemon et al. 1998). The universities are now trying to revisit their civic mission to prepare students to be active citizens in a democratic society, reflecting on the current trend of civic disengagement of young people. The Declaration on the Civic Responsibility of Higher Education calls for a “recommitment of higher education to its civic purpose” (Maurrasse 2001:27). Various initiatives have been taken for these purposes with partnerships between universities and communities mainly in the form of service learning.

Definition. Community service refers to a wide variety of volunteer work to meet the needs of others and the community (Campus Compact website). Although the definition of service learning is diverse, it generally refers to a particular form of community service in which volunteer experience in the community is an integrated part of the course (Hepburn et al. 2000). Despite some differences in the emphasis on each component, the common components of definitions of service learning can be characterized as meeting community needs, fostering civic responsibility and improving academic skills of students, mutual benefit and incorporating reflection and curriculum integration.

The formation of UCPs can create mutual gain for the university and community in that a university cannot ignore the various critical social problems across the campus in the community, and the conditions of the surrounding community affect the reputation and recruitment of the university. Partnerships will serve the service mission of the university, and provide the faculty and students with opportunities for community-based teaching and learning (Glemon et al. 1998), improve the public image of universities through addressing community problems (Edwards and Marullo 1999), and gain trust (Englert 1997). For their part, community organizations can access university resources and acquire expertise in support of their activities (Glemon et al. 1998). For students, experiences of participation on nonprofits, even past participation, affect gaining of civic attitudes and feelings of political empowerment (Hooghe 2003b).

Rationales proposed by researchers and proponents of service-learning can be categorized as a means of improving education, addressing crucial community needs and problems, and supporting students in advancing civic awareness/engagement/responsibility in community and larger democratic society (Crews 2002, Hepburn et al. 2000, RAND 1999, Wade 1997).

The theoretical rationale of service learning is grounded in John Dewey's philosophy of experiential education and democratic education (Hepburn et al. 2000, Kezar and Rhoads 2001): Dewey believed that schooling should be tied to experiences, and formal education should foster continuity between internal development and exposure to external surroundings, and that this interaction develops civic skills. Thus, through service learning, students will be motivated to become more active citizens. Service learning is "a particularly important pedagogy for promoting civic responsibility" (Ehrlich 2000).

Size. The number of universities, presidents, faculty and students who are engaged in community partnerships, particularly in service learning, has been rising in the U.S. Campus Compact (website), a consortium with more than 1,000 college and university presidents serving 5 million students is committed to the civic purposes of higher education, and promotes UCPs, community service and service learning, and offered \$10 million in scholarships and

postsecondary aid for students involved in service in FY2003.²⁷ Campus Compact's (2005) annual statistics reveal the current size of university-community partnerships, community service and service learning: In 2004, 98 percent of member institutions have one or more community partnerships; 97 percent of member institutions practice service-learning; approximately 1.7 million or 36 percent of member campus students participated in service with an average of 4 hours of service per week; the monetary value of these student services is estimated to reach \$4.45 billion; and approximately 22,000 service-learning courses were offered with an average of 40 per campus.

A wide range of institutional involvement in and support of service is practiced: 83 percent of institutions have a community service and/or service and/or service-learning office, 58 percent considering service in awarding student scholarships, and 27 percent considering service-learning in faculty promotion and tenure decisions; and the most common mechanisms of support for student involvement in service are service awards for students (62%), physical space for political organizations on campus (60%) and hosting/funding of public dialogues on current issues (59%) (Campus Compact 2005). For example, Howard R. Swearer Center for Public Service (2006:1) at Brown University supports active community participation reflecting on the university's "public trust to both prepare students for meaningful engagement in the American democracy and to support scholarship that is of service to the world."²⁸

Funding sources. Historically, funding for UCPs came mostly from the federal government, and recent private funding for community initiatives has significantly encouraged the efforts of UCPs (Carr 2000). Established in 1994, Office of University Partnerships [OUP] of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has implemented a comprehensive funding initiative enabling various types of universities to use diverse resources to address urban and social problems with offering 8 grant programs including the Community Outreach Partnership Centers program, Community Development Work Study program, and Universities Rebuilding America Partnerships program (OUP website). In addition, DOE's Title XI program has funded

²⁷ An interview with Ms. Jennifer Meeropol of the National Campus Compact Office was conducted in Providence, RI in April 2006.

²⁸ An interview with Professor Roger Nozaki of Brown University was conducted in Providence, RI in April 2006.

university projects focusing on critical urban issues in community development, health and housing (Carr 2000). Not only government but also private or corporate foundations as well as smaller community foundations fund the efforts of UCPs such as Annie E. Casey, DeWitt Wallace, Fannie Mae, Ford, Kellogg, Rockefeller and Sudan Foundations. For example, the Fannie Mae Foundation (website) has developed the University-Community Partnership Initiative designed to promote the development of successful partnerships between universities and community organizations to expand affordable housing opportunities in distressed communities.

Outcomes and challenges. There are potential outcomes and challenges to UCPs proposed by many scholars particularly for each stakeholder in service learning. While studies have mainly shown student outcomes, only a few studies have examined the outcomes for community organizations such as Eyler et al. (2001). Although empirical evidence needs more time, I attempt to summarize the main arguments of major literature on the outcomes and challenges for the main stakeholders.

Studies agree and disagree on the effects of service learning on students' learning outcomes. The main areas of agreements are: 1) service learning is complex, and learning and development connected with it are difficult to measure; and 2) improved learning outcomes occur when service learning is well-integrated into courses and programs (Crews 2002). Educators assert that service learning may positively influence student development in such aspects as academic, problem-solving and critical thinking skills, moral reasoning ability, social and civic responsibility, self-esteem, empathy, political efficacy, tolerance and acceptance of diversity, and career goals (Wade 1997).

Two studies have identified student outcomes empirically. RAND (1999) found that students in service learning courses, compared to those in similar courses without a service component report larger gains in civic participation (particularly intended future involvement in community service) and life skills (interpersonal skills and understanding of diversity). Likewise, Astin et al. (2000) identified 11 outcome indicators for students such as: academic performance, values, leadership, choice of a service career, and plans to participate in service

after college. They found that service participation had significant positive effects on all the outcome measures; that benefits associated with course-based service were strongest for academic outcomes; and that both faculty and students developed a heightened sense of civic responsibility and personal effectiveness.

Although research on service learning is growing rapidly with the emphasis on student outcomes and pedagogical issues, comparatively little research examines empirically its impact on community organizations (Edwards et al. 2001, Vernon and Ward 1999) with a few exceptions: RAND (1999) studied the impact of Learn and Serve America Higher Education [LSAHE] programs on students and organizations. Subsequently, Edwards et al. (2001) studied the impact of students on community organizations in a typical college town. RAND (1999) found that organization staff members were extremely satisfied with the contributions of student volunteers, ranking them as more effective than non-student volunteers and non-LSAHE school volunteers. Similarly, Edwards et al. (2001) discovered that 1) staff members highly evaluated student volunteers with strong enthusiasm and interpersonal skills; 2) student volunteers constituted a substantial pool of volunteer labor that helped sustain the local nonprofit sector; and 3) their contributions more than offset any opportunity costs incurred by participating organizations (Edwards et al. 2001). Furthermore, community agencies benefit from students' new ideas and enthusiasm (Wade 1997).

Outcomes for the community are both short-term and long-term: The most visible and direct outcome for the community is direct aid that individuals in need receive. Overall, community organizations can benefit from the immense intellectual and institutional resources of universities. For example, universities hold faculty members with credentials in academic disciplines and professional fields, who have the capacity for potential for problem solving and program planning (Clary et al. 2000). Long-term benefits are that students come to see themselves as community-minded citizens, and communities come to see youth as one of their most valuable resources. An early community service experience is a strong predictor of volunteering (Independent Sector 2001) and a past experience of volunteering influences the future volunteering participation (Hooghe 2003b). Therefore, service experience may lead

students to serve their communities even after graduation such as through giving and volunteering and serving on boards of nonprofits.

In the development process of the UCPs and service learning initiatives, researchers have identified various challenges faced by the current practice. Many of the university efforts are isolated and minimal, and not allocating sufficient resources to community partnerships (Damon 1998 and Maurrasse 2001). Furthermore, many programs do not meet the standards of quality service learning: programs that do not include reflection, evaluation, curriculum integration, and meaningful service activities (Wade 1997). The most frequently cited obstacles to the expansion of service learning are the time and pressures of faculty teaching loads, lack of funds to support the service learning office, and a lack of common understanding of the concepts and models of service learning (Campus Compact website). Also, many programs are dependent on grant money for their existence. Majority of universities do not reward the efforts of faculty in engaging students in service learning in deciding promotion and tenure decisions. Recently, however, one-third of Campus Compact campuses have come to reward faculty in these decisions.

The challenges facing community agencies are mostly in relation to students: students' schedules, transportation, the short-term commitment and necessary training and supervision, lack of preparation and inconsistency (Edwards et al. 2001, Vernon and Ward 1999). RAND (1999) identified other challenges such as communication between community organizations and higher education institutions, and faculty resistance. However, universities tend to have more power than other neighborhood-based entities, allowing them to impose their agenda rather than pursuing equal partnerships (Maurrasse 2001). Evaluation of effectiveness of service-learning is also a critical issue and Campus Compact (2001) has been addressing this, too.

5.3.5 Emerging UCPs in Japan

In Japan, the contribution of universities to community has existed largely due to individual commitment of certain faculty members rather than through institutional

commitment. Universities are not meeting the expectations of communities because these expectations are too high and the requests do not match the actual conditions and characteristics of universities (Sendai Urban Research Forum 1998).

Recently, however, UCPs has started to be promoted due to the changing social and economic contexts such as the decreasing birthrates, the economic downturn, increased demands for ICT and calls for university reforms. As an overall education reform, MEXT (website) set participation in community service and various programs, and promotion of the school creation trusted by parents and communities in the seven priority strategies, though it does not specify educational levels and no remark was made at the higher education level.

Young volunteers were scarce in Japan 10 years ago (13.4% at the ages of 15-24) compared with the U.S. (38% at the ages of 18-24) in 1996 (Economic Planning Agency 2000). However, young volunteers have been rapidly increasing over the last decade with the experience of the Kobe Earthquake and the changing society, reaching 26.7 percent in 2001, showing a double increase from 1996.

During this time, nonprofits have gathered momentum since the Kobe Earthquake in 1991, and especially with the enactment of the NPO Law in 1998. On the other hand, many nonprofits have been facing the following major managerial challenges: 1) money—the fragile revenue structures make many nonprofits very small in financial terms; 2) people—increasing membership and recruiting staff are difficult; and 3) location—finding an office and activity space is very problematic.

