

THE DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

***STRUCTURE, ACTIVITIES, PROBLEMS, AND ITS
SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE BROADENING OF
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION***

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ABSTRACT IN DEUTSCHER SPRACHE

Politisch ist die japanische Nachkriegszeit (nach 1945) von zwei grundsätzlichen Phänomenen gekennzeichnet, der Dominanz der Liberaldemokratischen Partei Japans (LDP), die zusammen mit einer sie unterstützenden Bürokratie sowie einer auf Protektion und gegenseitige Unterstützung angelegten Industrie- und Wirtschaftsstruktur Japan beinahe unangefochten beherrscht, sowie von sozialen Bewegungen im weitesten Sinne, die seit den 1950er Jahren bis in die frühen 1970er Jahre immer wieder auf unterschiedlichen Ebenen und mit verschiedenen Aktionsformen und Zielen versucht haben, die Dominanz der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Elite zu durchbrechen und das System sukzessive von unten zu öffnen. Letzteres schien Anfang der 1970er Jahre zu einem Teil gelungen zu sein, als besonders Umweltgruppen eine Reihe ihrer Ziele durchsetzen konnten und die Regierung sich unter anderem gezwungen sah, strengere Umweltgesetze zu erlassen und ein Umweltamt einzurichten.

Diese Dissertation geht der grundsätzlichen Frage nach, inwiefern japanische soziale Bewegungen im Allgemeinen und die Umweltbewegung im Besonderen das politische Moment der frühen 1970er Jahre aufrechterhalten und nutzen konnten, um das relativ geschlossene politische System in Japan zumindest stellenweise für Bürger zu öffnen und den gesellschaftlichen Demokratisierungsprozess weiter voran zu treiben.

Nach einer einführenden Darstellung und Erörterung der Relevanz von japanischen und nicht-japanischen theoretischen sowie empirischen Ansätzen zur Untersuchung sozialer Bewegungen im Allgemeinen und der Umweltbewegung in Japan im Besonderen (Kapitel 2) und der Erörterung der Entwicklungsphasen der Umweltbewegung im Nachkriegsjapan (Kapitel 3), wird mit Hilfe von umfangreichen eigenen empirischen Untersuchungen (Interviews, landesweiter Fragebogenumfrage, teilnehmender Beobachtung), der Aufarbeitung von konkreten Fallbeispielen von Umweltkonflikten, Protestgruppen, Naturschutz Organisationen, sowie Netzwerken unterschiedlicher Bürgerinitiativen (Kapitel 4), einer Darstellung und Erörterung der für die Fragestellung wichtigen Charakteristika der Umweltbewegung als Ganzes (Kapitel 5) und ihrer entscheidenden Probleme (Kapitel 6) nachgewiesen, dass es der Umweltbewegung zwar vereinzelt gelungen ist, konkrete Forderungen gegenüber verschiedenen Regierungsebenen durchzusetzen, dass es ihr jedoch nur unzureichend gelungen ist, das relativ geschlossene politische System weiter zu öffnen oder zu einer prinzipiellen Verbesserung der politischen Mitsprache- und Partizipationsoptionen von Bürgern beizutragen.

Einen wesentlichen Grund für die relativ geringe Zunahme von politischen Einflussmöglichkeiten von Bürgern und Bürgerinitiativen sieht der Autor in dem elitären politischen System selbst, welches in Krisenzeiten zwar immer wieder flexibel genug war beschränkte Reformen zuzulassen, das aber erfolgreich eine grundsätzliche Reform und größeren Einfluss sozialer Gruppen verhindert hat. Innerhalb eines solchen Systems hat sich daher bisher kaum eine politisch lebendige Atmosphäre gebildet, was wiederum die Mehrzahl der vielen kleinen Umweltgruppen davon abgehalten hat, in einen gesellschaftlich-politischen Diskurs einzutreten. Die Umweltbewegung kann in Zukunft daher nur erfolgreich sein, wenn sie das Dilemma zwischen der Dominanz eines elitären Systems und weitverbreitetem politischen Inferioritätsdenken unter den Bürgern durch eigene Erfolge durchbrechen kann.

ABSTRACT IN ENGLISCHER SPRACHE

The postwar political system in Japan can be characterized by two phenomena: The virtually unchallenged dominance of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) whose political power is firmly based on the support of a relatively strong and influential bureaucracy, as well as an economic system and an industrial structure which favors protectionist policies and mutual support on the one hand, and social movements in the broadest sense which have since the 1950s and particularly in the 1960s and 1970s frequently proven to be sufficiently influential to challenge the dominance of the political and economic elite, and to gradually open up new political channels by pursuing a wide range of goals and by making use of a broad range of different tactics and activities. In the early 1970s, it seemed as if environmental movements had achieved some of these fundamental goals, since they had successfully forced the government to draft and enforce stricter environmental legislation and to set up the Environmental Agency.

This dissertation therefore pursues the question, to what extent social movements in general and environmental movements in particular have been successful in maintaining and making use of the political and social momentum of the early 1970s, in order to further open up the relatively closed political power structure for ordinary citizens and to press ahead with the social democratization process.

Following two introductory chapters on the relevance of certain Japanese and non-Japanese theoretical and empirical approaches towards the study of social movements in general and environmental movements in particular (chapter 2), and on the postwar developmental stages of the environmental movement (chapter 3), and based on comprehensive empirical research findings (interviews, nationwide questionnaire survey, participant observer) as well as a detailed description and analysis of several case studies of environmental conflicts, protest groups, nature conservation organizations, and citizens' movement's networks (chapter 4), an analysis of the decisive characteristics of the environmental movement in general (chapter 5) and its most serious problems (chapter 6), this dissertation argues that the Japanese environmental movement has to a certain degree been successful in getting government approval for concrete demands, but that it has not been able to comprehensively make the relatively closed political system more approachable and open, or to essentially improve and broaden opportunities for political participation of ordinary citizens.

It is argued, that the most significant reasons for the insufficient improvement of the political opportunity structure of citizens and citizens' movements are rooted in the elitist political system itself, which has frequently proven to have just enough flexibility to permit limited reforms in times of crisis, but which has successfully prevented a comprehensive reform of the economic and political system and an increase of the political influence of extra parliamentary social and political groups and organizations. Therefore, a lively politically atmosphere has not yet been developed within the limits of the existing political system. This has also discouraged a large number of the smaller environmental movement organizations to actively engage in any socio-political discourse. In the future, the Japanese environmental movement can therefore only succeed if it can overcome the dilemma between the dominance of an elitist system and a widely held belief of inferior political efficacy among ordinary citizens through original and widely significant social and political achievements.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AEN	Asahi Evening News (English language newspaper)
AMPO	U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty (<i>nichi-bei anzen hoshō jōyaku</i>)
AEN	Asahi Evening News (English language newspaper)
AS	Asahi Shinbun (Asahi Newspaper, Japanese language edition)
CEM	Citizens' environmental movement /organization
DPJ	Democratic Party of Japan
EA	Environmental Agency (Government of Japan)
EPA	Economic Planning Agency
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
ISSP	International Social Survey Program
JT	Japan Times
LDP	Liberal Democratic Party (of Japan)
MoC	Ministry of Construction (Government of Japan)
NACS-J	Nature Conservation Association of Japan (<i>nihon shizen hogo kyōkai</i>)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPO	Nonprofit Organization
ODA	Official Development Assistance
PKO	(U.N.) Peacekeeping Operation
PMO	Prime Ministers Office
SDPJ	Social Democratic Party of Japan
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschland (German Social Democratic Party)
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro, 1992)
WWF	Worldwide Fund for Nature
YS	Yomiuri Shinbun

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

One characterization often attributed to Japan is its difference and alleged incomparability with Western industrialized nations. Indeed, Japan has a basically different religious, cultural, social, and political heritage and due to its long isolation, Japan is a late developer, economically, but particularly politically. However, between the Meiji Restoration and the 1930s, Japan caught up with Western industrialized nations in a pace that was unprecedented, economically, militarily, and to a certain extent also politically. Politically, early postwar history was characterized by the rebuilding of state institutions under a new constitution that guaranteed all basic democratic rights. The new democratic rights were soon widely accepted and used, visible not only in the relatively high turnout rates in the first postwar elections, but also by the trade unions which used strikes to demonstrate their newly found political power. After 1955 parliamentary politics have been dominated by one political party, and despite positive economic outcomes in the first three postwar decades, dissatisfaction about certain political decisions and the political style of the government, which placed economic growth before all other policy areas, rose. This sentiment first culminated in 1960 in the AMPO crisis, but continued throughout the 1960s with widely publicized protest, notably against the construction of the New Tokyo International Airport in Narita, a strong and sometimes violent students' movements that shared basic elements of comparable movements in Europe and the United States, for instance calls for more citizens' autonomy¹, and - triggered by a series of severe pollution incidents and accidents - a strong nationwide anti-pollution movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s².

¹ See: (Altbach 1970, Beauchamp 1971, Krauss 1988; Krauss and Fendrich 1977, Smith 1986).

² Some of the first comprehensive and empirically based works on the environmental movement particularly in late 1960s and early 1970s on which this study does proceed from

1.2 ARGUMENTS AND QUESTIONS

This study argues that, until the early 1970s, postwar development and use of extra-parliamentary political and social movements and similar means to influence social reality or certain political decisions were not essentially different from postwar Western-Europe, particularly it revealed striking similarities to the democratization process in West-Germany. In 1975 for example, there was ample evidence suggesting that state and society in Japan had been successfully democratized and that the relationship between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary politics was similar in many regards to that of Germany. Additionally, in areas where the Japanese democratization process showed certain deficiencies compared to Western Europe, it showed obvious potentials and indications to develop into a similar direction³, namely towards a comparatively more citizen driven political system. Citizens had successfully used social movements and public protest to demonstrate their legitimate social and political power. In contemporary political scientific terms, at least since the 1970s, Japan appeared as if it could have been labeled a *consolidated democracy*⁴, characterized by political institutions that are designed to be formally open and democratic, with a vertical and horizontal separation of powers, social strata differences that are comparatively small with a limited influence on political participation⁵, and a socio-cultural history of associational organizations and networks, which potentially encourage and facilitate the mobilization of social movements. Thus, the preconditions for the further development and expansion of social movements were quite favorable.

are: (MCKEAN 1981, MCKEAN 1980, KRAUSS and SIMCOCK 1980; LEWIS 1980, UPHAM 1987.

³ The political scientists Tsurutani Taketsugu (TSURUTANI 1977) and James White (WHITE 1981) shared this assumption. They attributed a rise in floating votes, political awareness, and participation to the rising acceptance of post-material values.

⁴ On the debate on consolidated democracies, see: (DIAMOND 1994; O'DONNELL 1996a; O'DONNELL 1996b; O'DONNELL 1996c; SCHMITTER 1992; SCHMITTER 1994).

⁵ (HARA 1994) found that "social status" is no significant indicator to determine political participation in contemporary Japan.

Assuming that the spread of social movements and their public acceptance as a legitimate means of expressing and pursuing interests with the ultimate objective of altering social, cultural or political reality is an important factor for providing or enhancing political opportunities and for opening the political system⁶ for new “political forces”, and that they collectively have the potential to advance democratization, socially, as well as politically, the wave of social movements in the 1960s and 1970s could certainly have been taken as evidence for the expansion of a citizens’ based social and political system.

However, Beverley Smith (1986) stated convincingly in her assessment of the long-term socio-political effects of the Japanese citizens’ movement of the 1960s and 1970s, that “while the citizens’ movements opened up new concepts of citizen rights and access to power, their contribution to the growth of democracy has to be evaluated in the context of these wider interactions. There are signs that some of the apparent gains made by citizens’ movements are already lost or in jeopardy” (Smith 1986:165-166), because “the nature of the organizations and the issues they addressed set limits on the scope of the discussion, especially in the relationship between citizen and state” (*ibid*: 172). This study attempts to elaborate on this notion outlined by Beverley Smith and argues, that despite obvious social and political similarities between postwar Western-Europe and Japan in terms of the use of extra-parliamentary social and political movements until the 1970s, and based on the assumption that Japan was developing towards a consolidated democracy; on the long term, Japanese movements could not fulfill their social and political potential and could not expand their political influence to the same extend as movements in Western-Europe and North America. It will be argued that the fundamental reason for this difference was not cultural, but political and structural. The difference cannot be sufficiently

⁶ Here, the use of the concept *political system* is not confined to the government system but includes all forces that are trying to change and influence social, cultural and political reality. In European new social movements research non-political objectives of new social movements have been emphasized, namely the importance of concepts such as *identity* or *lifestyle* (MELUCCI 1989; MCADAM 1994).

explained by any notion of an inherent harmony, lack of criticism, or social and political disinterest among the Japanese public, but rather with the unwillingness of the Japanese state government and bureaucratic elite to accept social and citizens' movements as a legitimate means of interest representation, and the fact that it actively and successfully prevented them from becoming a real social or political force. In an attempt to tackle these assumptions, this study approaches the environmental movement as an exemplary social movement, because of its openness and potential attractiveness to virtually all social and political strata⁷.

1.3 APPROACHES

In order to analyze the social and political implications of any given social movement it is considered useful and substantive to approach them on three levels: (1) the macro-level (theoretical and methodological approaches to social movements), (2) the historical level (roots, origins and historical development), and the (3) micro-level (exemplary case studies), which will then provide the basis to develop more general characteristics and useful classifications.

The central claims of this thesis are based on substantial empirical evidence, notably a mail survey conducted by the author, formal and informal interviews, and conversations with environmental activists, participant observation, extensive analysis of movement publications and internal documents, analysis of reporting in the media, official government documents and data, as well as numerous public opinion surveys. This diversity of data sources provided enough evidence for an independent examination and analysis of the contemporary environmental movement in Japan, including a detailed account of its major fields of activities, its tactics, social composition and political stance, internal and external problems, and reasoning why this movement, in striking

⁷ Latent or actual environmental problems are not confined to certain social groups or strata, and general environmental concern is not directly related to political convictions, gender, age, or profession.

difference to many Western European countries, remained on the fringes of the political scene.

The concept “social movement” and collective action has been defined and redefined in many different ways since it was first recognized as an object of social scientific research⁸. This study attempts to approach the environmental movement in Japan from a particularly broad and open perspective⁹. The reason for this approach is the concern that the vast majority of definitions of social movement in general and environmental movements in particular have been developed in the context of Western advanced industrial societies and imply the problem that they might not necessarily cover all types of environmental movements which have developed in Japan and their particular cultural and political importance.

Since primary data on environmental movements’ activity in Japan and particularly analyses and assessments of their social and political importance are still comparatively scarce in Western as well as Japanese literature, it was considered essential to place particular importance on the existing sociological and political science approaches towards environmental movements developed by Japanese authors. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical debates in contemporary environmental sociology, historical and political sciences, the significance of individual case studies of environmental movements, and the central concepts developed there.

⁸ In a very broad sense, there have been social groups that have developed into larger movements since the first human societies have been formed. Throughout human history, there have been religious, philosophical, liberation, civil, bourgeois, and labor movements. The latter was the first movement type that has become a serious research object of social scientists and is today often referred to as a prototypical old social movement, in contrast to new social movements, whose objectives have become salient only in postindustrial societies, for example human autonomy, human rights, peace, and perhaps most importantly the concern for the natural environment.

⁹ With only a limited elaboration on the different concepts and approaches about modern social movements which have been developed in social sciences particularly since the early 1970s.

Chapter 3 will then provide a general outline about certain distinct phases in the development of environmental movements in postwar Japan, in order to understand their origins, development of tactics and strategies, recruitment principles, promotional and impeding factors. The introduction of historical developments and typologies or ideal types of certain movements is an important prerequisite for a general understanding, but actual movement dynamics are always a combination of various types of movements. They suffer from problems that are partly rooted in pre-modern Japanese value dispositions, in social and political codes of practice, in problems and impediments that are closely connected with the postwar political or judicial system, the local, prefectural and national government of the time, in different approaches of individual government ministers and bureaucrats, who might either support or block the movement's progress and success. Naturally, intra-movement dynamics, supporters and leaders and their individual experience and approaches also fundamentally influence the development of every movement organization. Therefore, it is essential to examine exemplary movements and conflict scenarios, in order to comprehend actual movement dynamics; therefore, chapter 4 will then introduce and analyze five paradigmatic environmental movements and movement organizations.

Since the argument attempts to make statements about the contemporary domestic environmental movement as a whole, chapter 5 introduces the central aspects and characteristics that are generally assumed to have an influence on the socio-cultural and political importance of the movements. Besides the aspects mentioned above, their recruitment strategies, their organizational degree or professionalization, the degrees of social and political involvement of their members, cooperation with, or relation to the public administration and political parties, their major issues, strategies and tactics, and their judicial and financial situations. Single aspects cannot necessarily provide the basis for a general assessment, but all these aspects combined have the potential to explain movement dynamics and their significance to the society as a whole.

Because this study assumes that the socio-political and cultural fundamentals of contemporary Japan do in theory provide favorable preconditions for a dynamic and influential position of social movements (namely: a formal democracy, a history of social movements, a large middle class, a high educational level, well-developed social and communal network, and a significant concern for the natural environment), it will then be attempted to explain the most fundamental problems the environmental movement encountered, which were potentially responsible for their restricted progress since the mid 1970s (chapter 6).

The concluding chapter 7 returns to the central questions raised here and attempts to outline the role and position of the environmental movement in the contemporary Japanese social and political system and their opportunity structure, and also attempts an assessment of its social and political potential for the future development of Japanese democracy.

1.4 DATA

In 1987, the political scientist Iijima Shôzô argued in line with Margaret McKean¹⁰ “the bulk of the literature on citizens participation in Japan is not tested by empirical data. Further efforts must be done to bridge the gap between normative theories and empirical data”¹¹. By the mid 1990s, there were a number of studies on individual movements (Hausknecht 1983; Groth 1987; Hoffman 1996; Tabusa 1992; Broadbent 1998), but still little data on overall citizens’ political activities. This compelled the Japanese social scientist Yamaoka Yoshinori to write in 1998, “there is no reliable materials or statistics on actual numbers or degree of activity of citizen and resident action groups. Gaps exist on both the organizational side and the information and publicity side, and there needs to be a systematic gathering of such data in the future” (Yamaoka 1998b:

¹⁰ He specifically and critically referred to (MCKEAN 1981).

¹¹ (IIJIMA 1987: 40). The author assumes that the term “normative theories” is meant to be used for theories that are developed under the influence of distinct normative or ideological predispositions.

48). This survey therefore aimed at investigating and collecting a broad range of empirical data on social and particularly environmental movements in contemporary Japan in order to test the claims made here.

The main arguments of this study are based on the following data:

Primary Data

(Survey data) Two mail surveys covering environmental movement organizations and individual participants in Japan conducted by the author in 1993 and 1994, and formal and informal interviews conducted with leaders and rank-and-file members between 1994 and 1997, complemented by long-term participatory observation of movement activities¹². These data have been complemented by a large number of data collected in lists, data collections, and statistically and empirically based analyses of environmental movement organizations, that have either been collected and edited by Japanese movement networks or by public administrative offices, mostly prefectural government offices. As a general reference, a number public opinion surveys and international comparative data have also been used¹³.

Next to quantitative data, this survey is also based on extensive analysis of text-based data that have been provided by environmental movement organizations (pamphlets, newsletters, introductory texts, information materials).

Secondary data

Theoretical and historical studies on (1) social movements in general and the (2) environmental movement in Japan in particular (with preference on works by Japanese authors), and (3) empirically based case studies on individual movements, movement organizations, or cases by Japanese and non-Japanese researchers.

¹² See appendix for details.

¹³ See appendix for details.

1.5 WORKING DEFINITIONS

Because of the wide spectrum and large number of citizens' and social movements that arose in postwar Japan, this study attempts to approach the question raised below by focusing on the domestically based environmental movements defined as follows:

*Environmental movements are those movements, which are freely set up by independent people and not by governmental or semi-governmental organizations. The groups or formal organizations should be open to anyone and act independently. The **main** objective should contain one or more of the following: environmental issues in general, nature preservation, energy, waste control, recycling, chemical products; or the organization or coordination of corresponding activities in local, regional, national and international networks.*

2. THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

2.1 ON THE RESEARCH OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY AND POLITICAL ECOLOGY

2.1.0 Introduction

The importance of social movements and particularly new social movements¹⁴ as a research object has dramatically increased since the 1970s, along with the increase in the number of such movements. The discipline that has been most concerned with the empirical and theoretical study of social movements has been sociology, and to a far smaller degree political science. On the whole, sociological studies on social movements have been concerned with their mobilization process, recruitment tactics, major activities, social and cultural basis, dynamics between citizen, society and state, or framing processes, to name but a few, hence with few exceptions the central target was the dynamics between social action and society. The central focus of political scientific research on social movements has been their role as political agents or lobbying groups, but also the openness of the state or its political opportunity structure, hence whether citizens' movements which need the political system to pursue their objectives can find access channels. Others have been concerned with political participation in general and the opportunities and obstacles citizens' movements face in organizing support and resources, thus support from individuals and other organizations, as well as financial and political support. The research on citizens' movements has again gained widespread attention when citizens' organizations in former Eastern Europe managed to organize protest

¹⁴ Here, the term “new social movement” is used for the type of collective action that developed in many industrialized countries when the acceptance and importance of so-called “post material” or better “immaterial values” increased since the late 1960s or 1970s, particularly: civil rights movements, peace movements, environmental movements.

activities and demonstrations, which eventually led to the end of the former Communist block and the Cold War.

Both sociology and political science¹⁵ have been concerned with the phenomenon of social movements on a broad scale and in many sub-fields, empirically as well as theoretically. Since the overall argument of this study concerns the dynamics between the environmental movement in contemporary Japan and its influence on the socio-political structure of the Japanese democracy, this chapter will introduce two sub-disciplines of sociology and political science that bear the potential to deliver relevant theoretical and methodological categories, namely environmental sociology and political ecology. Both sub-disciplines first emerged in North America and Europe in the early 1980s¹⁶ and have been introduced in Japan only in the 1990s.

A comprehensive coverage of the research aspects of environmental sociology¹⁷ would go beyond the frame of this study and would cover many aspects that are not of central importance here. Because of its usefulness in the analysis of environmental disputes, tactics and ideal considerations of environmental advocacy movements that will be introduced in the case studies (chapter 4), a social constructionist approach toward environmental problems as developed by the Canadian sociologist John A. Hannigan (1995) will be introduced in greater detail, along with a set of questions to structure the case studies. The situation and approaches of Japanese sociology in general and environmental sociology in

¹⁵ Another sub-field of political science that is also concerned with the impact of environmental movements on the policy process is environmental policy research, in general, however, policy research has predominantly been concerned with functional aspects of the decision-making process and the drafting and execution of environmental policies; therefore, the role of citizens' movements has often not been of particular importance.

¹⁶ The book *Environment, Energy and Society* co-authored by Craig Humphrey and Frederick H. Buttel and published in 1982, has frequently been mentioned as the founding work of environmental sociology. See: e.g. (LASKA 1993: 3).

¹⁷ For a general introduction into the discipline of environmental sociology in North American and Europe, see: (BUTTEL and TAYLOR 1994; LASKA 1993; SHOVE 1994).

particular will be covered more broadly with the intention of getting a general idea how Japanese social scientists cover their own domain.

2.1.1 Environmental Sociology. Social Construction of Environmental Problems

The central argument of the social constructionist perspective of environmental sociology (constructionist environmental sociology)¹⁸ is, that there are a great number of environmental problems, but that only very few of them ever get the attention of a sizable share of the public, enter the public debate and political agenda and become real environmental issues. This phenomenon is not exclusive to environmental issues, it can for instance also be found in the debate about social problems, however, there is a striking discrepancy between the high number of covert environmental problems and the relatively small number of problems that are widely recognized as environmental problems, which require public debate and eventually direct approaches (e.g. by cleaning-up or pollution prevention activities), or more indirect political solutions. This situation has prompted the sociologist John A. Hannigan to argue that the key questions environmental sociology should pay attention to, is why and how certain environmental problems become issues, get the attention of the public (triggered by activities of certain groups and organizations, the media, or through scientific findings), and how the relevant factors and participating actors work together in assembling and contesting an issue. Hannigan (1995) argues that environmental problems have to be constructed or framed before they can be contested, he then introduced three key tasks that are essential in constructing environmental problems: assembling information, presenting the issue, and contesting it. The following table illustrates the three steps and the affected domains.

¹⁸ This frame of analysis is based on the theoretical foundations laid out in: (HANNIGAN 1995, YEARLEY 1991, REDCLIFT and BENTON 1994).

KEY TASKS IN CONSTRUCTING ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEMS (ACCORDING TO JOHN HANNIGAN)

	Assembling	Task Presenting	Contesting
Primary activities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Discovering the problem ● Naming the problems ● Determining the basis of the claim ● Establishing parameters 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Commanding attention ● Legitimating the claim 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Invoking action ● Mobilizing support ● Defending ownership
Central forum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Science 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mass media 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Politics
Predominant layer of proof	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Scientific 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Moral 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Legal
Predominant scientific role(s)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Trend spotter ● Theory tester 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Communicator 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Applied policy analyst
Potential pitfalls	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Lack of clarity ● Ambiguity ● Conflicting scientific evidence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Low visibility ● Declining novelty 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Co-optation ● Issue fatigue ● Countervailing claims
Strategies for success	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Creating and experiential focus ● Streamlining knowledge claims ● Scientific division of labor 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Linkage to popular issues and causes ● Use of dramatic verbal and visual imagery ● Rhetorical tactics and strategies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Networking ● Developing technical expertise ● Opening policy windows

Table 1 Key tasks in constructing environmental problems (Hannigan)¹⁹

The task of environmental movements in general and protest and advocacy movements in particular is at best to cover all three tasks, but they are typically active in the area of presenting and contesting the task, thus presenting and contesting an environmental issue problem. Therefore, the three tasks will be outlined in some more detail, because the case studies in chapter 4 will take special consideration and ask whether the movements in Japan are following these patterns and whether they are successful in their pursuit.

¹⁹ According to: (HANNIGAN 1995: 42).

Following the key components of the development and construction of an environmental problem/issue, and considering environmental groups and organizations as a central part in this process, the case studies will be interpreted and analyzed by tackling the following questions:

1. Assembling of Environmental Issues

Before any environmental problem can become an environmental issue, the problem first has to be discovered and recognized as a present or potential future problem. Thus, the first task in analyzing an environmental issue that might later be taken up by an environmental movement, is to find out who first discovered the problem or potential issue? In most contemporary cases, the potential danger (e.g. of a technology or production method, etc.) is so difficult to discover and name, that this task is in most cases confined to natural sciences. The central forum at the stage of assembling information about the issue at stake is science, notably natural science, because in the vast majority of cases, environmental problems are first discovered by scientists and not by ordinary people. An environmental problem may either not have any noticeable effects yet, or the effects might in the beginning be so small, that they cannot be felt or seen by the general public. Other problems, such as the so-called 'hole in the ozone layer' over the Antarctic might be invisible and incomprehensible at all without the use of scientific equipment and a relatively complex analysis of the problem. Scientists do not only discover a potentially negative effects of a technology, environmental hazards and the potential danger for human beings, they also name the problem and establish its parameters. In a few exceptional cases, indications for potential problems might also come from residents when they suffer from pollution and become pollution victims, but eventually, science has to establish and present evidence.

However, science does not only provide evidence of proof and establish a scientific claim that a certain environmental problem exists, scientist may also claim that a certain problem does not exist or is not as hazardous as some might

claim. Therefore, case studies on environmental disputes also have to ask who is the claim maker, but what is his or her incentive or interest in the case, and what is the role of science at this stage. Even if science does discover and is able to name a specific problem that environmental movements consider worth taking up and presenting to the public, they might still face a number of problems. The scientific evidence for a potential or actual environmental problem might lack clarity, for instance if there is no easily comprehensible causal relation between elements of the proof chain, or if the findings are ambiguous, or if other scientists present conflicting evidence.

Thus in order to increase the probability for environmental problems to become contested environmental issues, it is favorable if the (real or alleged) effects of an environmental problem can be directly noticed or felt by everyone (e.g., bad air-quality in the streets, a very hot summer when it is connected with the hole in the ozone-layer, the effects of radioactive waste dumping, nuclear power stations, poor water quality in an area near a dump site or other industrial complexes, etc.). The second favorable element would be if environmental proponents were able to streamline their knowledge claims. In many cases, scientific evidence might be clear to a scientist, but it needs someone to interpret them for the ordinary public, therefore, knowledge has to be assembled in a way that the chain of causes and effects is comprehensible by anyone who is interested in the issue. Furthermore, the process of assembling information to make a claim requires a scientific division of labor. Thus, although scientists are good in discovering problems, in this case potential or real environmental problems, they are often handicapped in making any claims themselves²⁰. This is the point where

²⁰ Important questions that have to be asked in this context are, e.g.: Is it a small elite group that does claim a wide variety of issues? Do they have prior political experience? Do they have economic interest in the environmental related claim? Are they professional claim-makers with a long history and experience, financial resources (office, staff, money to pay for travel, protest activities, etc.?), paid administrative or research staff? Fund-raising programs? Institutionalized links to lawmakers, administrative staff, and the media? How are activities organized (grass roots groups, unprofessional, ad-hoc meetings of people who happen to have time, or in a more institutionalized, professional way (incl. regular meetings,

environmental groups and organizations, and sometimes individuals step in, to construct the environmental claim around the research findings. At this stage, grass-roots members are usually not involved, but some core members who are often trained scientists themselves as in the case of Greenpeace. According to Hansen (1993), Greenpeace's claim making activity "does not so much flow out of its ability to construct entirely new environmental problems but rather from its genius in selecting, framing and elaborating scientific interpretations which have otherwise have gone unnoticed or deliberately glossed over" (ibid: 171).

The central questions in the case studies regarding the assembly of information are therefore:

- By whom (scientists, media, residents, etc.) and how (incident, accident, coincident, spread of disease in the affected area, environmental warning signal) was the problem discovered?
- Where does the claim come from? Who owns or manages the claim? What economic or political interest do the claim makers have? What type of resources do they bring to the claim-making process?
- What is the role of science at this stage?
- Is the environmental problem at stake easily comprehensible for the public at large? Are science and environmental movements successful in creating an experiential focus? Does the case presented and claimed have some experimental elements? (E.g., can people feel the environmental problem/pollution in their daily life?)
- Is the knowledge in the respective case streamlined and comprehensible for the groups' members, at this stage? Are there clear arguments in favor of the claim? Are the arguments scientifically feasible and presentable to a larger audience?

2. Task Presenting

Once an environmental problem has been discovered and is considered serious enough or does attract the attention of social groups (environmental organizations, research organizations, or individual yet influential scientists,

regular newsletter, etc., unpaid or paid staff, office with telephone and fax, etc., regular symposiums, etc.

politicians, etc.), the next step is to present the problem to the public. Most environmental movement activity begins here; they have the potential to act as the link between science and politics, as communicators or lobbying groups. Once the environmental groups or organizations have chosen a certain environmental problem or group of problems, or once an environmental group or organization has been established to tackle a recognized problem, it is then confronted with the fact that there are a great number of other issues that are represented by other social groups and organizations, hence a kind of market for issues, environmental as well as many others (social, economic, international, etc). Given the fact that there are hundreds or thousands of possible and potentially severe environmental problems, a group, or organization has to consider their own claim as exceptionally important in order to have the internal strength to present the case in public convincingly, because the public arena is highly competitive. At this stage, “issue entrepreneurs” have to focus on two central aims, (1) they have to command attention to the environmental claim, and (2) they must legitimize their claim (Hannigan 1995: 47-48).

Does the group/organization try to get the attention of the broader public? If yes, in what ways does the group pursue this purpose? In order to increase the probability that an environmental claim does attract attention, the potential problem should possibly be (1) novel, (2) important, and (3) understandable²¹. In terms of the analysis of the strategies and options of environmental movements, the following questions will be taken into consideration:

- Is the environmental problem presented by the groups/organization novel, or at least appears to be new, or some aspects of it are new?
- Can the group present their case as important, or better, exceptionally important, so that they can be assured of broad media and therefore public attention?
- How is the case presented in the media?

²¹ According to the HILGARTNER and BOSK's (1988) model to attract attention. The same values are also true for news selection (GANS, 1979, in HANNIGAN 1995: 45).

- In what way does/can the groups use the media?
- Does the movements have own media channels (newsletters, videos, etc.)?
- What kind of activities and events are organized to get public attention?

For environmental protest or advocacy movements, it is of central importance to attempt to bring the selected issue to public attention in order to raise public awareness and mobilize public pressure to get the authorities to change policies or decisions that would be favorable to the movements objective. Certain issues can attract public attention easier than others can. If the issue can be presented through “graphic, evocative, and verbal imagery” (*ibid*: 45), or if they can be introduced into the public arena with the help of easily comprehensible catch words or phrases to express complicated scientific explanatory chains²². Furthermore, issues can suddenly become acute through particular incidents and accidents²³. Therefore, it will be asked: (1) could the particular movement take advantage of those incidents or accidents? And (2) how did the authorities react to the claim? Did it actually help the movements to pursue their objective after all?

3. Contesting Claims

Once environmental movements have successfully raised a certain level of awareness among the public and decision makers, movements have to keep the momentum to put their claims on the political agenda. Advocacy movements are then aiming to change government decisions, and in the Japanese case, the withdrawal of construction plans or the introduction or enforcement of stricter environmental policies.

²² E.g. example, the German word: *Waldsterben*, to express the complicated relationship between industrial and private gas emission, acid rain, and the gradual destruction of wide forest areas.

²³ Examples are the accidents in the nuclear power stations in Chernobyl or Monju (Japan), nuclear tests, earthquakes, or landslides.

However, the arguments put forward by the movement run the risk of being contested or watered down by opposing forces, such as industry, lobby groups, or even other construction proponent citizens' groups²⁴. The movements therefore have to defend the ownership of their claim, when attempting to convince policy-makers, they do not only have to explain the reasons for their objection, but they also have to develop feasible and workable counterproposals. Therefore, it will finally be asked:

- Are the movements capable and powerful enough to defend their environmental claims against possible counter claims?
- Can they stick to their original proposal for a solution and defend it even against powerful large-scale economic interests or politically conservative forces in parliaments and bureaucracy?
- What are the possible structural factors, which impede or prevent the effective representation and contestation of environmental claims?

Remarks on Hannigan's Approach of Environmental Sociology

Hannigan's approach assumes a working democratic society with a democratic political system (e.g., a consolidated democracy), with open channels where new issues (in this case environmental issues) can be introduced into the system and openly debated in the political arena, and where the political arena is the center of any decision making; it is only here where success or failure of any claim (in this case by environmental movements) is decided upon. In such a system, it is important for the government to earn not only electoral success but also a significant degree of public support for its policies.

In Japan, however, negative public opinion towards the government, low levels of public support for any given government or political leader seems to be far less important than in most other democracies (see: ISSP and NHK surveys).

²⁴ Major external constraints (bureaucracy, opposing political parties, other lobby groups) or an economic crisis may lead to a postponement or abandonment of the problem; it might be transformed or watered down).

Therefore, there is reason to assume that in Japan it is far more difficult for environmental movements (or any other citizens' movement) to gain significant influence on the government decision-making process by triggering a public debate that might eventually alter public awareness about a given environmental issue. This structural problem will therefore be taken into consideration in chapter 4 and 5.

2.1.2 Political Ecology

The analysis of environmental problems with methods developed in political science has only a very short history in Western Europe and the USA. The same is true for considerations about the significance and the political consequences of environmental problems (for instance in terms of the emergence of new policy areas such as environmental policy and environmental law, the emergence of new government institutions and organizations such as environmental agencies and ministries, specialized offices and bureaus, the emergence of specific social movements or citizens' organizations such as the environmental or ecology movement).