Under the circumstances, nonprofits in Japan, particularly community-based organizations, can benefit tremendously from partnerships with universities in their communities. They can utilize the resources of universities in terms of people and facilities, and reduce financial costs. What's more, they can build organizational capacity not only for the short-term, but for the long-term as well for the whole nonprofit sector and community.

One of the most common types of UCPs has been internship programs. In 1997, Japanese government recognized the significance of internship programs implemented in the U.S. for developing creative human resource, and an association of three ministries came up with “A

Basic Concept toward Promoting Internships” (MEXT website). Since then, various initiatives have begun across the country in order to institute internships and introduce credit bearing internship programs. Although many internship programs seem short-term, some universities started to offer an internship course as a requirement for graduation. However, many internship courses are initiated through the trust and social networks of respective faculty rather than institutional commitment. The survey results of nonprofit internship programs in universities conducted by the NPO Support Center Internship Research Committee (2001) revealed that the organizations accept interns mostly (75%) through an individual faculty member’s personal connections, and that duration and the number of participating students in internships also vary depending on universities. Likewise, a survey by the Japan Student Services Organization [JASSO] (2006) found that 52.2 percent of responding students participate in volunteering not relating to their academic major, and only 7 percent of responding students volunteer as an integral part of a course.

However, an interest in service learning has been spreading in Japanese universities, too. According to a survey by JASSO (2005), 41 percent of the responding universities in Japan offer volunteering related courses with an average of 2 courses integrating service/volunteering components per campus. A major online clearinghouse for service-learning in Japanese, Japan-US Service Learning Exchange Service (website) was created by Tetsuya Murakami, who conducted research on service-learning in the U.S. for two years since 2002, and provides information and resources on service-learning in Japanese. This spurred the interests and understanding of scholars, faculty and staff at universities in Japan on service-learning in higher education. Research forums and symposiums on service-learning in universities have been held through campus centers to support volunteering and community partnerships: The Volunteer Center at Ritsumeikan University (2006), a private university in Kyoto, and the Community Cooperation Center at Hiroshima University (2006), a national university corporation in Hiroshima, for instance. Murakami and I talked about service-learning at the institutions of higher education in the U.S. to about 20 faculty and staff at the second study forum on service-learning at Hiroshima University in December 2006 (Murakami 2006, Nishide 2006c). I

found that staff are very interested in the significance and possibility of service-learning and student volunteering, but have difficulty in coordinating across departments in university and also outreaching faculty and students.

As such, institutional involvement for community partnerships and student service is still in the stage of development in Japan: According to the JASSO (2005) survey, though 83 percent of responding universities have a division to deal with community liaison as a part of their work, only 2.1 percent of them hold a division with a full-time staff in charge; likewise, though 82 percent have a division to deal with volunteering information dissemination and support as a part of their work, only 2.3 percent of them hold a division with a full-time staff in charge. However, there is a rapid increase of the establishment of university volunteer centers in Japan, and at least 40 centers are actively engaged in institutional support (National Center for Volunteering Promotion 2005).

Figure 5.1 shows a comparison of major partners of universities in the U.S. and Japan. This comparison reveals that American universities partner more with various actors in community including faith-based organizations, government and for-profit businesses. Nonprofit/community-based organizations (95%) and K-12 schools (90%) are the major community partners for American universities. Partnerships with other institutions of higher education and for-profit business are also comparatively active in the U.S. than in Japan. On the other hand, government (39%) and various types of nonprofits and neighborhood associations are the major partners for the Japanese universities.

Both countries have built diverse university-community partnerships with various community actors with distinctive characteristics. Japanese universities seem to have a much room for improvement in expanding bridging social capital to recruit partners from more diverse sectors in communities.

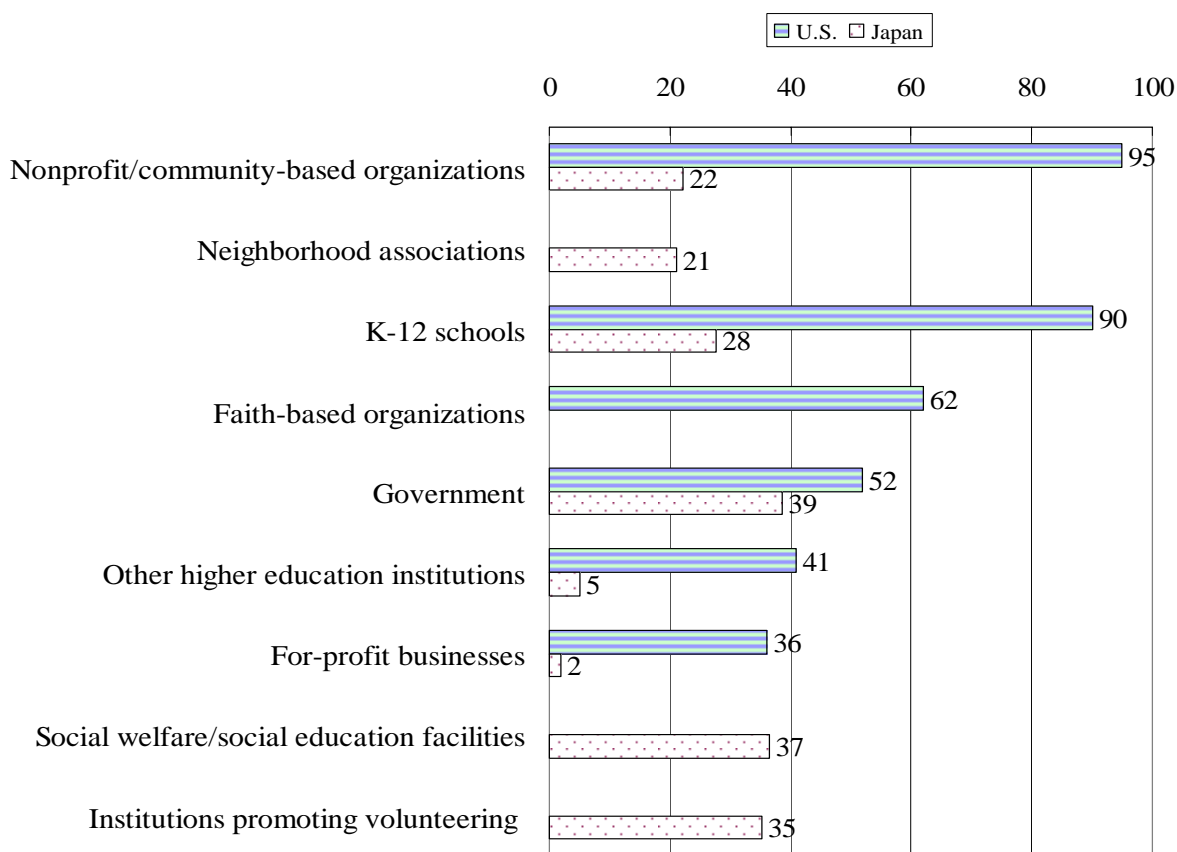


Figure 5.1 Comparison of Major Community Partners for Universities in the U.S. and Japan

Source: Created by the author.

Data: Campus Compact (2005) and the Japan Institute for Supporting Students (2005).

Note: The categories of the data in the U.S. and Japan do not necessarily match.

5.3.6 Factors for effective UCPs²⁹

Then, what are the crucial factors to improve the practice of UCPs and to maintain effective UCPs in the face of various challenges? Researchers have studied the common characteristics and factors for successful and effective UCPs and service learning. In order to derive essential factors for effective UCPs, I compared 14 publications either listing or describing factors or conditions for successful UCPs or service learning, and conducted a content analysis (Table 5.4).³⁰

²⁹ Please see Scheibel et al. (2005) for details on the implementation of effective UCPs.

³⁰ Content analysis is the analysis of text documents in order to identify patterns in text (Trochim 2001).

The most cited factor for success is *engagement and active participation of all the stakeholders as partners* (Carr 2000, Glemon et al. 1998, Honnet and Poulson 1989, Kezar and Rhoads 2001, Vernon and Ward 1999) followed by *leadership support* and components of *reflection* that students would reflect on their service experience through discussions or summarizing it in writing. Ehrlich (2000) argues that guided reflection gives students opportunities to explore the relationship between academic learning, civic values and commitments.

Other common factors are *articulated goals and responsibilities, communication, curriculum integration, and institutional commitment and strong service tradition*. Among the relatively low number of citations, *trust, evaluation and faculty involvement* should also be considered essential factors reflecting the challenges discussed. In particular, *establishing service centers to coordinate and institutionalize service activities can lead to matching service providers and service needs, and may establish criteria for selecting community service placements*.

These factors are clearly embedded in the successful examples from the U.S. and Japan as described in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Factors for Effective UCPs

The number of cited factors for effective UCPs and service learning	Source
5 Engagement and active participation of all the stakeholders as partners	Carr 2000; Glemon et al. 1998; Honnet and Poulson 1989; Kezar and Rhoads 2001; Vernon and Ward 1999
4 Leadership support Reflection	Carr 2000; Damon 1998; Nichols 1990; RAND 1999 Astin et al. 2000; Hepburn et al. 2000; Honnet and Poulson 1989; Wade 1997
Articulated goals and responsibilities	Glemon et al. 1998; Hepburn et al. 2000; Honnet and Poulson 1989; Howard 1993
3 Communication Curriculum integration	Glemon et al. 1998; Nichols 1990; Vernon and Ward 1999 Astin et al. 2000; Carr 2000; Wade 1997
Training	Astin et al. 2000; Edwards et al. 2001; Honnet and Poulson 1989

(Table 5.4, continued.)

The number of cited factors for effective UCPs and service learning	Source
Collaboration	Glemon et al. 1998; Wade 1997
Development of guidelines	Kezar and Rhoads 2001; Vernon and Ward 1999
Flexibility	Glemon et al. 1998; Honnet and Poulson 1989
2 Institutional commitment (including strong institutional tradition of service)	Carr 2000; Honnet and Poulson 1989; RAND 1999
Long duration and sustainability	Carr 2000; Hepburn et al. 2000
Support	Honnet and Poulson 1989; Howard 1993
Trust	Damon 1998; Englert 1997
Academic credit for learning	Howard 1993
Applied research related to the outreach activities	Carr 2000
Being good neighbors	Nichols 1990
Diversification of funding	Carr 2000
Economic partnership	Nichols 1990
Effective sharing of resources	Nichols 1990
Enhancing quality of life	Nichols 1990
Establishing criteria for community service placements	Howard 1993
Evaluation	Honnet and Poulson 1989
Faculty incentives for career enhancement	Carr 2000
Faculty involvement	RAND 1999
1 Matching service providers and service needs	Honnet and Poulson 1989
Monitoring	Honnet and Poulson 1989
Mutual accountability and respect	Glemon et al. 1998
Mutual understanding	Wade 1997
No compromise of academic rigor	Howard 1993
Preparation	Wade 1997
Recognition	Honnet and Poulson 1989
Respect for autonomy	Glemon et al. 1998
Service	Wade 1997
Service centers for coordination and institutionalization	RAND 1999
Supervision	Honnet and Poulson 1989
Goals as part of a comprehensive community	Carr 2000
Revitalization strategy	Carr 2000

Source: Created by the author based on 14 publications describing key factors for UCPs.