Political ecology is a comparatively new subfield of political science and still not very well defined. The concept is used in two basically different contexts, as a field within political science on the one hand, and as a theoretical foundation for the formulation of political strategies for environmental action on the other, predominantly through social movements – hence political ecology either has an analytical or normative basis²⁵. First, political ecology attempts to analyze the

²⁵ The distinction between *analytical* and *normative* used here is not exclusive. Basically analytical studies on the political dimension of environmental problems and the relationship between society, politics and nature might be trying to remain within the frame of pure scientific political analysis, but – as is also the case in most other social science disciplines – most if not all authors have an open or hidden agenda, which is usually one reason why they have chosen their research topic and their methodology in the first place. On the other hand, studies that openly take positions - political, ethical or else – are nevertheless in most cases based on scientific analysis and use a scientific methodology, but not for the sake of the findings alone, but to establish and support a normative assumption that can then more or less directly be used within practical political activity and political arguments.

social, economic, and political framework where the environmental problem is located and where the respective ecology movements are acting - not only in industrialized nations, but also in developing countries²⁶. Secondly, it attempts to outline the strategies and theoretical arguments of the movement. In this sense, political ecology goes beyond political analysis and enters the field of normative political science²⁷. In the latter sense, political ecologists are the political theorists of the ecology movements; they are trying to provide the theoretical resources and ideas for the political debate and are engaged in the development of political strategies for environmental movements. This debate is often based on a distinct political, philosophical or value guided vantage point or an elaborate political ideology. This ideology later lays the foundation for the analysis of ecology movements and political action proposals outlined by the different theorists.

The theoretical basis of contemporary political ecology in the United States has been outlined by Greenberg and Park in the introduction to the influential *Journal of Political Ecology*; ²⁸ they concluded that, despite the “broad interdisciplinary emphasis, it is possible to delineate two major theoretical thrusts that have most influenced the formation of political ecology. These are political economy, with its insistence on the need to link the distribution of power with productive activity, and ecological analysis, with its broader vision of bio-environmental relationships” (GREENBERG and PARK 1995:1).

Although there have been a number of studies on ecology movements; there is no single coherent theory that could provide that basis for an analysis or judgment about the political or sociological significance of those movements. Adrian Atkinson (1991) is one of the political ecologists who tried to outline the

²⁶ A number of studies published in the *Journal of Political Ecology* cover environmental problems in developing countries, particularly in South America.

²⁷ Political scientists who do research in the field of political ecology often function as quasi think tank for environmental movements.

²⁸ The American *Journal for Political Ecology* is published by the Association of Political Ecology and the Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology at the University of Arizona.

foundations of political ecology from a Neo-Marxist perspective. He noted in his attempt to give an overview about the principles of political ecology, “academic attempts to understand the nature of the ecology movement and its concerns (...) fall very far short of any coherent analysis” (Atkinson 1991:169). Atkinson expects political ecology to provide not only analytical tools for academic research (with its fundamentally restricted and fragmented perspective) but also for the practical work of ecology movements (*ibid*: 167).

Atkinson noted that attempts in eco-philosophy (e.g. deep ecology) show “link(s) between consciousness and nature” (*ibid*: 169), but that there is still a big gap between eco-philosophical considerations, for example the need to be less anthropocentric, and everyday life of most people, because the majority of the people does not become active themselves and do not necessarily have any fundamental environmental concerns. Although mass media has gradually expanded knowledge and concern about nature destruction, and indeed, in a number of industrial countries a large number of people became interested and worried about the relationship between human intervention and nature destruction, yet most see those fundamental considerations only applied in activities of organizations such as Greenpeace or similar more radical environmental action groups (*ibid*: 170), but personally do not find those actions particularly appealing. Atkinson's analysis is mainly based on his North-American experiences, but the fundamental finding that the majority of people have indeed developed a general awareness of environmental problems through media coverage but still object any fundamental changes to the system they live in can also be applied to the Japanese case.

The importance of ecological thinking within sociology and political science can also be a decisive factor in advancing the theoretical, argumentative, and practical action repertoire of environmental movements. The following part (2.2) attempts to introduce and evaluate some paradigmatic approaches developed within Japanese social and political sciences, and asks for their potential

significance for the development of the environmental movement in contemporary Japan.

2.2 CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE RESEARCH ON THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

Japanese social scientists have also done research on social movements and social movement theory. The environmental movement has been studied by sociologists who have either attempted to apply social movement theories on Japanese movements, or conducted case studies on single movement activities or movement organizations. In the following, special attention will be given to approaches developed within sociology and particularly environmental sociology and the limited attempts of Japanese political science. Some exemplary approaches will be introduced and their explanatory value evaluated.

2.2.1 Approaches in Environmental Sociology in Japan

Environmental sociology is a very recent development within Japanese sociological research. The concept itself first appeared in the late 1980s and was institutionalized only in 1993 through the foundation of the Japanese Association of Environmental Sociology (*kankyō shakaigakkai*) and is heavily based on North American approaches.

The Japanese sociologist Iijima Nobuko was one of the firsts who recognized the importance of research on the relationship between environmental problems and society in Japan. She became well-known for her chronology of environmental problems throughout Japanese history (IIJIMA 1977; IIJIMA 1979c) and her work on pollution victims (IIJIMA 1984). In the late 1980s, she was one of the dominant figures who argued that the research on environmental problems and the environmental movements should be systematized and institutionalized in Japan. Together with other interested social scientists, notably Hasegawa Kōichi, she founded the Japanese Association of Environmental Sociology (*kankyō shakaigakkai*). The following categorization of movement

types that have developed in postwar Japan is based on Hasegawa Kôichi (HASEGAWA 1993a) and Iijima Nobuko's (IIJIMA 1995) classifications.

Hasegawa Kôichi is one of the most prominent social scientists studying sociological aspects of environmental issues and responsible for the establishment of the sub-discipline of environmental sociology in Japan²⁹. From the very beginning of his research, Hasegawa did not only argue as a sociologist, he also saw the significance of environmental problems and pollution for various other disciplines, namely legal science, policy analysis and public policy³⁰. Since the beginning of the 1990s, Hasegawa has been a major contributor to the discussion about social movement theories and the establishment of environmental sociology in Japan. According to Hasegawa, far fewer Japanese than US-American sociologists are concerned with environmental sociology, namely only 4% or 134³¹ of the 2800 Japanese sociologists are concerned with environmental sociology, in contrast to about 500 in the USA (HASEGAWA 1996b).

Characteristic of all scientific fields are: (1) research object, (2) methodology, and (3) value concern (HASEGAWA 1996b: 135). Hasegawa argued that although Max Weber had stressed "value-free science", all social science had inherent values

²⁹ Hasegawa Kôichi began his research in environmental movements in the 1980s when he conducted in-depth research and case studies on the anti-nuclear movement (HASEGAWA 1995, HASEGAWA 1996D, HASEGAWA 1996A) and the high-speed traffic victims' movements, particularly the Anti-Shinkansen development movement. In 1993, he was one of the co-founders of the *Japanese Association for Environmental Sociology*, (HASEGAWA 1988b; HASEGAWA 1993b).

³⁰ (HASEGAWA 1996b). In December 1995, a number of Japanese social scientists (economists, political scientists, sociologists) founded the *Society for Environmental Economics and Policy Studies* (*Kankyô keizai - seisaku gakkai*) in order to better coordinate and exchange research findings of economists and policy analysts that are connected to environmental problems. Since the early 1990s, environmental economy (*kankyô keizaigaku*), which is generally concerned with the economic implications of the use of the natural environment (e.g. cost of the natural environment, waste management, environmental tax, etc.), had become one important sub-field within economic research, but with little significance for other social sciences.

³¹ This was the number of members of the *Nihon shakai gakkai* (Japanese Association for Sociology).

(e.g. gender studies the liberation of women), and that compared to law researchers or economists, sociologists tended to be skeptical about their own field because of the large number of competing methods that coexist. However, environmental sociology had a clear research object: (1) environmental problems, (2) the relationship between environment and society, and (3) the environmental view and concerns of the people (HASEGAWA 1996b: 135). Nevertheless, the central concept “environment” was not stringently defined (e.g., historical environment, cultural environment, etc.) and therefore carried inherent values.

Characteristics of Environmental Sociology in Japan

Two major characteristics make up the approach of environmental sociology in contemporary Japan: (1) attempts to view problems from a residents’ or victims’ perspective, and (2) case studies of individual movements (IIJIMA 1994: 124). Iijima emphasized, that in Japan environmental sociology could be called “sociology of environmental problems”, in contrast to the United States, where it could rather be called “sociology of the environment” (IIJIMA 1994: 129).

Classification of Environmental Movements in Postwar Japan³²

The rising number of environmental problems in postwar Japan can directly be attributed to the accelerated economic growth in the 1950s and particularly the 1960s. Iijima (IIJIMA 1995: chapter 5) developed the following categories for postwar environmental movement types: (1) anti-pollution victims’ movements, (2) anti-development movements, (3) pollution-export protest movements, and (4) environmental protection and environment creation movements. She considered this distinction as an ideal type in the Weberian sense, since certain movement can be categorized under more than one movement type because distinctions are not clear-cut.

³² The following sub-chapter is predominantly based on the works by Iijima Nobuko and Hasegawa Kôichi.

MOVEMENT TYPES ACCORDING TO IIJIMA (1995)			
Movement types	First boom	Issues	Comments
Pollution victims	Predecessors: Ashio, urban pollution in Meiji Japan Postwar: Big Four Pollution Cases ³³ (1950s)	Compensation for health damage, pollution prevention measures, protection of future generations	Successful in forcing the government to enact a number of pollution prevention laws, pollution health damage law in the end 1960s early 1970s.
Anti-development	1970s	Opposition to public and industrial development projects, which endanger or destroy the local natural and living environment.	Typical hazards are: noise pollution, water- and air-quality deterioration. Movements: right of sunshine movement, anti-Shinkansen movement, anti-airport movements, etc.
Pollution export protest	1970s	Pollution and the obstruction of economical and human resources in foreign countries through pollution directly or indirectly generated by Japan.	Pollution mainly caused by big enterprises, which want to evade the strong environmental standards in Japan and rather prefer to destroy the environment in foreign countries.
Environmental protection/natural environment creation	1970s/1980s	Goals: to protect and preserve the natural environment/towns/ cultural treasures. Historical origins: National Trust Movement in the UK.	Became largest movement segment, esp. recycling movement, environmental creation, town planning, etc.

Table 2 Classifications of Environmental Movements (Iijima Nobuko)

Pollution Victims' Movements

Victims' movements are by far the oldest type of movement in Japan. The first victims' movements occurred in the 17th century and were mainly caused by

³³ The so-called Big Four pollution cases include the pollution disease cases in Minamata, Yokkaichi, Toyama, and Niigata.

mining (Iijima 1977), for example in the Akazawa mine in Ibaraki prefecture at the end of the 16th century, where drainage from the mine destroyed agricultural land. After violent protests by the farmers, some miners were imprisoned. However, because mining was an extraordinarily important industry in the Edo period, there were only a very few cases where mines were actually closed because of pollution concerns. An exception is the successful protest of farmers in Fukuoka prefecture, who won a lawsuit against the *Saganoseki*-mine in Oita prefecture, which after a long conflict subsequently had to discontinue mining in 1887. One of the most impressive and famous examples were the cases of the Asshio copper mine, the Big Four Pollution Cases, the carpenter industry in Kita-Kyūshū, Mizushima in Okayama prefecture, Amagasaki in Hyōgo prefecture, noise pollution victims' movements along Shinkansen tracks and near airports (e.g. in Osaka). The number of victims' movements was typically very high in postwar Japan. In the 1980s, pollution victims' movements also occurred in other mostly developing countries, such as Brazil (IIJIMA 1977).

Victims' movements first requested some kind of compensation for the damage they had suffered and sincere apologies from the polluters and the responsible government offices. Since the 1960s, they showed characteristics of a human rights movement, because they considered pollution a violation of human rights. Particularly since the second half of the 1960s, victims' movements used lawsuits to force the polluting industries and the state to react to their demands.

Iijima considered these trials as the first example where environmental movements used lawsuits to attract attention and influence public opinion, and many movements have been very successful in this endeavor. Iijima remarks that it would have been best to cut pollution at the root by demanding a prohibition of further pollution by the specific company, which was directly responsible. It was, however, extremely difficult to demand the closure of factories which were of significant importance for the economic development of the respective region, since most workers and employees came from that region and might have faced

economic hardships. Therefore, victims' movements frequently found themselves in the dilemma between a demand for an end of their own personal suffering and the fact that a fulfillment of their demand could lead to unemployment and alienation of broad sections of the local community who might then turn against the victims. Their fear was well founded since this happened frequently; victims therefore heavily relied on help and support from groups and organizations from other parts of the country because they received only limited support or even experienced opposition from the local community³⁴.

Additionally, the local acceptance of most victims' social movements was hampered by the fact that most victims came from lower sociological strata and therefore did not enjoy a very high prestige. A great number of the victims in the Four Big Pollution cases were farmers and poor fishermen or were blue-collar workers (Iijima 1994:127). Therefore, the pollution victims not only suffered health damages but were also deprived of their means of income, e.g. they could no longer catch enough fish or plant enough crops on their fields. Cases that are more recent include the bad-smell and water pollution near a factory of Suzuki Medicine (Ajinomoto Co.) in Zushi City in Kanagawa prefecture caused by hydrochloride acid gas. Residents in a nearby high-rise building who suffered from the smell were successful in forcing the company to improve the condition. According to Iijima, this was one of the very few such cases in the long history of pollution in Japan (IIJIMA 1995: chapter 5).

According to Iijima, pollution victims' movements can be divided into two basic types. By far the largest are movements that were set up after a pollution incident had occurred. The major demand of most of these groups was the disclosure of information about the causes of pollution, and some kind of recognition and compensation. Another wing of the victims' movements could be categorized as victims' support movements or pollution prevention movements. Those

³⁴ As in the cases of the pollution victims in the Minamata (Almeida and Stearns 1998; George 1996; Iijima 1970; Iijima 1984).

movements demanded the implementation of pollution prevention measures to prevent possible pollution harming residents (IIJIMA 1995: chapter 5).

Since the 1960s, litigation was the most common means, either to demand compensation for the victims, or to force a company to install pollution prevention facilities³⁵. However, as Iijima (*ibid:*) pointed out, although those trials might have originally been filed to claim compensation, in the longer run the focus of most trials turned towards pollution prevention, to prevent the repeated occurrence of similar health damaging incidences. Litigation - especially the Kumamoto Minamata disease and Niigata Minamata disease trials, or the trial of residents against noise pollution caused by Osaka International Airport³⁶ - and the media attention they attracted were the first and foremost reason for the substantial change in government policy in the latter half of the 1960s, and the enactment of the pollution related laws in 1967 (First Basic Law of the Environment) and fourteen specific pollution prevention acts during the so-called *Pollution Diet* (*kōgai kokkai*) in February 1970.

The first air pollution trial that was won by the plaintiffs in Yokkaichi in 1972 was “epoch-making” (*kakki-teki na mono*) (IIJIMA 1995: 182) because it was the first time that the responsibility of a polluting company was clearly admitted. This decision was groundbreaking for the enactment of the *Pollution Health Damage Compensation Law* (*kōgai kenkō higai hoshō hō*) in October 1973³⁷. This law determined and improved the recognition process of pollution victims and granted them compensatory payments from the responsible companies, hence introducing the polluter pay principle (PPP) into the Japanese environmental law system, therefore improving the situation of the victims fundamentally. The

³⁵ Famous examples are again the Big Four Pollution Cases.

³⁶ Iijima stressed that the noise pollution trial was also influential in the development towards the *Pollution Trial*. (Iijima 1995: chapter 5).

³⁷ On details on the drafting of the *Law for the Compensation of Pollution-Related Health Injuries* see: (Gresser 1981: 285-290), and on the provisions and regulations (*ibid:* 290-323).

duration of pollution trials is still comparatively long, therefore, the number of pollution cases that were settled by compromise and reconciliation increased in the following years³⁸.

Anti-Development Movements³⁹

The main premise of anti-development movements, which Iijima also labels *anti-nature destruction* (*bigai honzen bōshi*) or *global society protection* (*chikyū shakai bozen*) movements, is the belief that the living environment and the regional society is strongly and negatively influenced by urbanization and industrial development, therefore they frequently oppose developments of factories and other industrial plants. These movements try to prevent pollution and nature destruction before it occurs. However, their objective is not limited to nature destruction but includes a deep concern for the destruction of the regional society and local life.

The major wave of the anti-development movements began in the mid 1960s; famous examples are the residents' opposition movements against the construction of a petroleum refinery in Mishima and the neighboring city of Numazu in Shizuoka prefecture in 1964. This case is archetypal because the movements in Mishima and Numazu did not only oppose the construction because of environmental concerns but also because they feared a negative influence on regional life and sightseeing in the region (LEWIS 1980). A lesser-known example is the residents' movement in An'naka (Gumma prefecture), which began opposition against the zinc mine in 1949, remained unsuccessful for over 20 years and in 1970 (with the main wave of anti-development protest)

³⁸ Please refer to chapter 5.7 for an analysis about the problems of litigation in Japan.

³⁹ It should be noted that the category label used by Iijima *anti-development* might have a rather negative or anti-modernist connotation, similar to *anti-progress*. Other analysts used different labels; for example (Lewis 1980: 275) and Krauss and Simcock (1980: 195-197) called them environmental protection type movements, which he based on a classification for the case of civic protest in the city of Mishima by Muramatsu Michio (1974) *Gyōsei katei to seiji sanka*, in: Nippon Seiji Gakkai (ed.) *Nempō sejigaku*, Tokyo, pp. 41-46

finally succeeded in prohibiting the construction of a new factory by Toho Zinc Inc⁴⁰.

The membership of the anti-development movement also overwhelmingly consists of farmers (as owners of land) and labor movement members. Another interesting aspect is the fact that a great number of women opposed the above-mentioned industrial constructions (in the case of the petrochemical complex in Mishima, about 90% of the women opposed it (*ibid:*)). The Mishima-Numazu movement is also important in another respect, namely because of the close cooperation between the science sector and the movement, and because the movement revealed the importance of environmental education in schools. Similar to the anti-development movement in An'naka, a Mishima-city high-school physics teacher, Nishioka Akio, and four of his colleagues started private research on the pollution generated by a thermoelectric power plant in cooperation with scientists of the National Genetics Research Institute (*kokuritsu iden kenkyūjo*) that was located in Mishima. They founded a residents' pollution research group (*chijikai no kōgai mondai kenkyūkai*) and published a very important and influential research report on the possible pollution damage of a

⁴⁰ After another plant of Toho Zinc Inc. had already destroyed large areas of agricultural land in prewar Japan, the company announced to build a new plant in 1949. The farmers petitioned the governor of Gumma, all government ministries, and the general headquarters of all political parties. Nakasone Yasuhiro was the Diet member from this district in Gumma and had promoted the project. The farmers asked for cooperation from Tokyo University, which showed in scientific tests that the soil and water quality in An'naka was indeed fatal. Nevertheless, although the farmers got a letter of "understanding" from then Prime Minister Yoshida, the MITI gave permission to construct the factory in 1950. The construction itself was finished by 1951. The farmers were not successful and the movement collapsed. When Toho Zinc began plans to expand the factory again in 1967 and the electric power company began to build an iron tower and cut trees without permission from the forest owners, the farmers' opposition movement was back like "phoenix from the ashes" (Iijima 1995: chapter 5). The fact that the MHW had shortly before announced that cadmium was the reason behind *itai-itai disease* and had expressed concern about possible danger from the planned factory gave renewed power to the movement and converted it from a *pollution factory opposition movement* to a *cadmium pollution protest movement*. The number of farmers that participated in the movement quickly grew to 400. A retired teacher with scientific expertise became chairman. During a lawsuit filed by the opposition movements, the lawyers of the farmers could prove that the mine had violated the Mining Safety Act. The ministry subsequently decided to prohibit construction and withdrew the authorization for expansion in February 1970. After 20 long years of protest, the farmers had finally won their case.

petrochemical complex. This research report and the close cooperation were very encouraging for the many women and farmers in the residents' movement. Nishioka Akio became a veteran movement leader and later taught movement strategies to other movements in Japan. He particularly helped the residents' movement in neighboring Numazu⁴¹. The movements in Numazu, Fuji-city, and Shimizu were all characterized by the close and successful cooperation of a number of social groups; namely farmers, fishermen, housewives, teachers, natural scientists, the neighborhood council, physicians, and workers. Iijima considered this close cooperation of formerly divided groups and social layers as the key to the success of these anti-development movements (IIJIMA 1995: chapter 5).

Anti-Pollution Export Movements

These movements, which appeared in the early 1970s, are a thematic extension of the first two types, the victims and anti-development movement, because the anti-pollution export movement expanded the domestic concern for the negative effects of industrial expansion on human health and human livelihood and began to focus on the pollution and health damage generated by Japanese companies operating in foreign countries (mostly South-East Asian countries). They opposed the strategy of many Japanese companies to escape the strict Japanese pollution standards by relocating factories to countries and regions where these standards were lower than in Japan. The movements argued, that by operating production plants and other factories in foreign countries, Japanese companies managed to externalize costs (environmental protection costs, pollution equipment costs, cleaning costs, etc.) but at the same time internalizing their profits, while endangering local residents by destroying and polluting the nature in these countries. In more general terms, they opposed the continued exploitation of mostly developing and newly developed countries by industrial countries only for their own benefit. Japanese movements of this type have been

⁴¹ For a detailed analysis of the movement in Mishima and Numazu (Lewis 1980).

trying to cooperate with local movements, particularly in Asia and South America. The participants in Japan are predominantly lawyers, natural scientists, social scientists, and those who have special knowledge about the respective countries.

Environmental Protection Movements

Environmental protection movements or nature conservation movements⁴² - following, the terms will be used interchangeably - which have long been the most common type of environment related movement in Europe or North America became more widespread in Japan only during the 1970s and then expanded in the 1980s. They are related to the other types of movements in the sense that they also oppose and confront environmental destruction in Japan and abroad, health damage caused by pollution, and the destruction of daily life. Conceptually, environmental preservation movements are the most general type of environmental movement. They have incorporated all the other movement types and have been trying to develop more general arguments and explanations why human should preserve their environment.

Environmental movements not only focus on the negative effects pollution and environmental destruction has on human but incorporate a wider sense of "environment", also considering the negative effects on animals and wildlife, the human society, as well as socio-economic considerations, namely that environmental destruction has frequently proven to be not only dangerous but also economically disadvantageous for the majority of the people and beneficial for only a small elite. Therefore, these environmental protection movements, which became more widespread in the 1980s, developed an ideology to change the society to a certain extent. Today, the vast majority of citizens' movements

⁴² In this chapter, the term *environmental/nature protection movement* or *nature protection/conservation movement* will be used interchangeably because most environmental sociologist in Japan do not always strictly distinguish these types. Neither have they developed any clear-cut categorization. The Japanese equivalent for the terms are: nature conservation/protection

that are concerned about environmental issues could be labeled as environmental protection or nature protection movements, because their objective is to generally protect or maintain the natural environment in a wide variety of ways, but in most cases with very limited concern for the wider socio-economic or political aspects. Environmental protection is often considered as a citizens' obligation because the environment is a public good. This movement type is analyzed in greater detail in chapters 4 and 5, before its significance and limitations are outlined in chapter 7.

Gender Division and the Importance of Women in Environmental Movements

Iijima Nobuko has often stressed the importance of women in the environmental movements, they especially "stand out in the environmental preservation movements", because of their number, and because they have traditionally been concerned with nurturing and caring (of children, sick family members, and the elderly) and protection, hence they have been particularly receptive to pollution and its threat to human life. Therefore, women are the backbone of many of these movements; they determine the ideology and the way of action. Men, on the other hand, have longer experience in labor movements, students' movements and other political organizations and often have a better knowledge about systematic social movements; therefore, they are often representing environmental movements.

Women became particularly numerous and important in the anti-nuclear energy movement, for example against the construction of a nuclear plant in Rokkasho (Aomori pref.) in the early 1980s, or in the "revival" of the anti-nuclear movement in Japan after the Chernobyl nuclear accident in 1986, when formerly indifferent women suddenly became interested in and began to vigorously oppose nuclear power in Japan. Iijima finally asked the rhetorical question "does

movement = *shizen hogo undō*, *shizen hozen undō*; environmental (protection/conservation) movement = *kankyō hogo undō* / *kankyō undō*.

the history of the environmental movement in Aomori Pref. not show that environmental movements are more suitable to women?"⁴³ (Iijima 1995: chapter 5). What might be true for movements has so far not been proven a key for the success of more women in parliamentary politics. In a few cases, women who had been active in these movements tried to run in local, prefectural and national assembly elections; so far, however, only a very few have been successful in this regard.

Concluding Remarks - Movement Types

The categorization as developed by Iijima Nobuko and Hasegawa Kōichi can be considered a useful analytical tool as *ideal types* of movements which have developed predominantly after World War II, but which naturally have predecessors even in pre-modern Japan. The more recent development of environmental movements that focus on global environmental problems has not been sufficiently considered in Iijima's categorization in 1995. These newer trends have been better elaborated by Hasegawa (see below). The *anti-pollution export movements* that appeared in the 1970s were early expressions of global concerns of some environmental movements. These concerns were not limited to environmental and pollution problems alone, but included socio-economic problems of developing countries and particularly the Japanese responsibility. However, in the 1970s the number of those movements was still very small. Contemporary global environmental movements in Japan could build on the experiences of these early movements⁴⁴.

Another categorization of social movements that has since the early years also been fundamentally important for social-scientific and historical analysis of

⁴³ In Japanese: "kankyō undō ni, yori tekigoteki de aru no ha jōsei de aru koto wo, aomori-ken no kankyō undō no rekishi ha shimeshite iru node ha nai deshō ka", (Iijima 1995: chapter 5).

⁴⁴ In chapter 3, the legacy of these early movements and their significance for today's global movements will be reconsidered..

environmental movements in postwar Japan is the distinction between *citizens' movements* (*shimin undō*) and *residents' movements* (*jūmin undō*).

The Distinction between “shimin undō” and “jūmin undō”

In general, social science approaches on social movements in general and the environmental movement in particular are fundamentally based on theories and methodologies developed in the U.S. or in Europe. There are only a few aspects and concepts, which were independently developed by Japanese social science for the Japanese case. One of these basic analytical concepts is the distinction between citizens' movements (*shimin undō*) and residents' movements (*jūmin undō*). These distinctive concepts were developed in the early stages of research on social movements in Japan in the mid-1960s⁴⁵ by Aoi Kazuo (AOI 1965) and are still a widely used methodological term to distinguish movement types, particularly in environmental sociological research and social movements' research (ABE, ÔKUBO, and YORIMOTO 1996: 39, 43). The sociologist Hasegawa Kôichi (HASEGAWA 1993a: 102f) has elaborated the distinction in the following table.

⁴⁵ According to (Iijima 1994:122). Hasegawa mentions Miyamoto (Miyamoto 1971) as the one who first developed this distinction.

BASIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS' MOVEMENTS (JŪMIN UNDŌ) AND CITIZENS' MOVEMENTS (SHIMIN UNDŌ) ⁴⁶		
	Residents' Movements	Citizens' Movements
Value Goals	Individual/single principles (limited ability)	Universalism, autonomy
Forms of Action: a) Founding Opportunity b) Characteristic Activities c) Participation Characteristics	a) People approachable in residential areas b) Means which seem rational c) Persistent activity	a) Recruitment ability of ideas/ideology b) Action guided by ideas/ideology c) Supportive participation
Core Activists a) Characteristics b) Hierarchical	a) Interested residents b) Ordinary citizens, fishermen, self-employed, (administration) public-service sector employees, women, elderly people	a) Conscientious citizens b) Professionals, educated people
Issues	Straight interest in the defense of life (production), straight interests (realization)	Defense of universal values (realization)

Table 3 Typology: Residents' Movements and Citizens' Movements (Hasegawa)

Although one cannot draw a clear distinctive line between these two movement types, as an analytical tool, however, the concept *citizens' movements* and *residents' movement* are still useful (see table 3).

Citizens' movements are usually characterized as being composed of autonomous individuals who voluntarily decide to participate because they are attracted by more general and overarching ideas, goals or ideologies the movement stands for, not because they are exclusively interested in improving the situation (e.g. environmental problem) in the vicinity. Typical goals of citizens' movements are peace, women's liberation, or nature preservation in general, not single, isolated and rather localized goals. The membership structure is similar to those found in so-called "new social movements" in other countries, a majority of members

⁴⁶ Based on: (Hasegawa 1993a:104).

consists of government or public-service sector employees, white-collar workers, self-employed, teachers, or lawyers, a social strata that is often described as “middle-class”.⁴⁷ A relatively high educational background is another characteristic. Typical environmental citizens’ movements try to protect and conserve the natural environment in general and educate people about certain dangers, which are connected with their consumerist lifestyles.⁴⁸

Residents’ movement on the other hand are characterized by the fact that they have often developed out of other organizations (PTAs, neighborhood associations, etc), therefore their members often come from small locales. They often have known each other before the movement was founded. The issues residents’ movements are concerned with are usually rather specific and local. In terms of their profession, members of residents’ movements are typically public service employees, teachers, workers, women (particularly housewives), the self-employed, farmers or fishermen (HASEGAWA 1993a: 104). Typical examples are environmental movement whose aim is protecting a certain section of a river or a mountain. Typical examples are movements with names such as “Nature of Mt..... Protection Group” (“...yama no shizen wo mamoru kai”) or “Friends of ...Association” (“...tomo no kai”).

Nevertheless, it is difficult if not impossible to unequivocally separate or distinguish these two movement types, either in practical or in strict conceptual terms. Hasegawa stressed that the difference lies generally within the difference in nuance in the Japanese language. Even if one distinguishes between them in

⁴⁷ There is a difference in middle-class as defined by the Japanese government in its surveys on social consciousness and those in most other countries. It is an often-cited finding of Japanese government surveys that more than 90% of the Japanese consider themselves “middle class”. The problem with this categorization is inherent in the wording of the questionnaire used in these surveys, the limited number of choices (lower, lower middle, middle middle, upper middle, upper class), and the dilemma that self-ascription reveals only how people subjectively position themselves, which is often unrelated to more objective or measurable definitions of social strata.

⁴⁸ See also: (Terada 1990).

conceptual terms, in practice, both movement types need each other and therefore often work together (HASEGAWA 1993a).

Because of their educational and professional background, some members of citizens' movements have developed a good knowledge about natural scientific and technological issues and are therefore able to assist local protest movements against the construction of industrial facilities. The same cooperation is also typical for the anti-nuclear movement. Because all nuclear-facilities are located in rural areas far away from the big cities, the local residents who oppose the construction of new or the use of existing nuclear-power stations, often lack the knowledge and personal resources to argue scientifically against certain technologies or attract the attention of the media in Tokyo or other major cities.

In terms of their overall number of organizations, the environmental movement as a whole still consists overwhelmingly of small local movements which would rather fall under the category *residents' movement*, with less than fifty or one-hundred members who often come from the same neighborhood or part of town. Nevertheless, in contrast to the early residents' movements of the 1950s and 1960s, the social structure has changed in line with the social-stratal composition of the Japanese society. Today, most members could be categorized as middle-class, hence having the same social and professional background as members of classical *citizens' movements*.

Case Studies

A few Japanese social scientists have also attempted to conduct empirically based case studies of environmental movement organizations or environmental disputes, often not only as participatory observers, but motivated by personal involvement in the case. A case of environmental dispute that has more than once been chosen as background for sociological analysis is the case of the Shirakami mountainous area (*shirakami-sanji*) protection movement in Aomori prefecture, where in 1982, the two prefectures Aomori and Akita had planned to

destroy part of a primeval beech forest⁴⁹ to construct the Aomori-Akita forest road. After the protection movements had vigorously objected to the construction, the construction plan was abandoned in 1991.

The sociologist Inoue Takao (INOUE 1995) used the case to discuss the strategies of a successful movement, namely (1) appeals to public opinion, (2) investigations, (3) petitioning; (4) cooperation with inhabitants, (5) direct appeals to the governor; and (6) informal meetings with government officials to study conservation problems. Inoue found that attention of mass media and particularly television, which was among others triggered by a large signature campaign,⁵⁰ had played an important role for the success of the opposition movements, much more than the direct negotiations with the governor (INOUE 1995:461-464). According to Inoue, this case therefore demonstrated a high level of awareness for the importance of environmental protection, even though the construction of the road might have brought economic benefits. For the opposition movement, it repeatedly highlighted the importance of having independently collected and analyzed data about the potentials of nature destruction (INOUE 1995: 467), and the importance of cooperating with large nationwide organizations, in this case the Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J)⁵¹. Inoue concluded that for the success of future nature conservation movements, it is important to have mutual social agreements (*shakai-tekina gói*) between nature protection organizations and the authorities that include concrete protection measures in order to protect *nature corridors* and *biotopes* (INOUE 1995: 467-477).

⁴⁹ Shirakami mountainous area includes the largest primeval beech wood in Japan with about 17,000 hectares. The natural ecosystem includes an abundance of animals and vegetation, many of which can only be found here (*Shogakukan Datapal* 1998).

⁵⁰ Inoue noted that the high number of signatures and participants was tantamount to the success of the movement, which then triggered mass media, particularly newspaper but also television coverage (Inoue 1995:466).

⁵¹ In 1993, the NACS-J was successful in getting 10000 ha of the Shirakami mountainous area registered as a protected area with the Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

Other case studies stressed the importance of citizens' movements for the development of community and citizens' self-governance. The sociologist Takada Akihiko (Takada 1990; Takada 1994) for example studied some grassroots citizens' movements in the Tokyo suburb of Musashino where he found that movement participation in the 1980s had led to a revival of community ties and closer communication between citizens and local authorities.

Concluding Remarks

Environmental sociology in Japan offers some categorizations and historical typologies of environmental movements in Japan, but the concepts themselves are still not very well defined and used for a broad variety of different endeavors. The distinction between citizens' movements (*shimin undō*) and residents' movements (*jūmin undō*) as it has been outlined by Hasegawa and others (see: table 3) cannot be drawn as stringent as the categorization might imply. It will be shown in chapter 4 (case studies) that quite a few of today's local protest movements could be qualified as residents' movements because they are predominantly active in one locality and pursue, at least at the outset, only a relatively narrow objective, some of them have nevertheless developed into movements with more general objectives and a leadership that consists of professionals, and a membership that has over time developed fairly advanced movement strategies.

The theoretical foundations and its line of distinction from other sociological sub-fields are still not very well drawn. The sociologist Takada Akihiko who attempted to find useful approaches in environmental sociology and social movement theory for the study of the environmental problems in Japan and particularly its sociological significance noticed that unlike US-American environmental sociologists who developed a new paradigm in sociology and had triggered a shift from the so-called "human exceptionalism" paradigm toward a "new ecological paradigm" as outlined by Catton and Dunlap (1978) and later criticized by among others Humphrey and Buttel (1982), Japanese environmental

sociology had not yet entered this paradigm shift. In Japan it is foremost a “sociology of environmental problems” (*kankyō mondai no shakaigaku*), (Takada 1995:414f). Japanese environmental sociologists have generally been concerned with the description of individual environmental movements and less with their general implications on the society as a whole and their conceivable influence on the considerations of the general public about nature, technology, and human nature relations. Takada considers the theoretical advances of environmental sociology in Japan as rather weak (*ibid*: 416). However, the case studies by Inoue Takao (1995) and others show, that Japanese sociologists have indeed found components for success of environmental movements that are similar to those emphasized by John Hannigan (see: section 2.1.1), namely: the importance of mass media, shaping awareness of environmental problems, the collection of reliable data, and the cooperation with larger organization and networks. This study therefore aims at highlighting some decisive sociological and political aspects of the contemporary environmental movement.

2.2.2 Japanese Political Science and Environmental Movements

To what extend has political science in Japan been concerned with social movements in general and the environmental movement in particular? The Japanese political scientist Kaku Kensuke (Kaku 1996) attempted to analyze the relationship between political science and environmental problems, and the different approaches Japanese political science has developed in this respect. The following introduction intends to outline some of Kaku’s arguments.