5.3.7 Examples of UCPs from the U.S. and Japan

In this part, a few prominent examples of UCPs in Japan and the U.S. are introduced to explain how UCPs works in the real world: the Consortium of Universities in Kyoto [CUK] for Japan, Syracuse University [SU] and University of Pennsylvania [Penn] for the U.S. CUK is an intermediary organization bridging universities and community organizations, SU initiates UCPs at various departments with a service center as the role of facilitator and Penn takes a comprehensive approach to UCPs.

*The Consortium of Universities in Kyoto [CUK].*³¹ Established in 1998 as an incorporated nonprofit foundation, CUK is a leading example of university collaboration with community in Japan. CUK's activities range from credit transferring to internship programs. The CUK (website) currently has 55 member organizations, includes all 51 universities in Kyoto Prefecture, one local government (Kyoto City) and four economic organizations (e.g., Kyoto Chamber of Commerce).

Kyoto, an ancient Japanese capital, has historically developed as a major college town. With the population of 1.4 million, 38 universities reside within Kyoto city. Moreover, approximately 10 percent of the city's population are students, faculty and staff of universities. Universities in Kyoto have long fostered good relationships with the local communities and their industries, and with other universities. However, in the early 1990s, Kyoto City felt a severe sense of crisis due to the draining of universities from Kyoto (College Management 2000), and promulgated "College Town: Kyoto 21 Plan" in 1993 to strengthen collaboration among universities and between universities and communities, and to improve the environment for education (Kawamura 2000). It clarified the concept of the "University Consortium," which led to the creation of CUK (Sendai Urban Research Forum 1998). CUK (website) regards it necessary to strengthen the relationship among universities and local communities and industries, as well as connections among universities "in order to meet social expectations for university education and the various needs of students." The major characteristic of CUK is that all the universities in Kyoto provide financial and human resources.

³¹ Major part of this case is based on the interview with Hironori Yamaguchi at CUK in Kyoto in July 2002.

CUK's internship programs cover public, private and nonprofit sectors and start-up businesses. Among them, the nonprofit course of the internship programs, started in 1998, is the first internship program in Japan to focus on the nonprofit sector. CUK has introduced the internship as an educational program with the concept of cooperative education, and it has designed, developed and managed the program with local community organizations (Nakamura 1999). Now it has evolved into the four main programs on nonprofits: the NPO School. Yamaguchi (2001) states the three purposes of the NPO School as: to foster abilities to discover problems; to learn about the nonprofit activities historically, socially and culturally; and to improve the social maturity.

According to Yamaguchi (2001), the programs of the NPO School have the following effects: For students, they promote their own life design with a concrete career, contact one another after the internship, and talk about their hope of establishing a nonprofit organization with their colleagues; and nonprofits are positive about accepting the interns in that about 80 percent of the replying organizations responded that they would like to accept students for the following year. More broadly, the CUK model has started to spread in other parts of Japan such as Osaka (CUK website). On the other hand, the outcomes for community organizations in their perspectives are mostly short-term such as the need to "fill human resource needs in the short-term" (Yamaguchi 2001:75).

Yamaguchi feels the limitations of lecture format are a major challenge to the NPO School. In the future, he would like to set up the programs so that students can participate whenever they want to participate. The different levels of the commitment of universities in Kyoto are also a big challenge. For example, the NPO School 2000 Final Report lists the reports of 15 participating students (CUK 2001), but, these are students from only five major universities.

CUK example tells us of the significant role of third party intermediaries. CUK has served as a strong coordinator and catalyst in promoting UCPs. The most critical element of its success is found to be the enthusiastic commitment and involvement of all the sectors in community. Moreover, through concentrating and outsourcing the human and financial resources to CUK, universities in Kyoto have been able to manage their own institutions efficiently and effectively:

It saves time, cost and energy to coordinate and offers opportunities such as pre-study and post-study training in the internship programs including business manner classes. Moreover, the continuous reflection, improvement and development of the programs reflecting the feedback from students and community organizations, and the flexibility and speed of the innovation are worth learning from.

Moreover, Yamaguchi's perspectives on the elements for successful UCPs necessary for each stakeholder are to the point: "Universities need to listen to the community, listening especially to the future seeds, not the needs. On the other hand, nonprofits need to speak up and communicate not what they should or what they want, but what they can do. Students should go out into the society and become citizens."

Although it may be too early to assess the outcomes of this young organization, the concept of a consortium of universities is spreading to various parts of Japan. Other areas may also refer to the curriculum of CUK, but just adopting the style would not work as Yamaguchi stated. Therefore, every community should develop their own style of consortium reflecting their regional characteristics and culture.

*Syracuse University [SU].*³² SU has promoted UCPs especially through community service and service learning courses in various departments with strong service tradition. Established in 1870, SU is located in the center of Syracuse city, in the central part of New York State. For several decades, the city's population has been on the decline, and now almost half (47%) of its residents are classified as "low" or "extremely low" income (United Way of Central New York 2001). In 1991, then Chancellor Shaw saw the lively activities of volunteering and community service, but felt that these activities were operated separately, "often resulting in frustration, duplication of effort, and lost opportunities" (Yackel 2001). He states that the university has an obligation to give students the opportunities to learn how to be active citizens. For this purpose, he initiated the creation of the Center for Public and Community Service (CPCS) in 1994.

³² This case study is conducted based on participatory observations for two years from 2000-2002 and interviews in Syracuse, NY with Professor Carol Dwyer in May 2002 and Professor Pamela K. Heintz in May 2002 and April 2006, Provost Deborah A. Freund, Professor William J. Sullivan and Mr. Charles P. Merrihew in April 2006.

CPCS facilitates many service learning courses. It aims to “increase the awareness of members of the SU community that public and community service is an integral part of the educational process and a direct reflection” of the University’ mission; to “foster a life-long personal commitment to active public service and civic responsibility;” and to “develop student leadership by learning gained through service” (Syracuse University, Center for Public and Community Service website). CPCS places more than 4,000 student volunteers a year in the community, coordinates 1,800 student placements for 40 classes, and monitors a database of more than 400 community organizations in need of volunteers (Yackel 2001). Leadership interns get funding from various corporations in Syracuse such as the Career Corporation and Chase Bank. CPCS Director Pamela Heintz stated, “learning from service is not automatic—it must be accompanied by careful training, monitoring, thoughtful reflection, and continuous evaluation” (Yackel 2001:24). Students who volunteer as Literacy Corps tutors meet every week for training and reflection on their tutoring experiences at CPCS. The main characteristic of CPCS (website) is its openness to all in the community, its availability to any organization, and recognition and awards to students for their community service in order to encourage them to “become active community participants and leaders by serving the needs of others.”

The Community Design Center (CDC) Workshop is a major example of a partnership that CPCS initiated between the School of Architecture and the community since 1997. This interdisciplinary, collaborative workshop was created to involve students from various academic disciplines in designing and planning a physical environment in the Syracuse community with the involvement of local residents, nonprofits and community leaders. In addition to facilitating service learning courses, CPCS offers the Service Learning Pedagogy Project, which integrates and stimulates teaching and learning innovations grounded in a service learning philosophy in a formal way across the curriculum.

Furthermore, through service learning courses facilitated by CPCS, individual faculty also adopt service learning components in their courses. For example, Professor Carol Dwyer at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs includes service learning and case-based components with a strong belief that “real learning is by doing.” Both Heintz and Dwyer regard

the university as being a tremendous pool of resources to the community. Heintz perceives the major resources of university as people: student and staff. UCPS provides opportunities for faculty and students, and broader diversity has fostered on, appreciation and respect for each other. UCPS can give faculty be more grounded in the real world, deep knowledge base, and make connections. Students can connect to community, and learn how to be good citizens. Local nonprofits can get extra help, with UCPS bringing them energy from students and faculty.

SU's case teaches us various lessons. Above all, top leadership commitment was found to be critical. It was Chancellor Shaw, who realized the needs for coordinating various activities and initiated the creation of CPCS with his strong commitment. Ongoing communication and relationship building are also critical for a successful partnership. Both Dwyer and Heintz have tried to communicate with various community agencies and leaders, and build relationships with them. Openness toward all the fields in community is also a crucial lesson.

CPCS does not only promote and facilitate service learning courses, but also guides and teaches how to teach the service learning courses through the Service Learning Pedagogy project. Moreover, interdepartmental coordination through CPCS widens the opportunities for students from various academic disciplines. The interdisciplinary CDC course is very open and gathers experts from various academic disciplines, which adds various perspectives on the design and development of the community.

*University of Pennsylvania [Penn].*³³ Penn exemplifies a comprehensive approach to UCPS. Literature often cites Penn as an exemplary example of large-scale institutional commitment and the impact of UCPS (Wutzdorf and Giles 1997). HUD awarded University of Pennsylvania Center for Community Partnerships [CCP], “the cornerstone for creative collaborations between the university and the community of West Philadelphia,” for its role in helping improve academic performance in the public school system (HUD-OUP website).

Benjamin Franklin founded Penn in 1740 with the purpose of serving the society. Franklin regarded service to society as “the great aim and end of all learning” (CCP website). Now Penn

³³ This example is based on literature review particularly Murrasse (2001, 2002) as well as various documents and websites of CCP and Penn.

is situated in West Philadelphia, an urban area with poverty, crime, deterioration and diverse demographics. In the last decades, while Penn flourished, West Philadelphia declined, “losing economic and social capital” (Maurrasse 2001). Under such conditions in the surrounding areas, Penn has an explicit interest in revitalizing the community in order to attract more students and faculty for its own survival, and began to pay a serious attention to its role in creating partnerships with the key community organizations to effect positive change in the 1980s (CCP website).

Established in 1992, CCP manages much of Penn’s community partnership activities. Penn cooperates with a number of local institutions such as the public school system which serves as a central neighborhood-based institution (Maurrasse 2001). The Center coordinates various types of programs, and many of the programs complement one another. Penn tries to take a comprehensive approach to community revitalization, with simultaneous focus on a number of issues. This approach includes schools, and housing development, reflecting the shortcomings of separate piecemeal separate strategies (Maurrasse 2001).