Environmental problems and particularly pollution had a deep impact on a number of social science disciplines in Japan since the late 1960s, but more importantly since the early 1980s. Economics⁵², law studies, sociology, pedagogy, and ethics (KAKU 1996: 148) are disciplines well known for their growing

⁵² Since the 1980s, the environmental problems and particularly pollution has played an important role within economic studies in Japan. Still, a larger number of studies and books have been concerned with environmental economics (*kankyō keizaigaku*).

interest in these problems. However, Kaku noted that political scientists have more or less ignored these problems and their significance for the political debate. When a great number of neighborhood movement suddenly occurred all over Japan protesting against industrial projects and pollution in the 1970s, some political scientists began to look deeper into *political participation* theory (KAKU 1996: 149), but those contributions were still few and in-between⁵³. The great majority was concerned with mainstream political theory, not the empirical and theoretical research of social movements, and their potential impact on the Japanese society⁵⁴. Ishida Takeshi (1984) emphasized the “shocking”⁵⁵ fact that it was not a political scientist but a natural scientist, namely Ui Jun of Tokyo University, who was the first to write a book about the political implications of pollution, *Politics of Pollution* [*Kōgai no seijigaku*], which clearly demonstrated the “negligence of political scientists” (ISHIDA 1984: 220) in the 1970s, and Ishida added that this situation had not changed significantly until the mid 1980s. Kaku suspects that political scientists in Japan have avoided environmental problems because they might have considered them “too political” or that they were unable to find any analytical tool and therefore preferred to focus their attention on political parties and policy studies, hence established fields in political science.⁵⁶ Japanese political science has restricted itself to virtually undisputed areas of research. The large number of pollution incidents, anti-pollution and anti-development movements in the 1960s and 1970s, or more recently the protest movement against the construction of the Nagara River Estuary Dam or against nuclear power would have provided a large number of political problems which could have been analyzed, for example in respect to their importance for

⁵³ A few examples of Japanese participatory research in connection with social movements are: (ŌHATA 1985, YORIMOTO 1987, HARA 1994, IIJIMA 1987). However, the majority of these studies are rather theoretical, with only passing use of empirical data.

⁵⁴ This evaluation of current political science research in Japan was also expressed by Japanese social scientists in interviews the author conducted.

⁵⁵ Quoted by KAKU 1996:149.

⁵⁶ This opinion has also been expressed by other Japanese political scientists and economists in interviews and conversations with the author.

the democratization process or the potential growth of civic values, but only a very small number of Japanese political scientist have actually engaged in this research field.

In all, Kaku states that political science in Japan has carried out a kind of “self-restraint” or “self-control” (*jisei*) (KAKU 1996: 150), most likely because of the fact that government and business controls much of the research budget of universities. He added, that it is “paradoxical” that political scientist did not want to become political⁵⁷, which is why he regarded it necessary for political science in Japan to begin a debate about its self-image. According to Kaku, there has not been a fundamental change within Japanese political science in its low level of concern with environmental problems in the last 25 years. Following are a few examples of social and political science research on environmental problems.

Research between 1970 and 1985

Since the early 1970s, when environmental problems began to become research themes in other fields of social science (see above), there have been only very few political scientists who were interested in this topic. Shinohara Hajime (Shinohara 1972), who used to be mainly concerned with Western political history, was one of the few who saw the significance of citizens’ movements for political participation and developed several political theory approaches covering citizens’ movements. In a book chapter titled *Modern Politics and the City* [*Gendai seiji to toshi*] (1972) Shinohara analyzed the impact of excessive consumerism on the structure of life in the cities. He was particularly concerned with pollution, garbage problems, and the theoretical aspects of production, consumption, and natural recycling. In the mid 1980s, Shinohara became well known for coining the term “lively politics” (*raibulī politikusu*), (SHINOHARA 1983; SHINOHARA 1985).

⁵⁷ In the Japanese original: “Sono imi de seijigakusha ga seijiteki naru koto wo konomanai to iu no ha, hitotsu no gyakusetsu-tekina shinri to ieru kamo shinrenai” (KAKU 1996: 149-150).

In the 1970s, environmental problems also had an impact on public administration, as pointed out by Utsunomiya Fukashi (1976), because environmental problems had developed into a natural point of contact between citizens and the administration, which could lead to problems concerning conflict and integration, for which Utsunomiya coined the concept “environmental administration” (UTSUNOMIYA 1976). In the 1970s, citizens and local administrations in many places began to work together more constructively to protect the local natural environment (lakes, rivers, forests, fields), the living habitat, or neighborhood of residents. Utsunomiya considered this as a first step towards closer integration of citizens in local public administration and called this process “Creating Environment”⁵⁸ (*kankyō sōzō*). He published his basic research results in 1984 (UTSUNOMIYA 1984), which were fundamentally based on concrete strategic achievements in Europe and the USA, where such research was already more advanced.

Yorimoto Katsumi (1974, 1987) dealt with the garbage problem and its significance for citizens’ participation theory and its significance for democracy theory and local autonomy (e.g., residents’ participation in mutual agreement formulation). His major works are *Garbage War* [*gomi sensō*] (1974), ‘*Ideas about Sites’ and Local Autonomy* [“*genjō no jisō‘ to chihō jichi*”] 1981, and *Contemporary Garbage Problems (Administrative Edition)* [*Gendai jo gomi mondai (gyōsei)*] 1982. The public administration theorist Igeta Takeshi (*Environmental Science Theory* [*Kankyō kagakuron*] 1982) analyzed concrete environmental policies and developed an outline for a “new environmental science theory” (KAKU 1996: 153), and others like Sato (1974) were predominantly concerned with the connection of regional development and environmental problems (SATO 1974, *Relations between Regional Development and Pollution* [*chūki hatten – kōgai he no taiō*]), (cited in KAKU 1996: 151).

⁵⁸ Own translation of the author. The concept *kankyō sōzō* could also be translated as creating, developing or redeveloping ones own environment, vicinity, neighborhood.

Political Science Research since 1986

Utsunomiya Fukashi continued his research on environmental creation (UTSUNOMIYA 1986 *Environmental Creation of Green* [*Midori no kankyō sōzō*]) in which he emphasized the close connection between urbanization and greening activities (e.g. through citizens participation in the planting of trees or local planning in general), and its significance for citizens' participation in political and administrative decisions (UTSUNOMIYA 1996). Global environmental problems and “environmental philosophy” (*kankyō rinen*) also became part of his research scope when he conducted a case study on environmental management in underdeveloped areas (UTSUNOMIYA 1995, *Research on Environmental Philosophy and Management* [*Kankyō rinen to kanri no kenkyū*]). Yorimoto continued his research on the garbage war, residents' participation, and environmental administration (YORIMOTO 1988, *Jichi no genjō to “sanka”* [Site Autonomy and “Participation”]), and in 1990, *Gomi to risaikuru* [Waste and Recycling]).

This period is characterized by a diversification of individual research areas in political science. Inspired by the success of the green party in Germany, Maruyama Shin (MARUYAMA 1994) and Tsubosato Minoru began comparative research on new social movements and party politics. Tsubosato brought attention to the integration of “labor politics” and “ecopolitics” (TSUBOSATO 1989 *Atarashī shakai undō to midori no to* [New social movements and green parties] and Maruyama Shin (1992, 1994) as well as Yamaguchi Yūji (1995) were particularly concerned with the different development of new social movements and ecological political parties in Germany and Japan. Maruyama has extensively discussed the two concepts “political science of ecology” (*ekoroji no seijigaku*) and “political ecology” (*seiji teki ekoroji*). Maruyama Shōji and Yamaguchi Yūji focused their attention to the development of “green parties” and introduced the two Western concepts “deep green” and “light green”, distinguishing fundamental

and rather reform oriented ecological paradigms⁵⁹. The basic question tackled by Yamaguchi (Yamaguchi 1989, 1995) was why a green party had only developed in Germany but not in Japan, although the citizens in both nations had developed environmental consciousness and concern about the environmental problems (YAMAGUCHI 1995: 180). Both political scientists considered Japan as suitable contrast to Germany, in terms of political participation in ecology movements. Their findings and their explanatory value for the different development in Germany and Japan will be further discussed in chapter 6.5.

Other political scientists have stressed the importance of international politics in general and “global environmental politics” in particular⁶⁰, such as Shinobu Takashi (1993, 1994), or the importance of peace and security policy as factors that can effect the global environment, such as Usui Hisawa and Watanuki Reiko (1993) *Global Environment and Security* [*chikyû kankyô to anzenbosho*]. In the area of history of political thought and political philosophy, the political theorist Chiba Shin stressed the importance of Christian social ethics in times of rapid technological development, and developed a political philosophy from an ecological standpoint.

Kaku Kensuke emphasized crucial obstacles which had to be overcome before environmental problems can become a distinct research field within Japanese political science (KAKU 1996: 153): (1) the perspectives of victims and residents have to be reconsidered⁶¹ (similarly as in environmental sociology), (2) the theoretical tools to study the political significance of environmental problems have mostly been adopted from abroad, very little has been developed in Japan. Additionally there have only been a very few Japanese-based case studies,

⁵⁹ For reference on the widely used distinction between “deep green”/“deep ecology” and “light green”, see e.g.: (DOBSON 1990, MILLS 1996).

⁶⁰ A number of influential international contributions to environmental sociology and ecological politics have been translated into Japanese language, among others the very influential book “Green Political Thought” by Andrew Dobson (1990).

⁶¹ Kaku stressed that this has partly been the case until 1985, but not thereafter.

therefore it has to be asked (3) why political scientists in Japan have so far avoided this subject. Kaku suggests that Japanese political science has problems with “alternative political science”; he therefore demands a new research field in political science specializing on environmental problems in close cooperation with other fields such as environmental science (*kankyōgaku*) and environmental sociology (*kankyō shakaigaku*).

Overall, Japanese political science has developed only very limited theoretical tools to analyze the specific conditions under which the environmental movement has to act. The comparative perspective developed by Yamaguchi and Maruyama seem to be most promising in this respect because they attempt to illustrate decisive factors for the limited impact of Japanese social movements in general and the environmental movement in particular on legislative power.

2.2.3 Social Movements Theory and Research in Japan

One of the most comprehensive evaluations of the evolution of theoretical and to a lesser degree empirical research on social movements in Japan has been elaborated by two of the most important protagonists of the theoretical debate, Shiobara Tsutomu and Katagiri Shinji (Shiobara and Katagiri 1986). Following is a short introduction to some of the most influential or paradigmatic theoretical concepts and approaches developed in the first boom on social movement theories in the 1960s and 1970s.

Research Areas

Takahashi Akira (1968)⁶² was one of the very few who conducted field research on the students’ movements during the 1960s. He found out that a typical student activist came from the “lower social strata of the new urban middle class” (49) and came from a home with relatively strict parents. In the 1960s, the number of studies in *residents’ movements* (often also used for *citizens’ movements*) rose. According to some estimates, there were about 3000 residents’ movements

⁶² (Shiobara and Katagiri 1986:49).

in 1972, and about 60% of them were environmental or anti-pollution movements. Their membership was dominated by "amateurs", who resisted influence from political parties, and tried to adhere to principles of "self-government" based on a sense of *community*. The community aspect, hence a kind of revival of traditional, rural community values, was often seen as a sign that residents' movements were anti-modern (Shiobara and Katagiri 1986: 49-50). Concepts such as *community* and *community forming* are home ground for sociologist especially when they are specialized in rural or urban sociology; they were therefore studying the social relationship of residents' movements and the local community. The sociologist Okuda Michihiro (1973) had developed a theory of development and organization of community-forming (urban) movements and stressed the significance of rural and urban residents' movements for the growing importance of community building and protecting and local self-governance. These themes have not lost their importance over the last 30 years, even in the late 1990s, *community* and *local-self government* being values and political objectives that residents and also political citizens' movements are very committed towards, particularly because they are confronted by global environmental problems.

In the mid 1970s, Nitagai Kamon (1976) conducted a more macro-sociological analysis focusing on the "relationship between structure of the society as a whole and the emergence of residents' movements" (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:50). Nitagai considered the following two factors most influential for the fast spread of residents' movements since the mid 1960s: (a) structural contradictions in Japanese capitalism and urbanization that had led to "common social consumption" without "social investment" to "support such a lifestyle" (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986: 50), and (b) an uncritical stance of the labor unions who had turned a blind eye to the negative effects of production and consumption. Nitagai's method of inter-organizational analysis and the importance he placed on the social and political system surrounding the

movements reveals a resemblance to new social movements approaches mostly favored by European researchers.

Stagnation of the Residents' Movement in the Mid 1970s

Shôji Kokichi (AOI and SHÔJI 1980)⁶³ stressed that residents movements had emerged as a counter-reaction of local residents who felt threatened by the negative impact of development, particularly problems connected with their regional development, civil rights, and life-style⁶⁴. Shôji discussed the causes for the stagnation of residents movements (*jûmin undô*) after the first oil-crisis in 1973 and asked why the movements could not keep the momentum they had achieved during the high-growth period of the 1960s and early 1970s. Shôji argued that small and local anti-development movements had always suffered from one major deficiency: their membership had usually consisted of ordinary residents without any prior political or technological experience and the movement organizations were often set up spontaneously⁶⁵ rather than deliberately; therefore they could not deliberate the positive and negative aspects of certain development projects and were mostly incapable of proposing alternative plans. Hence, once a majority of the residents had opted to oppose a development plan, their only option was to object to the project altogether. Those who were willing to negotiate with the developers often split from the opposition movement, which in turn made it easier for the government and any proposing forces to suppress the whole movement. Therefore, in many cases government and industry eventually succeeded in carrying out the development project.

The Emergence of Resource-Mobilization Approaches

Since the mid 1970s, a new generation of younger Japanese sociologists began to look for new approaches different from *collective-behavior theories* (CBT), which had

⁶³ Reprinted in (SHÔJI 1986)

⁶⁴ (SHÔJI 1980), according to (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:51).

⁶⁵ (SHÔJI 1986:251).

been popularized in Japan by the so-called Smelser-Shiobara model. Japanese sociologists soon considered the US-American dominated *resource-mobilization-approach* as a useful tool for analyzing social movements in Japan, because many deemed the conditions in Japan similar to those in the United States. Shiobara for example emphasized the simultaneous emergence of students' movements in both countries and summed up the anticipated paradigm shift with the catchphrase "from a social psychology of collective behavior to a political sociology of social movements" (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:53). Nevertheless, he also stressed differences⁶⁶ in terms of the "knowledge held in both countries", namely that (1) the Japanese emphasized "objective structural contradictions and crisis", and that (2) in Japan resource-mobilizations was often interpreted with a Marxist perspective⁶⁷. Finally, (3) many Japanese sociologists criticized that social movements cooperated with established organizations and used their resources (*ibid*:).

The differences between the younger and older generation of Japanese scholars is exemplified in the debate between Shiobara and Katagiri. The former argued that the criticism against collective-behavior theory was partly based on inaccurate interpretations and exaggerations; both resource mobilization theory and the theory of collective behavior were actually "mutually complementary" (*ibid*: 54). Katagiri responded that (1) resource mobilization theory actually criticized mass-society theories and were not aimed against Smelser and R. Turner, and that (2) it considers *solidarity* a factor that mediates dissatisfaction and encourages the formation of social movements⁶⁸, in contrast to the collective behavior approach with its "metaphysical pathos", resource mobilization approaches emphasized rather rational dynamics of social movements,

⁶⁶ Shiobara has to stress the differences, because resource-mobilization made his approach less important.

⁶⁷ Namely, Lenin's vanguard theory as well as mass-movement theory Chinese style.

⁶⁸ Katagiri added, that the theory therefore became independent of M Olson (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:54).

nevertheless (4) it is a middle-range theory which “does not intend to replace previous theories, but (...) complement(s) them” (*ibid*: 54). Hence, Shiobara and Katagiri were in agreement about the non-exclusive character of both approaches; they differed not about the theory itself but about the domain of the two approaches. The resource mobilization approach was considered particularly appropriate for understanding new movements in affluent societies. Katagiri used the resource mobilization approach to study environmental movements, for example, the residents' movements opposing the pollution of Lake Biwa⁶⁹, in the 1980s, others later stressed the importance of networking between movements⁷⁰, and research on the history of popular movements (historical sociology)⁷¹.

Comparison of the Approaches

Since the mid 1980s, a new generation of social movement researchers has begun to combine resource-mobilization approaches, that were until then considered most appropriate for the research of social movements in Japan, with other traditions of social movements research, which were generally influenced by Marxist and Neo-Marxist traditions. Kajita Takamichi (KAJITA 1985) was one of the first who reconsidered the significance of social change and social conflict for social movements and the indicated development towards a so-called post-industrial society. He tried to apply European new-social movement approaches and emphasized certain aspects often attributed to post-industrial societies and outlined their importance for the spread of new social movements⁷²: (a) post-industrial societies lead to the spread of new social problems and conflicts, which in turn led to the emergence of new social movements, (b) typically, new social movements demand social change or reform, but not necessarily

⁶⁹ In this case, he used “*interorganizational analysis* from the perspective of resource mobilization” (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:55).

⁷⁰ Ôhata (ÔHATA 1985) in his study on the relationship of neighborhood movements.

⁷¹ Stimulated by the work of Charles Tilly.

⁷² The following list is based on (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:52).

institutionalized political power, (c) they stress autonomy instead of elitism⁷³, (d) movements are based on ascriptive attributes, (e) social movements are frequently treated as deviant or abnormal, and (f) citizens' movements are often based on universal values, “they tend to confront the state and even transcend it”.

Yazawa Shujiro (1985) emphasized certain Neo-Marxist propositions, and suggested that (a) an uneven development of any society does also lead to an uneven development of social movements, (b) the “*organic relations* between movements” are essential for the growth of a “new society on communal principles” (it seems, that Yazawa did not consider the potentially anti-modern aspects of *communal principles* as a problem), (c) the importance of ideology and ideas developed and supported by social movements, in contrast to their organizational development, and (d) he stressed that political parties should be more open to the demands of the citizens movements, because (e) citizens have alternatives and can freely decide which political and social problems they want to commit themselves to; and social movements with their diverse courses often offer a far more open and flexible political platform than political parties.

Since the mid 1980s, social movement researchers increasingly began to look towards European movements and their research. They discovered that Japanese movements had developed a number of characteristics that could well be analyzed with *new social movements* approaches, in particular their emphasis on autonomy and opposition towards state intervention, and their emphasis to shift from instrumental or direct political intervention towards identity shaping, the strengthening of civic values in general, hence personal and institutional change (ISHIKAWA 1988). (New) social movements were interpreted within a macro-sociological frame of reference and as a phenomenon of a “postindustrial or late

⁷³ A contradicting assumption covering U.S. American movement was developed by David Kowalewski (KOWALEWSKI 1995). Based on empirical studies of environmental movements in the US found that “vanguard model seems especially useful for analyzing the environmental and other NSMs of postindustrial polities” (p. 51).

capitalist society” (ISHIKAWA 1988: 153-155), with certain strategic problems (network building, third party support).

2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

The social science approaches concerning social movements in general and environmental movements in particular, which have been developed and discussed in Japan since the 1970s, have largely remained within the theoretical sphere, and have only infrequently been proven by empirical research. The theoretical basis of social movements research has fundamentally been influenced and guided by a repetition of the U.S. American debates, and only in recent years has the European theoretical debate about (new) social movements has had a certain impact. The theoretical debate, at least within sociology, has provided an important background for this study. However, research concerning the political significance of environmental movements on political participation and eventually democratization within Japanese political science has not been very helpful, due to the small number of studies, the dominance of theoretical research and the weak empirical basis. This study therefore attempts to broaden the empirical basis and to highlight the potential and actual importance of environmental movements as a factor within the contemporary political system in Japan.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZENS' MOVEMENTS IN POSTWAR JAPAN

In terms of citizen activity, the 1960s were dominated by a relatively sudden and fast increase in the number of social movements, hence, a “new wave of social movements” (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:48). The issues and problems those movements were mostly concerned about reflected the political issues in those days, particularly the Vietnam War and the pollution problem. However, why did citizens choose the formation and commitment in citizens’ movements instead of using established political channels such as political parties or labor unions?

The most fundamental reason for the gradual increase of social problems and the fact that these issues were widely discussed within the Japanese society can be attributed to the social changes that were brought about by rapid industrialization, particularly during the high-growth period in the 1960s.

The labor unions were no real political option for citizens who began to object to certain elements of the political system and the way the government treated citizens and their demands, namely mostly with disinterest and rejection because undisturbed economic growth was still the predominant policy objective. After an era of strikes and protest in the late 1950s, labor unions had slowly become a part of the neo-corporatist system, they “changed from activist organizations to subordinate agents of the power apparatus” (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:48).

For more radical citizens who did not want to compromise and be dependent on the established power structure, and for those who demanded the preservation of human rights and greater say in political affairs and a broadening of citizens’ participation, the only real option was the establishment of citizens’ movements.

Favorable for this trend in the late 1960s was that citizens had more spare time. High-economic growth had produced a growing number of citizens who were critical towards the rigid socio-economic system, and who favored a change of lifestyles that could eventually lead to a wider acceptance of individual political and social commitment, and the traditionally more “progressive” political parties, particularly the JSP, “were loosing their vitality”⁷⁴.

Many citizens’ movements successfully recruited members from these traditional leftist organizations such as labor unions and the JSP, but to an even wider extent from traditionally apolitical and inactive social segments, such as women and the under-privileged. However, ideologically and organizationally, most newly established citizens’ movements distanced themselves from existing organizations. Typical examples of citizens’ movements that became prominent in the 1960s were the anti-war movements (triggered by the Vietnam War, notably Beiheiren), anti-pollution movements, and the consumer movement. There were, however, a very great number of small and very small movements and groups, which - encouraged by the nationwide prominence of those larger movements with their larger issues – began to protest against local problems and the way local governments treated their citizens.⁷⁵ Another important factor in the sudden rise of citizens’ movements was the student movement, the Anti-AMPO movements, and the anti-Narita airport movements. Although the latter two were unsuccessful in achieving their ultimate goal, they were very successful in demonstrating to a wider public that citizens, if they were united and sufficiently determined, could force the government to listen, since citizens

⁷⁴ (SHIOBARA and KATAGIRI 1986:48) quoting (TAKABATAKE 1976).

⁷⁵ The most famous examples were the movements in the three cities Mishima, Numazu and Shimizu, who successfully rallied against local development plans and prevented the construction of a petro-chemical complex.

could at least delay public and industrial construction projects and hence make them very expensive⁷⁶.

3.1 HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

In order to analyze the environmental movement in contemporary Japan, it is important to consider its historical development, particularly in postwar Japan, and its relationship to some prewar and even pre-modern protest and citizens' movements. Social movements are set up in and have to adapt to various political and social settings, which can either be fundamentally or only slightly different from those of other countries in similar developmental stages. When attempting to analyze the factors which promote or hinder the occurrence of social movements, it is essential to take into account the historical predecessors so that one can distinguish between long-term and cultural factors and current and concrete socio-economic and political factors, which might influence the development of social movements.

Japanese historians, political scientist, and sociologists have been trying to divide postwar environmental history into several distinct periods⁷⁷. The periodical frames those researchers apply do not always coincide exactly, but in more general terms they do; therefore it is possible to divide postwar environmental history into five major periods that will now be further outlined.

1955-1965 (Pollution Phase)

This first period is often called the *pollution phase* because it is dominated by massive and widespread, mostly industrial pollution, with distinct historical predecessors at the end of the 19th century, as symbolized by the Ashio copper mine pollution case.

⁷⁶ The anti-Narita airport movement delayed the opening of the airport by almost a decade. It was opened with only one runway in 1978.

⁷⁷ The following categorization is based on: (MITSUDA 1992; IIJIMA 1979c; IIJIMA 1993; Ui 1989, FUNABASHI 1992).

Japanese industry was almost completely destroyed in the Second World War; therefore, the main objective after the war was to reconstruct the country and its industry. The main focus was put on heavy industry, pulp, and chemical industry. Japan was very successful in this endeavor and soon enjoyed first moderate and later high economic growth. Unfortunately, economic growth was accompanied by rapid urbanization and a growing number of pollution incidents. The government stood at the center of the process of economic growth and the Ikeda administration initiated the influential income-doubling plan in 1960, so that all people could enjoy the benefits of the economic success.

Furthermore, the *First Economic Development Plan* was set up and shifted industrialization into many formerly untouched areas in rural Japan (mainly heavy industry, petrochemical industry, pulp industry, etc.). As a consequence of this development and the political agenda of “economic growth by all means”, the rate of industrial pollution began to accelerate. There had been pollution related diseases and protests even before World War II, as the Asshio copper mine dispute in Tochigi prefecture which started off in 1890 and became the first known environment victims protest in Japan, and similar events in Besshi in Aichi prefecture or Hitachi in Ibaraki prefecture had illustrated. However, this time, pollution was not limited to very few isolated incidences, but soon spread to a great number of localities, and became a more general problem.

During this period, the first pollution victims began to realize that their unknown and often painful diseases were not caused by natural reasons, but were closely related to environmental pollution. In the beginning, the victims kept quiet, because the dominant rule of social harmony made them feel they had to endure such a fate. Only in the late 1950s, when the number of victims in Minamata and later in Yokkaichi, Toyama and Niigata rose, and the reason for the disease slowly became clearer to the victims and their families, did they begin to confront the responsible company and the local government and demanded recognition as victims and later compensation payments. These cases became

famous as the “Big Four Pollution Cases” (IIJIMA 1970; IIJIMA 1979c; Iijima 1984; GEORGE 1996). However, the local and national government first ignored the victims’ demands, assuming that the victims would stop their protest rather sooner than later. However, in the course of their fight for recognition and compensation they attracted enough media attention and later nationwide outrage about the severely negative effects of pollution, that it ignited a nationwide campaign.

The government and the companies, however, refused to talk or admit their responsibilities, so that the victims’ movements⁷⁸ had only one way to proceed, namely by suing the responsible companies. Some of the court battles are still ongoing today. Although the victims won almost all the cases, the government still refuses to take direct responsibility but contributes payments to the company, in this case Chisso Ltd in Minamata, so that this company can again cover the compensation payments it was sentenced to pay in the court decisions. At this stage, the environmental movement was predominantly focused on the battle against obvious environmental pollution; however, only in a very few cases were they able to actually prevent a development, as in the case of then protest against the construction of a petrochemical complex in Mishima and Numazu (LEWIS 1980).

1965-1973 (Reaction Phase)

The second phase began in the mid 1960’s and lasted until about 1973, it is widely called the *reactive period* of environmental policy. In these years, the government realized the severity of the pollution problem to some extent and enacted the first “Basic Environmental Law” (1967), which was kept very general and included the so-called “harmony clause”⁷⁹. In the 1970s this was

⁷⁸ For a detailed analysis of the victims movement in Japan, see: (IIJIMA 1984, IIJIMA 1970; IIJIMA 1984).

⁷⁹ The first Basic Environmental Law contained the notorious “harmony clause” which determined that environmental policies should have no negative effects on a “healthy economic development”. It suggested that the government at that time felt the strong

supplemented by the enactment of 14 specific laws concerning pollution related problems. These were widely considered as strict and innovative and soon made Japan one of the most advanced countries in terms of pollution prevention and its technologies. The “Pollution Health Damage Compensation Law” and the “Nature Conservation Law” complemented these measures in 1973. Most analysts attributed these achievements to the strong and active environmental movement in that period. The large pollution cases had caused widespread compassion and the fear of becoming a victim. The number of participants in environmental movements and other citizens’ activities grew in a small period of time. In political culture terms one could speak of the 1960s and early 1970s as a kind of *starting mood* or *spiritual uprising*; others analysts wrote that “Japanese society experiences a great transformation during this period” (FUNABASHI 1992: 6).

Nonetheless, the environmental movement did have almost no direct influence on the policy making process, in general, it was still very local and often concentrated on single industrial projects (MITSUDA 1992:6) as the construction of Narita Airport or certain Shinkansen lines⁸⁰. From this period onwards, the environmental movement began to split into a more radical, rather politically oriented movement, based on the support of former activists in the students’ movement, and a more conciliatory nature protection movement with a focus on environmental education and concrete nature conservation aims in mind⁸¹.

necessity to react to the citizens’ demands and the almost disastrous spread of pollution incidences and the growing number of pollution victims, however without questioning the real causes behind this development, namely unlimited economic growth. On the occasion of the revision of the Basic Environmental Act in 1970, the “harmony clause” was removed, also because of citizens’ objections. The 2. National Development Plan (1969) included a similar clause that called for a support of the industrial projects by simultaneously limiting environmental problems, but was modified in 1972.

⁸⁰ For a detailed study about the anti-Shinkansen movement, see: (GROTH 1987).

⁸¹ This ideological split of the movement and its significance for the will be explained in more detail in chapter 5 (characteristics of the contemporary environmental movement).

1973-1980 (Consolidation and Stagnation Phase)

The first oil crisis in 1973 triggered a period of economic consolidation with falling growth rates and a decline in the number of industrial and public construction projects. The economic slow-down that followed was also the beginning of a change of consciousness for most Japanese. Many now began to realize that the time of two-digit growth rates might be over for good, but also, that the unlimited growth did not have any intrinsic value because broad layers of the society had not really benefited from the economic super-power status of Japan. New values began to emerge and took ground, such as the concept of “quality of life”; other theorists noted the beginning of a “silent revolution”⁸² (Inglehart, Flanagan) and a rising appreciation for immaterial values. The environmental movement, as well as environmental policy, was marked by the beginning of a trend to emphasize “lifestyle”, “quality of life”, and “everyday life pollution”⁸³.

The main focus of many environmental movements subsequently shifted from pollution prevention towards improvement of the quality of daily life, and pollution in daily life. In terms of movement activity, one could witness a trend away from demonstrative towards rather instrumental and cooperative forms of action. The membership structure of the environmental movements also changed significantly, most of the movements were no longer dominated by the lower strata or rather defenseless farmers and fishermen but by members of the middle-class⁸⁴. As far as the number of movements was concerned, protest

⁸² Inglehart (INGLEHART 1982) argued in 1982, that the Japanese society showed clear characteristics of a distinctive value change towards immaterial values “Silent Revolution”, similar to other industrialized countries. Flanagan (FLANAGAN 1982; FLANAGAN 1987a) however, questioned Inglehart's findings and argued that his research had rather shown a change from authoritarian towards more democratic and liberal values.

⁸³ About this phase in particular and the problems and opportunities of the environmental movement see: (SATOFUKA 1988).

⁸⁴ Aoyagi-Usui Midori (AOYAGI-USUI 1995) concluded in her empirical research project on activists of housewives in environmental movement that also considered data from (Ueno 1994 und Yazawa et. al. 1993), that the overwhelming majority of the female members and activists of environmental movements in Japan had a middle and upper-middle strata social

movements against the construction or operation of public or industrial facilities decreased, while the number of movements whose objective was the protection of the natural environment in their neighborhood and those who were concerned with questions of life-environment and the quality of life increased.

This tendency towards so-called “living-environment” (*seikatsu kankyō*) movements that had started in the mid 1970s continued in the 1980s and led to a sharp increase in consumer and food-safety related movements, which were dominated by housewives⁸⁵, whose objectives were clear and narrow, and which were supported by large sectors of the society. Apart from a few exceptions, the vast majority of the movements evaded potentially controversial or political issues such as tightening and stricter control of existing environmental laws, or demands for an Environmental Assessment Act (see below).

The government had reacted to these demands by the enactment of a number of laws, which were designed to improve the quality of every-day life of the citizens. In 1972, the government had enacted the Nature Protection Act, which became the basis for a number of other environmental protection laws, for example the National Park Law, the Urban Green Space Conservation Law. On the other hand, the general framework for pollution control set in the second stage gradually lost its grip, because environmental standards and provisions were not upgraded, fundamentally because the environmental movements had lost their momentum and entered their “winter season in the late 1970s” (FUNABASHI 1992:7). This process is symbolized by the fact that the Environmental Agency twice (1977, 1978) limited the criteria used to establish cases of Minamata disease

background, were well educated and commanded a relatively high income (MATSUDA: 1995:155-157).

⁸⁵ Some coop-movements (*seikatsu kurabu*) have more than a hundred thousand members, most of them housewives. Their main concern is clean and healthy food producers. Most members are predominantly concerned with very practical matters such as the distribution of food in their neighborhood, hardly ever with any controversial issues. There is separate political wing within the coop-movement. A movement that became famous for their political and social activities is the Kanagawa Network (kanagawa nettowāku). See: (MACLACHLAN 1996).

and artificially reduced the numbers of victims who could claim compensation. The NO₂ emission standards were also relaxed in 1978; and in 1976 the EA was unable to pass the *Environmental Impact Assessment Law* because of strong opposition from business, economic ministries and the LDP – environmental impact assessment was introduced in 1984 though a administrative decision at the cabinet meeting, but was not sufficiently institutionalized because it was not formalized in a law (FUNABASHI 1992: 7).

Early 1980s – early 1990s (Stagnation Phase)

With the beginning of the 1980s and the end of the rapid growth period began the phase when the urban middle class began to dominate the environmental and nature conservation movements to improve the environment in their vicinity. Findings of several public opinion surveys support the assumption that environmental awareness and concern about the continued deterioration of the natural environment grew in the 1980s. The number of reported pollution disturbance cases continued to grow from 63,000 in 1980 to almost 80,000 in 1992⁸⁶. According to Prime Ministers Office's public opinion surveys from the mid 1980s, a majority of Japanese considered the worsening of the natural environment to be so serious that it became a major reason why they thought that Japan was developing in negative direction climbed from 30% in 1986 to 60 % in 1990. Since then, the rate has fallen to about 50% in 1995, still the second most commonly named reason for the negative development of Japan behind the business climate⁸⁷.

For a large number of the small grass-roots environmental movements, the importance of concepts such as “quality of life” continued to grow throughout the 1980s. However, the concept of “quality of life” was generally confined to the improvement of one's personal life or lifestyle. Central claims aimed towards

⁸⁶ ENVIRONMENTAL AGENCY (1995), Whitebook.

⁸⁷ Prime Ministers Office (PMO), (eds.) *Shakai ishiki ni kan suru seron chousa*, yearly. Data calculated from the volume of the respective year.

the improvement of living conditions in the metropolitan areas through the improvement of the living environment in the vicinity of the given community, so-called "beautification of nature" and "creating environment"⁸⁸ (*kankyō sōzō*) activities, as well as demands for more leisure time. The environment was basically considered as something that should provide a place for comfort and recreation, its intrinsic value remained on the fringes of the arguments. Therefore, the vast majority of the environmental movements in the 1980s remained clearly "within the framework of a broad political consensus" (Watanuki 1984:13). A small number of protest movements such as the one against the construction of the apartment blocks for U.S.-American soldiers in a mountain forest in Zushi City (Kanagawa Pref.) or against the construction of the Nagara-gawa estuary dam were successful in attracting widespread media attention, nationwide support, and a revival of the discussion about citizens' rights and the construction of a civil society. On the whole, these protest movements remained the exception of the rule, most of them had only a relatively small number of individual members⁸⁹. Thus, due to the decreasing number of major industrial construction projects, the focus of the overall movement shifted towards less contentious issues and activities such as nature conservation, environmental education, or recycling.

The 1990s: Revival through Global Environmental Issues

By the end of the 1980s, the number of active environmental movements on the local and regional level had fallen. A closer look at the data reveals, however, that this trend mainly affected local and regional groups; the number of national and

⁸⁸ For a detailed analysis of the "creating environment" activities in the 1980s and 1990s, see: (UTSUNOMIYA 1996).

⁸⁹ Despite the lack of exact figures about the number of individual members and activists, it is possible to calculate estimate figures based on the number of citizens' organizations which are related to environmental issues and have notified or registered with the prefectural government. Used data sources: (*KANKYŌJO. SHIZEN HOGO KYOKUKYŪYOKU. SHIZEN HOGO NENKAN HENSHŪ IIINKAISHĀ* 1989; *TOKYO-TO KANKYŌHOZEN KYOKU* [Tokyo Metropolitan Government. Environmental Protection Office] 1982-1996).

international organizations had increased to some extent. The 1972 UNCED⁹⁰ in Stockholm where Minamata victims had demonstrated outside the conference hall embarrassing the Japanese government and subsequently triggering renewed awareness of the pollution issue and an acceleration of the enactment of the Pollution Victims Compensation Law (1973). The UNCED in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 in which many Japanese NGOs participated was stimulating for the Japanese environmental movement. In the aftermath, an increasing number of predominantly younger Japanese began to discover not only global environmental issues⁹¹, but also North-South problems, foreign aid, and ODA (Official Development Assistance). As of 1995, the number of all INGO's⁹² in Japan stands at over 6000 (Japanese Foreign Ministry). Naturally, only a fraction of them is concerned with environmental issues.