Examples of programs are academically-based community service [ABCS], West Philadelphia Improvement Corps [WEPIC], and Program in Nonprofits, Universities, Communities, and Schools [PNUCS] (CCP website):

1) ABCS is the principal vehicle of the Center’s civic engagement, encompassing problem-solving orientation. Over 120 service-learning courses aim to provide real world experience for transforming students into involved citizens and active community members;

2) The WEPIC project, founded in 1985 aims to produce comprehensive university-assisted community schools that serve, educate, and activate all members of the community, revitalizing the curriculum through a community-oriented problem-solving approach. A significant feature of WEPIC is its function as a vehicle for engaging the resources of academia in the interests of the broader community and the recognition that the community is a resource for student learning (Wutzdorf and Giles 1997). WEPIC’s university-assisted community school model led to support for a national replication project; and

3) PNUCS is an initiative which builds the capacity of local community-based organization. The key projects include: community asset mapping, development of new ABCS courses in order to improve theory and practice in the nonprofit field, programs in nonprofit management, and technical assistance to local nonprofits.

Lessons Learned. Penn exemplifies various elements for successful UCPs: An individual university's commitment can make a great difference in tackling serious problems in the community. Penn's sincere efforts have transformed the distrust between Penn and the community into mutual trust in the last two decades. The institutional commitment and comprehensive approach are the essence of Penn's prominent initiatives.

Penn's approach to include the community school as a major partner is also innovative. The WEPIC model fosters continuity of education, and influences the long-term social capital of the community through the educated young becoming active citizens. Leadership commitment of top administrators is critical in making the UCPs work as a big-scale institutional commitment. Penn's President has been advocating partnerships with community, which surely has affected the consciousness and attitudes of faculty and staff. The philosophy of mutual gain is also critical for successful partnerships. CCP has tried to include community voices and make sure that community residents actually benefit along with Penn. As CCP regards partnerships as mutual learning processes, Penn has emphasized the process of partnerships to find mutual benefit. Moreover, Penn has been excellent in sharing their outcomes to community residents and to the larger public in the American society. This publicity and accountability to community residents have nurtured the trust of the community in Penn, and fostered the good image of Penn in prospective students and faculty nationwide.

5.3.8 Implications

What can we learn from these examples? All the examples are highly regarded in their respective countries. Each takes a different approach, but each has achieved quite a surprising impact on students, faculty and staff, university, community organizations and community as a whole, creating and utilizing social capital in their organizations and in community.

Overall, the American examples can be applied to Japan and vice versa. Of course it does not mean that direct exporting of the Penn or SU model to Japan would work. Japan can apply these models while taking into account the social and cultural contexts of Japan. As described, social contexts such as racial demographics and the population of Japan are very different from those in the U.S. CUK does not have to deal with race and poverty so much compared to the U.S. Still, Japan also faces increasingly diverse culture and needs, and declining birthrates, and thus, it can learn from the U.S. examples. Likewise, the U.S. universities can also learn from the growing achievements and fresh perspectives of the CUK.

A major lesson from the examples is that commitment of a single university's leadership can make a great difference to the university and community. For universities, achievements of Penn and SU are quite amazing. Through the Penn case, the commitment of one university has made a difference in their efforts to tackle the problems in community and coordinating and bridging various actors has positively impacted students, community organizations and the university's various departments,. Moreover, the Penn example tells us that a comprehensive approach brings about a boomerang effect on the university and the community, and the larger society; the model has been spreading not only to their surrounding communities, but also nationally and internationally. Both Penn and SU showed that leadership is essential, and bridging social capital connecting diverse actors is critical.

Japanese universities also need to build the capacity and culture to promote and develop UCPs at an individual university level, too, in order to create social capital within the institution and the surrounding community. The CUK functions as a bridge between the university and community. However, the efforts will not be fully sustainable and successful without leadership and institutional commitment of each university. The CUK has achieved its aim of creating a ripple effect, spreading the internship system across the Kyoto area through the participation of all the universities in Kyoto. However, it is not clear whether individual universities are making an institutional commitment, and whether all the faculty and staff are conscious of their link to the community and their involvement. Also, the NPO School does not accept all the students who are interested and apply for the School. Is the NPO internship program aimed for elite

human resource development? If it aims to foster human resource who will be socially engaged and be active citizens for a long time, it will need to offer a mass civic education: not just toward selected elites, but also toward all those who are interested.

Currently, the CUK does not have the capacity to achieve this, and no single organization can afford to offer the NPO School or other internship programs to a large number of students. Thus, it is vital for each university to realize that each of them will need to commit itself to partnerships based on mutual trust and norms of reciprocity. It must be true that some aspects of the internship system can be outsourced to an intermediary organization, and the intermediary organization has the significant role of coordination and efficient and effective administration. However, universities cannot fully depend on an intermediary organization. It is pivotal that faculty and staff of member universities manage the CUK and its funding also comes from member universities. Still, it is not enough because UCPs will be sustained only with both individual and institutional commitment. Also, mutual trust between the university and the community will be fostered only through their direct interaction. If Japan aims to promote truly committed UCPs, the participation and commitment of individual universities become indispensable. For example, Japanese universities cannot outsource the ABCS. Instead, they should adopt service learning, specifically a type of ABCS and integrate it into curriculum.

Moreover, the challenges that the Japanese education system face include the continuity of education from K-12 to higher education. In order to address this problem, Penn's model with the focus on community schools such as WEPIC can be an excellent model for application in Japan. The collaboration between university and high school, junior high school and elementary school through interaction with college students, faculty, teachers, K-12 students and community residents would serve as a comprehensive approach to addressing the issue of continuity of education and separation between community and school.

It seems that the community organizations in Kyoto realize only the short-term outcomes of UCPs such as receiving service at hand, and sometimes they feel the burdens of accepting interns. However, the Penn case tells us that these partnerships bring mutual benefit and mutual learning, ensuring that community residents also benefit. Therefore, "avenues for community

voices to shape and initiate partnership activities should be actively encouraged” (Maurrasse 2001:55).

Although the CUK is a relatively new organization to promoting UCPs compared to American examples, various universities can also learn from the CUK. First, universities can learn that a third party intermediary can play a critical role for efficient and effective coordination and promotion of UCPs. SU has communicated with other universities in Syracuse through Campus Compact. However, if third party intermediaries like the CUK existed in Syracuse, the collaboration among the several universities in Syracuse would be enhanced, and they can improve the efficiency and effectiveness of each program. Penn has already realized, and started to develop a community-wide consortium.

It is crucial for universities to collaborate among themselves, exchange information and learn from each other, and develop a community-wide vision and strategy for UCPs, meeting the needs of their distinctive community. Thus, the community as a whole and community organizations as a direct partner will benefit a great deal from the concerted and coordinated effort of multiple universities in the community. Through a co-op type internship, students can learn and receive the training necessary for working at a community organization. An intermediary organization can systematically offer the appropriate trainings for students to prepare for their service in order to address the concerns of community organizations that students are unprepared and require much training. The matching process that the CUK emphasizes and spends a lot of time and effort on can also be applied to American universities. This communication between the university and community organizations will foster mutual trust and understanding.

Universities have pivotal social roles which affect civic life and social capital. Community-based nonprofits and community as a whole as well as universities can also benefit greatly from partnerships. Through the development of UCPs, both universities and communities can achieve mutual benefits, and become agents of change for the community and society, regaining the civic engagement of young people and increasing social capital. Although and effective partnership requires tremendous time, commitment, careful preparation and

evaluation, UCPs is a call for today’s complex and diverse society both in the U.S. and Japan. Moreover, it is more often universities that initiate a partnership and therefore have more power and voice. In order for UCPs to be effective, we need to explore effective means for community organizations to speak up and initiate partnerships with universities. Moreover, evaluating the effectiveness and process of partnerships is also critical for improvement. Partnership process such as building trust and communication between partners is also a major factor to success (Maurrasse 2002).

In summary, an integrated and comprehensive approach of UCPs is proposed here. Universities can adopt a balanced approach with the components of 1) institutional commitment such as service learning with curriculum integration and faculty involvement, and 2) efficient and effective use of an intermediary for coordination, training, and diffusing UCPs. Table 5.5 summarizes factors for implementing successful UCPs to be considered by each actor.

Table 5.5 Factors for Successful UCPs by Actor

Actor	Outcome
University	Equal partnership; reciprocity; understanding community; leadership; coordination; comprehensive approach; institutional involvement; organizational structure and culture to facilitate partnerships; integration of service-learning into curriculum; and implementation of evaluation.
Faculty and staff	Preparation; training; communication with students and community; integrate reflection components; and evaluation.
Students	Clear purpose; understanding community; sustainability; and reflection.
Community partners	Equal partnership; reciprocity; understanding university; communication with faculty, staff and students; and evaluation.

Source: Created by the author based on case studies as well as literature review and content analysis.

Through the development of UCPs, both universities and communities can achieve mutual benefit, and become agents for change for the community and society, helping regain the civic engagement of young people and increasing social capital. Through learning the lessons from

the examples, I hope it will lead to mutual gain for both universities and the surrounding communities. Through an effective UCPS, universities will become more significant members of their communities, students will become more active citizens, faculties' research will contribute more to real life, the capacity of nonprofits will increase, and the community will enjoy rich social capital. Table 5.6 summarizes outcomes of UCPs for various actors.

Table 5.6 Outcomes of UCPs by Actor

Actor	Outcome
University	Realization of university missions, particularly service mission; improvement of academic standards and curriculum; creation and provision of various types of forms including social capital and human capital; and a healthy and sustainable institutional development.
Faculty and staff	Improvement of education and research; heightened professionalism; faculty development; and expansion of networks in community.
Students	Improvement of academic skills; acquiring civic skills and civic literacy; and network building in community.
Community partners (nonprofits et al.)	Utilization of various university resources; benefits of young human resource; capacity building; value creation; and expansion of bridging and linking social capital.
Community as a whole	Problem-solving, increased civic participation, creation of new values, development of various types of social capital; community empowerment; and sustainable civil society

Source: Created by the author based on literature review and case studies.

The role of university is no more just providing physical capital as a major employer in the community, human capital for students to acquire qualifications and skills, and cultural capital in offering cultural events. Rather, the role of creating social capital through partnerships with community, particularly with nonprofits will be more and more required for reinvigorating and empowering community as well as for the realization of their mission and healthy development. Finally, the role of UCPs in creating social capital as well as other forms of capital is illustrated in Figure 5.2.