Since about 1993, large numbers of environmental organizations were for the first time able to participate in the drafting of the "Basic Environmental Law" and the "Basic Environmental Plan". However, many groups and organizations were not satisfied with the result and later demanded more extensive citizen input into the policy making process, not only on the local, but especially on the national level⁹³. This developmental phase of the environmental movement can be described as the *globalization period*, because issues such as global environmental pollution, climate change, and sustainable development including the Japanese responsibility (pollution export⁹⁴) are now widely discussed not only among environmental activists, they have clearly entered the concern of

⁹⁰ Short for: United Nation Conference on Environment and Development.

⁹¹ Some analysts called this the "second ecology boom" (dai ni no ekorojî – kankyô bûmu) (FURUZAWA 1993:30) that began in the early 1990s. The rising number of pollution incidents in the 1960s, and the subsequent occurrence of a strong victims- and anti-pollution movement is therefore referred to as the "first ecology boom" (dai ichi suki kankyô bûmu).

⁹² Short for: International Non-Governmental Organizations. In the Japanese literature, only the term NGO is used and includes domestic NGOs and INGO, which work on the international level (bilateral, multilateral, or globally).

⁹³ See also: 21 SEIKI NO KANKYÔ SHAKAI TO SHIMIN SANKA (1994), Kankyô kihin hô, Tokyo.

⁹⁴ For an analysis of the pollution export movement, see: (IIJIMA 1993).

mainstream society. Very influential in this respect was the contribution of “Earth Day Japan”. Since 1990, the central office of Earth Day Japan in Tokyo has not only organized the annual Earth Day but has also functioned as an important nationwide network for thousands of member groups (see chapter 4.3.1). After the UNCED in Rio de Janeiro⁹⁵, Earth Day and another small yet important network group called Forum 2001 have organized nationwide debates about the draft of the Basic Environmental Act (enacted in 1993) and the Basic Environmental Plan (enacted in 1994), a process that has been decisive for the renewed attraction of environmental issues and which carried general implications for an extension of the political participation of ordinary citizens.

3.2 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Overall, one can see a clear development away from the pollution victims' movement in the 1950s and 1960s, and from the anti-construction movement of the 1960s and 1970s, towards a distinctive nature conservation movement. The main focus of the nature conservation and environmental related movement is the immediate vicinity of the people who are active in such movements. On the other hand, one can notice a trend which has only recently reached the general public, although it has much longer been discussed and been conducted in smaller cycles, towards a global environmental movement.

The following table, based on chart by Hasegawa (1993a: 110) illustrates some characteristics, and different environmental movement types, which have

⁹⁵ Part III Chapter 27 of Agenda 21 requires the signing nations to enhance the role of non-governmental organizations in the drafting of new environmental laws. It requires that “rights and responsibilities of these organizations should be reconsidered” (27.10) and that integrative contributions from the non-governmental sector should be considered and enforced.

occurred in postwar Japan. It demonstrates the trend that was briefly outlined here⁹⁶.

VARIOUS CHARACTERISTICS OF INDUSTRIAL POLLUTION, HIGH-SPEED TRAFFIC POLLUTION, LIFE POLLUTION, AND THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENTAL PROBLEM				
Characteristics \ Phases	Industrial Pollution	High-speed traffic Pollution	Life Pollution	Global Environmental Problem
Time the issue appeared	Late high-growth period (Particularly 1960s)	Stable growth period (Particularly 1970s)	Growth consolidation phase (Particularly 1980s)	Post cold war period (Particularly 1990s)
Examples for type of pollution	Water pollution, air pollution and bad smell through industrial waste, Four-Big pollution disease incidences ⁹⁷	Airport pollution, Shinkansen pollution, expressway pollution	Empty can pollution, right of sunshine, detergent pollution, noise pollution, spike-tire pollution, garbage pollution	Freon-gas pollution, global-warming, nuclear-power accidents, international river and bay pollution, acid-rain,
Name	Destruction defines pollution	Facilities have defined pollution	Mainly consumer goods define pollution	Large area pollution defines problem
Main damage	Esp. peculiar diseases, health damage	Vibration, result in stress and health damage	Environmental deterioration, pollution, adverse effects of detergents, spike tires, etc.	Space and time overarching pollution.
Place of occurrence	Production, heavy industry, chemical industry	High-speed traffic service	Ordinary citizens' daily life	Enterprise and citizens' daily life

⁹⁶ Hasegawa first introduced this chart in 1993 (Hasegawa 1993a:110), but only the first three phases. The global environmental problem phase, which was triggered in 1992 by the UN summit in Rio de Janeiro, was first introduced in 1996 (Hasegawa 1996b:137), on which the following chart is based.

⁹⁷ Minamata, Niigata, Yokkaichi, and Toyama disease incidences.

Immediate cause	At the disposal and imperfect processing of industrial waste.	Lack of buffer-zone between high-speed traffic and residents	Disadvantageous accumulation	Limited disadvantage, accumulated pollution accumulation, limit of growth
Structural background	Profit-pursuing of private enterprises, principles of high economic growth, lack of legal and systematic restriction of pollution	“Public myth”: Pursue of high-speed traffic, lack of any systematic and legal restrictions of traffic pollution	Pursue of benefits and convenience, large-scale consumption in a general-public consumption society	Large-scale consumption. Invisibility of the problem. “Myth” of growth. “Myth” of infinite global resources. Lack any subjects of strict control.
Main assailant	Polluting enterprises	Manager, business people	General public, users	Enterprise, general public
Main target	Polluting enterprises, jurisdiction of the administration	Installation managers, entrepreneurs	None	Advanced industrial nations
Main victims	Inhabitants in the vicinity of the polluting site	Inhabitants in the vicinity of the traffic facilities	General public	Future generations
Harm-damage relation	Separate pollution	Separate type pollution (diffuse beneficiary's and local victims)	Main types of pollution (diffuse beneficiary's and diffuse victims)	Separate type pollution (spatial a. timely separation of damage a. harm).
Type of movement	Residents protest movement of inducement type by harmed residents	Residents protest movement of inducement type by harmed residents	Administration initiated use of self-imposed control movements.	Collaboration between environmental NGOs and government organizations

Table 4 Types of Environmental Movements

Table 4 illustrates the major phases of the development of environmental movement activity in postwar Japan. However, the table is in no way complete, it only illustrates the periods when the respective movements occurred and for a certain time dominated the movement scene. The contemporary movement is

composed of all these different movement types and it relies and benefits from the experiences of their predecessors. Victims' movements for example became prominent because the victims' suffering was visible and triggered fear and disgust, and at least after the 1972 UNCED in Stockholm that had triggered international attention for the Japanese victims also national shame and embarrassment. Although it took many years and in some cases decades before the victims could receive any kind of financial compensation, the actual number of victims movements and their media coverage decreased in the late 1970s and 1980s and one could assume an end of the phase of pollution victims. However, the 1990s saw a revival of these movements, for instance in the shape of victims of zinc-pollution⁹⁸ and in the second half of the 1990s dioxin pollution caused by waste incinerators and waste landfills has become a prominent issue.

This thesis focuses on the development of the environmental movement in the 1990s with reference to the development in the 1980s. Chapter 5 introduces some exemplary movement categorized in environmental protest movements, nature protection movements, and nationwide movement networks. Because this study concentrates on domestic environmental movements which are concerned with domestic environmental issues, movements which are mainly concerned with global environmental issues and which sometimes even send volunteers to developing states are only mentioned in passing. The author considers the domestic movement as more significant in influencing the domestic policy agenda in Japan because they are much closer related to problems connected with the state of industrialization, policy-making processes and hence democracy in Japan. Global problems are almost always considered by the domestic movements, so they certainly have an influence on their way or arguing; but to influence global environmental problems in the international political arena requires a highly elaborated network of specialists and policy analysts, which only a very few environmental organizations in Japan have at the

⁹⁸ For a detailed introduction of the lawsuit of the zinc-pollution victims, see: (Kajiyama 1995).

end of the 1990s. Local, regional, and even nationwide environmental lobbying and activity can make full use of the political and administrative knowledge many movements or single activists were able to collect throughout the postwar period, so they can be much more effective. Domestic problems are in most cases much more clear-cut than international or global environmental problems. While the former allow direct discussions with the polluters or responsible government offices, the latter are generally far more complex and vague, requiring diplomatic and high-level political negotiations, which only a very small percentage of the current environmental organizations are able to effectively influence.

4. CASE STUDIES

4.0 INTRODUCTION

In order to approach the general hypothesis of this study, it is considered valuable to look at the potential objectives of environmental movements in general. The most central concern of any environment movement is the appreciation of the natural environment and therefore ultimately its protection or conservation. Naturally, movement organizations differ fundamentally in terms of their opinion about the extent of protection they consider necessary, in the evaluation about what and how to protect, in the decision about the concrete approach that should be or could be pursued, and in their ecological worldview⁹⁹. But in order to pursue their most fundamental objective, environmental movements have to make a decision whether they want to approach their objective on a rather general level, namely by advocating for natural or environmental issues in general, for example by advancing general problem awareness; or whether they prefer to confine their objective to more specific issues, for example the protection of certain species or promoting recycling. All social movements want to change social reality. Another option¹⁰⁰ such movements have, is whether they want to become advocacy movements which intend general social and/or political change¹⁰¹, or whether they prefer to confine

⁹⁹ Ecological worldview or ideology is considered as the level on which the natural environment should be evaluated in relation to human beings. The two extreme poles of ecological thought have been labeled "soft environmentalism" or "deep environmentalism" (Yearley 1991), or the distinction between "ecologism" (calls into question a whole series of political, economic and social practices) and "environmentalism" (does not question the social, economic, and political fundamentals) (Dobson 1990:205).

¹⁰⁰ Such decisions are often already made before the organization is founded or shortly thereafter.

¹⁰¹ This change can be limited to single concrete issues and problems, or target the society as a whole, e.g. advancing environmental awareness in general, or influencing the political decision making process, hence policy areas that are related with environmental problem.

their objective to a more personal and direct level, for example through direct environmental protection activities¹⁰² or by advancing understanding about environmental problem among their members¹⁰³.

Although it will be shown in chapter 5 that only a small percentage of environmental movements in Japan could be categorized as advocacy or protest movement organizations, the case studies presented in this chapter are predominantly concerned with these movements because at the outset of this study they have been considered most capable of having an effect on the society as a whole, the political system, and eventually the political culture¹⁰⁴. Advocacy movements often arise after a certain problem¹⁰⁵ or issue has been discovered and needs to be introduced into the public discourse before a solution can be found and decided upon, typically through a political, administrative, or judicial decision.

The movements introduced in this chapter have been divided according to their main strategy and purpose, namely into protest movements (4.1), nature protection movements (4.2), and national movement network initiatives (4.3). Although this separation should not be considered as absolute, because basically, all groups and organizations included in this study somehow aim at preserving and protecting the natural environment, it nevertheless reflects a basic division within the contemporary environmental movement.

¹⁰² All activities where participants encounter and work directly in or with the natural environment, for example in cleaning-up activities, the protection of confined natural areas (woods, rivers, lakes, etc.), often by touching nature with their hands.

¹⁰³ The second approach might eventually influence culturally biased social behavior and political practice, for example by shaping awareness that social and political participation has a positive connotation, or by promoting an overall societal discourse.

¹⁰⁴ The concept *political culture* is used in a very general meaning, mostly as a term to describe the general relation and the way of exchange between state and society, and the type of social and political discourse within any given society. The term is used purely descriptively, not normatively.

¹⁰⁵ This process applies to a wide variety of problems that can only be approached through a public discourse: e.g. social problem or human rights issues.

Protest or adversary movements are characterized by their distinct approach or modus operandi, typically against e.g. construction projects, potential or actual pollution threats, or government policies. Their objectives reach far outside the domain and direct sphere of influence of their often small groups; therefore, they have to actively pursue their goals in the public domain, for instance in public meetings, meetings with politicians, bureaucrats, and citizens, and in many cases by using legal means. Protest and adversary groups do not only intend to change a certain status quo (e.g. a construction site, daily pollution emissions from a factory or waste incinerator, or plans for such constructions or policy proposals), but in many cases also aim at altering the (government) decision-making process altogether, e.g. by opening it to public scrutiny and improved access for ordinary citizens.

Nature protection movements might in some cases object the same pollution threats, but mostly, their objectives are broader (e.g. nature preservation in general or the preservation of specific natural sites or species), and their activity approach is mostly confined to objects and strategies that lie within the domain and direct sphere of influence of the activists of such organizations. If a nature protection movement has achieved a certain status due to its size or reputation, it certainly has the potential to influence the public sphere and ultimately, has also a certain degree of influence on the government decision-making process. However, in the Japanese case, the number of large-scale nature protection organizations is extremely small. Among the largest nature protection organizations are the Wildbird Society of Japan, the Worldwide Fund for Nature Japan, and the Nature Conservation Society of Japan.

Because of the relatively small individual membership of many single movement organizations in Japan, movement networks have been set up to provide either a coordinating framework on the local, prefectural, or national level; and they have in some cases been set up to coordinate and concentrate the movements overall influence on outside entities, e.g. the state or industrial bodies. These networks

have been considered important, because they can provide a first indication for a potential concentration process within the Japanese environmental movement, a movement that has long been characterized by its atomized overall movement structure.

The selection of representative movements and movement organizations in each of the above categories has been done by first getting a general idea about the movement which are active and of certain importance to the movement scene in the 1990s, and by then choosing those movements were considered to represent the most important characteristics. In the case of protest movements, the selection was not easy because in the mid to late 1990s, the author estimated that there are between fifty and one hundred single protest movements in all parts of Japan. The most prominent and persistent being those against the construction of River dams (e.g. Nagara River dam), against the construction and expansion of airports (e.g., the second runway at Narita International Airport, the New Kansai airport in Osaka, plans for a construction of a new airport in Kobe and on Okinawa, etc.), construction of new or expansion of existing waste processing plants (e.g., household and industrial waste landfills and incinerators), and the construction of roads or laying concrete at shorelines or along river beds. After sorting out the line of events and movement characteristics of about ten distinct protest movements, it appeared as if the protest movements against the construction of the Nagara River dam, and a protest movement network concerning the waste landfill problems, and a single movement against the construction of a second landfill and demanding the closure of the first landfill in Hinode-machi (Tokyo) were most suitable for a detailed introduction in the framework of this thesis.

As far as nature preservation movement organizations are concerned, the selection process was much easier, because it was decided that to be representative, the largest movement organizations should be introduced. These introductions are different in nature from those of the protest movements.

Whereas the former are general introductions of important characteristics and activity profiles of single movement organizations, the latter are introductions and analyses of the development of distinct cases of disputes. Among the nature protection movement organizations, the Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J) will be introduced in more detail, because this organization has proven to be particularly important and helpful for the development of the protest movements, and therefore for the broadening of citizens' participation.

Among the national movement networks, the selection was also not easy. The Earth-Day initiative will be introduced in more detail because together with the relatively new *Shimin Forum 2001* or Citizens' Forum 2001, it represents a new type of grass-roots-based network organizations, which the author considers most promising for the future development of the environmental movement. Returning to the central question of this study, these network movements appear to have the potential to broaden citizens participation in general and political affairs, by providing the model of politically moderate but democratically important network movements.

The following case studies will be introduced with special consideration to the three central steps of the development of environmental problems introduced by the sociologist John Hannigan (1995) that have been introduced in chapter 2.1.1. It has been mentioned that the sheer number of potential and actual environmental problems makes it important to query in what way environmental organizations recognize specific or more general environmental problems and how they transfer and contest them in the public arena. Hannigan elaborated these schemes and introduced them into the environmental sociology debate to illustrate how environmental problems are discovered, presented, and contested. His scheme provides a suitable tool to analyze environmental advocacy movements and assess their level of achievement and success. In introducing the following movement organizations and case studies of environmental protest movements, special attention will be given to the way the problems at stake have

been recognized, how they are presented within the groups and to the public, and how they are contested in the administrative, legal and political sphere. Particular areas of attention are therefore the foundation of the movement organization, the tactics and approaches applied, use of media and public forums, and the tools used to defend the claims and objectives.

One more important point should be raised here. The following case studies and description of events are in most parts very detailed and minute, and might first seem to mention too many trivial aspects of the movements, particularly in the case of the Anti-Nagara River Estuary Dam movement and the movement against the construction of a waste landfill in Hinode-machi (Tokyo). The author considered that a general and predominantly theoretical analysis of the cases studies would not be appropriate in the Japanese case, because (1) foreign readers might have difficulties in understanding why certain movements have not been successful despite applying most tenaciously so many of the same or similar approaches that have been used in Western contexts, and because (2) only a microscopic approach allows the reader to reach an independent conclusion and understand the often small but decisive differences between the Japanese setting of a protest movement and comparable case in many Western countries – in a situation where Western language reports are very rarely available if existing at all.

4.1 ENVIRONMENTAL PROTEST MOVEMENTS

4.1.1 The Movement against the Construction of the Nagara-gawa Dam

4.1.1.0 Introduction

The word “Nagara-gawa” has a very special connotation in Japan. Today, the name of the river is closely associated with the worst that Japanese politics and nature destruction has to offer. The Asian Wall Street Journal once called the Nagara River dam “one of the nation’s premier infrastructure boondoggles” (Hamilton and Hanabayashi, 18 April 1994). The history of the Nagara-gawa

estuary dam¹⁰⁶ from its first plans to its final construction and operation in 1995 includes bid rigging, intra-governmental pressure of government ministers, hunger strikes, and foreign pressure. This anti-construction movement has been and is still one of the most vigorous and active – however finally unsuccessful – citizens' protest movements in Japanese postwar history.

4.1.1.1 Chronology of the Nagara-gawa Estuary Dam Construction

Japan is home to a very large number of dams. As of 1994, the Ministry of Construction (MoC) had completed 358 dams, and an additional 326¹⁰⁷ were still in the construction or planning stage. The first plans to construct an estuary dam at the mouth of the Nagara River near Nagoya (see map in appendix) appeared in 1959. Among other reason, the plan was triggered by regular floods that had destroyed large parts of the lower land areas near the river, and by the severe flood wave in September 1959 caused by the Ise Bay typhoon disaster, the worst typhoon of this century, which caused the death of more than 5000 local residents. From January 1960¹⁰⁸, the MoC began to set up a construction bureau to develop a concrete plan for the construction¹⁰⁹. In November 1961, the government passed two important laws: the Water Resource Promotion Law and the Water Resource Public Corporation Law (*mizu shigen kaihatsu kôdanhô*). Based on the latter law, in May 1962 the MoC established the *Water Resources Development Public Corporation*¹¹⁰ (*mizu shigen kaihatsu kôdan*) or PWRDC, to plan

¹⁰⁶ If not otherwise indicated, in this chapter *dam* is used for the Nagara River Estuary Dam.

¹⁰⁷ Official figures published by the MoC in 1998 (River and Water Homepage of the Ministry of Construction).

¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of the high-economic growth period.

¹⁰⁹ The proposal for the construction of the Nagara dam in 1961 was drafted by the Chubu Regional Bureau of the Ministry of Construction in the “Nagara River Estuary Dam Plan”, revealed that the primary aim of the dam was not water and flood control or the protection of the population, but that it was considered necessary for the water supply for the industry in the area. The plan read: “In these documents, we propose the ‘Ise Bay Industrial Waterworks’ based on (the construction of) the Nagara River Estuary Dam as one of the fundamentally best methods (to secure) a future supply for the Ise Bay Coastal Industrial Complex” .

¹¹⁰ An affiliate of the National Land Agency, which controls dam construction projects.

and administer the construction of the dam at the site. The Kiso River Estuary Resource Investigating Commission (KST) (*Kiso san-gawa kakô shigen chôsadan*) which was set up in November 1963 to conduct preliminary research for the construction, issued the Basic Kiso River System Water Resources Plan in June 1965, which was passed by the cabinet in October 1968. The plan included (1) the construction of six dams¹¹¹ and other facilities in the Kiso river system, which could (2) deliver a combined industrial and municipal water supply for Aichi, Mie, and Gifu prefecture. The construction was scheduled for completion by the end of fiscal 1995. The estimated construction costs in 1985 were 150 billion Yen (ca. 1.2 billion Euro in 1999 terms).

In March 1973, the Construction Minister authorized the Nagara River Dam Construction Corporation to oversee the construction. After a number of flood incidents, for instance along the Tama River in 1974, and the collapse of the Nagara River shore dyke, which was caused by typhoon 17 and which spilled large amounts of Nagara River water into the town of Anpachi in Gifu prefecture, the governor of Gifu prefecture agreed in September 1978 to begin the construction of the Nagara River dam.

Soon after, fishing cooperatives in the region began to voice public concern about the potentially negative impact the dam might pose to fishing¹¹², so the MoC and the Water Resources Development Public Corporation (PWRDC) begun negotiations about alterations to the construction and possible damage compensation payments to the 22 fishermen's unions. In 1987, the MoC finally agreed to include a fish ladder into the dam¹¹³, and assured (by using pamphlets and even children's comics) the fishermen and the residents in the area that the dam would not have any negative effects on the fish population in the river.

¹¹¹ Among the six were the Iwaya Dam, Tokuyama Dam, and the Nagara River Dam.

¹¹² The Nagara River was a rich fishing ground for sweetfish (*ayu*) and corbicula (*shijimi*).

¹¹³ The fish ladder was supposed to allow sweetfish to ascend the river. Fish experts, however, soon expressed doubts if such a provision would be effective.

Subsequently, all fishing unions changed their mind and agreed to the dam construction, including the fishery cooperative Akasuka (Kuwana City) and three other fishery cooperatives from Mie prefecture, which had opposed the construction so far, in February 1988, suddenly agreed to its construction.

After the Water Resources Development Public Corporation had awarded the contract for construction to Kajima Corporation, Taisei Corporation, and Pent-Ocean Construction Co. Ltd., the construction of the dam began in September 1988. The situation seemed to change in late 1990. Due to the growing local and national opposition to the dam project, in November 1990, then Environmental Agency (EA) Director General Kitagawa Ishimatsu officially inspected the locale. Shortly thereafter, he rejected the Ministry of Construction's revised impact assessment as inadequate and wrote in his letter of opinion to the MoC: "further surveys and research are necessary to assess the impacts on the water quality and fish life"¹¹⁴. The MoC obviously was under pressure to show some understanding in this matter answered in an accommodating tenor: "If it is really necessary, we will cooperate with further surveys. However, we will not halt construction of the dam. You can do your research while we finish the dam"¹¹⁵. This was one of the very few times in Japanese postwar history that an Environmental Agency Director openly criticized policies and the decision rationale of other ministries. In the consultations between the ministries, Kitagawa Ishimatsu expressed doubts about the flood control and "mode of life" along the planned estuary dam. This triggered an angry response from MoC officials. During a cabinet meeting on December 26, 1990, Kitagawa requested the National Land Agency to reevaluate the water demand calculations, which had not been revised since 1985 and had widely been considered as overestimated. Construction Minister Watanuki, who obviously saw himself and

¹¹⁴ According to: (ATKINS 1991: 6).

¹¹⁵ Quoted in (ATKINS 1991: 6).

the MoC decisions seriously challenged by EA Director Kitagawa, warned Kitagawa with the words: “That’s none of your business” (ATKINS 1991).

Prime Minister Kaifu, who reportedly had some sympathies for the Environmental Agency's criticism of the project, was not in any position to challenge the powerful MoC and the influential industrial interests connected with the construction; he was eventually even forced to reshuffle the cabinet and appointed Kazuo Aichi as new EA Director. In June 1993, the Asahi Shinbun printed an investigative article in which it revealed that major contractors for the construction of the dam, namely Taisei Corporation and Kajima Corporation had been involved in bid rigging for the contracts¹¹⁶, which explained why the Japanese government and particularly the MoC was vehemently opposed to any alteration or abolition of the construction plans.

4.1.1.2 The First Movement

The first residents' movement that was set up shortly after the basic plan was passed by the government in 1968. In 1974, it managed to file a lawsuit against the construction that was signed and supported by more than 26,000 residents (many of those were members of the valley's fishery cooperative) and is often referred to as the “first movement”¹¹⁷. However, support for the opposition movement crumbled soon after because a series of floods destroyed large areas of land and strengthened dam supporters who argued that the dam would prevent further floods. The governor of Gifu finally approved the construction in 1978, which “dealt a devastating blow to the movement” (THE SOCIETY AGAINST THE NAGARA RIVER ESTUARY DAM CONSTRUCTION 1995: 10). As a result, the number of supporters decreased rapidly and forced the residents to withdraw the lawsuit in 1981. Only a year later, however, in April 1982, the

¹¹⁶ Asahi Evening News, June 25, 1993.

¹¹⁷ A short chronology of the Case and the activities of the anti-construction movement can be found in: (THE SOCIETY AGAINST THE NAGARA RIVER ESTUARY DAM CONSTRUCTION 1995).

residents of the river basin filled a second lawsuit demanding the suspension of the dam project at the Gifu District Court¹¹⁸.

4.1.1.3 The Second Movement

After the contracts with the developers had been signed in March 1988, and the construction of the dam was imminent, in June 1988, the photographer and outdoor sports writer Amano Reiko and a friend of hers, the photographer Takagura Ken, founded the “Society against the Nagara River Estuary Dam” (*Nagara-gawa kakōzeki kensetsu ni hantai suru kai*). Because they were famous writers with a large network of famous friends, their commitment and opinions were taken very seriously by the media, society, and by ministry officials. Their engagement gave the movement a new and strong impetus. In March 1988, Amano Reiko and Taguchi Shigeo had announced in an article in the weekly magazine *Shūkan gendai* that the “The Nagara River is in danger” (“*Nagara-gawa ga abuna?*”). After construction had begun, anti-construction movements were founded all over Japan. In August 1988, Kaikō Ken became the chairperson of the “opposition group” (*hantai suru kai*).

Major Activities of this Citizens’ Movement

The anti-Nagara-River Dam movement adopted an extraordinary wide spectrum of activities and approaches in order achieve their goal of preventing the construction of the estuary dam, from public events like conferences, demonstrations and protest rallies, private watch and research activities, to filing lawsuits, contacting and cooperating with important politicians, negotiations and round-table discussions with public officials and ministers, and individual activities of the most prominent movement leaders such as hunger strikes. These activities will be introduced in more detail in the following paragraphs.

¹¹⁸ This lawsuit was rejected by the Gifu District Court 12 years later, in July 1994. See description of second lawsuit later in this chapter.

Conferences and Demonstrations

Citizens' movements, which aim at protecting rivers, lakes, and marshes, have been organizing citizen's conferences at least once a year, around 1993 and 1994 even more often. Since its beginnings in 1987, the protest movements against the Nagara River Dam have often participated in those conferences and explained their situation and the problems of river development in many other places in Japan. One example was the national NGO Conference on the Protection of the Environment of Lakes and Marshes¹¹⁹ in Itako-cho (Ibaraki prefecture) in October 1995, with participants from Japan, Russia, and the Philippines. Members of the Nagara movements demanded greater openness and an open review process of public works projects in general.

Since 1988, the Anti-Nagara River Dam movements organized a large number of conferences and open protest demonstrations. Following are some of the most important events. In May 1988 as well as in May 1989, the anti-movement organized the first symposium in Gujô-gun Yahata-cho (Gifu prefecture) and a canoe demonstration. In May 1990, a demonstration and a symposium with over 5000 participants was held in Tokyo, and in April 1991, the protest group held their first "Nagara River Day" near the dam site in which about 5000 participants took part. The event also included a land and a canoe-demonstration right in front of the dam gates. In October 1991, 8000 people took part in a demonstration in Tokyo. In the same month, a symposium with a demonstration was held in Nagashima-cho. In addition, in April 1992, the movement organized another symposium and a demonstration in Tokyo. October 1992 was a special month with a great number of events to shape awareness. The residents' movement held an international conference in Nagashima-cho (Mie-prefecture) with participants from the US and Europe where the organizers were particularly proud to have the US-American nature protection activist David Brower of the

¹¹⁹ This conference held between 20 and 23 October 1995 was organized by the "Citizen Conference to improve Lake Kazumigaura" (*kazumigaura wo yoku suru shimin renraku kaigi*).

Earth Island Institute and co-founder of the Sierra Club participate¹²⁰. They also held the “Nagara River World Action Day” with reportedly 12,000 participants, and later that month, 62 opposition groups from all over Japan and the “World Action Day” executive committee formed the new national organization called “Citizens’ Conference to Stop the Construction of the Nagara River Estuary Dam” (*Nagara-gawa kakōzeki wo yamesaseru shimin kaigi*)¹²¹.

Hunger Strikes, Negotiations and Protest Rallies

In November 1992, the protest movement took the protest towards a new level with a hunger strike of its leader Amano Reiko. After she had endured her hunger strike near the dam site for 19 days, the Ministry if Construction (MoC) agreed to start its first official negotiation with the Citizens’ Conference to Stop the Construction of the Nagara River Estuary Dam. The MoC had agreed to these negotiations only under the conditions that they would take place behind closed doors, that nothing would be taped or otherwise recorded. (Until 1994, these negotiations took place four times).

Despite the ongoing negotiations, in 1993 the Water Resources Development Public Corporation went on with the first test of the gate, which then triggered a large number of protests marches, demonstration, and other events to protest the dam. In October 1993, the protest movement organized a demonstration near the dam called *Inquire the Rivers of Japan* (*Nippon no kawa wo tō*) with about 10,000 participants. In February 1994, the *Citizens' Conference* organized another large conference in Tokyo’s Kudan Hall, followed in April 1994 by a demonstration rally against the expected test and closing of the gates (for 10 days) including the obstructing of the gates with small boats, and then a month later by another canoe demonstration at six places in different parts of Japan,

¹²⁰ David Brower later wrote an article about his trip to support the anti-Nagara River Dam movement .

¹²¹ (*Nagara-gawa kakōeki wo yamesaseru shimin kaigi* [The Citizens' Conference to stop the Nagara River Dam Construction] 1994: 29).

among others near the dam site of Nagara River and Yoshino River, another dam construction project that had triggered severe citizen protest.

In 1995, Amano Reiko staged a second hunger strike after then construction minister Nosaka had announced his decision to start operation of the dam. From June 13, 1995, she was seated in front of the MoC in Kasumigaseki to urge the reversal of the decision to start operating the dam. For Amano, this hunger strike was not just a media campaign for a couple of days, she appeared very serious and seemed as if she was almost ready to die. After 19 days of strike, doctors in a hospital insisted that she should stop the strike because of serious health risks¹²², but she went on for another five days before she lost consciousness and was brought into a hospital. Minister of Construction Nosaka refused to talk with her during her strike and did not even hesitate to close the gates of the Nagara River Dam on 7 July, the day Amano was brought to the hospital for the first time. Although the hunger strike nearly killed Amano Reiko, it had virtually no impact on the decision-making process of the Ministry of Construction.

In September 1996, the *Citizens' Conference* organized another “*International Nagara River Dam Summit*” (14. - 16. September 1996) in Kuwana-gun (Mie prefecture) in the vicinity of the dam itself, with about 300 participants from China, the UK, the USA, and Japan. The topic of this summit was the worldwide problem of dam projects and their negative effect on the environment (including the large dam projects in the PR China). The international summit that was co-organized by the “International Rivers Network” turned out to be a forum for international pressure on the PWRDC. A number of highly renowned international experts spoke about the environmental problems of dams. The former president of the US Home Office Pioneering Bureau who was in charge of river administration, Daniel Biard, and the environmentalist and honorary chairman of the

¹²² Amano Reiko suffers from a circulatory problem with the left half of her brain.

“International Rivers Network”, Philip Williams, explained that the US had changed their water management policies drastically in recent years, and that constructing new dams had turned out to be much more expensive than saving and reusing water, therefore the US had abandoned a large number of dam projects. Daniel Biard had declared this change of policy by announcing “the age of dam construction has ended”. By disclosing water consumption information and all related data to the public, it became clear that the maintenance of dams had been far more expensive than formerly estimated; therefore citizens participation and a breakup of the information dominance of large corporations was soon considered to be the most important prerequisites for a change of water management (AS: September 14, 1996; September 15, 1996). These two points, an (1) increased level of water reuse and the (2) disclosure of information, was particularly important for the Japanese anti-dam groups, because that was exactly what was perceived to be lacking in Japan. As most anti-dam events near the Nagara dam, the “summit” was concluded with a large demonstration with 3000 participants, including 500 in canoes on the Nagara River in front of the dam site, in order to attract media attention and to underpin their determination to continue the conflict.

Private Research Activities

One day before the House of Councilors Election on June 6, 1995, the opposition citizens' movements set up a so-called “investigation committee” to observe the changes at the Nagara River dam site and to measure the environmental impact in cooperation with scientists. The group announced their foundation in Tokyo's governmental district Nagata-cho and stressed that they would “observe the river until the gates would be removed” (AS: July 5, 1995). During their inaugural phase, the group's aims were openly supported by the former EA Director General Ôishi Buichi, the parliamentary Vice Minister for Education, Okazaki Tomiko of the SDPJ, and Diet member Takami Yûichi (Shinto Sakigake).

The first public research and observation event was organized in November 1995 and called “Nagara River Watch Day” (*Nagara-gawa kanshi dē*). The event was once again dominated by a canoe demonstration with more than 500 participants, and an appeal by the more than 2000 participants. The time and date of this event had been announced in a short article in the Asahi Shinbun (Nagoya Edition) one day in advance¹²³. Only one day before the event, a researcher at the Gifu University (Department of Education) Katsunori Yamaichi, who had privately led the study project “Investigation Committee on the creatures living downstream the Nagara River” covering the environmental impact of the dam construction, published his central findings; namely that the “environment deteriorates because of the Nagara River dam”¹²⁴ due to the piling up of colloidal sediment¹²⁵.

The private and independent research group “*kawahibarigai* research group” started a research project on the water quality and the biological condition of the Nagara River in June 1994 (AS: June 4, 1994). Nevertheless, EA Director General Hamayotsu Toshiko said in a meeting of the House of Representatives Environmental Committee that she would observe the investigation of the MoC but that the Environmental Agency had no plans to conduct a separate investigation. In the following years, before and after the dam had begun operating in 1995, a number of citizens’ organizations investigated the water quality of the river, and the impact of the dam on the wildlife (fish and birds). All of them came to the conclusion that the dam had had a substantially negative impact on the local environment¹²⁶.

¹²³ The event was held on 5 November 1995, but the Asahi Shinbun carried a short introduction in its 4 November edition, although only in Nagoya.

¹²⁴ Yamauchi said: "kakōzeki de kankyō ga akka shita" (AS: November 4, 1995).

¹²⁵ Yamauchi had found many corpses of Yamato corbicula.

¹²⁶ See: AS: September 21, 1995, September 3, 1995, January 31, 1996, March 3, 1996, March 26, 1996, May 29, 1996. A report by fishermen about decreasing number of fish in AS: June 21, 1996.

The Three Court Cases

Soon after the first lawsuit that had been filed by 26,000 fishermen in 1973 at the Gifu District Court (see: first movement) and been withdrawn in 1981, in April 1982 20 Gifu prefecture residents filed a new lawsuit with the Gifu District Court against the Water Resources Development Public Corporation (PWRDC) demanding prohibition of the dam construction. The plaintiffs argued that the dam was not necessary, that safety measures had not been sufficient, and most importantly, that the planned dam would certainly have a negative impact on the local environment and the river's ecosystem¹²⁷. More than 12 years later, in June 1994, when construction of the dam was almost finished, the District Court¹²⁸ rejected the appeal and upheld the claim by the PWRDC that the dam was "necessary". The court ruled that the "*Construction of the dam will serve the public interest in terms of flood control and water usage*"¹²⁹ and that it had found no safety flaws in the project. Although the plaintiffs had lost the lawsuit and were disappointed, the lawsuit had forced the Ministry of Construction's River Bureau to disclose a great number of documents on flood control, water usage and the environment, which the citizens' movements would not have got otherwise. A few days later (June 28, 1994), twelve members of the original group of plaintiffs filed an appeal with the Nagoya High Court.