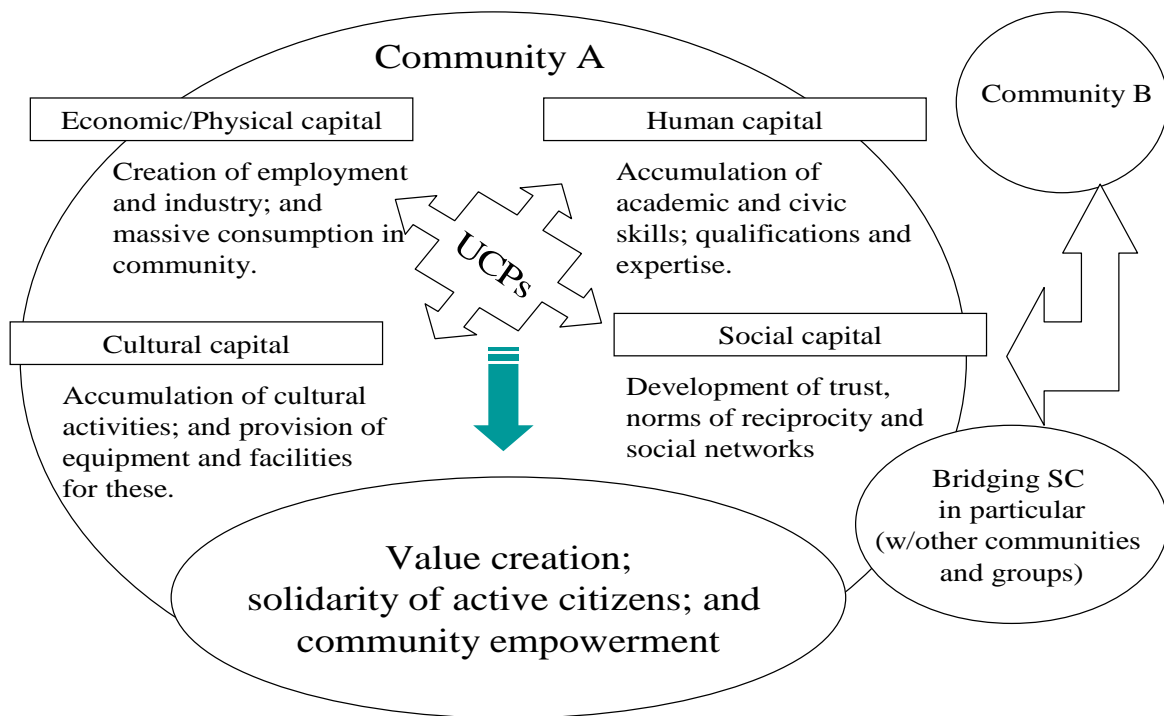


Figure 5.2 Role of UCPs in the Creation of Capitals

Source: Created by the author.

CHAPTER 6 SOCIAL CAPITAL AND PUBLIC POLICY

6.1 Introduction

This last chapter aims to grasp how social capital can be applied to public policy and what role nonprofits can play in policy development and in creating social capital in practice. There has been a wide debate on the definition and measurement of social capital over the years. Recognition toward the definition and outcomes of social capital is different among different countries and ministries, yet it is the common perception that social capital is important to policy related outcomes and society (Harper 2001). But how can social capital actually be applied to public policy?

In this final chapter, I address four questions: How are the policy applications of social capital different among different countries and what are the common practices? To what degree and how have these policies been developed and implemented? How and what role do and can nonprofits play in policy applications of social capital in theory and in practice? What are the challenges and prospects for applying social capital to public policy? I first review literature, introduce the methodology and data of this study, then summarize major findings, and finally discuss some challenges and prospects for policy applications of social capital.

6.2 Literature on Public Policy and Social Capital

Social capital such as trust, social networks and norms of reciprocity that facilitate cooperation are considered to have effects on policy related outcomes such as economic development, education, health, crime reduction and civic participation (Harper 2001, Putnam 2000). Putnam (2002a) reviewed the evolution and trends of social capital in several countries. OECD has worked on social capital measurement for international comparison (Healy 2002). Several studies have proposed policy applications of social capital from the context of their

respective countries (Putnam 2000, Aldridge and Halpern 2002, the National Economic and Social Forum 2003, Halpern 2005, Healy 2005). However, the prevailing literature has not compared policy implications of social capital in different countries and the role of nonprofits in policy development in detail. Therefore, this chapter focuses on the comparison of different countries for the purpose of identifying lessons applicable to various policy arenas in applying the concept of social capital.

Figure 6.1 illustrates countries and international organizations that have actively addressed social capital. In this study, I take up the U.S., in which Putnam and other researchers have widely contributed to the debates on social capital, and Ireland, the U.K., Canada, Australia and New Zealand, in which several government departments have been working on social capital, and my home country Japan, in which COJ has a major interest .

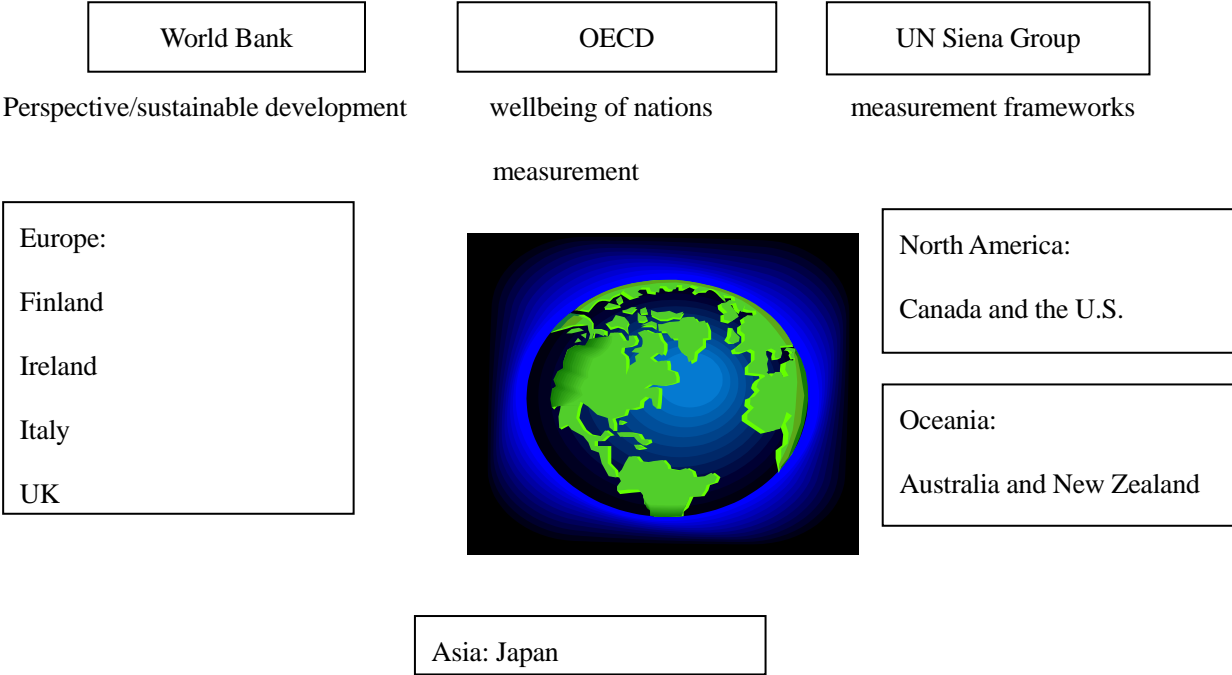


Figure 6.1 Countries and International Organizations Addressing Social Capital

Source: Created by the author.

6.3 Methodology

A comparative study was conducted on the policy applications of social capital in 7 countries: Australia, Canada, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand, the U.K. and the U.S. These countries were selected based on the development stages of policy applications as well as a geographical balance. Interviews, participatory observation and/or literature review were conducted for each country. Interviews were conducted at government departments and nonprofits in the OECD, Ireland and the U.K. as a part of the Study on Community Regeneration and Social Capital by ESRI in 2005. Participatory observations were conducted at nonprofits and local governments in Japan. Country papers at OECD-ONS Conference on Social Capital Measurement (OECD website) and at OECD World Forum on Major Indicators (website) as well as various government and policy documents and surveys were reviewed.

6.4 Findings

6.4.1 Overview

I compared the initiatives of seven countries from the aspects of definition and recognition, measurement, leading entities, research and surveys, related policies and programs and initiatives of nonprofits.³⁴ The summary of the comparison is in Table 6.1.

³⁴ Please see ESRI (2005) for details on the initiatives of related departments and nonprofit organizations in Ireland, the U.K. and OECD based on interviews the author participated. Please see Nishide (2005e) for details on each country's initiatives except Ireland and Japan.

Table 6.1 Overview of Social Capital Initiatives

Area	North America		Europe		Oceania	Asia	
Country	U.S.	Canada	Ireland	UK	Australia	New Zealand	Japan
Background/ perspective	Influence of Putnam's "Bowling Alone" and decline of community	Immigrants and diversity	Social exclusion and increasing income gap through the rapid economic development	Blair Administration; and a backbone to promote social participation and social inclusion	Possibility to contribute to a broad policy arenas, well-being of nations and diversity	Social exclusion such as Maori, social cohesion	Promotion of civic activities and community regeneration
Definition	Using Putnam's definition as a working definition	Using the OECD definition as a working definition	Adopting the OECD definition	Adopting the OECD definition	Adopting the OECD definition	Having set its own definition	Using Putnam's definition as a working definition
Measurement framework and indicators	Trust, formal and informal networks, political engagement, equality of civic engagement	Social participation, degree of empowerment, community realization, social networks, trust	Volunteering, civic engagement, voting, informal social networks and trust	Civic participation, social networks and support, social participation, reciprocity and trust, and views on local area	Quality, structure, trade and types of networks	Focus on four aspects of action, attitudes and values, population groups and organizations	Trust, networks and social participation
Related study	<i>Bowling Alone</i> (Putnam 2000) and <i>Better Together</i> (Saguaro Seminar 2000, Putnam and Feldstein 2003)	<i>Social Capital as a Public Policy Project Report</i> (PRI 2005)	<i>The Policy Implications of Social Capital</i> (NESF 2003)	Discussion paper (Aldridge and Halpern 2002); and <i>Social Capital</i> (Halpern 2005)	Social capital and social wellbeing (ABS 2002); and Measuring social capital (ABS 2004)	<i>Social Capital and Policy Development</i> (Robinson 1997); <i>Social Capital in Action</i> (Robinson 1999); and <i>Building Social Capital</i> (Robinson 2002) (c.f., Healy 2004)	<i>Social Capital</i> (COJ 2003); and <i>Social Capital and Community Regeneration</i> (ESRI 2005)

(Table 6.1, continued.)