Only one year before, on March 30, 1993, seven fishermen from Kuwana-gun (Mie prefecture) had also filed a lawsuit against the PWRDC, demanding provisional disposition and to appeal in favor of a discontinuation of construction and payment of compensation for the decreased fishing harvest due to the Nagara River Dam, at the Tsuchi District Court, Yokkaichi branch.

¹²⁷Both sides argued in the following way: Plaintiffs: Argued that (1) damage from sea water could otherwise be prevented, (2) the dam would cause water levels to rise, and (3) the dam would damage the environment and prevent sweetfish and trout from swimming upstream. The PWRDC simply argued that appropriate flood measures had been taken, and that a fish ladder would allow fish to swim upstream.

¹²⁸ Presiding judge was Hidaka Chiyuki announced the ruling on June 19, 1994.

¹²⁹ Asahi Evening News: July 20, 1994.

The fishermen argued that the dam should not be constructed as long as the financial compensation provisions for the fishermen had not been settled. The PWRDC, however, replied in their statement that, “*when construction of the dam started in 1988, the PWRDC had obtained the agreement of the 22 fishery cooperatives*” (AS: March 31, 1993).

Revision of the Public Works Control Law

The Nagara River dam citizens' movement was never a one-issue movement; the leadership rapidly realized that the Nagara River dam was only one dam among more than 300 (!) dam projects, and that residents had organized protest against those dam constructions at many sites. Therefore, they considered the reform of the “Public Works Control Law” as one of their central demands, for that reason their leaders frequently met with supportive Diet members. For the most part, support came from the SDPJ, the JCP, Shinto Sakigake, and after its foundation in fall 1996 particularly from the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ). In November 1995, the “NGO Association to request the investigation of needless public works projects such the construction of dams and large-scale woodland paths” (*Damu ya daikiba rindō fuhitsuyo-na kōkyō no chekku wo tomeru NGO no kai*) had organized a symposium¹³⁰ in Tokyo (27.11.95) in order to get the attention of supportive Diet members. Nevertheless, in order to achieve this far more general goal, the anti-construction movements had to establish closer relations and to some extent a partnership with sympathetic Diet members and prefectural politicians. This network building had already begun many years earlier.

In May 1988, the governors of Shimane and Tottori prefecture decided to freeze the Nakaumi Shinji Lake fresh water production plan. This was the first time in postwar history that residents' protest had been successful in halting a major

¹³⁰ The symposium was organized by two movement organizations, one that opposed woodland road construction, the "Nationwide Large-scale Woodland Path Problem Network" (*daikiba rindō mondai zenkoku nettowāku*), and organization against large-scale dam projects, the "Head of the River Development Problem Nationwide Contact Association" (*suigen batten mondai zenkoku renrakukai*).

water management construction project. In July 1988, the Ministry for Agriculture, Farming, and Fishery (MAFF) formally decided freezing the Nakaumi Shinji Lake fresh water production plan.

In December 1989, a few Diet members that opposed the construction of the Nagara River Dam were successful in setting up a cross-party “Committee to Discuss the Nagara River Estuary Dam Problem” (*Nagara-gawa kakōzeki mondai kataru kai*) in the Diet. As a result of their one year long consultations with fellow Diet members, in December 1990, about one third of all Diet members (Lower and Upper House) - 259 members - signed a petition demanding Prime Minister Kaifu to discontinue the Nagara River Dam construction. The vote was essential for the dam opponents; it signified that they were supported by a very large opposition group even within the Japanese Diet (AS: December 15, 1990). It was not openly reported from which parties the opponents came, however, it was assumed that the great majority came from the opposition parties, but that about 10 signatures came from LDP members and supporters of the former EA Director General Kijiraoka (AS: December 15, 1990), who had openly criticized the rationale of the project.

In November 1990, shortly before the widely supported petition by the Diet members, then Environmental Agency Director General Kitagawa Ishimatsu inspected the locale. Nevertheless, it was only in October 1991, that the Environmental Committee of the House of Councilors became the first group of Diet members who inspected the Nagara River Dam site. In an answer to a question raised in the Diet in November 1991, the Ministry of Construction had to admit that the potential salt damage would not occur in Nagashima-cho, hence contradicting the long held central argument of the ministry. An essential reason for the construction of the dam was therefore no longer valid.

In April 1992, the Ministry of Construction (MoC) and the Water Resources Development Public Corporation (PWRDC) published the result of an

investigation that had originally been ordered by former Environmental Agency Director General Kitagawa. In essence, the results of the report outline that, after some modifications, the dam would not have any negative impact on the environment and that it was therefore considered to be “generally acceptable” (*ōmune daijōbu*). The Environmental Agency confirmed these investigation results on the same day. At this point in time, the Environmental Agency had clearly given up to draft any counter policy proposals, which were most likely blocked by the then EA Secretary General Kitagawa.

However, because the new results fundamentally contradicted those of the environmental impact assessment conducted by the Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J)¹³¹ only one month prior, the mass media began to openly cast doubts about the results of the MoC study and began to criticize the Environmental Agency's. In March 1993, the National Land Agency announced a review of the Kiso River System Resource Development Plan, including a re-evaluation of the water demand calculations, which were still based on the data from the mid 1980s. In August 1993, the LDP had lost the Lower House elections and Igarashi Hirozo of the SDPJ, who was one of the signatories to oppose the dam construction, became the new construction minister. This change of government triggered great hope among the protest movements because it was always the LDP who had made the decisions on the dam project and had pushed it through despite opposition from many sides. Amano Reiko expressed great expectations and suggested in her talks that the beginning of the operation of the dam (which was scheduled for 1995) could finally be prevented.

In April 1994, members of the “Society against the Nagara River Estuary Dam Construction” under the leadership of Amano Reiko met with construction minister Igarashi and other officials in the ministry's headquarters in Tokyo. Because the construction of the dam was almost finished, the MoC had plans to

¹³¹ See also section 4.2.1.

temporarily close the gates¹³² for testing. However, the first meetings did not proceed as favorably as expected, because EA Secretary General Igarashi only asked for understanding for the tests, and stressed the democratic process and that local residents had been involved in the investigative committee for the closing test¹³³. The only compromise the opposition group representatives could achieve was a shortening of the closing time to four to five days, but not the requested postponement of the test for a year.

The Round Table Discussion

In face of the growing critique from all sides, the Ministry of Construction in late 1994 (in the last year of construction) proposed to start formal talks between representatives of the Chubu Regional Bureau of the MoC, the PWRDC, the general contractors, and members of the opposition movements, including researchers, lawyers and Diet members. The representatives organized three open meetings in November 1994. In those meetings, the opposition groups requested among others to include a number of items into the MoC's river investigation project. They also questioned the fact-finding commission, and requested the release of certain information and data. Although they did not achieve their main target, namely to abandon the tests of the gates, they gained one concession, namely that the "gates would be raised immediately if the oxygen content went below 3ppm during the test, the inclusion of seismologists on the commission, and the addition of full studies on geological faults in the area" (THE SOCIETY AGAINST THE NAGARA RIVER ESTUARY DAM CONSTRUCTION 1995: 11). On December 12, 1994, the talks were stalled and Minister of Construction Nosaka visited the site and talked with groups that both opposed and supported the dam. During a meeting of the *Citizens' Coalition*

¹³² The Nagara River dam is a construction that spans the whole span of the Nagara river. It has about ten large gates, which can be opened and closed by lifting them out of the water or by lowering them into the river water. After the dam constructed had been concluded, the gates, it was decided that the gates should be closed for a one-year test in order to study its effects on the marine environment, as well as its full functionality in the event of floods.

¹³³ Amano Reiko was the representative for the residents' group.

to Stop the Construction of Nagara River Estuary Dam (Citizens' Coalition¹³⁴), it was agreed that further talks should be based on the principles developed in the talk in the Narita Airport dispute¹³⁵, namely “consensus-based binding arbitration”. The *Citizens' Conference* wanted to ensure that the process would be fair and suggested to the Ministry of Construction the selection of a “neutral facilitator/arbitrator by equal numbers of representatives from both sides and that all decisions are made by full consensus” (*ibid*: 12). The ministry, however, did not agree to these suggestions.

On 28 December, the *Citizens' Coalition* proposed to construction minister Nosaka, professor emeritus of Tokyo University, Uzawa Hirofumi¹³⁶, as candidate for chairman for the round table discussion, and additionally requested that decision would be made by majority of the round table members instead of full consensus. Shortly after, the proponents of the dam, namely the representatives of the thirteen cities and towns in Gifu prefecture, which made up the *Nagara River Estuary Dam Link City Conference*, and its chairman went to the Ministry of Construction and complained about the possibility of a renewed delay in the construction. The chairman insisted that the towns near the Nagara River could not endure any more delays; he expressed his dissatisfaction with the minister of construction and repeated that all reasons to build the dam were still valid (flood control, etc.). Amano Reiko of the *Citizens' Conference* had also gone to Tokyo and insisted on their proposal to make Uzawa Hirofumi chairman of the round table talks, and that despite opposition from the cities the talks should be conducted in the way formerly proposed (“Narita style”). Ministry of Construction (MoC) representatives now played down the acceptance of real

¹³⁴ Citizens' Coalition will henceforth be used for the Citizens' Coalition to Stop the Construction of the Nagara River Estuary Dam, or nagara gawa kakōseki wo zamesaseru shimin kaigi.

¹³⁵ The Narita airport round table talks had been concluded after 25 years of dispute between local residents and the MoC.

¹³⁶ Uzawa Hirofumi was an economist at Tokyo University and one of the very few outspoken critics of "auto mobilization" in Japan. See: (McCormack 1995: 31).

round table talks, which Nosaka had made in December in a news conference. They now insisted that the minister preferred talks between the MoC, researchers of the investigation committee, and members of the opposition groups. Finally, the minister of construction did not agree to the provision that a third party would join the talks and be given the authority to make a final decision, as was the case in the round-table talks on the expansion of Narita airport, but that he would preserve the right to make a final decision after he had heard all the arguments.

The round-table talks between promotion and opposition groups started on March 12, 1995 in Kuwana-gun (Mie prefecture). Among the 16 participants¹³⁷ were the local mayors, the researchers who had conducted the environmental assessment survey, representatives of the MoC, and representatives of the *Citizens' Conference* under the leadership of Amano Reiko. Because they were still very much under the impression of the Great Hanshin Earthquake of January 1995, their first issue was the earthquake safety of the dam. In the three meetings that followed during the month of March, the topics were the (1) impact on the environment, (2) salt damage, and (3) the calculations of the water demand and supply.

After the proponents and opponents of the dam construction had met for only three times in March 1995 without reaching any agreement. Minister of Construction Nosaka Koken decided on 28 March 1995 that he wanted to conclude the talks as scheduled by the end of March, but - something which can be interpreted as a small concession to the opposition group - wanted to continue the environmental impact assessment research until May and make a final decision by about 20 May. The participants of the opposition group were naturally very disappointed and demanded a continuation of the talks, since too

¹³⁷ Members were: Six scholars of the investigation committee, one representative of the local towns and cities, one member of the local proponent citizens' group, three members of the MoC and the PWRDC, and five members of the local citizens opposition group.

many problems and questions had not been settled. The minister of construction then agreed to a continuation of the round-table talks throughout April.

On April 12, 1995, the Ministry of Construction Chubu branch and the Regional Water Resources Development Public Corporation Chubu branch published their final environmental impact assessment report, which came to the conclusion that there were “no special problem(s)”¹³⁸ concerning the construction of the dam. Hence, this report did not differ from the interim report that had been published in January 1995.

After eight sessions of the round-table talks¹³⁹, on May 22, 1995, the SDPJ Minister of Construction Nosaka announced his final decision to approve operation of the dam, which then went into full operation a day later on 23 May. This was not entirely unexpected by the opposition groups, but they nevertheless reacted with great disappointment and felt betrayed. Even two SDPJ construction ministers, of whom one was an outspoken opponent of the dam when the SDPJ was in opposition (Igarashi Kozo), did not have the power and stamina to reverse a decision that had been made almost 30 years earlier by a LDP government, even though the rationale of the entire decision had been shown to be no longer valid by experts and residents alike.

Most daily newspapers had a critical stance towards the project and now condemned the minister and the new government alike for not standing up to their promises (see chapter 4.1.1.5, esp. p. 95-98). When the final decision was made, an editorial in the Mainichi Daily News¹⁴⁰ commented, “Nosaka lacked the will to open up new horizons like the one in the case of the Narita Airport round-table conference which successfully led to a compromise”¹⁴¹. Because the

¹³⁸ The report literally said: "*tokubetsu na mondai wa nakatta*". (AS: May 13, 1995).

¹³⁹ The sessions took place on: 12.3., 26.3., 27.3., 30.3., 13.4., 15.4., 16.4., 22.4., , (all in 1995).

¹⁴⁰ The English language edition of the Mainichi Shinbun.

¹⁴¹ Mainichi Daily News: May 24, 1995.

round-table talks had forced the MoC and the river administration bureau to reveal formerly unpublished data about the dam and its impact on the riverbed and the water flow, the Mainichi Daily News (MDN) concluded that the “round table has proven meaningful at least in making the Construction Ministry and the Water Resources Corporation depart from their tight secrecy and make public information related to environmental assessment” (*ibid*:). The rather conservative Yomiuri Shinbun agreed with the MDN and wrote in an editorial, the “series of meetings...*(were)* useful in settling the disputes by airing a wide range of opinions. What we cannot help but feel that the meetings were less successful than a similar series of talks that led to a final settlement of the dispute over New Tokyo International (Narita) Airport (...) the ministry must listen to a wide range of opinions from people concerned”¹⁴².

4.1.1.4 Support and Media Attention

Support from Political Parties

In January 1994, the SDPJ members of the Upper House environmental commission had expressed their preference for a discontinuation of the dam construction after members had visited the dam construction site¹⁴³. The members outlined their decision in a press conference in which they demanded the formation of a commission independent of the MoC to review the environmental impact and the formation of a sub-committee in the House of Councilors (AS: January 6, 1994). The JCP even proposed in 1996 to demolish the dam in the future (AS: February 20, 1996).

After the dam had been in operation for over one year, Kan Naoto¹⁴⁴, then the co-chairman of the Democratic Party of Japan, visited the dam site for the first

¹⁴² Yomiuri Shinbun: May 23, 1994. Reprinted on May 24, 1995 in the English language *The Daily Yomiuri*.

¹⁴³ Inspection tour (AS: January 5, 1994).

¹⁴⁴ Kan Naoto had been Health and Welfare Minister in the first Hashimoto cabinet between 1996 and 1997. He became famous when he forced ministry officials to search for official ministry documents that would prove the responsibility of the Ministry of Health and

time in February 1997 together with the chairman of the House of Representatives Environment Committee Satô Kenichiro. During his visit, he called the Nagara River dam a “symbol for uselessness” (*muda no shôchô*) and stressed the need for a comprehensive administrative reform. Kan spoke unusually openly (according to Japanese political standards); and in a news conference he expressed his opinion that public works in Japan was a way to distribute money and closely connected with political corruption and the reason for severe environmental destruction. He was not sure whether a change of the Public Works Control Act (*kôkyô kotowaza kontorôru hôan*) alone would change the situation, but he wanted to encourage a revision of the law. He promised that the Democratic Party would submit a Public Works Control Act in addition to the Administration Inquiry Law (*gyôsei kanshin hôan*).

In April 1997, the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) submitted a “River Law Partial Amendment Bill” (*kasen hô no ichibunkaisei tsukue*) which supposed to broaden citizen (and NGO) participation in the decision making process for river construction projects (AS: April 26, 1997). It was intended to be a counter balance against the predominance of the bureaucracy. This DP proposal was a counter proposal against the government initiated River Law Amendment Bill (*kasen hô no kaisei tsukue*), submitted on 25 May 1997. The DP proposal had been deliberated and drafted in close cooperation with NGOs. In March, party representatives had met with more than 300 representatives from more than 37 NGOs from all parts of Japan, the first time in Japanese history that a bill was

Welfare (MHW) in the Aids scandal that had surfaced shortly before he had become minister. After only a few days and through his severe pressure on the bureaucrats, the relevant papers were found and proved that the ministry knew about the risk that certain blood samples that were imported from the USA could have been disseminated by the Aids virus. In the 1980s, almost one thousand hemophiliacs were infected with HIV and most of them later developed full-blown Aids. MHW minister Kan proved the ministry's responsibility, publicly apologized on behalf of the Japanese government, and set up a fund so that the surviving victims would get financial aid from the government. Kan Naoto became one of the most famous and popular politicians in Japan. In September 1996, he founded the Democratic Party together with Hatoyama Ichiro. Kan is one of the very few politicians who came into politics through his activity in citizens' movements.

thoroughly deliberated with citizens outside the political party¹⁴⁵. The DPJ submitted the new bill on May 4, 1997. Individual and groups of Democratic Party Diet Members repeatedly visited the dam site and talked with opponent groups¹⁴⁶.

In July 1997, a symposium titled “Thinking about the damage and the Current State” was held in Kuwana-gun near the dam site. It was sponsored by the “NGO Association to Request the Control of Public Works” and the “Association of the Assembly Member to achieved Public Works Control” (Diet members).

Support from Researchers

The activities of the citizens’ movements were also frequently supported by individual natural scientists and scientific association. In 1988, fish scientists submitted a very pessimistic report about the potentially negative impact of the Nagara dam to the Ministry of Construction. However, these doubts were not included into the MoC and PWRDC first assessment report. In May 1989, the Japan Ichthyology Association submitted a request to the construction minister, demanding the discontinuation of the construction of the Nagara River dam.

In April 1990, the “Association of Researchers who think about Nagara River Estuary Dam Problem” had its inauguration meeting. On September 18, 1990, the Nagashima Research Group sent an open letter to the governor of Mie Prefecture and the mayors of Kuwana City and Nagashima-cho in which they expressed great concern about the potential flood danger of a dam. In October 1990, two other research institutions, the “Japanese Land and Water Academy” and the “Japanese Ichthyology Association” stated in a letter of appeal to the Ministry of Construction their opposition to the dam and requested the

¹⁴⁵ The group that meet on 25 March 1997 was named "NGO meeting" (*NGO no kai*).

¹⁴⁶ For instance in June 1998, when a group of DP members of Diet visited the Nagara dam site (AS: June 16, 1998).

discontinuation of its construction. In April 1991, during their annual conference the *Japanese Ecological Society* adopted a resolution demanding a “temporary discontinuation of the estuary dam construction” and the “the execution of an overall environmental assessment”. And in June 1992, more than 2200 university researchers from Tōkai, Mie Prefecture requested the execution of a new environmental assessment and the discontinuance of the construction of the estuary dam, and submitted their letter in Nagoya to the heads of the three prefectures Aichi, Mie and Gifu.

The Nagara River Problem in the Media

After the Nature Conservation Association of Japan (NASC-J) had released their report and the open letter to the MoC and the Water Resources Development Public Corporation (PWRDC) in September 1990, critical editorials appeared in all major newspapers. In December 1991, a NHK opinion polls revealed, that more than 70% of the valley’s residents opposed the construction of the dam. In April 1992, the mass media criticized the Environmental Agency for accepting the results of the MoC environmental assessment, which fundamentally contradicted the results published by the NASC-J in March 1992.

In June 1993, the Asahi Shinbun printed an investigative article in which it revealed that major contractors for the Nagara River Dam construction, namely Taisei Corp. and Kajima Corp., had been involved in bid rigging for the contracts (AEN: June 25, 1993). In December 1993, a scoop article in the Asahi Shinbun (AS: December 7, 1993) revealed that the Ministry of Construction did not have sufficient data about dredging, the flow capacity of the Nagara River and the flood control measures in 1988, when construction began¹⁴⁷. The articles illustrated that the calculations of the Ministry of Construction had been based on entirely different models and data in 1988 and in 1992, when data were published for the first time. Only ten days later, on 12 December, members of

¹⁴⁷ The article was based on internal data from the MoC.

the environment commission of the two political parties Nihon Shinto and Shinto Sakigake and local members of the Diet demanded in a meeting of the *Committee of Applications for Review* that (a) even when the construction of the dam was scheduled to be concluded, in March 1995, not a single gate should be closed, (b) no water should be taken from the river, and (c) they proposed a review for future decisions processes of such large scale public works projects (AS: December 16, 1993).

This investigative report in the Asahi Shinbun was followed by an exceptionally critical editorial in the Asahi Shinbun of December 24, 1993. In it, its author praised the position of the new construction minister Igarashi who supported a review of the project, thereby distancing himself from Prime Minister Hosokawa who had assured the Diet that the construction would be continued. This was considered a “big leap” from past governments. “Once a large-scale public works project gets underway, it is common for government ministries and agencies to proceed with budgetary requests and construction work, turning their backs to changes in social and economic situations since the project (began)”. The editorial also stressed the changes in water demand in Mie prefecture, and the growing opposition even from the local chapter of the LDP, outlined the position of the residents who opposed the dam, and criticized the government’s stubbornness in this case: “there is no denying that the reluctance of government officials to listen to residents’ doubts and anxieties and disclose information on the project has further complicated the issue”. The writer demanded additional research on the project and concluded the editorial with the hope that the “Nagara River dam issue will be the first step to establish a mechanism to fairly and effectively review large scale public construction projects”,¹⁴⁸.

¹⁴⁸ The editorial was published in the Asahi Shinbun on 24 December 1993, and reprinted in the English language Asahi Evening News on 29 December 1993. Quotations here are taken from the English language version.

The investigative reporting particularly of the Asahi Shinbun has been very important in the development of the residents' opposition movement. The two largest scoops (bid rigging in June 1993, and the insufficient data of the MoC in December 1993) gave fresh and important arguments to the residents' groups and worsened the public image of the project, that of the MoC and the contracted companies, and brought wide-ranging sympathies to the residents and strengthened their support.

Media Coverage

Until the end of the 1980s, there were almost no articles about the Nagara River Dam Problem in the news media. The problem and the protest of the citizens began to appear in the newspapers only in the early 1990s, hence after the second movement had been set up in June 1988 under the auspices of Amano Reiko and Takamura Ken.

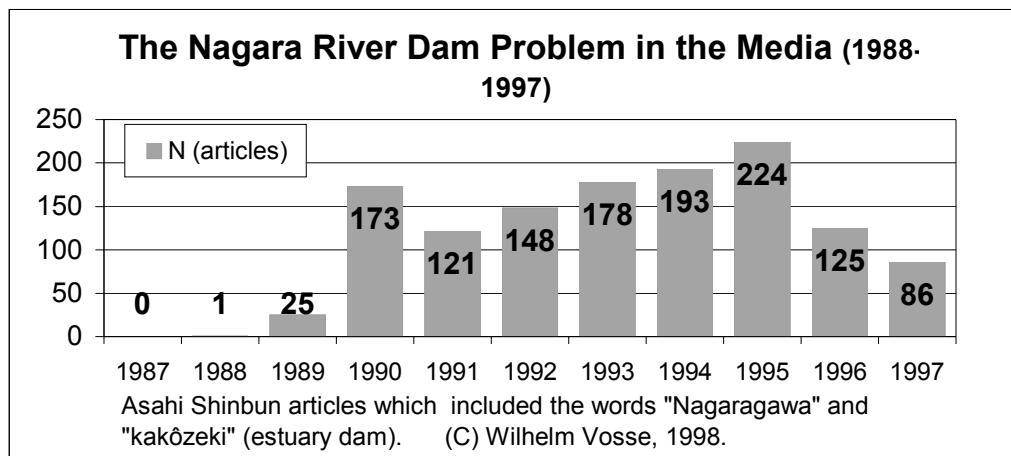


Figure 1 Nagara River Dam Problem in the Media

Most daily newspapers have not only covered the progress and the criticism of the dam project in their reports, they have also expressed serious doubts about the necessity of the dam, its negative impact on the environment, and the way the MoC disregarded the voices of the dam opponents and the warnings of many experts of renowned nature conservation organizations and other - even official - research institutions.

Examples are the editorial in the Asahi Shinbun, which was perhaps the most outspoken media voice against the dam and the MoC's policies. After the dam was in full scale operation for one year in May 1996, the Asahi Shinbun published an editorial condemning the worsening water quality which had caused the number of fish to decrease sharply, and that MoC calculations about the use of water delivered by the dam were by far too high, so that the three benefiting prefectures would not even have use for one third of the water provided. The editorial concluded that it was regrettable that such meaningless and dangerous construction projects could not even be brought to an end today (AS: May 22, 1996). Other newspapers have complained about the MoC's unwillingness to reconsider a decision it had taken almost thirty years earlier. The Ehime Shinbun criticized the government, saying that "a large-scale public works project, once it is approved by the government, stays the course, no matter how the economic and social situation changes. Political incompetence and bureaucratic resistance stands in the way"¹⁴⁹. The Kumamoto Shinbun argued in the same direction asking "if the project is worth the 27 years it has taken to complete, why can't the ministry spend a little more time trying to seek the understanding of the local residents? What is at stake is Japanese democracy rather than the project itself"; and even the business daily *Nihon Keizai Shinbun* demanded "local residents and environmental groups should be allowed to express their views directly in the planning stages of public works projects". Other newspapers criticized the large amounts of money that were spent for the dam (Hokkaido Shinbun, Nishi Nihon Shinbun), again others raised questions about the necessity of the dam (Yomiuri Shinbun) and the importance of water saving (Kobe Shinbun).

These examples illustrate that the second Anti-Nagara River dam residents' movement had been successful in attracting a broad range of media attention that was overwhelmingly critical of the dam project. Therefore, it can be argued that the residents' movement had successfully applied Hannigan's "strategic

¹⁴⁹ This editorial and the others have been reprinted in the Japan Times: June 11, 1995.

principles” by contesting and defending their position in the mass media. Another principal concern mentioned by Hannigan are positive effects of cooperation with or support from other organizations; this will be tackled in the following sub-chapter.

Support from other Environmental Organizations

From their first big events, for example the “Nagara River Symposium 89”¹⁵⁰, the dam opposition movement had the support of the NACS-J and the WWF-J, the Freshwater Fish Protection Society (*tansuigyo hogo kyōkai*), and enjoyed support from a group of nonpartisan Diet members called the Nature Protection Diet Member League (*shizen hogo giin renmei*), as well as the Regional Assembly Members League for Environmental Problems (*kankyō mondai chihō giin renmei*). The chairman of the NACS-J, Professor Numata, also frequently appealed publicly against the construction of the Nagara dam, and demanded more research on the environmental impact¹⁵¹. He also criticized the MoC and its closed decision-making process because of its lack of consideration for the citizens’ and researchers’ environmental concerns.

In February 1990, the Japan Wild-Bird Society submitted a request to the MoC and the PWRDC, asking for the discontinuance of the dam construction and the improvement of the shore protection industrial law. On 5 September 1990, the prestigious Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J) published a report¹⁵² on the Nagara River and submitted a letter of appeal to the MoC and the PWRDC requesting the stop of construction and expressing the need for further research on the dam’s potential impact. This report and the appeal triggered

¹⁵⁰ This symposium in May 1989 attracted about 800 participants. It was organized by the "Loving Nagara River Association" (*nagara gawa wo ai suru kai*) and the "Association of Citizens which oppose the Nagara River estuary dam" (*nagara-gawa kakōzaki ni hantai suru shimin no kai*).

¹⁵¹ For instance: 27.12.89, at the announcement of the NACS-J River Protection Fund in Gifu City (AS: January 28, 1990).

¹⁵² A very critical interim report had been published and introduced by the NACS-J chairman Numata in early June 1990 (AS: July 7, 1990).

widespread media attention, and all major daily newspapers¹⁵³ carried editorials against the construction of the dam. The MoC and the PWRDC answered those allegation with a “counter report” showing that there would be only “very little” influence on fauna and flora¹⁵⁴

International pressure against the dam began mounting in 1990. In August 1991, the British Committee of the World Wide Fund for Nature sent a proposal to the Prime Minister Kaifu in which they requested the discontinuance of construction of the estuary dam. Only a few months later, the Japanese Committee of the World Wide Fund for Nature expressed the same opinion in the November issue of their magazine. Then, in March 1992, the NASC-J¹⁵⁵ published the results of a one-year environmental impact assessment study of the Nagara River. It had shown that the water quality would deteriorate due to the construction, and that the fish population would have difficulties swimming upstream.

In January 1994, the chairpersons of the WWF-J, Hagura Shin’ya, the Wild Bird Society of Japan, Kurota Nagahisa, and a representative of the Japanese Marsh Network, Yamahita Hirofumi, demanded the minister of construction to at least temporarily suspend the construction of the dam, so that the environmental impact could be re-investigated (Jan. 27, 1994). Only two month later, in March 1994, the four environmental organizations Citizens’ Conference to Stop It (*yamesaseru shimin kaigi*)¹⁵⁶, WWF-J, NASC-J, and the Wild Bird Society of Japan openly criticized the biased member selection process for the MoC Investigation

¹⁵³ Between September 7 and 22, 1990, the Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, Mainichi Shinbun, and Chunichi Shinbun carried very critical and disapproving editorials.

¹⁵⁴ This report by the MoC and the PWRDC was published on October 12, 1990 and explicitly questioned the NACS-J research findings (AS: October 12, 1990).

¹⁵⁵ The research for the report was supervised by a special Nagara River Estuary Dam Committee (*nihon shizen hogo kyōkai nagara gawa kakōzeki mondai semmon iinkai*), which was founded by a great number of nature conservation related organizations in Japan and the NACS-J.

¹⁵⁶ An organization against the construction of the Nagara River dam.

Committee. In October of the same year, Morishima Tsuyoshi, the head of the Conservation Division of the Japan Wild Bird Society in an interview, openly expressed great dissatisfaction and regret about the construction of the Tokushima and Nagara dams; he said, Japan had destroyed so many wonderful sceneries, “Tokyo and Osaka have lost such wonderful landscapes. You notice that only after they have been lost” (AS: October 21, 1994 and AS: October 24, 1994). He demanded that the MoC should start discussions with all sides earlier than planned, and should withdraw the white paper¹⁵⁷. The problem of the Nagara dam was also introduced and discussed during the June 1994 International Convention on Wetlands (RAMSAR) conference in Nagoya¹⁵⁸, where Friends of the Earth, WWF-J and other environmental movements once again stated their support for the anti-dam movement and their demand to suspend the construction. In September 1995, during a meeting of the “Nagara River Research Forum”¹⁵⁹ which investigated the influence of the dam on the ecosystem and the water quality of the river, all members agreed that the dam has had a negative impact on the environment. A representative of the Wild Bird Society, for example, pointed out that the number of breeding grounds for birds had decreased. Representatives of the Wild Bird Society have thereafter frequently complained about the decreasing number of birds (e.g., the golden eagle or *itawashi*¹⁶⁰) and the negative impact of the dam on the food chain for of virtually all wildlife along the Nagara River and similar dam projects in other parts of Japan.

¹⁵⁷ The *White Paper* published by the MoC had not found any negative environmental effects of the dam.

¹⁵⁸ About 150 people participated in the RAMSAR (International Convention on Wetlands, signed in Ramsar, Iran, in 1971) conference in Nagoya on June 25, 1994, (AS: June 26, 1994)

¹⁵⁹ The meeting took place in Gifu City on September 2, 1995, and was attended by about 100 participants.

¹⁶⁰ On June 30, 1996, the former head of the Japan Wild Bird Society Gifu office, Niwa Hiroshi, emphasized that if even only one species of birds disappears, it will have a big influence on the food chain. (AS: June 30, 1996).

Only half a year after the start of operation, the Research Director of the NACS-J, Nakai Tatsurô, warned that the oxygen level of the water was far too low, and one year after the start, the NACS-J published its first report on the environmental impact of the Nagara River dam. The findings showed a clear negative effect of the dam; the water quality had “deteriorated”¹⁶¹, and the animal plankton level had decreased and negatively influenced the living environment of sweet fish (*ayu*) and the number of *satsuki* (trout), a symbol of the Nagara River. The NACS-J stressed in their presentation the hope that the Ministry of Construction (MoC) would reconsider the dam and refrain from closing the gates again.

Representatives and the chairperson of the NACS-J himself, Numata Makoto, have frequently demanded a reevaluation of the dam project from the government. For example in July 1997, Numata encouraged the environmental movements to approach the government during the early stages of the UNESCO World Heritage Convention, and requested an interruption of any further construction. Earlier that month, a researcher on the NACS-J Nagara River Special Committee, Saijô Yatsuka¹⁶², who was the only member of the MoC’s 17-member monitoring panel who opposed the Nagara River dam, expressed his concerns during an open symposium by arguing that the upstream water quality had deteriorated and the chlorophyll level had become “extremely high” during the summer.

4.1.1.5 Membership Characteristics

This sub-chapter will highlight some important characteristics of the most important groups that protested against the Nagara River dam construction. The *Society against the Nagara River Estuary Dam Construction* had been most successful in attracting individual members and supporters. The *Society* itself has established

¹⁶¹ It was also stressed that this could not be caused by the bad weather that year.

¹⁶² Saijô Yatsuka is also professor emeritus at Nagoya University.

a nationwide network of 31 branch offices, and is supported by a nationwide network of 59 citizens' groups that oppose dams. In 1996, the movement as a whole had about 16000 individual members in 1996¹⁶³, according to their own publication. They proclaim that they have the "largest membership and broadest national support of any single-issue interest group in Japan"¹⁶⁴. The main office is located in Osaka, but they even have an international contact bureau in Kanagawa prefecture near Tokyo, which is very uncommon for Japanese environmental organizations. The leaders of this citizens' movement had realized in the initial stages that international attention and eventually pressure can promote their objectives, and increased their chances for success. Since about 1992, they have published a quarterly newsletter called "Nagara Network News" (*nagara nettowâku nyusu*), and regularly publish English language information materials.

The large events, for instance the *River Days* in 1991, 1992,¹⁶⁵ and 1993 attracted over 10,000 (in 1992) participants from all parts of Japan. In 1992, the media attention was much less on the boat race on the Nagara River that was arranged with support from the MoC and the local governments, than on the demonstration that took place on the same day. Although Japanese youth are in general not very active in political organizations and do not commit themselves to political causes very often, the great majority of participants in the protest events against the Nagara River dam were reportedly in their 20s (McGill 1993: 47). Another noticeable fact was that most participants did not belong to any

¹⁶³ These figures have been published in: (The Society Against the Nagara River Estuary Dam Construction 1995: 1).

¹⁶⁴ Their *mission statement* in 1995 read as follows: "To halt the dam (barrage) under construction at the estuary of the Nagara River, being one of only two major rivers without dams on their main channels. To promote the reform of Japan's outmoded river policy and policy-making process so that environmental and social concerns are adequately and democratically addressed; and to promote legislation that would ensure adequate environmental protection and see that it is enforced" (THE SOCIETY AGAINST THE NAGARA RIVER ESTUARY DAM CONSTRUCTION 1995: 2).

¹⁶⁵ In 1992, the event was titled: Save the Nagara River International Action Day; in Japanese: *sukue nagara-gawa !!! sekai kôdô DAY*.

formal environmental or political organizations; they came either individually or in small groups because they were attracted by the cause, or they were connected with outdoor sports and recreation groups or organizations. Many were members of mountain bicycle clubs, campers, canoe and kayak clubs, and even motorcyclists¹⁶⁶. Ask why they participated, most explained because they enjoyed the countryside and outdoor activities, and that they could not continue their activities without a clean environment. One female activist, Mikura Toshiko, explained that she had been a supporter of the movement against the Nagara River dam for more than three years, said “we don’t have an office, or any real ‘officers’, we’re just volunteers (...) my office is my kitchen (...) I am a housewife, and I also have to take care of my sick mother”. This statement reveals the often-found strong determination of many rank-and-file activists, which makes them invest a lot of energy, time, and money into these grass-roots activities. However, such a statement also exemplifies one deficiency of many of such movements, the lack of full-time staff and activists that can bring their professional knowledge into the groups. Additionally, it exemplifies a lack of or underdeveloped sense for the overall political and economic dimension of such a protest. Only a few are politically motivated, most consider the recreational, esthetical, and intrinsic value of nature as centrally important.