Area	North America		Europe		Oceania		Asia
Country	U.S.	Canada	Ireland	UK	Australia	New Zealand	Japan
Related surveys	Community Benchmark Survey (2000), Current Population Survey on Volunteering (2004)	General Social Survey on Social Engagement (Statistics Canada 2004)	NESF Survey of Social Capital in Ireland (NESF 2003)	Home Office Citizenship Survey (2001, 2003, 2005)	Measuring Social Capital (ABS 2002, 2004)	Time-Use Survey (Statistics New Zealand 2002)	<i>Social Capital</i> (COJ 2003); and <i>Social Capital and Community Regeneration</i> (ESRI 2005)
Related policies and programs	Freedom Corps, citizenship education and volunteering	Immigrants, social inclusion and community development	Social inclusion, National Anti-Poverty Plan and Dormant Accounts Fund	Civic renewal, civic participation, health, education and crime	Health, safety, education, art, family, sports and housing	Social cohesion and the Stronger Community Action Fund	Promotion of civic activities and community regeneration
Major departments and institutions	Department of Education and Saguaro Seminar	PRI, Statistics, Immigrants, Legal & Women Bureaus	Departments of Education and Science, Social and Family Affairs and Community Affairs, and NESF	Cabinet Office, Office for National Statistics, Home Office and Health Development Agency	Bureau of Statistics, Dept. of Family and Community and Dept. of Health	Statistics Office, Home Office, Dept. of Social Policy, Dept. of Social Development, Treasury	COJ (Dept. of Civic Activities Promotion, and ESRI)
Initiatives of Nonprofits	Social Capital Inc.	Social Capital Partners	The Wheel, Community Foundation, BITC	NCVO			Center for Citizenship and Social Capital

Source: Created by the author based on interviews, OECD papers and various documents.

6.4.2 Recognition and definition

In each country, social capital is recognized as a pivotal concept in public policy and in society. The interest in social capital is based on each country’s social and cultural background: social inclusion in Ireland and the U.K., diversity and immigrants in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and community renewal in the U.S. and Japan. As such, though recognition toward social capital and its outcomes varies among each country and department, they are in common in recognizing social capital as a crucial concept in developing diverse policies. For example, social capital is perceived as a tool for social inclusion, sustainable community development, promotion of volunteering and nonprofit activities, participation in arts and culture and sports, gender, environment, conflict resolution, community development, crime prevention and education and a lubricant to tie community, and a lens to see things.

At present, several countries adopt or operationally use the OECD definition of social capital; “networks together with shared norms, values and understanding that facilitate co-operation within or among groups” (OECD 2001:41). New Zealand has its own definition; “relationships among actors (individuals, groups, and/or organisations) that create a capacity to act for mutual benefit or common purpose” (Statistics New Zealand, 2002:3). In the U.S. and Japan, Putnam’s definition is mainly used operationally. (Table 6.2)

Table 6.2 Trends of Social Capital Definition

Countries adopting OECD definition	Countries having their own definition	Countries operationally using Putnam's definition
Australia, Canada, Ireland and the U.K.	New Zealand	Japan and the U.S.

Source: Created by the author based on OECD conference papers and other related documents.

6.4.3 Measurement

Many countries are interested in measuring social capital in order to develop evidence-based policy (Table 6.3). Some countries with the initiative of Statistics Offices have

developed measurement frameworks and indicators. Office for National Statistics (website) in the UK has accumulated databank of social capital questions on its website. Several countries have actually measured social capital at the state and/or country level based on surveys and existing data. Moreover, measurement frameworks differ among countries, but the major indicators are categorized as participation, networks, trust and community efficacy.

Table 6.3 Initiatives of Social Capital Measurement

Countries in which measurement of social capital in some aspects through existing surveys is possible but government initiative has not been developed	Countries in which government has suspended measurement due to conceptualization and measurement problems	Countries in which government is positive in social capital measurement
Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Spain, Switzerland, Turkey and the U.S.	France and the U.S.	Australia, Canada, Ireland, Japan, New Zealand and the U.K.

Source: Created by the author based on a participatory observation, OECD conference papers and other related documents.

6.4.4 Leading entity

Initiatives of social capital are mainly divided into researcher-led and government-led countries. Government-led countries are divided into those led by Statistics Office or other departments, or led together by the Statistics Office, Cabinet Office and Home Office such as in the U.K. (Table 6.4)

Table 6.4 Leading Entity of Social Capital Initiative

Scholar-led countries	Government-led countries		Cabinet Office and Statistics Office jointly-led countries
	Statistics Office-led	Other departments/ institutions-led	
U.S.	Australia, Canada, Finland and Italy	Ireland and Japan	New Zealand and the U.K.

Source: Created by the author based on interviews, OECD conference papers and other related documents.

6.4.5 Research and related surveys

Each country has implemented some kind of research on social capital reflecting on its own social and cultural background. In the U.S. and New Zealand, research by university researchers precedes the 1990's. In the 2000's, research on conceptualization and measurement has increased in conjunction with the OECD-ONS Conference on Social Capital Measurement in 2002. Since then, some countries such as the U.K. and Canada have actually implemented surveys for the purpose of measuring social capital. Examples of the surveys include Survey of Social Capital by the National Economic and Social Forum [NESF] in Ireland, Home Office Citizenship Survey developed with the Office for National Statistics in the U.K., and General Social Survey on Social Engagement by the Statistics Bureau of Canada.

Moreover, research from the aspect of policy application has also increased. Research from a policy perspective already existed in 1997 in New Zealand, and applicability to various policy areas have been proposed recently in the U.S. (Saguaro Seminar 2000, website, Putnam and Feldstein 2003), Ireland (NESF 2003), the U.K. (Aldridge and Halpern 2002, Halpern 2005) and Canada (PRI 2005). COJ has also conducted two surveys relating to social capital and civic activities and renewal of the community regeneration (COJ 2003, ESRI 2005).

6.4.6 Related policy and programs

Social capital related policy and programs are proposed and/or implemented in each country. Among them, I compared related policy and programs of five countries: Ireland, the

U.S., the U.K., Australia and Canada (Table 6.5). As a result, it is found that social capital is applicable to various policy areas, and policy development is based on each country's social and cultural background. For example, Saguro Seminar (2000, website) of Harvard University in the U.S. has developed their policy proposals with research on civic engagement in various communities. Likewise, NESF (2003) of Ireland and Halpern (2005) of the Cabinet Office, the U.K. Government have also proposed diverse policies in relation to social capital.

Table 6.5 Major Social Capital Related Policies Proposed and/or Implemented

	Europe		North America		Oceania
	Ireland	U.K.	U.S.	Canada	Australia
Democracy, civic engagement and politics	Participatory democracy, youth civic involvement	Active citizenship	Participation, political funding reform	Youth civic engagement	
Nonprofits and volunteering	Partnerships and the initiative of the voluntary sector	Promotion of volunteers (Experience Corps)	Support for nonprofits/ volunteering (AmeriCorps)	Voluntary organizations in community development	Volunteering
Community, community development and safety	Promotion of community and initiative, time bank and offenders	Neighborhood and community governance, new approaches to potential offenders	Community development	Promotion of community development and community policing in the minority community	Community revitalization, safety, crime and justice
Family and child-bearing	Family-friendly policy	Greater support for family and child-bearing	Support for child-bearing		Support for family engagement in community
Education	Service learning and opening-up lifelong education	Citizenship education, service learning and informal learning group	Service learning	Education in minority community	Education and vocational training
Economy, employment and poverty	Work-life balance and national anti-poverty plan	Out of poverty utilizing human networks	Legislation for flexible working and time for community activities	Poverty reduction	Employment
Spatial planning, transportation and housing	Distance from service, work and school and promotion of car pool	Diffusion of social housing, spatial planning	Fewer urban sprawl and commuting time	Settlement of new immigrants	Housing, public transportation, spatial planning

(Table 6.5, continued.)

	Europe		North America		Oceania
	Ireland	U.K.	U.S.	Canada	Australia
Art and culture		Promotion of street and cafe culture, free museum entrance fee	Increase of participation in cultural activities such as dance festival		Art and culture
IT	e-government to better connect community and public service providers, community-based IT and community media	Community information and ICT network	E-entertainment that strengthens civic engagement and fosters new forms of communication		ICT
Health	All-Ireland social capital and health survey (NESF 2003)	Initiatives and studies of Health Education Authority and Health Development Agency (Mohan et al.)	Study by Berkman and Kawachi (2000) and Kawachi and Berkman (2003) on social capital, neighborhood, inequality and health	Link between social capital and healthy aging	Examination of health development as a form of social capital building
Measurement and research, and related project	Social capital module, development of community survey, and stronger support for social capital research	Citizenship survey, harmonized question set, social capital website, and cross-departmental working group	Saguaro Seminar is leading rather than government	Social Capital Project as a Public Policy Tool (PRI 2005)	Social capital framework and web page on social capital (ABS)
Other		Mentoring and promotion of trust such as through a jury system	Faith and faith-based organizations	Support for life-course transitions, and immigration integration	International and gender

Source: Created by the author based on interviews and various government and related documents.

6.4.7 Initiatives of nonprofits

Initiatives of government have been discussed above. At the same time, some nonprofits have also undertaken some initiative on policy applications of social capital. Nonprofits play a significant role in every aspect of public policy including social capital creation (Bryce 2005, 2006). Some nonprofits, particularly intermediary organizations have realized the importance of social capital for nonprofits and have various initiatives to formulate social capital policy and to create social capital in nonprofits and the community. Examples of such nonprofits are SCI and the U.S., NCVO in the U.K., the Wheel in Ireland as the details are shown in section 4.2.

The Center for Citizenship and Social Capital in Japan, in which I have been engaged, is also such an example. It has tried to disseminate the concept and importance of social capital among nonprofits at the local community level. Nonprofits in Fukui Prefecture have realized the concept and now utilize it in their own activities. The Center has advocated the vital importance of social capital in public-nonprofit partnerships and in disaster relief. As a result, Fukui Prefectural Government and Fukui City have adopted the concept and significance of social capital in implementing ordinances on disaster volunteering and on public-nonprofit partnerships as shown in section 4.4 and 5.2.

Social Capital Partners (website) is the first organization in Canada to support social enterprises to invest in and develop social enterprises through employing youth-at-risk. Social Enterprise London in the U.K. has also positively tackled social capital through social enterprises (Tsukamoto et al. 2004). It has worked on policy development relating to social enterprises in the U.K. and has proposed the role of social enterprises in social capital building for the Department of Trade and Industry of the U.K. Government. These examples show how nonprofits and social enterprises can influence policy development encompassing a social capital aspect and create social capital in practice. Table 6.6 illustrates initiatives of nonprofits in creating social capital in policy and practice.

Table 6.6 Initiatives of Nonprofits in Policy and Practice

Organization	Country	Initiatives
NCVO	UK	Published 3 reports on social capital from a nonprofit perspective; developed a social capital audit for nonprofits; and act ac a powerful voice for policies on the voluntary sector
The Wheel	Ireland	Participate in partnership agreement talks with cross-sector representatives; and strives to incorporate a social capital aspect in its activities
Social Capital Inc.	US	Mission to develop social capital in community and have implemented programs to foster leaders in community.
The Center for Citizenship and Social Capital	Japan	Mission to create a society with rich social capital; disseminate importance of social capital among nonprofits at local community level; and advocated the importance of social capital in public-nonprofit partnerships and in disaster relief.
Social Capital Partners	Canada	Support social enterprises; and strives to invest in and develop social enterprises through employing youth at risk.

Source: Created by the author based on a participatory observation and case studies in section 4.2 as well as documents and websites of each organization.

In sum, government in various countries have realized the importance and applicability of social capital to public policy, and have accumulated discussions, research and surveys on conceptualization and measurement of social capital, and have been working on policy development. Nonprofits are able to influence the policy development process and the actual implementation.

A comparative summary of each interview by ESRI conducted in 2005, in which the author had the opportunity to participate as a research cooperator at OECD and in the U.K. and Ireland is indicated in the following Table 6.7 for a reference.

Table 6.7 Initiatives at OECD and in the UK and Ireland

	OECD		
	Statistics Directorate (STD)	Local Economic and Employment Development (LEED)	Development Co-operation Directorate (DAC)
Background	Discussions with the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI)	Interest in networks in tackling with community problems	Developments in the '90 focused on people and community
Recognition	Concept is attractive and measurable	Crucial factor for information sharing and success, and for social enterprises and small-medium companies; a possible tool for sustainable community development	A new agenda for development and crucial in development and capacity building of community
Measurement, survey and related research	Interest in measuring SC but no project; selection of measurement approach among index, accounting framework and major indicators is critical in measuring SC as in OECD (2004) Sustainable Development: Integrated Economic, Environmental and Social Frameworks	OECD (2003) <i>The Non-profit Sector in a Changing Economy</i> and OECD (2004) <i>Entrepreneurship: A Catalyst for Urban Regeneration</i>	Helping people to build their own capacity for development (DAC 1995 report)
Policy and program	Holding a Social Capital Section (Measuring Social Capital: National Experiences and International Possibilities) at the OECD World Forum on Major Indicators 2004	Entrepreneurship, support for nonprofits in rural communities	Conflict resolution, national security, development, decentralization, poverty reduction, employment and work, gender, social sector, governance
Role of department, coordination among departments, collaboration among government, business and nonprofits	Cooperation in comparison and community framework, and integrate various measurement approaches into a comprehensive framework	Role of government, local government and nonprofits is critical in bridging different sectors and creating SC	Emphasis on "proactive" SC in facilitating the Millennium development objectives
Policy implications	SC is attractive at community level and community policy	Policy not to destroy existing SC and SC in community should be considered, and legal environment is important	Development of SC is important in developing countries and development
Challenges and prospects	Finance; initiative; and refinement of composite indicators	Need to analyze how nonprofits create SC	Discussions on how SC should be utilized

(Table 6.7, continued)

UK					
	Prime Minister's Strategy Unit, Cabinet Office	Home Office	Office for National Statistics (ONS)	Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)	The National Council for Voluntary Organisations (NCVO)
Background	Discussion on depth and expansion of community ties	Longstanding interest in community ties by the former Chief of Home Office	Request by the Cabinet Office	Result of Citizenship Survey on volunteering and culture and sports	Promotion by Home Office, and interest in whether SC is useful for nonprofits
Recognition	a lens to look at things and various characteristics	Contribute to active community	Crucial for policy development	Measurement indicator for quality of life and happy community; and constructing SC is important	Clarification of community problems and facilitation of capacity building
Measurement, survey and related research	Aldridge and Halpern (2002) Social capital-a discussion paper; and Halpern (2005) <i>Social Capital</i>	Citizenship Survey with SC components biannually in 2001, 2003 and 2005 (with cooperation with ONS)	Harmonised question set; measurement at community level; Citizenship Survey (with cooperation with Home Office) Crime Survey; General Household Survey; community administration data; community analysis; and information disclosure	Research on recognition toward SC and participation in culture and sports, and on how art and culture sector contribute to SC: SC, culture and sport (Daly 2004) and SC and cultural participation in the UK (Delaney 2005)	Measurement of SC through qualitative analysis and published 3 reports: <i>It's Who You Know that Counts</i> ; <i>SC beyond Theory</i> ; and <i>SC in Action</i> (all in 2003)
Policy and program	Relationship between citizenry and government; policy commitment; and involvement of the community sector	Increase of volunteer participation, facilitation of giving, planning of cultural and sport events, mutual aid by community organizations		Facilitation of community club activities; financial support for schools	Development of SC audit for voluntary organisations
Role of department, coordination among departments, collaboration among government, business and nonprofits	Role of Cabinet Office is to facilitate policy development and coordinator for other departments	Role sharing with local government	Initiated working group and advisory group on SC; coordinator for other departments on SC	Possibility of the role of media; and relationship with government	NCVO enlightens the voluntary and community sector on SC
Policy implications	SC related policies have been developed at various levels of individual, community and nation	Grasping regional difference through SC measurement is important	Evidence-based policy development is critical	Degree to which government intervene individual life, and promotion of volunteer participation at community level	Content of system is important and not to destroy SC is the policy to promote SC
Challenges and prospects	Implementation of policy proposals made in the above discussion paper	Citizenship Survey is to be conducted in 2007; facilitation of SC through changes in community networks and civic engagement; and partnership with business	Local government is also important; adoption of harmonised question set in community; and quality of SC	Conducting questionnaire survey with the focus on difference between attendance and participation and downside of SC	Development of bridging and linking SC is critical

(Table 6.7, continued)

Ireland						
	Department of Education and Science	Office for Social Inclusion (OSI), Department of Social and Family Affairs	Department of Community Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs	The Wheel	Business in the Community Ireland (BITC)	Community Foundation for Ireland (CFI)
Background	Interest by Prime Minister Ahern and his advisor	Relation to the problem of poverty and social inclusion	Focus on community through the establishment of this department	SC existed in Ireland for a long time through religious background	Challenges Ireland have been facing; and the influence of Putnam's books <i>Bowling Alone</i> and <i>Better Together</i>	
Recognition	Contribute to learning and construction of relationships with people and community	Making community function and develop; and SC is influenced by social inclusion	Mutual relationship to utilize community resources; and adoption of OECD definition on SC	Central concept to tackle with social problems	Community lubricant to tie community	
Measurement, survey and related research	Healy (2002, 2005), NESF (2003) and OECD (2001)	<i>National Anti-poverty Plan against Poverty and Social Exclusion</i>	<i>Houses of the Oireachtas: Volunteers and Volunteering in Ireland 6th Report;</i> and NESF (2003)	<i>Citizenship and Public Service: Voluntary and Statutory Relationships in Irish Healthcare</i> (O'Ferrall 2000)	A milestone in Irish business: ESB's corporate social responsibility (ESB 2005)	
Policy and program	Citizenship education, youth education, adult education, community-based education, and home-school-community liaison scheme	National Anti-poverty Plan	Adoption of proposals by NESF (2003); establishment of funds for community revitalization; and Dormant Accounting Fund	Training for the community and voluntary sector; and engagement with social partnership	Linkage program, capacity building workshop, promotion of volunteer leave, and funding for local group on social programs	Provision of funding to the community sector based on contributions, and support for priority target groups
Role of department, coordination among departments, collaboration among government, business and nonprofits	Role sharing between the central government and local government; coordination among departments; and collaboration with the community and voluntary sector	Initiatives in community and university; and coordination among departments	Coordination among departments; and partnership with the community and voluntary sector with national and rural forums on partnership with the community and voluntary sector	Social partnership and the role of the Wheel to help distribute the concept of SC to citizens	Business and volunteers should change through small-medium business networks and CSR	Collaboration with business and BITC for synergy
Policy implications, challenges and prospects	Making the balance and constructing mature and useful connections; and empirical analysis, audit and action research	Evidence-based policy and data strategy are essential; and policies related to childcare and gender	Strengthening of the community and voluntary sectors; and researching priority at community level	Constructing networks in rural areas	How to construct trust in community	Making the balance and constructing mature and useful connections

Source: ESRI (2005) with some additions and revisions.

6.5 Policy Implications

Through the comparative analysis, the following policy implications are considered:

Broad policy applicability. Social capital can be applied to a wide range of policies at individual, community and country levels, namely, at micro, meso and macro levels (Halpern 2005). Social capital can be effectively utilized as a backbone to promote various and broad policy arenas including health, volunteering and nonprofits, art, culture and sports, education, active citizenship, gender, social inclusion, conflict, development, crime, urban planning, environment and ICT. For example, social capital is regarded as an engine to promote civic participation, volunteering, partnerships and community renewal in Japan. Moreover, social capital may cover multiple policy areas. And thus, it is necessary for entities at various levels such as community, local government and central government to incorporate a social capital perspective with cross-departmental initiative in diverse policy areas. Therefore, as indicated by ESRI (2005), utilization of social capital for distinctive and various policy arenas should be seriously taken into consideration as well as policy tools to improve social capital

Policy on community and nonprofits. Social capital is created based on connections and trust among citizens, so it is not easy for government to develop a policy to directly create social capital. Rather, it is imperative to facilitate development of social capital through creating an enabling environment which facilitates initiatives and voluntarism of citizens and the promotion of networks and support for nonprofits. In this sense, the role of local government and nonprofits is highlighted. The commonalities in each country described in this paper are that policies to promote citizens' voluntary participation and engagement are proposed and/or implemented including the promotion of civic engagement, nonprofits and volunteering, community development and participation in art and sports.

Financial support programs through various community funds (Yamauchi 2005) and the support of the tax system such as tax credits for those who have contributed to community time banks and social investment fund (Inaba 2004) would be effective. Many countries have actually been implementing financial support programs: The Dormant Accounts Fund in Ireland

were created to support various community activities and nonprofits to solve community problems, and the Stronger Community Action Fund in New Zealand support youth and family in deprived areas by involving them in decision making process in the community, and Phoenix Fund in the U.K. has a similar purpose.