4.1.1.6 Concluding Remarks

The Nagara River Estuary Dam project was probably the most typical among the many construction projects in Japan that epitomizes the often quoted Japanese “construction state” or *doken kokka*. The well-known US-American political scientist and Japan expert Chalmers Johnson (1982), was one of the first who has noticed that construction and especially public works projects were one of the pillars of Japanese economic growth, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s,

¹⁶⁶ A French participant and invited speaker from the *Loire Vivante* was reportedly astonished about the motorcyclists, he said in an interview: “It’s incredible! In Europe, we have never thought of attracting motorbike riders. Maybe this is something we can learn from Japan”, (McGill 1993: 47).

and even today. The construction industry in Japan is the largest industrial sector employing 6.2 million people in more than half a million construction companies¹⁶⁷. In 1993, more than 31 trillion Yen¹⁶⁸ or 43% of the national budget went to construction companies. Prices for construction were many times that in other industrialized countries¹⁶⁹, so that profit of the construction companies (it is assumed between 2 and 3%) went back into the coffers of the government politicians, who again could pay their elections and the high costs for their constituency offices to be reelected. This corruption system stood in the center of the scandals in 1993. Although new election laws and other provisions have been enacted in order to reduce so-called “money politics” and “pork-barrel”, it so far remains to be seen whether these laws will have the anticipated effects. McCormack (1995: 27) summed up the development: “From necessary works, Japan proceeded to the merely desirable, then to the quite unnecessary, and finally to the positively damaging”. In this sense, this chapter also gives a glimpse of one important characteristic of the contemporary political system in Japan, and the contemporary protest against some of its aspects.

The anti-Nagara River Dam movement failed in the sense that it did not prevent the construction of the dam, but its endurance and strength became an example for other anti-dam movements in Japan. One example among many is the movements against the construction of the Tokushima dam on the Yoshino River (Tokushima prefecture, Shikoku Island). Representatives of this movement were also able to arrange discussions with the MoC, similar to the round-table discussions in the case of the Anti-Narita Airport protest movement. In June 1998, a meeting moderated by representatives of the *Diet Members’ Association for a Mechanism for Public Works Review* and representatives of the

¹⁶⁷ Figures of the mid 1990s, quoted in (McCormack 1995: 27).

¹⁶⁸ In 1993 terms: about \$220 billion..

¹⁶⁹ McCormack noted that it costs four times as much as in Germany to build a road in Japan, and nine times as much as in the United States (McCormack 1995: 31) quoting Ochiai Nobuhiko, 1994, in: *Nihon no shōtai*, Tokyo, p. 224.

citizens' movements questioned the dam's safety, its environmental impact, and the overall necessity of the dam. Although the MoC argued that the Yoshino Dam was necessary for flood prevention in general remained very doubtful. "This project is increasingly gaining national attention¹⁷⁰, and with these talks, the issue has been raised to a new level," (Japan Times: June 2, 1998) said Himeno Masayoshi, chairman of *Yoshino Symposium*, a citizen's protest group. One of the most difficult problems the Tokushima dam project faces is the fact that the MoC does not disclose environmental impact data (e.g. sludge buildup, increase of algae, comparative environmental impact data). However, the citizens' movements were rather successful in convincing the general public and the local public of the problems connected with the dam construction. For example, 80% of the residents of Nagashima-cho hoped in March 1995 for a postponement of the dam operation¹⁷¹.

The anti-Nagara River dam dispute exemplifies very forcefully the severe problems protest movement still face in contemporary Japan. Despite the fact that they made use of virtually all means available to them, and used them over a relatively long period of time, they still failed to stop a project that was apparently of central importance to the central as well as the prefectural government. This dispute underlines the inflexibility of the Japanese government throughout all these years, particularly in such large scale projects that involve enormously large amounts of government funds and therefore direct and indirect benefits for contractors, as well as and politicians and bureaucrats. The overall significance of this movement for the central question of this study will be highlighted in chapter 7.

¹⁷⁰ In May 1998, the Tokushima dam project was selected as one of the worst five in a survey among environmental groups and journalists (Japan Times: June 2, 1998).

¹⁷¹ According to an opinion poll conducted by the Japan Telecommunications Workers' Union Survey published in the AS: March 25, 1995.

4.1.2 Nationwide Waste Landfill Problem Network¹⁷²

4.1.2.0 Introduction

This nationwide network of citizens groups and organizations was set up in December 1993 as a response to the growing number of operating and planned landfills, and the rising number of residents' protest groups against the construction of new facilities, or the environmental pollution caused by those operating. The idea for the new network came from members and activists of the "Association of Citizens Who Think about Waste" (*Haikibutsu o kangaeru shimin no kai*) who deemed it necessary to set up a nationwide network, which could coordinate the activities of the various protest movements and would serve as a basis for information exchange.

As many as 65 organizations and 1200 individuals from 38 prefectures took part in the inaugural meeting for the foundation on 12 December 1993 in Tochigi-city¹⁷³ (Tochigi prefecture), this was therefore one of the larger meetings for environmental organizations in Japan. The organizers realized that there were a great number of residents' protest movements against landfills, and that although "recycling" had become a household word over the years, the mostly small groups encountered serious difficulties when they confronted local governments, partly because of their small membership but also because they still lacked knowledge about political strategy, and the fact that local governments could take advantage of their information monopoly, because certain data and information were not disclosed. The nationwide network wanted to fill this gap and acts as an information and background support center for local opposition groups.

¹⁷² Japanese name: haikibutsu shobunjô mondai zenkoku nettowâku.

¹⁷³ The reason why the inaugural meeting took place in Tochigi pref. was the great number of landfills in Tochigi. The one in Nasu-cho was visited during the inaugural conference. Another prominent protest movement had developed in nearby Shikoku, where a construction of a so-called "waste island" was imminent (AS: December 11, 1993).

The major ideological pillar is the advocacy of a society based on “resource recycling”, and the strong belief that planning and construction of landfills would get more difficult, if not impossible, if local residents organized opposition movements, thereupon forcing local governments to consider other ways to diminish the amount of waste disposed in so-called final disposal sites (waste landfills). Furthermore, they stressed that it cannot be enough to prohibit or obstruct the construction of new waste landfills and make certain localities, mostly in the countryside or the outskirts of the big cities, “pay” for the current lifestyle, but that the cost for garbage incineration had to be calculated into the production costs.

In Japan, many landfill have been built in mountainous areas, thus endangering the ground water quality. Therefore, one major demand of the new network was the restriction of landfill constructions at the head of rivers. Before the foundation of the network, the bureau chief Ôhashi Mitsuo warned: “The idea to dig a hole and bury the garbage is already obsolete. In a regular landfill, it is clear that the contents are not necessarily safe” (AS: December 3, 1993). Another particular problem touched at the inaugural meeting was the growing number of so-called “mini landfills” (less than 1,500 m²) as well as illegal dumping sites along motorways and railway-tracks. (For further information, please refer to the introduction to chapter 4.1.3.).

4.1.2.1 Major Activities

Visiting Landfills and Local Opposition Groups

Shortly after the network was set up, the newly elected chairman Ôhashi Mitsuo visited a great number of protest groups against the construction of landfills, among others in Tokyo’s Ôta ward, where a new sea-level landfill for the 23 wards of Tokyo is being planned by the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG), and in Kuzû (Tochigi), where chairman Ôhashi encouraged the protesting residents by promising that the nationwide network would appeal to the national and prefectural government, as well as to public opinion. According

to the nationwide network, in early 1994 there were about forty residents' groups opposing landfills, among others in Shiura-son (Aomori Pref.), Iwaki City (Fukushima Pref.), in Hiroshima City, in Kurume City (Fukuoka Pref.), in Okinawa Pref. and Ishikawa City (AS: March 25, 1994). By mid 1996, the number had risen to over 200¹⁷⁴.

In July 1995, the head of this nationwide network highlighted the Hinode-machi final landfill problem in particular (see chapter 4.1.3), because 1567 of the 2250 landfills (MHW figures for 1991) in Japan use the same 1.5mm thick rubber seal to prevent sewage and toxic leachate to seep into the ground water. He said “it was assumed that the Yatosawa landfill is safe because the union itself had portrayed it as a model landfill, which was obviously an exaggeration. Then, because of the suspicion that toxic leachate may have seeped into the ground from a leakage in the rubber seal, it has attracted nationwide attention” (AS: July 14, 1995).

On March 16, 1996, the network co-organized an information conference of opposition citizens' groups in Mitake-cho (Gifu pref.), which is located downstream from a planned industrial waste processing facility. About 400 participants came to the public hall, exchanged opinions, and stressed the importance of protecting the head of the Kisogawa River. Among the speakers was also the mayor of Mitake-cho, Kiro Yanagawa¹⁷⁵, who criticized Gifu prefecture because it promoted the construction plan. Among other speakers was the lawyer Murata Masato, who explained the trial case for the prohibition of the landfill construction, a Nagoya University geologist, who explained the geological problems of landfills, and a representative of the “Thinking about Mitake industrial waste Association”, Takako Okamoto, who emphasized the financial incentives of the garbage industry by saying “the financially weak towns

¹⁷⁴ AS: May 17, 1996, according to Ôhashi Matsuo (head of the nationwide network).

¹⁷⁵ See special section.

(...) are buried with industrial waste” (AS: March 17, 1996). After they visited the site for the planned industrial waste landfill, the network chairman Ôhashi stressed the importance of the meeting and the network and warned, “as long as landfills could be built easily, without resident protests, the administration would not have to consider recycling seriously”, (AS: March 18, 1996).

Conferences and Meetings

On 21-22 May 1994, the nationwide network organized the “East Japan Exchange Association” conference in Kisarazu-City (Chiba Pref.). During the conference, representatives of various anti landfill groups introduced their cases and strategies, and the lawyer Kajiyama Shôzô, who represented the Hinode-machi residents’ groups in the court of law, and the bureau chief of the prefectural liaison association (*ken renraku kai*) explained the judicial problems and implications of the „River Headwater Protection Law“¹⁷⁶.

In June 1995, the network organized another rally and a nationwide exchange meeting in Kurume City (Fukuoka Pref.) with the slogan: “No more landfills”. The final resolution expressed the hope that (1) if a “recycling type society” that prevents or diminishes the amount of garbage radically, is achieved, waste landfills would become unnecessary, and therefore it is (2) effective not to have wastes sites at all (AS: June 4, 1995). In December 1995, the network held another conference in Tokyo titled “No more waste – total protest day”. On this occasion, the network representative Tsuboi Teruko reported about several cases throughout Japan including the Tokyo Hinode-machi landfill problem, as well as the waste administration in general.

Conducting Nationwide Telephone Helpline Campaigns

In September 1995, the nationwide network sets up the first nationwide help line, which it calls “number 110”, to stress that it has the function of an emergency line. The calls were received in the Tokyo headquarters and answered by a lawyer,

¹⁷⁶ Conference schedule according to AS: May 11, 1994

who gave advice to residents about the landfill problem. For instance: their worries about problems such as the river head ground water pollution, and the smell, noise, and traffic jams caused by the virtually endless stream of garbage trucks to the landfills. Another important objective of this campaign was giving advice to likely opponents of local waste landfills on how to manage or set up an opposition movement against existing landfills or the construction of new ones. Such campaigns were repeated about once every half a year, and every time they were reported in the Asahi Shinbun beforehand.

Media Appearance

Remarkably, the announcement of many campaigns, including telephone numbers, appeared for example in Asahi Shinbun articles on the day before and on the day of the events. In September 1995, on the occasion of a clean-up campaign¹⁷⁷, and a subsequent ward seminar about the garbage problem in Tokyo's Katsushika ward, even a profile of the network and its head Mitsuo Ôhashi appeared in the Asahi Shinbun (AS: September 7, 1995). The same applied for almost all conferences, meetings, and visits of representatives of the network. Generally, a couple of days before the event, the Asahi Shinbun published a short notice about the upcoming event, including the place, time, and participation fee. Sometimes on the "society pages" for a nationwide audience, and as for local events, in the local pages. Other national newspapers, e.g. the Yomiuri Newspaper or the Mainichi Newspaper, reported on these events on far more irregular basis¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁷ Cleaning up campaigns usually involved picking up garbage along streets, rivers, beaches, or other public places. Such campaigns are not only a public service campaign but also a good opportunity to raise awareness of the garbage problem and publicize the activities of anti landfill movements, or, as in this case, the nationwide network.

¹⁷⁸ Findings based on counting of the number of respective articles in the newspaper databases (Asahi Shinbun, Yomiuri Shinbun, Mainichi Shinbun) by the author.

4.1.2.2 The Garbage Industry's Attempts to influence Local Officials

Landfills and other garbage facilities are planned and financed by local governments (city and town administrative bodies), but constructed and in some cases operated by private companies. Most of the companies involved depend exclusively on public orders, and therefore try to keep in close contact with the local governments about future construction projects, e.g. the construction of roads, bridges, or dams. Because of that dependency, citizen's movements who oppose such construction projects are naturally a major threat to those companies. The involved construction companies, as well as local administrations therefore often try to run publicity campaigns to convince the public that the construction is necessary¹⁷⁹. However, in some cases, construction and/or operating companies used more forceful ways to disturb or threaten movement activists; and in a few cases, even local officials and mayors were attacked. The latter approach has been pursued by a company involved in the construction of an industrial landfill in Mitake-cho (Gifu Pref.). One instance is to be introduced in the following excursion.

Excursion: The Case of Mitake-cho and Mayor Yanagawa

On October 30, 1996, the mayor of Mitake-cho (Gifu pref.) Yanagawa Kiro¹⁸⁰ was attacked and beaten on the head with a weapon more than 30 times outside his apartment by two right-wing activists, presumably because he had requested a freezing of the landfill plan (AS: October 31, 1996). The daily newspapers did not investigate this matter and assumed the attack had no political significance and had been the work of a small group of local thugs. However, shortly after the attack, Yajima Shinichi, a nonfiction author and former Yakuza gang boss, wrote in the weekly magazine *Shukan Gendai* that he suspected that the attack

¹⁷⁹ One example are pamphlets published by the San-Tama Garbage Union and distributed to all households in the Tama area, explaining the necessity of the second landfill. See: Hinode-machi landfill case. The San-Tama Garbage Union is the regional administrative body that oversees and controls the waste management in the Tama region (Western Tokyo).

¹⁸⁰ Yanagawa was a former senior reporter for Japan Broadcasting Corp. (NHK).

was a warning to all citizens groups nationwide, which oppose the construction of industrial waste dumps in their areas. He assumed that this attack was very likely the work of a criminal gang, not a small group of local thugs, as had been suspected by the daily newspapers. Yajima argued that it seemed only natural that gangsters are now involved in illegal waste disposal since it is a very lucrative business, with prices for the disposal of one 10-ton truckload of dangerous medical or industrial waste of 500,000 Yen and more. *Shukan Gendai* concluded that the lucrative profit involved in such environmental destruction might be behind this crime.

Shortly after Yanagawa had become mayor in 1994 and his opposition to the planned industrial waste landfill had become clear, his telephone line was wiretapped by a private detective, Tabata Kasumi, possibly to enable the proponents of the landfill to blackmail him so that he could eventually be forced to give up his opposition to the landfill¹⁸¹. These incidences exemplify the danger opponents of industrial landfills can face in Japan. In the aftermath mayor Yanagawa became a national hero among anti-garbage processing plant activists.

¹⁸¹ According to prosecutors, the construction company head had conducted business with Toshiwa Industries Co. of Kani, Gifu Prefecture, which had planned to build an industrial waste disposal plant in Mitake. After he became mayor, Yanagawa disappointed the construction boss by temporarily freezing the plant project. The builder had expected to get construction contracts from Toshiwa Industries, prosecutors said. Prosecutors said the builder told Haku, the suspect in this case, that he would pay him if his mission were successful. He said he would let Haku into the business and would pay him a monthly salary of 2 million to 3 million Yen. Haku consulted with Tabata, who came up with the idea of wiretapping since it was cheap and easy. Haku paid Tabata 800,000 Yen, prosecutors said. Prosecutors said the construction boss backed out of the scheme because he had not expected Haku to resort to illegally wiretapping Yanagawa's phone lines. He turned down a request from Haku to lend him money. In June 1997, it also became apparent, that the operator of Toshiwa Industries Corp., Shimizu Masayasu, the company that wanted to build the industrial landfill in Mitake, tried to bribe a close aide of mayor Yanagawa with 40 million Yen, to encourage the aide to change the mayor's mind. This bribery failed, however, because the recipient did not hand over the money to the mayor but used it instead to repay personal debts (AEN: June 16, 1997).

4.1.2.3 Selected Examples for Landfill related Disputed in the Mid 1990s¹⁸²

Other examples that demonstrate the large number and variety of landfill related disputes in Japan in the mid 1990s are the following cases: In Shinshiro City (Aichi Pref.) local residents and the mayor opposed a plan for a landfill in the immediate vicinity. In Toyota City a fishery cooperative demanded the review of a plan to build a control type waste landfill about 2 km from the Yasaku River. In Mizunami City (Gifu Pref.), residents opposed a plan for a temporary processing facilities and sued the construction company to withdraw from their property. In Kani-gun, Mitake-cho, the mayor demanded from the prefectural government freeze the landfill plan along the Kisogawa River. In Yamagata-gun, Ijira-son, village residents opposed a planned control type waste landfill and temporary processing facilities near the banks of the Ijira River. In Ueno City, residents sued for damage compensation for pollution caused by temporary processing facilities and the landfill reclamation; and in Ise city, residents applied for a provisional injunction and construction prohibition because of a forged agreement concerning a control type landfill. In Watarai-gun, Watarai-chô, residents claimed in court to confirm the invalidity of an agreement, because it was assumed that there was a risk of ground pollution at the head of a river caused by the control type waste landfill. Finally, in Owase city, residents applied for a provisional injunction against the construction as well as operational restrictions of temporary processing facilities near the head of a river in Kitamuro-gun, Miyama-chô.

4.1.2.4 Concluding Remarks

The specific importance of networks such as this one becomes obvious when one considers the danger some of the more visible opponents of garbage processing facilities are confronted with. Particularly industrial waste is still a rather lucrative business in Japan that involves high amounts of money,

¹⁸² The following examples are based on a list in AS: July 21, 1996

including financial benefits for the host locality. Since the position of a mayor is comparatively strong in the Japanese local government system, opponents have virtually won their fight if they won the support of a local mayor. Hence, construction companies, which frequently rely exclusively on public construction orders, do sometimes not even shrink back from illegal tactics. The following analysis of an outstanding opposition movement against the construction of a landfill in Tokyo's Hinode-machi also involved similar illegal tactics of the pro-construction lobby.

4.1.3 A Local Protest Movement - The Hinode-machi Landfill Case

4.1.3.1 Introduction

Since the period of double-digit economic growth in the 1960s and 1970s, Japan has very rapidly emerged from a comparatively agrarian society with a high degree of self-reliance and even autarchy (most of the food consumed in Japan was produced here) towards a textbook consumer society. While the dominant share of consumption in the 1950s and 1960s consisted of commodities for daily life, since the 1970s, consumption patterns have changed in favor of consumer products such as electronic appliances and equipment, cars, household goods and other goods.

Along with this change in consumption patterns, the amount of industrial and household waste also increased immensely. Whereas most of the products consumed in the years after the war were food and durable household goods, in the last 30 years the share of consumption goods has risen rapidly, causing shorter life cycles of most of these products, with the effect that new products are bought at a much higher rate. Since most of the products that are no longer used are not kept in the house due to space constraints, they are in most cases simply abandoned. Since this has led to a widespread *buy the new and discard the old* consciousness, the amount of household waste as well as industrial waste has risen enormously.

There are about 2,300 waste landfills throughout Japan where garbage collected by the local authorities (city and town level) is buried. On average, most of them are expected to be full within a time-span of eight years; therefore, a large number of local governments are constantly looking for new sites for the construction of landfills. Although Japan has a very limited amount of free space to construct new disposal sites and it is estimated that it will take only about 30 years, until the last remaining possible sites will be full, as of 1995, only 40% of local governments have introduced a system to separate recyclable from other types of garbage. Furthermore, of all the garbage collected, a mere 4% is actually recycled (Asahi Evening News (AEN), September 28, 1995). A large number of currently operating garbage disposal sites and an equally high number of prospective sites, which are either in the planning or in the construction stage, have provoked many local residents to openly oppose the construction or to demand access to environmental information data. The strategies of the respective citizens' movements include signature campaigns and petitions, and having opposing residents run for city councilor. Additionally, many protest movements have begun to file lawsuits over disposal methods or construction plans. According to the sociologist Taguchi Masami, by October 1997 there were about 950 such legal suits and disputes pending in the courts throughout Japan¹⁸³.

The new landfill number II in Hinode-machi in the western outskirts of Tokyo is exceptionally large and often considered to be one the largest in the Eastern Hemisphere. On average, landfills in Japan accommodate the waste of about 50,000 residents and cover an area of about 21,000 square meters; the landfill in Hinode, however, was constructed for the entire Tama region with a population of more than 3.6 million. Its expanse is about 20 times larger than the average waste landfill, namely 400,000 square meters. It is located in the midst of mountains near a tourist area not very far way from Mt. Takao. Hinode-machi is, although an administrative part of Metropolitan Tokyo, a small village with a

¹⁸³ Asahi Evening News: February 20, 1998, p. 12, Editorial: Disposal Disputes no Waste.

population of about 12,000, one of the smallest villages within the Tokyo administrative area.

4.1.3.2 Introduction of the “Actors”

San-Tama Area Regional Garbage Union

The “San-Tama Area Regional Garbage Disposal Union”¹⁸⁴ (*Tōkyō-to san-tama chīki haikibutsu kōiki shobun kumiai*) was set up in November 1980 by 27 cities and one town (Hinode-machi) in the Tama area as an administrative union under article 284 of the Local Autonomy Act. An administrative union is a special local administrative body set up for a special purpose and associated with local governments. The central administrative council usually consists of the mayors of the participating cities and towns, who elect one local mayor as the managing director.

Tokyo Metropolitan Government

Closely connected with the Garbage Union is the Tokyo Metropolitan Government (TMG) as the responsible prefectural government office. Although the cities and villages within Tokyo are independently responsible for the garbage policy and management within their respective locality, particularly garbage collection and processing, the TMG is the overarching administrative and legislative body that has jurisdiction for general garbage policies that includes the final approval of the construction of waste processing facilities such as waste incinerators and waste dump site, such as landfills. Within the TMG, the Bureau of Public Cleansing has administrative authority about decisions concerning waste processing, and the Nature Protection Bureau oversees nature protection policies and research activities. The Governor of Tokyo is the head of the administration who has the final administrative and political responsibility for all

¹⁸⁴ Assembly members of the Tokyo San-Tama Regional Waste Disposal Union are ordinary members of the 27 city and town assemblies (of the cities and towns which use the Hinode-machi landfill.). One of those who favored not to appeal to court ruling was Kokubunji-city assembly member Kawai. It is called “San-Tama” because the Tama area is composed of

decisions made by the TMG and is therefore one of the central persons that have to be approached by citizens' movements if they want to alter certain policies and decisions. The final TMG related organ connected to the Hinode-machi waste landfill case is the TMG Expropriation Committee in which all matters concerning the expropriation of land are debated and decided upon.

The Citizens' Movements/Organizations

The central players on the side of the protest movements are a number of citizens' movements, which have partly been set up independently from each other, some of them have been set up for specific purposes by umbrella movements.

The central elements of the residents' movement in Hinode are the “*Hinode no mori, mizu, inochi no kai*” (Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode, following abbreviated as AFWL), “*Hinode no mori - torasuto no kai*” (Hinode Forest - Trust Association), and the “*Hinode no mori no sasaeru kai*” (Hinode Forest Support Association). The “Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode” was set up on 26 November 1994 as a mother organization for the upcoming court trial against the garbage union, demanding, among others, the prohibition of the construction of landfill II. Nishinaka Shinao, who was involved in the foundation of the Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode is one of its most influential activists and stands in the center of most activities, especially the water quality disclosure lawsuit¹⁸⁵.

During the protest process, one nationwide environmental organization, the *Japanese Association for Environmental Science - JAES (nihon kankyō gakkai)* supported the activities of the residents. The JAES is a private independent environmental research organization that was founded in 1983 in order to provide a forum for

three districts: Kita-, Minami-, and Nishi-Tama. For a reprint of the initial agreement, see: (HINODE SHOBUNJOU MONDAI SHIMIN GOUDOU CHOUSA DAN (eds.) 1996:137-140).

¹⁸⁵ For a detailed history of all lawsuits, please refer to chapter 4.1.3.3.

researchers interested in environmental issues and willing to counter the destructive effects on the natural environment caused by economic and industrial progress. The predecessor was the *Environmental Science Comprehensive Research Association* (*kankyō kagaku sōgō kenkyūkai*), which had been founded in 1975. The outline of the objectives of the organization state that it is not an association of scientists and experts, but that their central aim is to be an exchange forum to support “all citizens who are working on environmental problems, including municipalities, elementary-, junior-, and senior high schools, and corporate enterprises”¹⁸⁶.

4.1.3.3 Development of the Case

The First Landfill (Final Disposal Site) in the Forests of Yatosawa

The first waste landfill in the forests of Yatosawa¹⁸⁷ began operating in 1984, and officials touted it as a new and improved type of waste disposal site, because the 22 hectare pit – then, the largest landfill in the Eastern hemisphere - was lined with a sheet of 1,5mm rubber to prevent the possibility that polluted waste water seeped into the ground. The Yatosawa landfill soon became a model for other municipalities, and subsequently have been built hundreds of similar landfills.

In March 1992, residents discovered some leaks in the 1,5mm rubber seal and a subsequent report in the Asahi Shinbun together with pictures of the leak on March 17, 1992 triggered first a local and soon a nationwide debate about the safety of landfills that are constructed like those in Hinode-machi. The day after the discovery, the Garbage Union¹⁸⁸ was quick to assure the safety of the landfill. Its regular tests of the underground water had allegedly shown that the water quality was good and had not worsened since the operation of the landfill had

¹⁸⁶ Translation of the objectives of JAES according to their Internet homepage (Homepage of the Japanese Environmental Science Association 1998).

¹⁸⁷ Yatosawa is a part of Hinode-machi, which is a small town in the most Eastern outskirts of Metropolitan Tokyo, about 40 km East of central Tokyo.

¹⁸⁸ If not indicated otherwise, Garbage Union is used for the *San-Tama Regional Garbage Disposal Union*.

begun. Officials claimed that the Hinode landfill was constructed with the most advanced technology and therefore residents did not need to worry they promised, however, that they would unearth some garbage and repair the leak. A month later, on April 7, 1992, however, the Ministry of Health and Welfare (MHW) again denied that there were any leaks in the protecting layer. Shortly thereafter, the first independent water quality tests conducted by the *Narō Association*, an independent environment research association, detected large amounts of plastic additives in the water. These findings triggered wide-ranging public concern and eventually swayed the local government of Hinode-machi, the Tokyo Environmental Preservation Bureau, and the Disposal Union to conduct a series of water quality investigations (June 1992). Only a month later, in July 1992, the same public entities publicized their research results and declared, “everything is safe” (“Hinode-machi Safety Declaration”).

Only three months later, in November 1992, the Japanese Association of Environmental Science, JEAS (*Nihon kankyō gakkai*) published another study in which it revealed the discovery of high levels of heavy metals in the water and ground near the disposal site. However, the responsible self-governing bodies were not convinced, and in December 1992, the TMG stated again: “everything is safe”. In January 1993, the national government reacted to the alarming research results of the independent institutes. The Environmental Agency upgraded the underground water pollution prevention technology, and the MHW set up an official fact finding council to study the final disposal site. However, in June 1993, the chairman of the Japanese Association of Environmental Science disclosed its latest research results, which showed that compared with the study in November 1992, the water quality had not improved. The findings revealed that the water near the disposal site still carried high amounts of heavy metals such as zinc, lead, and other chemical materials. The

JEAS chairman hinted at the likelihood that the pollution originated from the landfill, and suspected that it almost certainly must have leaks¹⁸⁹.

The first mediation process between the residents' groups and the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Pollution Examination Association began on August 30, 1993 and lasted until October 1994. Shortly after the mediation process had been concluded without positive results, the residents began to prepare the first lawsuit by setting up a residents' organization for that purpose. Simultaneously, the resident's Trust Movement began to buy land on the planned ground of the landfill number II, and the residents' groups sent petitions to the twenty-seven cities and Hinode-machi requesting the disclosure of water quality data. They handed over the petition together with 117,000 signatures from residents in the Tama area, certainly one of the largest signature campaigns in Japanese history. Only in late July 1995 (31 July 1995), after it had lost the first two lawsuits to disclose water quality data and was sentenced to pay 300000 Yen a day, the Garbage Union disclosed the first set of data and called the pollution level of the tested water "slightly above limiting value" but not dangerous for healthy people.

4.1.3.4 The Court Cases

The two court cases against the San-Tama Garbage Union ((1) Data Disclosure Lawsuit and the (2) lawsuit opposing the construction of the second landfill) stood at the center of activity of the Hinode-machi residents' movements, therefore the chain of events during these lawsuits will now be analyzed in more detail.

The Data Disclosure Lawsuit

On 29 November 1994, the newly founded Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode filed a lawsuit with the Tokyo District Court, Hachioji branch,

¹⁸⁹ AS: June 23, 1993. Only two months later, toxic elements were also found in the Ôdانا River (August 13, 1993).

against the Disposal Union to plead for a provisional injunction (*karishobun*) for a disclosure of underground water quality data, which are continuously collected by the garbage union. In a surprisingly short time for a Japanese lawsuit of only four month, on 8 March 1995, the district court announced its decision to grant the plaintiffs plea to see and inspect the underground water quality test data. On the very same day, representatives of the citizens' group visited the town hall of Hinode-machi to request the respective data (e.g., check of repair record of the blocking water seat in the garbage landfill, the electronically collected data of the underground water pipe, and the water quality inspection data), but the officials denied them access. Mayor Aoki, in an apparent attempt to prolong the entire process and to discourage the citizens, stated that he would not submit the data until he had received the formal court documents about the decision, and that he had to consult with his lawyers (AS: March 9, 1995). The residents reacted with anger and disbelief. Shinao Nakanishi of the Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode said, "I get indignant to the attitude of such a town. I want to pursue the lawsuit." On the next day, 9 March 1995, the residents group informed the district court about the refusal of the town hall and pleaded for an indirect compulsion (*kansetsu kyōsei*) and the court granted their request.

The Garbage Union and Hinode-machi responded by legally challenging the court decision in two ways: On March 9, 1995, they (1) filed a motion for suspension of the court order (*shikkō chūshi*) and (2) raised a formal objection (*igi mōshitate*) with the district court, arguing in court that (1) the neighborhood self-governing body to which the applicant of the provisional injunction (residents' organizations) belonged, is, according to the agreement of the pollution control¹⁹⁰, not supposed to inspect the data admitted by the provisional injunction; and (2) a particular faction might get the chance to exploit the data and publish a one-sided evaluation, which the Garbage Union considered to be a

¹⁹⁰ This agreement had been concluded by the Disposal Union, Hinode-machi and local neighborhood self-governing bodies in July 1982. See also section: History of the I. Landfill, above.

potential political judgment; and (3) they claimed there was no environmental pollution, because hazardous material was not detected during the investigation by the TMG Environment Preservation Bureau (AS: March 11, 1995). This explanation reflected very clearly the self-appreciation of the Garbage Union, how little they considered the residents' rights, and their contempt of court rulings, or the necessity to disclose the data concerned to settle the situation and to calm the obvious concern and uneasiness of the residents. On the contrary, the Garbage Union suspected political motives of the plaintiffs; the authorities did not show signs of understanding. This sentiment became known during the further course of events. The judicial motion for suspension, however, was rejected by the same court 19 days later, on March 28, 1995.

Only a couple of days later, on 7 April, the landfill Garbage Union began to pursue a new tactic. They now claimed that the relevant inspection data, which were supposed to be disclosed to the residents, did not exist anymore. On May 8, 1995, the residents' movements won their compulsion claim. Because the Garbage Union and Hinode-machi had refused to abide by the court's decision to disclose the concerned data, the district court sentenced the Garbage Union to pay a penalty of 150,000 Yen per day to the plaintiff, hence, the residents' organizations (Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode), until the data were disclosed. However, the Garbage Union did not accept this ruling because it would have meant that the resident's were finally correct in demanding the undisclosed data. As a result, this court decision triggered an appeal process by the Garbage Union: (1) an appeal against the execution of the first court ruling, and an (2) appeal to suspend the sentence; both were rejected on June 28, 1995. The Garbage Union finally filed a special appeal at the Supreme Court, which was also rejected on 19 September 1995 (AS: September 20, 1995).

In the days after the first district court decision on March 28, 1995, some residents and the representative of the Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode, Nakanishi Shinao, went to the Hinode town office and demanded the

underground water survey data, but the person in charge for the second time refused to submit the data. This time, he told the citizens that the mayor and his assistant were absent and that he could only give an answer through a lawyer (AS: May 13, 1995). After they had again been refused to see the data, Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode representative Nakanishi Shinao reacted with disbelief and considered challenging the Garbage Union with an “inspection order” (*kansa seikyū*). He charged that public funds were illegally used to pay compensation payments (penalty fees) just because a self-governing body refused to follow a court order to submit the water quality data. On 2 June 1995, Tajima Kiyoe of the Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode pleaded for an increase of the penalty (*kyōseikin*) to 1,000,000 Yen per day at the same district court, in order to compel the union to finally submit the requested data. One month later, on 5 July 1995, the Tokyo District Court in Hachioji granted an increase of the penalty fee from 150,000 Yen to 300,000 Yen per day (ca. 2500 Euro), because the Garbage Union, in violation of the court decision, still refused to disclose the data. Once again, the Garbage Union attempted to object to the court ruling and applied for another suspension of execution order (*shikkō chūshi*) with the Tokyo High Court, but the High Court also dismissed this objection on September 1, 1995, upholding the decision of the district court to increase the penalty.

The Court case claiming the electronically collected water quality data

A second wing of the judicial dispute between the residents' movement and the Garbage Union was concerned with a specific set of underground water quality data that was collected by sensors electronically. These data were particularly important for the residents, because they could be used to demonstrate without doubt that the water quality had indeed worsened due to leaks in the slim protection sheet.

The Garbage Union then disclosed five types of water quality data in September 1995 and subsequently terminated the penalty payments. However, it had failed

to present the electronically collected data. These data were supposed to be compiled in accordance with the Pollution Control Details Agreement, which had been agreed upon by the Garbage Union, Hinode-machi and the local self-governing bodies. It required the Garbage Union to continuously collect underground water quality data electronically.

Because of the refusal of the Garbage Union to disclose these data and the subsequent termination of the penalty payment after it had disclosed five data types in September 1995, Tajima Kiyoe of the Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode filed a new lawsuit with the Hachioji Branch of the Tokyo District Court in January 1996. During the oral pleadings on 17 January 1996, Ms. Tajima demanded to see the data because she still suspected the underground water might have been contaminated by seepage through leaks in the plastic sheets, and argued that the union had certainly compiled the data but concealed them. In 1994, she had personally seen Garbage Union personnel collecting the data and inputting them into a computer. The presiding judge (Usami Takao) had also visited the landfill in December 1995 and had found equipment for monitoring the water quality, including electronically collected underground water quality data; he had, however, not seen any records of such data. The Garbage Union insisted during the first hearing that the data in question did not exist at all. Water quality had been monitored on a daily basis but the union had not kept the records.

Only one month later, on February 21, 1996, the district court ruled in favor of the residents and ordered the Garbage Union to disclose the underground water quality data of the Hinode landfill to the residents, and that the penalty payments be continued until those data had been submitted. The judge stressed that the Garbage Union had the “key” to stop the penalty payments. Once they disclosed the respective data, the payment could be terminated¹⁹¹. Nakanishi Shinao of the

¹⁹¹ Statement according to an AS article: AS: February 22, 1996.

Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode said: “I am glad to get a concise, clear decision” (AS: February 22, 1996). He hopefully hinted that the court decision, especially the clear statement that the underground water quality data “existed”, would certainly influence the construction of the second landfill, because this was planned to be built with the same technology as the first, and that it would hopefully sway the MHW into deciding to halt the subsidies for the second landfill construction. Only five days after the court ruling and after repeated insistence that the relevant underground water quality data from 1984 until 1996 did not exist, the Garbage Union announced on February 26, 1996, that they had begun to collect these data from October 1995 and that they would disclose them from 1997 once every year in October (AS: February 27, 1996).

After the Garbage Union had refused so vehemently to disclose certain data and did not show particular interest in the concerns of the residents, not all representatives in the Garbage Union assembly meeting and local city councilors agreed with the uncompromising stance of the Garbage Union and some of them began to express their concern publicly. For example, shortly after the court decision, during a regular Garbage Union assembly meetings on February 26, 1996, where the almost 18 billion Yen budget for the Yatosawa landfill and the construction and operation of the new landfill No II was debated and accepted by the majority of all representatives, some assembly members demanded the union should disclose the requested data and should not appeal again. Mr. Kawai (Kokubunji City Assembly member) expressed the right of the citizens to see the data; he added: “It is an obligation of the union to investigate the cause of the toxic leachate, and to conduct safety measures” (AS: February 28, 1996). The Garbage Union bureau chief, Hosobuchi Kiyoshi, responded he might still file a motion, but that the direction of possible appeals was still under

consideration¹⁹². He added that it would be impossible to unearth any garbage, but that the Garbage Union was conducting underground water measurements.

Similar concerns were raised during an open question time in the Tokyo Metropolitan Parliament (TMP) by the TMP Member Katô, who demanded that the Garbage Union “should dispel the residents’ suspicion by digging up the landfill” (AS: March 7, 1996). However, the director of Tokyo Metropolitan Government Public Cleansing Bureau Kita countered that it would be impossible to secure a separate temporary depository for the unearthed garbage, and that the rubber seal might have been damaged by machine parts, when the landfill was built. He insisted that the water quality research results did not show any negative environmental impact on the surrounding area, and that the environmental preservation control had been conducted appropriately (AS: February 22, 1996). In late January 1996, after residents had demanded the MHW not to grant subsidies for the construction of the second waste landfill, Hirobe Motoyoshi of the TMG Public Cleansing Bureau clearly expressed the position of his office, saying he was “not worried about confrontation on the scale of those directed against new airports or nuclear power plants”; ad verbatim, he said: “There are always some protests against public projects” (AEN: February 1, 1996).

Public relations

The day after the Garbage Union Assembly meeting, newspaper and magazine reporters were invited to see the drainage observation device, where the underground water quality is constantly measured. A Garbage Union representative insisted, however, that there was no system installed to record the electronically collected data; hence, the data that were requested by the residents’ did not exist. Despite concerns from members of some assemblies, on March 7,

¹⁹² In his words: “*Mada shuchō shitai koto mo aru node kōso suru hōkō de kendō shite iru*”. (AS: February 28, 1996).

1996, only about two weeks after the residents had won the lawsuit concerning the electronically collected data, the Garbage Union filed an appeal with the Tokyo High Court. The union justified the appeal with the claim that the demanded electrical conductivity data did not exist (AS: March 8, 1996).

Reaction of city and town assemblies to the policy of the Garbage Union

The fact that public funds were used to pay penalty payments because the Garbage Union had refused to disclose certain data provoked strong reaction from some city assemblies or individual assembly members in the Tama region of Tokyo. In June 1995, Yoshida Tsutomu, a Machida City assemblyman, requested a “demand for inspection” from the Garbage Union, and a week later, 201 assembly members from the Tama area, among them 122 members of the Japan Communist Party (JCP), also submitted an “inspection order” (*kansa seikyū*) to the union because they considered the payment of a penalty (compensation for damage) with public funds as illegal (AS: June 21, 1995).

Some city assemblies in the Tama area also slowly began to get nervous about the uncompromising attitude of the union because they feared the attitude of citizens could turn from supportive to critical and disputing. One example is Hino City, where the city council’s public welfare committee on 20 September 1995 adopted a petition by residents to approach to Garbage Disposal Union to request the disclosure of the disputed water quality data. It should be noted that throughout the dispute, Hino-city was the only city within the Tokyo Metropolitan area that was governed by a JCP mayor (as of the 1990s).

Lawsuit against the Construction of Landfill II

After the first series of mediations (see above) between the representatives of the residents’ groups and the Tokyo Metropolitan Pollution Examination Association had been conducted between August 1993 and 19 October 1994, when they were terminated by the residents, on 20 February 1995, 166 residents and members of the Association for Forest, Water and Life of Hinode filed

another lawsuit with the Tokyo District Court, Hachioji branch. In light of the suspicion of a leakage in the first landfill, the plaintiffs demanded: (1) a comprehensive pollution investigation of the underground water including the removal of soil in the surrounding area, since the probable leakage made it very likely that toxic leachate had seeped into the ground and subsequently into the ground water, (2) the repair of the blocking water rubber seat, (3) the interruption of garbage delivery to the first landfill until the repair work had been concluded, and finally, their most important demand, (4) the prohibition of the construction of the landfill II.

During the first hearing on May 17, 1995, the plaintiffs (Mr. Nunotani Kasuyo (40) and three representatives) insisted, that there is a swamp and a well on the west side of the projected area for the second landfill, and that it is unwise to build a landfill at the head of a river, and most important, that the Garbage Union had not provided clear answers in connection with the leakage suspicion (AS: May 18, 1995.). The plea to submit documents on July 17, 1995, was followed by six further oral hearings (pleading sessions) until July 3, 1996, see figure 2¹⁹³. The plaintiffs' lawyer Kajiyama Shôzô, who had become an expert concerning the legal matters of waste disposal facilities and construction and the pollution risks the residents in the vicinity might face, repeatedly explained to the court the concerns of the residents in face of the "indisputable fact"¹⁹⁴ of the leakage in the rubber sheet of the Yatosawa landfill and the possible negative environmental impact this might have on the surrounding environment (statement during the 6th hearing on 3 July 1996, AS: 4.7.96). Kajiyama argued that as long as this risk remains, the residents should not be forced to suffer

¹⁹³ The 2nd hearing followed on 19 July 1995, the 3rd on 18 October 1995, the 4th on 17 January 1996, the 5th on 17 April, and the 6th on 3 July (see: figure 2).

¹⁹⁴ Since the original 1993 Asahi Shinbun reporting in which the leakage was first reported had carried pictures of holes – some of them patched up – it was clear to the residents and many observers that leaks had indeed occurred. Whether these leaks had let to toxic leachate seeping through into the ground, could only have been proven without doubt by the underground water quality data.

from still another landfill, therefore, the construction of the second waste landfill should be prohibited.

The following figure illustrates the complexity and duration of only one of the lawsuits the residents' movement fought between 1995 and 1998 (this lawsuit had still not been concluded when this thesis was written). Only the fact that a few leaders devoted the larger amount of their time to this dispute and particularly to the three distinct lawsuits can explain why the residents' movements could undergo such a long-term and psychologically and physically demanding endeavor.

The Lawsuit to prohibit the construction of the II. landfill in Hinode

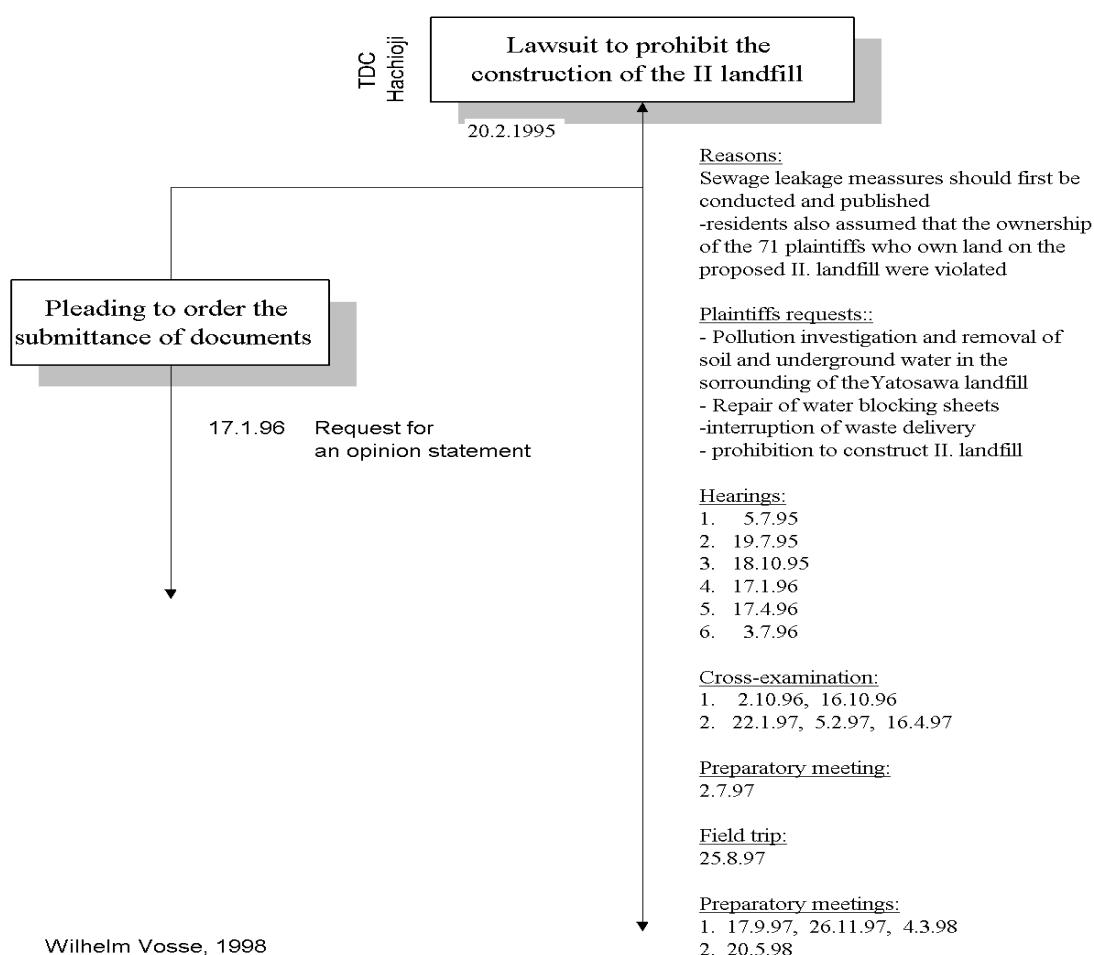


Figure 2 Lawsuit to prohibit the construction of the landfill II in Hinode (TDC = Tokyo District Court)

The Trust Ground Expropriation Lawsuit

Shortly after the setting up of the “trust movement”, in December 1994 residents began to purchase land and distributed pamphlets and information to other residents and particularly asking people from various other parts of Japan and even a relatively large number of foreigners to buy small plots of land (often not more than 1 sq. m), so that it would be difficult for the Metropolitan Government and the Garbage Union to forcefully expropriate the land. The small plots of land of not more than 460 sq. m was located in the middle of the ground for the planned second landfill.

In September 1995, only nine month after they had begun to sell the land in commission of a farmer who formerly owned it, and with the help of a lawyer, the ground was jointly owned by 695 people from all parts of Japan as well as a number of people living abroad. On September 29, 1995, the Garbage Union applied to the Tokyo Metropolitan Government for the project authorization for the second landfill based on the Land Expropriation Law¹⁹⁵. In order to authorize the project, the Garbage Union urged the Trust Movement to sell and warned that they would otherwise forcefully expropriate it (AS: September 30, 1995). The Garbage Union wanted to conclude the preliminary planning stage for the second landfill as soon as possible because it was scheduled to go into operation by April 1996. Mr. Tajima and other representatives of the residents' movements reacted with great anger, considering the threat of forceful expropriation as another example of the inconsiderate tactics of the Garbage Union given the fact that the leakage problem was still not solved and the construction prohibition lawsuit still pending. The Garbage Union was putting the trust movement under great pressure, but it was exactly these pressures that

¹⁹⁵ According to the Japanese Land Expropriation Law (*Shūjōhō*), article 3 the expropriation of land can be used by a number of public entities and for a number of purposes, including (sentence 27) for the construction of general waste and industrial waste processing facilities according to the law concerning the processing of the waste which have been set up by local public organizations. (Own translation).

united the movements and its members, and in effect increased their powers of resistance.

However, at the end of October 1995, the Garbage Union decided that they would go ahead with their application for project authorization based on the Land Expropriation Law, thereby rejecting the appeal of 145 residents, who had demanded to withdraw the business authorization application¹⁹⁶. A JCP Kokubunji-City councilor also raised worries and demanded that the water quality data should first fully be released, but the secretary of the Garbage Union Hosobuchi Kiyoshi rejected those doubts and stressed once again, that the water quality data from the Yatosawa landfill had revealed that it was not polluted at all (AS: October 24, 1995).

Two months later, in December 1995, Tokyo Metropolitan Governor Aoshima Yukio announced that the Tokyo Metropolitan Government had granted project authorization for the second landfill based on the Land Expropriation Law. He explained that decision with the urgent necessity of a second landfill so that the garbage business in the Tama area could continue. He also urged the Garbage Union to begin the recording of electronically conducted underground water quality data and the immediate disclosure of those data so that the citizens in Hinode could stop worrying, assuming that the underground water quality data would not show a higher level of toxic elements than other water streams. After the time the Tokyo Governor had given his official statement, about 40 residents shouted in front of the TMG pressroom that the TMG had just decided to “give permission to pollute the water in the mountains of Hinode even more”. Mr. Miwa Kei, a representative of the “Hinode Forest - Trust Association” called this decision “deeply undemocratic” (AS: December 22, 1995) and blamed the TMG for not listening to the residents’ arguments at all. They stressed their

¹⁹⁶ A permit that allows a commercial company or a government or administrative body to conduct a specified responsibility or business, such as the management and operation of a waste landfill or waste incinerator.

strong determination not to give up the trust ground, even when they would be forcefully expropriated, something that was already very likely.

Governor Aoshima argued in his press conference after the announcement, that the waste of more than 3,6 million citizens had to be processed and that the Garbage Union was doing a very good job. He stressed further that uninterrupted delivery of garbage to the landfills in Hinode had to be secured, and that therefore the construction of the second landfill had to be started as soon as possible. Aoshima promised that the Garbage Union would disclose all the data it got to ensure continued public trust (AS: December 22, 1995). He stressed, that the TMG Expropriation Committee could decide about the expropriation within one year after the negotiation between the landowners and the TMG had been concluded without solution; a procedure that was in accordance with the Land Expropriation Law.

However, not all cities supported the strong approach of the Garbage Union to apply for project authorization based on the Land Expropriation Law, which would ultimately mean a forced expropriation of the land that was at that time owned by about 2000 people and managed by the Trust movement. On February 20, 1996, a city council committee in Tama-city, where the mayor at that time was the managing director of the Garbage Union, adopted a petition to withdraw the project authorization based on the Land Expropriation Law of the Tokyo San-Tama Regional Waste Disposal Union for the second landfill. Four of the six committee members (who belonged to the JCP, Seikatsusha Network, Reform Group, Creation Group¹⁹⁷) voted in favor of adopting the petition, the other two committee members from the Shinsei Club and Komeito voted against it (AS: February 21, 1996).

¹⁹⁷ The respective party or faction names in Japanese are as follows: Seikatsusha Network = *netto-jiji*, Reform Group = *kaikaku no kai*, Creation Group = *kizun no kai*.

On February 21, 1996, the Garbage Disposal Union notified the 1066 landowners that they intended to proceed with the forced expropriation and that the investigation of trust ground would begin one month later, on 18 March 1996 (AS: February 22, 1996)¹⁹⁸. Only one day later, the Garbage Union began to block the road to the trust site, so that residents no longer had access to it; a tactic that was supposed to emphasize the determination of the Garbage Union to proceed with the expropriation of the trust site and the construction of the second landfill.

A week before the inspection of the trust site was due, on March 12, 1996, ten representatives of the “Forest of Hinode - Trust Association” residents group led by Miwa Kei, who was 76 at that time, filed an administrative lawsuit with the Tokyo District Court, to request Governor Aoshima to withdraw the project authorization from the Garbage Union and to stop the forced expropriation process, arguing that the garbage landfill was not in public interest, as required by the Land Expropriation Law, and that the planned landfill was at the head of a river and therefore threatening the health of all residents.

On June 2, 1996, the Garbage Union finally sent the documents to the Trust Movement, which managed the trust site on behalf of the now more than 2500 owners, demanding the transfer of the land by 19 June 1996, thereby proceeding with the last steps of the expropriation process. The Trust Movement reacted with disgust; their representative Miwa Kei stated that he wanted to visit the TMG Expropriation Committee and the Disposal Union on the same day, in order to reconfirm the intention of the document (AS: July 3, 1996). Nevertheless, two and a half months later, on 18 September 1996, the Garbage Union finally asked the TMG Expropriation Committee to turn over the land to

¹⁹⁸ On the same day, the residents had won the water quality data lawsuit and admitted to inspect all data available.

the union and urged the owners to sign-seal¹⁹⁹ the agreement in the public hall in Hinode-machi. The opposition residents' Trust Movement, however, repulsed the warning in a newspaper with the words "we are very strong" (AS: September 19, 1996) and subsequently, the 2103 owners of the trust movement's ground rejected to sign or seal stamp the document and even attached an objection note to the letter.

The Garbage Union was now able to decide to apply for a compulsory expropriation of the trust ground, but had still time until December 18, 1996, which would make one year after they had first applied for an authorization of the project based on the Land Expropriation Law in December 1995. Between September 1996 and November 1996, some negotiations took place between the trust movement and the garbage union, but they ended in failure. Then, shortly before the end of the one-year period determined by the Land Expropriation Law, the Garbage Union applied to the TMG Expropriation Committee to finally make a decision on the surrender of the trust movement's grounds. According to the managing director of the Garbage Union, Usui Chiaki, this was the first time ever in Japan that it became necessary to apply the Land Expropriation Law in order to force owners to surrender land for a garbage landfill (AS: December 13, 1996).

In May 1997 a series of TMG Expropriation Committee hearings began on this matter, during which the Garbage Union continuously argued that the waste of 3.6 million people in the Tama area were at stake and that the first landfill was nearly full, therefore the construction for the second landfill had to be finished without any further delay. The more than 1,000 landowners and environmental activists who went to attend the first hearing on May 8, 1997 countered with the argument, that the Garbage Union could not be trusted because they were not even willing to disclose the water quality data the residents had been fighting for

¹⁹⁹ The owners were requested to bring their personal seal (*inkan*) in order to officially and legally abandon their property rights.

in the courts for such a long time. A number of representatives of the residents' movements who had accompanied the six lawyers, argued in favor of an abolition of the construction of the second landfill, and stressed the lack of trust in the Garbage Union they and many other citizens in Hinode-machi had.

The second hearing took place on July 7, 1997, where the residents complained about the fact that they could not have access to the Garbage Union meeting and still did not have the data they wanted. Furthermore, Mr. Hagiwara, a Hinode-machi resident, emphasized the residents' doubts and complained by arguing that the Garbage Union had had the last thirteen years to approach the rising garbage problem differently, for example by trying to reduce the amount of garbage but "failed to do anything" about this problem (AS: July 8, 1997).

The process continued with a visit of the chairman of the TMG Expropriation Committee, Nukido Tetsuo, at the trust movement's ground. Since the residents had started the trust movement and sold small plots of land to more than 2,900 owners, they did not only want to use the small plots of land in the middle of the forest, far away from any street, but they wanted to use them to promote and publicize their goals. Therefore, they had built a stage, a tent, and a little playground for children at the site and regularly used the place for events, including concerts and seminars. This visit of the chairman was the first time a public official had seen these wooden constructions in an official mission. The residents took the opportunity to explain the situation in the forest and the high risk of environmental pollution through the landfill to the chairman for about twenty minutes. (AS: November 11, 1997).

During the third hearing, the residents and the Garbage Union stressed again their opposition. It was concluded that there were still many problems before a land expropriation could take place, so the Garbage Union on December 24, 1997 agreed with the Hinode self-governing body to continue the use of the first landfill even after the end of December 1998, the planned date of

discontinuation, and secondly, to start the construction of the second landfill on January 16, 1998. Naturally, the residents' movements strongly criticized this agreement. Eito Chie, a member of the "Association of Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode" said: "There is no explanation, neither from the disposal union nor from Hinode-machi. The Yatosawa landfill leakage problem is not solved, and the residents' anxiety is not released. It is a fact, that the current administration is not a bit sincere" (AS: December 24, 1997, own translation). Despite the fact that the Garbage Union did not have the right to use the small plot of land that was still not expropriated, they began filling the second landfill with waste on January 29, 1998. The expropriation process continued with a second visit of the chairman of the TMG Expropriation Committee on March 17, 1998.

4.1.3.5 Legislative and Executive Approaches

The court cases clearly stood in the center of the attention of the movement, particularly because it was an effective way to keep public and media attention focused on the case. Nevertheless, the citizens' group also used legislative channels to prevent the construction of the second landfill: they run a candidate in the local mayoral elections, citizens' activists became candidates in the Hinode-machi town assembly elections, and they made their stance public during the Tokyo Metropolitan Assembly elections. Those tactics will be described in more detail next.

Mayoral Elections in Hinode-machi in 1994 and 1998

The mayoral elections in Hinode-machi in 1994 were the first after the leak in the plastic seal of the Yatosawa landfill (first landfill) had been discovered and the residents' protest movement had been set up. The residents' movements saw the mayoral election as an ideal opportunity to make their issue and the groups activities more public and selected one of their most prominent leaders, Nakanishi Nanao, as their candidate for the post of mayor of Hinode.

As expected, in this mayoral election, the landfill problem became the main election issue. The incumbent, mayor Aoki Kunichiro (65), who officially run as an independent but had always been supported by the LDP, was one of the sternest proponents of the landfill project and was supported by about 8,000 people, according to his own information, hence about two third of the town electorate of about 12,000. He also received support from all mayors of the cities, towns, and wards within Metropolitan Tokyo, as well as from the Tokyo Governor. Mayor Aoki used the typical Japanese election campaign style, hence loudspeaker vans, speeches, pamphlets and other election events such as campaign parties. Nakanishi, on the other hand, defied the common election campaign style and preferred to use a word to mouth campaign and only some street advertisement.

The result of the election on April 11, 1994, showed clearly, that Nakanishi and the opposition movement were able to mobilize a large number of residents who voted in their favor; however, they could not win the elections. Mayor Aoki received 5,627 votes and his opponent Nakanishi 2,456. Despite of the fact that the elections were very issue-oriented since the decision about the landfill was at stake, the turnout remained much lower than in the previous election, namely 68.6%, in contrast to 82.1% in 1990.

The landfill problem again dominated the next mayoral elections on April 5, 1998. The incumbent mayor Aoki (69) again ran for office with the support of the LDP and 13 mayors of the 27 cities and one village that composes the San-Tama Garbage Union. His opponent this time, Amamiya Keio (55), a “*minikomi*” magazine editor and housewife, who in August 1995 had become a town councilor in Hinode-machi on an anti-construction ticket, but who had to give up her seat in order to run as a candidate for mayor²⁰⁰. The whole election campaign could not have been more polarized. The incumbent mayor Aoki

²⁰⁰ In Japan, it is required by law that city councilors have to give up their seats before they run for mayor.

stressed in campaign speeches the security of the two landfills and that the surrounding environment had so far not been negatively effected at all. He repeatedly praised the high standard of science and technology used in the construction of the landfill. Aoki promised his voters to build sports and cultural facilities on the site of the Yatosawa landfill once it was full (AS: March 30, 1998).

His opponent Amamiya Keiko on the other side stressed in her campaign speeches the danger of the landfill and the probable health risks. She said “the Garbage Union has harmed the residents” and she demanded “thorough safety measures” (own translation, AS: 1.4.1998). Unlike the anti-construction residents’ group candidate Nakanishi four years earlier, Amamiya more or less fought a regular election campaign with about 20 campaign speeches every day and personal telephone calls from her campaign headquarter during the one week of campaign. Furthermore, officially she did not run as a representative of the residents group but as an individual independent candidate, probably because they feared the image of the residents’ group might not have been appealing or too radical for a number of voters.

The election turnout was again lower than in 1994, only 67.7%. The election results again showed a deep division within the population of Hinode. Although mayor Aoki was reelected with 5,146 votes (40%), Amamiya Keiko could secure 3,396 votes (26,4%), of the 12,864 votes, hence about 800 more than the opponents’ candidate Nakanishi could four years earlier. This was the second time that the support of the major political parties in Japan, the LDP, the support of most mayors of the other cities and towns in the San-Tama area, and the strong personal network of the incumbent mayor Aoki had again been successful in winning the election. This case illustrate that the anti-construction resident’s movement in Hinode (and other places with similar problems), despite clear-cut issues that are fundamentally important for the locality, independent residents’ movements have in general virtually no real chance to win the post of

the head of a local administration, particularly without any vocal support from any one of the major political parties.

Hinode-machi Town Assembly Elections in 1995

The residents' movement considered the approach to gain influence through the administration and the legislature as essentially important because they did not assume that they could block the construction of the second landfill only through judicial means. After they had failed to win the mayoral elections in 1994, they considered the town assembly elections in August 1995 as their next opportunity. The anti-construction movement *Association for Forest, Water, and Life of Hinode* nominated six candidates who were supported by a large number of residents. This time, all six candidates were elected, so that from August 1995, 6 of the 18 assembly members were from the residents' movement²⁰¹. For the Hinode-machi movement, this electoral success was not only important in terms of actual political influence, but also as a renewed incentive to continue their protest activities.

The residents also used the Metropolitan Government elections in May 1997 as another opportunity to campaign in public and to make it clear to the other candidates, that the Hinode landfill problem was still unsolved and that the garbage problem would be one of the major issue for the coming years.

Petitions

Another important strategy of the anti-construction residents' movements was the mobilization of the general public within Hinode but also in the Tokyo Metropolitan area. They did this not only through conferences and street demonstrations, but also through signature campaigns for petitions. The first one was submitted in May 1992, shortly after the town council of Hinode had accepted the plan for the second landfill. The petition that was signed by over

²⁰¹ The turnout in 1995 was 79.7 %, similar to the mayoral election four years prior, when the turnout was 82.8%, which had then been comparatively high for Japanese local elections.

16,000 residents demanded from the Hinode-machi town assembly the withdrawal of the plans for the second landfill. However, the town assembly did not adopt this petition. In December 1994, another petition (*ikensho*) that was this time supported by more than 117,000 residents and which demanded a freeze of the plan for the construction of the second landfill and an environmental assessment, was submitted to the TMG Environmental Preservation Bureau by Tajima Kiyoe (representative of the “Hinode assessment report association”), shortly before a TMG hearing about the second landfill plan (AS: December 23, 1994). Although this had probably been one of most widely supported petitions in postwar Japan, it did not have the effect the residents had hoped for, since the TMG did proceed with their planning for the landfill and expropriation of the trust ground.

4.1.3.6 Counter Measures by the Proponents of the Landfill

The election success of mayor Aoki who was one of the most outspoken proponents of the landfill construction made it clear that there was a relatively large number of construction proponents, within and outside of Hinode-machi. Those proponents had initiated their own official as well as covert campaign. The covert campaign was, according to information from the opposition groups, organized by an organization that was closely connected to the yakuza, or crime syndicates.

In June 1992 for example, rightist groups began a campaign to threaten members of the town assembly who were not in favor of the second landfill plans into giving up their opposition stance. For about two weeks, they harassed them with extremely large loudspeaker sound vans, which were positioned directly in front of their private houses, as well as by spreading false rumors about the opponents²⁰². These tactics by the proponents, which were later repeated in other landfill and incinerator construction sites in Japan exemplified

²⁰² According to information from members of the residents’ movements, and (Nakanishi 1995:14), p. 14.

the seriousness of the case and the potential monetary power that was involved (exemplified e.g. in the case of the mayor of Mitake-cho, Yanagawa, p. 112).

4.1.3.7 The Role of the Media

Throughout the campaign of the residents' movement in Hinode, the media and particularly national newspapers played an important role in their tactics. It was the Asahi Shinbun which published the first report about the leak in the rubber seal on March 17, 1992, and it was this newspaper and more infrequently also other newspapers²⁰³, notably the Tokyo Shinbun, that published articles about movement activities and events²⁰⁴, but especially about the progress of the various lawsuits. From the very beginning of the lawsuit, for the movement leaders the most important thing was not success in court, but the media attention that such lawsuits frequently attract²⁰⁵.

²⁰³ Searches in the electronic archives covering articles, which appeared in the national editions of the Yomiuri Shinbun and the Mainichi Shinbun, have proven that they have reported about the Hinode-machi landfill problem to a significantly lesser extent than the Asahi Shinbun has. However, it has to be noted that articles counted in the electronic archives of the Asahi Shinbun also included articles that appeared only in the regional editions, in the case of the Hinode landfill problem, they appeared only in the Tokyo or Tama area editions, and sometimes not in the national edition.

²⁰⁴ The Asahi Shinbun for example, did not only report on the events, but for certain occasions also profiled leading activist of the residents' movements in Hinode-machi. In May 23, 1992, it portrayed Tajima Kiyoe in a rather long article.

²⁰⁵ According to interview respondents, members and supporters of the *Hinode no mori, mizu, inochi no kai*.

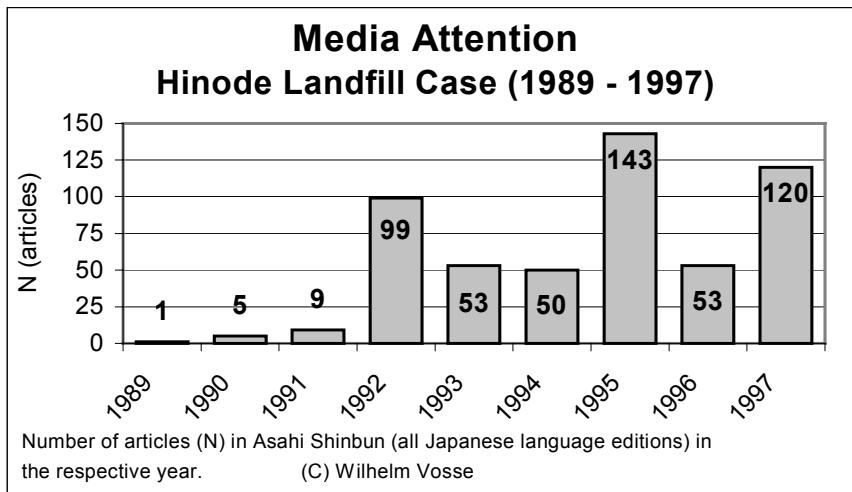


Figure 3 Media Attention²⁰⁶ (Hinode Landfill Case)

Figure 3 illustrates the rising media attention of the Hinode-machi residents' movement. After the leak in the protecting sheet had been discovered in 1992, the number of articles in the Asahi Shinbun grew considerably. Many of the articles were about the progress in the lawsuits, but many others also included reports and announcements of events in the forests, therefore it can be concluded that the residents' protest movements in Hinode-machi have been successful in using newspapers to attract general attention.

Although there are not many television programs in Japan in which individual opposition movement have a chance to be portrayed, those campaigns and movements which attract nationwide attention or which are "vanguard-movements" and those that represent major environmental problems are sometimes portrayed in documentaries on NHK (public television) or on the local television stations. In the case of the Hinode residents' movement, NHK and TX-telebi (a television station that broadcasts only in Tokyo via cable) broadcasted longer documentaries about the activities and the landfill and waste problem in Japan in general.

²⁰⁶ Based on the counting of all articles in all Japanese language editions (morning and evening edition, all regional editions) of the Asahi Shinbun, which included the words: *Hinode-machi, Yatosawa, and shobunjo* (waste disposal site).

In 1993 the opposition group produced their own documentary movie titled “Express delivery from water” (*Mizu kara no sokutatsu*) and directed by Nishiyama, who had earlier also made a film about Minamata disease. It depicted nature in Yatosawa and how negatively it was disrupted by the first landfill and how the wells and the houses in the vicinity of the landfill are harmed by plastic additives and heavy metal that has been found in the river water and the ground. It shows the stark contrast to the life in the mountains during their grandparents’ time, when they could still drink the water in the rivers and make tea with it.

This movie was frequently shown at symposiums and information events from July 1993, and was also sold for about 5,000 Yen, thereby providing a little income for the citizen organizations. The production was very important for the groups. First, to bind the group members closer together by one positive project, and - more importantly - by giving the media vivid pictures and explanations. The movie, or at least parts of it, was shown on national and local television a number of times. A number of newspapers and magazines also reported on the movie and its showings²⁰⁷, mostly in public places such as public or welfare halls, but not in movie theatres.

4.1.3.8 The Role of Research

Scientific research data, particularly water quality data, but also the environmental impact of the two landfills stood at the center of the activities of the Hinode case. Reliable and presentable research data, which would be convincing in the lawsuits but which could also attract public and media attention has been paramount in this case, particularly because the water in the rivers and lakes was not visibly polluted, it looked clean, so that only scientifically based data could prove the residents’ case. Therefore, the residents conducted

²⁰⁷ E.g., AS November 1, 1993, AS December 2, 1993, or April 5, 1994 reported about the movie and listed time and place for future showings. The influential Japanese language magazine *Ekonomisto* (Economist) in its 23.12.1993 issue also reported extensively about the garbage problems in Tokyo and the incidents in Hinode-machi, but also about the documentary movie.

their own water quality research in the mountains of Yatosawa. The residents' movements AFLW also gave the research institute "Pland" a contract to conduct underground water quality research. The results showed clearly the high amount of toxic elements and heavy metals in the ground water, which could not have been of natural origin. This enabled the residents' movement to underpin their suspicion of a leak in the rubber seat in the first landfill.

4.1.3.9 Concluding Remarks

The residents' protest movements in Hinode-machi are classic examples of a Japanese protest movement, which made use of a broad variety of social, political, and legal means in order to achieve their objective, but finally lost their battle because certain decisions (to construct the second landfill) had been made by government offices long before the residents were aware of it, and involved large amounts of financial incentives for the locality. The second landfill has been built and is in operation since April 1998.

The movement dynamics follow all the steps outlined by Hannigan (2.1.1), namely: the assembly of data and information (here, the discovery of a leak in the protecting sheet and the water quality investigations), the presenting of the problem issue (here, the residents' movement made use of all means to spread their knowledge through mass media as well as own publications and public events), and finally contested their claim in public debates, in the courts, as well as in election campaigns. One can say, they followed all the rules to make the likelihood of success as high as possible, endured for many years, did not abandon their battle even when their chances of success looked dim at times, did not compromise with the authorities and hence did not seem to be guided by any type of "Japanese way of conflict solving"²⁰⁸. Similar to the dispute along the Nagara River, this dispute took place in a rather rural part of Tokyo; nevertheless,

²⁰⁸ The way of conflict solving that has often been perceived as typical for Japan, in that conflicts are solved in private negotiations, behind closed doors, and by eventually giving all participants the chance not to "lose their face".

the residents' movement did not appear to be conservative in their tactics and activities, but rather determined to use all legal means in order to achieve their objective. One of the most important reasons why the movement could protract but not prevent the construction was not only the lack of information, the unwillingness of the authorities to think about alternative ways of garbage processing or prevention, but also the lack of financial and personal resources, and the fact that despite the broad support from individuals, lawyers, and other environmental organizations, in the eyes of the authorities, the residents of Hinode-machi remained merely a group of angry residents who could not understand the necessity of the construction of a second landfill and who were not important and powerful enough to be taken politically seriously. The case of the Hinode movement exemplified that in Japan, success or failure of a residents' movement is not so much determined by their strategies and tactics, but actually even before they begin to mobilize, namely during the planning stages of the project, in this case the landfill; and because information about the planning is in many cases only published after everything has been decided by the responsible agencies. Similar movements appear to have a chance to succeed only if they have access to internal administrative information during or before any decisions are made; hence, they need assistance and help from inside the local or prefectural government.