Role of nonprofits. In promoting social capital, the balance of top-down and bottom-up approach is critical, and nonprofits can play a vital role for initiating the bottom-up approach. A further expansion of the role of nonprofits develops countervailing power toward government (Saito 2004). Nonprofits have a crucial role in creating social capital in nonprofits and in the community and influence public policy formulation and development. Intermediary organizations can encourage and facilitate nonprofits to recognize their critical role and to build the capacity for formulating and implementing social capital related policy. Facilitation of volunteers in nonprofits also increases social capital formation, particularly an increase of volunteer hours increase levels of social capital (Isham et al. 2006).

Role of business and social enterprises. Businesses and social enterprises are also considered to play a crucial role in creating social capital through their philanthropic and social behaviors such as socially responsible investment (SRI) and corporate social responsibility (CSR).

Cross-departmental coordination and cross-sector partnerships. Synergy effects can be expected through the collaboration among multiple policy areas that cannot be covered by the existing sector-divided government. Setting up a department to take in charge of coordinating and promoting social capital across departments and across sectors is the key. Implementing a cross-departmental social capital project and a working group for policy development like Canada and the U.K. can lead to effective policy development.

Creating opportunities for cross-sector collaborations and partnerships would be vital for the creation of sector-wide bridging social capital in community. In Ireland and the U.K., a policy to promote public-nonprofit partnerships has been implemented. In Japan, public-nonprofit partnerships have also been promoted in various areas, but cross-sector and multiple partnerships have not been sufficient. In the future, creating multiple partnerships

among various sectors and local organizations such as local government, nonprofits, businesses, schools and universities, community organizations and business districts will lead to furthering the development of bridging and linking social capital.

No-harm policy. As has been suggested, no-harm policy or a perspective on not to destroy existing social capital is as important as facilitating the creation of social capital. For example, a government subsidy or an incentive for a specific type of organizations (e.g., service delivery type) may lead to exclude other types of organizations (e.g., advocacy type), and may have a potential to destroy social capital.

Measurement, research and survey. Grasping the current state of social capital through measuring various aspects at the local, state and country level is the first step to developing and prioritizing policy. Implementing a wide range of surveys and community surveys periodically with sufficient budget like the U.K. are also effective. Further support for social capital measurement, research and surveys in various policy arenas and on citizens both quantitatively and qualitatively is necessary. ESRI (2005) suggests the importance of comprehensive and ongoing research on social capital; understanding of community characteristics from the social capital perspective; and assessment of various policies from the social capital aspect.

Evaluation through a social capital lens. Evaluating various policies and programs from the social capital lens is crucial for examining the effectiveness of policy process and implementation. For example, World Bank has evaluated their operations such as rural development projects through a social capital lens (Bebbington et al. 2006).

Role of leaders. The main actors of social capital creation are citizens, nonprofits and businesses. At the same time, government intervention and attitudes and values of the government top are also noteworthy. Irish Prime Minister Ahern, the U.K. Prime Minister Blair and the former Home Office Director Blunkett, and the U.S. President Bush and the former U.S. President Clinton have emphasized the importance of social capital in the society and have showed positive attitudes in relation to social capital (Halpern 2005).

As such, declaration for social capital by government leaders will lead to highly effective policy development. Moreover, it will be effective in deepening the understanding and improving the interest of citizens in social capital.

Dissemination of the concept. Interest in and understanding of the social capital concept has been spreading in various fields in many countries. However, the dissemination of the concept among citizens is far from enough. It is critical to spread the concept and its significance through various media and websites as well as through recognition from government leaders. Nonprofits can also play a major role in this regard. For example, nonprofits can hold seminars and workshops on social capital in cooperation and partnerships with community organizations and businesses. The Center for Citizenship and Social Capital in Japan has held a forum on social capital and the power of communities targeting nonprofits, government and citizens and has spread the concept in the community. A student group, who participated in the forum has created a nonprofit organization in collaboration with a university and local business district to create space for students and local people including business people and the elderly to bridge and network within and outside the community.

Building networks. In the countries where government and nonprofits have actively been working on social capital, networks among social capital researchers and with other governments have been established. It is pivotal to share information and develop dialogues through widening and deepening networks among practitioners, researchers and policymakers at the local, country and international levels in order to improve the quality and applicability of social capital related policy. Moreover, building advocacy networks beyond borders as proposed by Keck and Sikkink (1998) would also be effective for social capital related policies.

Sustainability. It takes a long time to develop social capital. And thus, it is desirable to set a long-term vision and develop policies with sustainability in mind. Each country has its own vision of social capital such as well-being of the nation (Australia) and socially included society (Ireland and the U.K.). The City Council of Wellington in New Zealand has clearly prescribed the importance of social capital as one of the basic principles of the Council.

In Japan, several local governments have defined the role of social capital in their strategic and long-term plans such as the “rich country with virtue” initiative in Shizuoka Prefecture. Fukui Prefecture has recognized social capital as *fuku-en*, a happy connection that leads people to happiness in the “Fukui Prefecture Vision for 2030” (Fukui Prefecture website). Hyogo Prefecture and Kobe City have prescribed the role of social capital as a promoter of civic engagement and partnerships.

This last chapter has identified the similarities and differences, practices and challenges in the policy applications of social capital through the comparative study of seven OECD countries.

6.6 Conclusion

This dissertation has examined social capital and civil society in Japan, especially the relationship between social capital and nonprofits in Japan with some comparative analyses of foreign countries as well. Nonprofits can play a vital role in advocating, formulating and implementing social capital related policies and in practice. Each citizen, nonprofit, neighborhood association, government, business, school and university has its own role in creating social capital: Citizens and nonprofits play a crucial role in creating social capital, and government and businesses can play a facilitator role in the formation of social capital as well as often times directly create social capital themselves. Likewise, development and utilization of social capital through cross-sector partnerships are the underpinnings of creative, vibrant and sustainable community and civil society.

Social capital is developed through connections among individuals, organizations and communities. It is critical for government to create an enabling environment which facilitates active action and attitudes of individuals and organizations through such mechanisms as incentive systems. Government should take a comprehensive, cross-departmental and collaborative approach, with a “no harm” policy in mind. Moreover, initiatives at local community levels, and the role of nonprofits and local government should be more highlighted

with cultural and social contexts taken into consideration. Role of each actor in community for developing social capital in policy and in practice is summarized in Table 6.8.

Table 6.8 Policy and Practical Proposals for Various Actors in Community

Actor	Proposals in policy and practice
Nonprofits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognize and be responsible for its role of creating social capital Bring in fresh and creative ideas to community and its organizations (as “a person of wind” and role of “community building”) Bridge, coordinate and facilitate various networks of people and organizations in community, and building cross-sector partnerships Advocate and develop policies from the social capital perspective Evaluate organization and programs from the social capital perspective Create values for visionary and sustainable community rich in social capital
Community Organizations/ Neighborhood Associations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provide mutual trust, assistance and assurance in community Facilitate citizens to rediscover community assets and resources Value young people and women, democratic management Collaborate with and understanding of nonprofits
Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Apply the concept of social capital in broad policy arenas Facilitate various types of civic activities Arrange legal/tax system for facilitating giving and volunteering Arrange an enabling environment for nonprofits Inclusive policies on nonprofits and communities, particularly rural communities Take "no-harm" policy with taking the downside of social capital into consideration Promote further the Special Zones for Structural Reform Measure social capital with the collection of and access to related data
Business/ Social enterprises	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate workers to volunteer and participate in nonprofits Set up a system of volunteering leave for staff Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Socially Responsible Investment (SRI) Recognize the role of social enterprises in creating social capital
Schools/ Universities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Create social capital as well as other forms of capital, human capital in particular Implement institutionalized service learning in cooperation with nonprofits Make resources and networks open to community
Citizens	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Giving and volunteering Trust and network building through communication with people from diverse backgrounds Take education, particularly civic education to nurture civic skills Civic and political participation in various forms

Source: Created by the author.

Social capital is no longer just a theoretical concept, but now at the stage of being applied to public policy and practice for their virtuous circle, synergy and value creation. I will be most grateful if any part of this dissertation is used to apply the social capital theory into policy and practice for creating new values, strengthening civil society, empowering community and improving personal and social well-being.

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APPENDIX

List of Base Papers and Chapters for Each Chapter

Ch.	Paper/Chapter/Article Title	Status
1	Nishide, Yuko (2004d) Social capital and civic activities, in Yamauchi, Naoto, ed. <i>The Japanese Nonprofit Almanac 2004</i> , Osaka: OSIPP Center for NPO Research and Information, pp.23-29. [Japanese]	**
	Nishide, Yuko (2006a) Keyword interpretation: Social capital, <i>JANPORA Newsletter</i> , vol.8, no.2, pp.14-15. [Japanese]	**
2	Nishide, Yuko (2004c) Changes in social capital quality and the roles of nonprofits in Japan, paper prepared for the 33rd Annual ARNOVA Conference, Los Angeles, November 19, 2004.	*
	Nishide, Yuko and Yamauchi, Naoto (2005) Social capital and civic activities in Japan, <i>The Nonprofit Review</i> , vol.5, no.1, pp.13-28.	***
	Nishide, Yuko (2004a) The current state of nonprofit organizations in Japan, manuscript presented at the Beijing University and OSIPP Joint Seminar, Osaka, May 21, 2004.	*
3	Nishide, Yuko (forthcoming) Role of neighborhood associations and nonprofits in accumulating social capital, in <i>Booklet on Japan's Private Nonprofit Sector</i> , CSO Network Japan ed. (w/editorial cooperation of Yamauchi, Naoto), Tokyo: the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership.	**
	Nishide, Yuko and Hanibuchi, Tomoya (2005) Nonprofits and social capital: Regional distribution of specified nonprofit corporations and its factors, in Yamauchi, Naoto and Ibuki, Eiko eds. <i>Social Capita in Japan</i> , Osaka: OSIPP Center for NPO Research and Information, Osaka University, pp.5-18. [Japanese]	**
	Hirai, Seiko and Nishide, Yuko (1999) The Japan Milk Carton Recycling Association, in Dacanay, Marie Lisa M. and Lacaba, Jose F. eds., <i>Pathways: In Search of Exemplary Practices on Environment and Sustainable Development in Asia</i> , the Philippines: Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement, pp.253-263.	**
4	Nishide, Yuko (2005b) Development of civil society in Japan over a decade: Role of social capital in disaster relief, paper prepared for the 34th Annual ARNOVA Conference, Washington, D.C., November 18, 2005.	*
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a paper or chapter published as **, and those published in a referred journal as ***.