4.2 NATURE PROTECTION MOVEMENTS

4.2.0 Introduction

Amidst the very large number of small-scale environmental organizations and groups, there are a few larger organizations with a few tens of thousands of members, which are well established and generally highly respected in Japan. Examples are the Wildbird Society of Japan, the internationally based Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF-J), or the Nature Conservation Society of Japan.

The Japanese Wildbird Society²⁰⁹ was founded in 1934 and is therefore not only one of the oldest nature protection organizations in Japan, but with its 45,000 members the largest. Its organizational structure is very professional and decentralized with about 230 branch offices and groups in all parts of Japan. Its yearly budget totals one billion Yen (8.5 million Euro), of which 30 % is covered by membership fees, 50% by the sale of books and other products, and 20% by donation. The core activity areas are: (1) direct nature protection, (2) environmental research, and (3) international exchange. Traditionally, the main target of its nature protection activities and research activities is the protection and observation of wild birds, and the protection of their natural habitat. Eventually, this also enhances the knowledge and attention of the potentially negative influence of human civilization and pollution on the natural environment as a whole.

The Worldwide Fund for Nature – Japan (WWF-J) is the sister organization of the international nature protection organization Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) and has almost 40,000 individual members and an additional 1,400 supporting organizations, mostly industrial companies and industry networks²¹⁰, and a yearly budget of 1.1 billion Yen (about 9.4 million Euro), a large share of it is based on donations from industrial companies. Although the WWF-J frequently emphasizes its independence from industrial interests, many other environmental movements consider this financial dependency as a potential problem, which is supported by the fact that the WWF-J hardly ever voice public protest against specific industrial projects. Criticism is mostly kept in a rather general tone. Central activities of the WWF-J are the financial support of

²⁰⁹ These information are adopted from publications of the Yachô no kai, and a publication of the Environmental Agency's (Kankyôjo. Shizen hogo kyokukyôryoku. Shizen hogo nenkan henshû iinkaishû (eds). Shizen hogo nenkan henshû iinkaishû: 1989).

²¹⁰ Data adopted from publications of WWF-J as well as (Kankyôjo. Shizen hogo kyokukyôryoku. Shizen hogo nenkan henshû iinkaishû (eds). Shizen hogo nenkan henshû iinkaishû: 1989).

nationwide nature and wildlife protection activities, research on coral reefs²¹¹, and the protection of certain endangered species.

Both the Wildbird Society of Japan as well as the WWF-J are important environmental organizations, particularly because of their exceptionally large financial and personnel resources. But, as far as open protest activities and the open support of protest movements are concerned, the comparatively large NACS-J seems to be more outspoken, therefore this organization will be introduced in more detail.

4.2.1 The Nature Conservation Society of Japan (NACS-J)²¹²

4.2.1.0 Introduction

The NACS-J was founded in 1951 by volunteers who from 1949 had been active in the *Oze Marsh Conservation Union*²¹³, a movement that wanted to save the wetlands of Oze from a hydroelectric project (NACS-J Homepage, March 1998). In the course of this protection project, the two founders of the movement conducted the first environmental assessment of the project as early as 1927, such activities therefore became one of its main focus until today. In the beginning, the activities of the NACS-J were concentrated in a few localities, namely the protection of the Oze Moor and the protest against mining plans in Akan National Park in Hokkaido, but from the mid 1950, they became national

²¹¹ The research is on coral reefs in general.

²¹² The original name is: (*zaidan hōjin*) *Nihon shizen hogo kyōkai*. Following, the abbreviation NACS-J will be used.

²¹³ The *Oze Marsh Protection Union* was founded by the initiative by the plant taxonomists Dr. Takeda Hisayoshi and Dr. Tamura Takeshi, who had visited Oze Moor in 1905. In 1903, the Meiji government had announced a plan to construct a hydroelectric dam in the area that would have destroyed the moor. In 1927 both scientists conducted the first environmental impact assessment of this project, which forced the Ministry of Education to conduct its own survey in 1930 which resulted in a recommendation to designate the whole area a *National Monument*. In the same year, *National Park Act* was made law, and in 1937, Oze Moor was designated as a part of Nikko National Park. (Part of the information based on: (Suzuki 1995: 4). A detailed chronology of events and an introduction of the Oze Moor movement can be found in: (*Fukushima-ken shizen hogo kyōkai* [Fukushima-ken shizen hogo kyōkai] [Fukushima Prefecture. Nature Conservation Society] 1993) .

in scale. In 1960, the NACS-J became the first nature conservation organization in Japan that was incorporated and granted the judicial status of *incorporated foundation* (*zaidan hōjin*).

4.2.1.2 Activities

In their own words, the “mission of NACS-J is to ensure the conservation of ecosystems and biological diversity to make recommendations based on scientific data”²¹⁴. Their main activities are concentrated in the following areas: (1) conservation of the ecosystem of forests, rivers and streams, wetlands, coral reefs, traditional villages and their surrounding woodland, (2) conducting conservation research, (3) activities in environmental education, and (4) information of the general public and politicians about environmental issues.

In cooperation with researchers, their members develop recommendations for certain nature conservation projects and activities, the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, the RAPTOR Convention, and the Biodiversity Convention²¹⁵. In order to pursue these activities, NACS-J cooperates extensively with Japanese and international nature protection organizations²¹⁶. The NACS-J conducts basic research to support their conservation activities and protest activities, which included an environmental impact assessment of the Nagara River dam. They also manage the *Nature Conservation Library*, and

²¹⁴ Internet homepage of the NACS-J in Japanese and English (www.nacsj.or.jp), as of March 1998.

²¹⁵ The NACS-J is active in the cooperation regarding these treaties. Striking examples of wildlife protection is the commitment in the protection of the Golden Eagle, which was feared to be near extinction in the early 1990s and occupied a small habitat in Akita prefecture. The NACS-J began to conduct a three-year research project in cooperation with the Japanese Society for the Study of Gold Eagles and local NACS-J members. The report they issued in 1994 resulted in a significant reduction of the development plan and an enlargement of a wildlife protection area. The positive result of this research project encouraged other local groups nationwide to start their own research projects to get scientific data to support their conservation activities. As another result, the Forestry Agency and the Environmental Agency began preparation for guidelines for raptor protection and a review of the environmental impact assessment procedures.

²¹⁶ The NACS-J itself names the IUCN and UNESCO as examples.

compiled a *Red Data Book*²¹⁷ covering endangered species and plant communities, a project that had originally been started by the Environmental Agency in 1989 and had later been discontinued, because of insufficient funding.

Additionally, the NACS-J is very active in the field of environmental education. The official monthly publication *Shizen hogo*²¹⁸ (Nature Conservation) for instance introduces endangered species, environmental activities in all parts of Japan, gives advise on how to protect the environment, and how to educate and raise awareness of children and adults. In 1978, the NACS-J has established its own training program for *Nature Conservation Educators*, whom they send to visitor centers of national parks in all parts of Japan. In 1997, more than 14000 educators throughout Japan were active in this program. Additionally, they organize and hold conservation seminars, nature outings and symposiums with approximately 4000 participants each year²¹⁹, and publish a great number of environmental education materials, including "Field Guide Books" which explain different types of nature observations. The NACS-J has established a "Nature Trek and Research Center" on Yakushima Island for nature research and education on nature conservation, and compiled a list of so-called "Nature Inns" in all parts of Japan where people can stay and learn about the natural environment in the respective area.

The NASC-J has recognized early the importance of environmental education. As early as 1957, long before there was any environmental education curriculum in school or in adult education, they have filed the "Petition Regarding Nature Conservation Education". After the big pollution cases had led to rising

²¹⁷ Together with WWF-J, the NACS-J has published a Red Data Book of plant species (*Current Situation of Important Plant Species for Conservation in Japan*) in 1989, and a Red Data Book of Plant Communities in 1996, revealing the status of Japan's plant communities. It includes a list of communities, which urgently require protection.

²¹⁸ *Shizen hogo* has a circulation of about 20,000 copies and is distributed to members, government agencies, local governments, and corporations.

²¹⁹ Especially during the so-called "Environmental Week" in early May of each year.

environmental concern in the early 1970s, they drafted and submitted an “Opinion Statement Concerning the Introduction of Nature Conservation Education into the Curriculum” to the Ministry of Education, and other concerned agencies. However, as of the late 1990s, environmental education is still not taught on a regular base in Japanese school, and there are still only two universities in Japan that have a designated institute for environmental education²²⁰. A very essential aim is to inform the general public about environmental problems and nature conservation activities; therefore, they provide information through the Internet and by sending regular information faxes to interested people and the mass media.

Major projects and protest notes between 1951 and 1997

Since its foundation, the NACS-J has been involved in a great number of nature conservation projects. Many of these commitments have led to the discontinuation of development projects or the drafting and enactment of laws and regulations. Following are some examples of the wide variety of activities and projects the NACS-J has been involved in since its foundation in 1952²²¹.

MAIN ACTIVITIES AND PROJECTS OF THE NACS-J	
1992 - 1997	
1952	NACS-J Councilor Dr. Tanaka Kaoru submitted a report Nature Conservation and Hydroelectric Development in Japan to 3 rd General Assembly of the International Union for the Protection of Nature (IUPN) ²²² in Venezuela.
1970	NACS-J held first public rally on nature conservation in response to Earth Day.
1972	NACS-J president Numata participated in the UN Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm.
1974	Submitted opinion paper against construction of Nagara River dam and against logging of primeval beech forest in the Asahi Mountains.
1978	Launch of <i>Nature Conservation Educators Workshop</i> to support volunteer educators in all

²²⁰Only *Tokyo Gakugei University* and the *Osaka University* have such institutes. The *Environmental Education Society of Japan* was established only in 1990, and only in 1991 has the Ministry of Education prepared guidelines for environmental education.

²²¹The description of these examples are taken from various NACS-J documents.

²²²The *International Union for the Protection of Nature* was founded in 1948 in France, and later renamed into *World Conservation Union* (IUCN). It is the world oldest international conservation organization.

	parts of Japan.
1983	Submitting opinion paper against logging and advocating conservation of the beech forest in Mt. Shirakami. NACS-J provided first office for newly established National Trust Movement.
1987	<i>Species Survival Commission of the World Conservation Union (IUCN)</i> in cooperation with NACS-J and WWF-J carried out scientific survey on Shiraho Reef. (18 th IUCN General Assembly adopted resolution advocating the conservation of Shiraho Reef in 1988).
1988	NACS-J and WWF-J submitted opinion paper against the construction of New Ishigaki Airport. (In 1989, it was decided to move the airport four kilometers to the North to avoid destruction of rare blue coral colonies.
1989	NACS-J and WWF-J publish first Red List of Endangered Plants. Designation of Forest Ecosystem Reserve ²²³ The movement to save old growth forests in the Shiretoko Peninsula (Hokkaido) and the Shirakami Mountains. The NACS-J efforts induced the Forest Agency to designate "Forest Ecosystem Reserves" to protect old forests and national lands.
1992	NACS-J was successful in impelling the government to ratify the World Heritage Convention, and to adopt the Law for the Conservation of Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora. (The 1989 Red Data Book served as a reference. Published in 1989 by the NACS-J and WWF-J.)
1993	NACS-J was one of the leading environmental organizations in Japan that made recommendation for the draft of the Basic Environment Law (1993) and the Basic Environmental Plan (1994).
1996	NACS-J had made substantial contribution to the drafting of the first National Guidelines for the Protection of Raptors, which was enacted in 1996 ²²⁴ .
1997	The Environmental Impact Assessment Law was enacted due to strong pressure and lobbying, among others by President Numata, who was again invited by the CEC and took the opportunity to make specific demands. NACS-J had been active in the protest against the Nagara River and the Chitose River dams for many years. Together with the pressure of other environmental organizations, this protest and the drafting of comprehensive recommendations of river conservation submitted to government agencies, was a significant contribution for the amendment of the River Law. The government had adopted a "National Strategy on Biological Diversity" in 1995 because they had committed themselves during the UNCED ²²⁵ in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. However, many environmental NGOs considered this strategy as unsatisfactory and the NACS-J began to draft a proposal for a revision and submitted it to the related government agencies ²²⁶ .

Figure 4 Major projects of the NACS-J (1952-1997)²²⁷

²²³ Has been notified by the Directory of the *Forestry Agency* regarding reorganization and expansion of protected forests.

²²⁴ This and other similar guidelines prepared by the Environmental Agency and the Ministry of Forestry and Fishery had been enacted in preceding years due to strong pressure from the NACS-J.

²²⁵ Abbreviation for: United Nations Conference for Environment and Development.

²²⁶ The revision was submitted in 1997 based on the opinion of a "wide range of people" (Internet homepage of NACS-J, March 1998).

²²⁷ Adopted from brochure: NACS-J (ed.). ca. 1993. Nature Conservation Japan, Tokyo, p. 6-7, as well as the Internet page at: www.nacsj.or.jp.

Above these activities major activities, NACS-J had frequently petitioned the Japanese government to save or better protect designated nature parks, forests, mountainous areas, lakes, and seashore lines. In 1989, NACS-J has established a grant program in cooperation with the Pro Nature Foundation, the *Pro Nature Fund*, in order to better support research and other nature conservation activities. According to the NASC-J, the grants that were donated to 129 projects between 1989 and 1997 have totaled 168 million Yen. In cooperation with the *Worker's Insurance Union of Japan*, in 1992 the NASC-J has set up an additional environmental research grant to support domestic environmental research and other related activities. As of 1997, 240 million Yen have been given to almost 300 projects²²⁸.

4.2.1.3 Organizational Structure and Membership

The organizational structure of the NACS-J is rather decentralized; with a central office that supports local activities (including protest activities) and environmental research, and a large number of local groups. At the top of the organization, the NASC-J has a president (Numata Makoto²²⁹), a director-general (Okutomi Kiyoshi²³⁰), and 17 directors, who are supported by 90 trustees. The administrative duties are coordinated by a secretary-general (in 1998: Murasugi Sachiko) and 16 secretariats, which supervise and coordinate all the major activities. The departments include: general affairs, conservation activities, conservation science department, education department, as well as a public relations department. The NASC-J has established a network of 778 local groups in all parts of Japan, and is a member of the international network IUCN²³¹ (World Conservation Union). They have regular meetings with administrative bodies that are related to nature protection on all levels, and are frequently

²²⁸ These data had been published in NASC-J material and their Internet page.

²²⁹ Numata is an ecologist and professor emeritus of Chiba University.

²³⁰ Okutomi is a plant ecologist, and professor emeritus of Tokyo University of Agriculture and Technology.

²³¹ Answer to Q12c in author's first mail survey in 1993.

cooperating with them in order to achieve their goals. They also have regular meetings with all political parties, to inform them about their opinions and position in terms of nature conservation, and to lobby individual politicians or fractions in the National Diet, or to cooperate with Diet parties in the deliberation of environmental policies or certain environment related decisions²³².

²³² See the list of petitions and other activities above.

Organizational Structure of the NACS-J

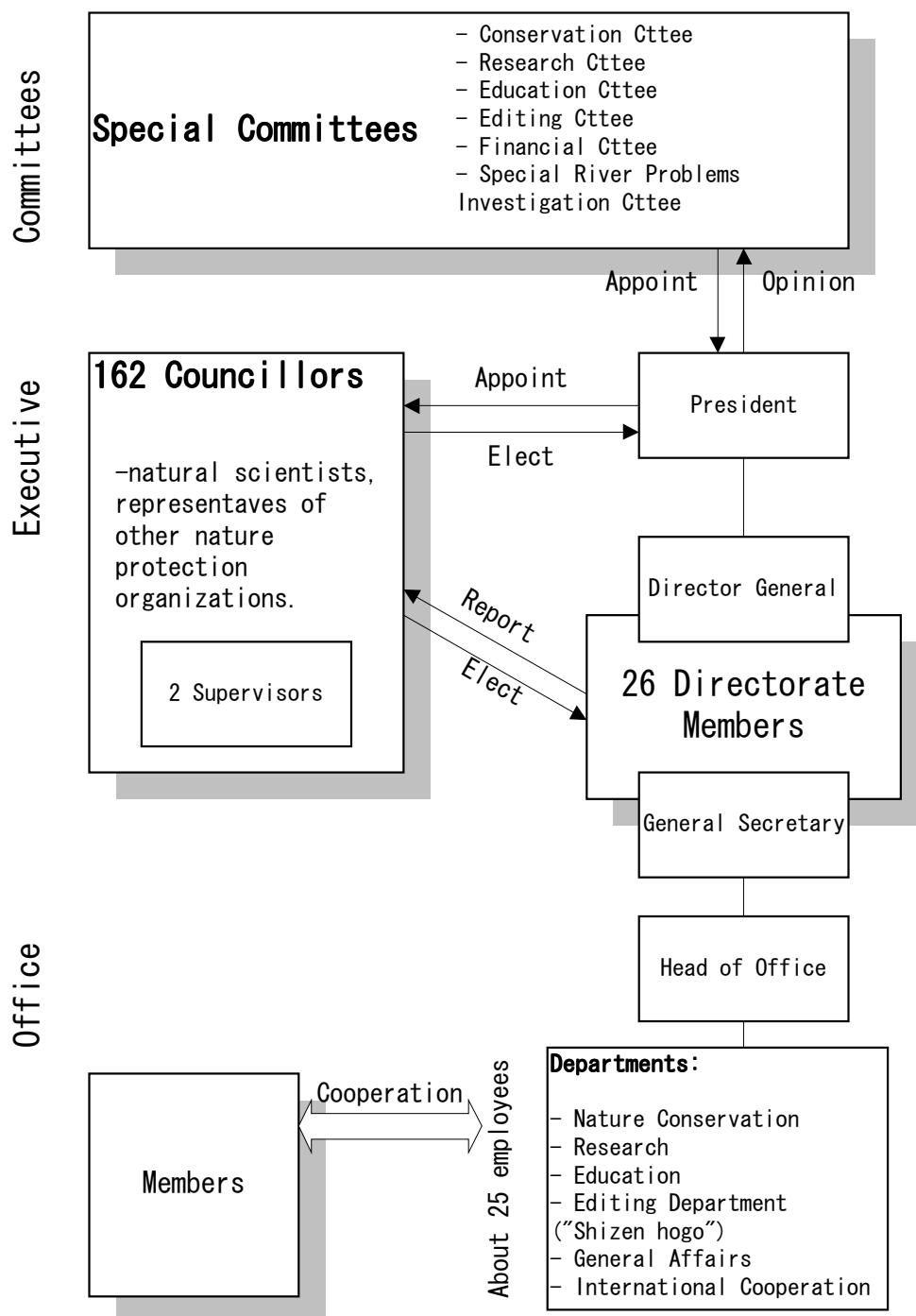


Figure 5 Organizational Structure of NACS-J²³³

²³³ Adopted from: NACS-J (eds.) 1993. *Shizen hogo, Kaiin gaido* [Nature Conservation. Members Guide], Tokyo. Note: Cttee stands for committee.

4.2.1.4 Financial Conditions

The NACS-J has a yearly budget of about 230 million Yen (ca 2 million Euro). The sources of income are the membership fees (30%), sale of products (25%), donations (20%), government subsidies (10%), and property interest (15%). The budget is used for direct nature protection projects (25%), research projects (20%), information and education projects (35%), and 20% for administrative expenses. The NACS-J has about 25 full-time and 4 part-time employees, but predominantly relies on the efforts of the more than 12,000 volunteers who help to conduct their main project activities²³⁴.

According to its own publications, the NASC-J has a membership of 17,000 individual members²³⁵ and 939 corporate members²³⁶. Despite the broad membership, the leadership is dominated by men. In 1993, the president, the director general, and the general secretary were men, of the 27 members of the directors, there was not a single woman, and only 8 of the 25 representatives in the six departments were women²³⁷. Figures about the gender distribution among the rank-and-file members were not available.

Despite its relatively traditional organizational structure, the NACS-J has developed into one of the most important national environmental organizations in Japan, because it actively utilized all its knowledge resources and its prestige to assist a large number of smaller protest movements. It has occasionally been successful in influencing the political and administrative decision-making process, in part due to its widely respected leadership.

²³⁴ All figures except budget figures according to answers given to the mail survey. Number of staff and volunteers (Q16), budget figures are from official database (EIC-net) of the Environmental Information Center (1998). Budget according to author's mail survey (Q24, Q25, Q26) was given at 80 million Yen.

²³⁵ In the author's mail survey, the NASC-J indicated a membership of 20,000.

²³⁶ As of March 1997 (NACS-J Homepage).

²³⁷ According to own mail survey in 1993.

4.2.1.5 Concluding Remarks

Despite these last comments concerning the relative influence and occasional success of the NACS-J - and to a lesser degree, the same can also be said about the Wildbird Society of Japan, the Worldwide Fund for Nature, as well as a few other larger environmental citizens' organization in Japan - in convincing government ministries to reconsider certain policies, or to invest more resources into nature protection, the author would nevertheless argue that notwithstanding their comparatively large membership, relative social prestige and financial resources, in general, these environmental organizations have not been developed to their full potential. Their goals and objectives as well as their strategies remained relatively moderate. Their objectives are without doubt important and respectable, but in cases where political and business interests had made decisions which were profitable and beneficial for both, such as in the case of the construction of the Nagara River dam, even these large-scale organization did not have a chance to change these decisions. The next section will therefore take a look at national movement network initiatives and will among others ask, whether network structures have been more successful in this respect.

4.3 NATIONAL MOVEMENT NETWORK INITIATIVES

4.3.0 Introduction

It has been mentioned above that the vast majority of citizens' environmental movements in Japan have only a comparatively small membership, very limited financial resources, and in the vast majority of cases only very limited direct influence on public opinion, the general debate about environmental and other policy issues, and finally on the policy-making process itself. Therefore, it would seem self-evident that small groups and organizations form local, regional, and national networks to coordinate protest initiatives or policy proposals. A next possible step would seem to set up a centralized or a federal organization structure to combine the advantages of small, local, flexible groups which are close to actual environmental problems and protest sites with the political and

organizational advantages of larger movements with better financial and human resources, and closer contacts to the prefectural or national politicians.

Japanese environmental movements have set up a large number of networks to exchange ideas and knowledge, but as will be argued, those networks have in most cases only been set up for internal coordination and to have a forum for regular regional or national conferences. The vast majority of these networks are merely of an organizational type, where usually one member organization takes the responsibility for coordinating certain activities, such as conferences and symposia, but without a separate office or staff. Apart from a few exceptions, the names and activities of these networks remain virtually unknown to the general public, because due to their limited resources, they have not been able to make themselves known through the media.

Among the most prominent are the coordinating office of the anti-nuclear movement (*Genshiryoku shiryō jōhō shitsu* or Citizens' Nuclear Information Center, in Tokyo), the relatively new *Citizens' Forum 2001* (*shimin fōramu 2001*), and Earth Day Japan, perhaps the most important and successful network initiative in contemporary Japan, which will therefore be introduced in the next section 4.3.1. The Citizens' Forum 2001 which in 1994 had only about one-hundred individual members but a far larger number of participating organizations was set up in 1993 in the aftermath of the 1992 UNCED summit in Rio de Janeiro. Its major activities have so far included the development of a nationwide network of environmental groups and initiatives in order to establish and maintain close contacts with government and economic institutions. The Citizens' Forum 2001 has been set up as the central body to coordinate the nationwide debate about the implementation of the Agenda 21. Throughout 1993 and 1994, the forum has organized symposia and workshops to discuss the drafting of the Basic Environmental Act, which was enacted in 1994, and the Basic Environmental Plan. They regularly publish various newsletters in which they emphasize their moderate, cooperative, and rather non-confrontational approach towards the

Japanese government. The other important network initiative is Earth Day Japan, which will now be introduced in more detail, particularly because it can exemplify the social and political power that can develop from a relatively small but devoted core group, because Earth Day Japan is a relatively recent addition to the environmental movement scene in Japan, and finally, because it exemplifies that new movement ideas and concepts that originated abroad can under certain circumstances successfully be adopted in Japan.

4.3.1 Earth Day Japan

After the first heydays of the environmental in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the government reacted with the introduction of relatively strict environmental policies with the effect that the state of the natural environment in Japan fundamentally improved, particularly the air quality in the major cities. Throughout the 1980s, however, environmental problems and pollution began to reappear again, due to an economic growth during the so-called “economic bubble period” combined with a decreased interest in environmental problems from the Japanese government as well as from the citizens’ side. Environmental problems rose slowly and were much less obvious as in the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, some core members of the first wave of citizen’s movements had continued to keep the environmental movement alive and build important connections with movements and citizens’ environmental movements (CEM²³⁸) in other countries, particularly the United States.

The first Earth Day, a campaign day to raise awareness about environmental destruction in general, and problems of serious gas exhaust of cars in particular was organized in the United States in April 1970. In the following two decades,

²³⁸ The term citizens’ environmental movement (CEM) will be used as a general term for environmental movements that have been set up and are run independently by citizens who want to preserve the natural environment by preservation or protest activities, as opposed to organizations that are in some way concerned with environmental issues but predominantly set up by larger organizations, local or prefectural government, or commercial companies. The terms and the abbreviation was introduced by (Hoffman 1996) in his study on local environmental movements in rural Japan

environmental movements in more than a hundred countries joined the movement and organized a great number of events (conferences, happenings, information fairs, concerts, clean-up activities, etc.), which take place in April of each year. Until the late 1980s, the number of groups and individual participants in all parts of the world increased; however, Japan was the only country among the major industrial countries that had not joined the worldwide movement. In 1989, the organizer of Earth Day International, Dennis Hayes, invited citizens' environmental movements in Japan to join the movement and to hold the first Earth Day in Japan on April 22, 1990. In the beginning, the number of interested organizations and individuals in Japan was very small. The most important person in this early phase was Suda Harumi, a veteran citizens activist and environmentalist, who had long been promoting international exchange and had been fighting for a greater role of citizens in the Japanese political and economic system (Suda 1990).

In February 1990, Dennis Hayes traveled to Japan and spoke to government and opposition Diet members in the Diet building and convinced them that Japan, as an economic superpower, had to join the global Earth Day movement. In the end, government and opposition parties pledged to cooperate and support the Earth Day activities in Japan (AS: February 24, 1990). Between February and April 1990, the interest in Earth Day rose significantly and soon exceeded all expectations of the organizers. Two organizing bureaus, one in Tokyo and one in Osaka, got a large number of requests from local groups who wanted to participate. The national and local media also became interested and published articles about the preparations and the upcoming events²³⁹.

The main objective was “to make (the) 1990s a decade for global environment”²⁴⁰, which included the following issues: 1) protection of the

²³⁹ Articles about the preparatory process were not only published in newspapers and magazine, but also in many special interest magazines for women, the young, and workers.

²⁴⁰ Earth Day Japan, 1998, Vision for the Earth Day 2000.

atmosphere, 2) waste reduction, 3) creation of a safe and renewable energy system, 4) meeting basic human needs, 5) preservation of bio-diversity, 6) ensuring reliable water resources, 7) conversion of military budget to public welfare, and 8) establishment of an international environment Protection Agency.²⁴¹

Aiming at Corporations and Politicians

But from the very beginning in the USA, Earth Day was an event that aimed at involving not only those who were active in the environmental related movements and organizations, but ordinary citizens, and also corporations. For that purpose, the organizers invited corporations to join the event and pledge to obey the so-called “Valdez Principles”. The ten principles that are supposed to create a voluntary system of corporate self-governance aiming at protecting the environment were elaborated by CERES (The Coalition of Environmentally Responsible Economies). In 1993, The Valdez Society of Japan that was established to promoted the Valdez Principles had about 200 members, including people from companies, citizens, researchers, journalists and other professionals (Earth Day Japan - Tokyo Office and Jichiro 1993: 2).

Since the first Earth Day in Japan, Suda Harumi, the coordinator of the Tokyo office, considered it important to include politicians and corporations in the debate about environmental problems. Representatives of Earth Day had invited and had been in contact with sympathetic politicians since 1990, and on the occasion of Earth Day 1994, they set up a so-called “Citizens’ Diet”²⁴² in the Japanese Diet building²⁴³, in order to give ordinary citizens and representatives of a great number of citizens’ movements the chance to explain their particular

²⁴¹ Earth Day Japan, 1998, Vision for the Earth Day 2000.

²⁴² The idea for a “Citizens’ Diet” came from the United States, where such an event takes place at the occasion of every Earth Day in Washington, D.C.

²⁴³ The event took place in a first floor meeting room of the First Diet Members Building, where Members of Representatives have their offices.

concern to the politicians. These events were conducted in a rather disciplined way; there was a clear order of speakers who each had only about five to 10 minutes to explain the goal of their groups or the ideas for a solution they had developed. Politicians²⁴⁴ came down from their offices for a rather short time, listened to a few speakers, and explained their own opinion. Those statements were usually of a very general nature. A real debate between politicians, especially government party politicians, and the participating citizens seldom developed. The title of the “Citizens’ Diet” at the Earth Day in April 1996 was “*chikyû ni yasashiku, seiji ni kibishiku*” or “friendly to the earth, strict to politics”, when representatives demanded to improve the situation for a large number of environmental trouble spots, many of them controversial projects such as the Nagara-gawa dam, the landfill in Hinode-machi, the use of nuclear power station and particularly plutonium in the fast-breeder reactor in Monjû.

Aiming at Local Governments - *Kankyô jichidai*²⁴⁵

Earth Day Japan was also one of the central supporting networks to bring an international initiative to Japan that focused on environmental policies of local municipalities. After the September 1990 ICLEI (International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives) had been held in New York City at the UN Headquarter with more than 500 participants²⁴⁶ from 46 countries but without any official Japanese delegation, it was decided that the second conference in February 1993 was to be held in Japan. Since the third Earth Day in Japan in 1992, so-called *Kankyô jichidai* became a major initiative that was developed in

²⁴⁴ At the “Citizens’ Diet” in 1996, 29 Diet members and about 100 citizens participated (AS: April 18, 1996).

²⁴⁵ The so-called *kankyô jichidai*, or environment oriented local self government, is an initiative that was originally set up by the Local Government Workers Union of Japan (*jichirô*) in 1991, aiming at the improvement of local environmental policies and environment related activities and project developed and carried out in close cooperation between the local government and local residents and residents’ organization.

²⁴⁶ Most of the participants were mayors and local assembly members interested in environmental issues, as well as representatives of ministries, international organizations, corporations, and citizens’ movements.

close cooperation with the large All Japan Prefectural and Municipal Workers Union (*Jichirō*)²⁴⁷.

The initiative was further strengthened by the agreement the Japanese government signed at the 1992 UNCED in Rio de Janeiro. A central part of the “Agenda 21” demanded the signatory states to develop an environmental policy framework to combat the most serious environmental problems at the end of the 20th century, notably global warming. The “Agenda 21” demanded among others greater citizens’ participation in the drafting of environmental laws and environmental policies of local governments, called the “Local Agenda 21”.

Drafting of the Basic Environmental Law in 1992 and 1993

The second important objective of Earth Day Japan in close cooperation with other larger CEMs and movements’ networks (notably the Citizens Forum 2001) was organizing the debate over the drafting of the new *Basic Environmental Law* (*kankyō kibon hō*). Therefore, these organizations offered opportunities for CEMs as well as individuals to conduct a discussion about the issues that should be included in this law in 1992 and 1993. In February 1993, the *Environmental Law Examination Committee*²⁴⁸ published the first draft based on a large number of ideas and concerns that were expressed through questionnaires²⁴⁹ that were sent out by the Environmental Law Examination Committee to citizens groups and experts. The draft reflected the many and sometimes contradicting ideas that were discussed in the various meetings in all parts of the country²⁵⁰. The drafting

²⁴⁷ About 2 million workers work for local and municipal governments. *Jichirō* has a membership of one million, which represents a mobilization quota of 50% (Earth Day Japan - Tokyo Office and Jichiro 1993: 8).

²⁴⁸ This committee was set up only in August 1992 and first consisted of members from the *Central Council of Environmental Pollution Control* and the *Nature Conservation Council*.

²⁴⁹ A questionnaire was sent out to 595 citizens’ groups and individuals (Earth Day News. No 13, November 1992:2)

²⁵⁰ The chapters in the first draft reflected the importance of citizens’ participations and the problems in connection with the disclosure of data and information from administrative offices. After a general introduction (1) which included a *Declaration of Environmental Rights* and outlined the purpose of the law, the following chapters focused on *rights of citizens* (2),

itself was a very important opportunity for a broad range of citizens' movements and environmental movements in particular to coordinate their activities and work - at least for a certain period of time – towards one large objective. It forced the many different movements and small local initiatives to cooperate and coordinate their activities, something that became characteristic of Earth Day in general.

4.3.1.1 Main Events

On the occasion of the first Earth Day in Japan in 1990, when citizens groups in 140 countries²⁵¹ had organized events to make people aware of the destruction of the environment and encourage them to get active to save the environment, in Japan Earth Day related events took place at more than 200 places in all parts of the country. The main events took place on the so-called “*yûme no shima*” (Dream Island), an artificial island of many hectares inside Tokyo Bay, constructed with waste from the 23 inner Tokyo wards, one of the “landmarks” of the failed garbage prevention policies in Tokyo and a reminder of the amount of garbage left behind by Metropolitan Tokyo²⁵². The main events in April 1990 began with a concert focusing on the theme “garbage as a worldwide problem” with about 30,000 participants. A few days after the concert, a meeting about recycling and garbage and the conservation of energy took place in the nearby “*Yume no shima Park*” (translated: Dream Island Park). Other events took place in

authorities and the responsibilities of municipalities (3) and the *government* (4). This was followed by three central chapters on *Disclosure and Public Access* (5) and *Environmental Impact Assessment* (7), the *Responsibility of the Municipalities and Environmental Audits*. Finally, the draft returned to explicit environmental issues in chapter 9 titled *Protection of Nature and Resources*. The final chapter 10 again reflected the broad perspective of the citizens' demands, focusing on *International Activities* such as the basic principles of the Japanese ODA and environmental problems in connection with global trade. A complete list of proposals from environmental organizations and individuals was published by the Citizens Forum 2001.

²⁵¹ It was reported that more than 100 million people worldwide participated in countless Earth Day events in 1990 (Worldwatch Institute), the Earth Day International Office stated that more than 200 million people in 141 countries participated in Earth Day 1990 (Earth Day Japan)

²⁵² A great number of citizens' movements have regularly protested near the garbage disposal inside Tokyo Bay.

a great number of places in all parts of Japan. Those events were organized by independent and small groups, but also consumer cooperatives. In Ibaraki prefecture for example, a group of housewives launched an appeal to protect the environment, as in Asaka, where a housewife association organized an exchange meeting with foreigners to talk about the environment.

However, the events were organized and run by the local groups, so the central theme of a particular year was not binding for all events. In 1990, Saitama prefecture groups for example had organized events focusing not on one but on several environmental hazards; besides the garbage problem, also global warming and the destruction of the ozone layer, and a number of other problems were determined by the individual groups' main interests. Such activities included picking up waste in marshlands, flea markets, sale of handmade products or organic vegetables, handmade soup, and the testing of the water quality in Tokorozawa (AS: April 23, 1990). A great number of protest environmental groups also participated in the Earth Day events, for example, Nagara-gawa dam opposition groups.

For the Japanese case, it was a new approach to ask companies to participate at central events of environmental movements, as on the occasion of Earth Day 1991 (AS: April 12, 1991). A large number of employees of NEC in all parts of Japan, for instance, were encouraged by their employers to participate. Ishiijima Masato of the NEC group company NEC Avenue (*NEC abenya*) spoke at the main festival as a member of the organizing committee²⁵³.

The focus in 1992 was on the North-South problem particularly in relation to Southeast Asian countries. The event's theme "The tie with Asia" (*ajia to no tsunagari*) was reflected in an *Earth Day Asian Festival* focusing on establishing closer relations with other Asian nations and on the responsibility of Japan for

²⁵³ He stressed that he and NEC do not participate to improve the image of NEC, but to change the environmental awareness of their employees (AS: April 12, 1991).

some of the environmental problems. Furthermore, in 1992 the organizers laid the groundwork for the central themes of the next years, the setting up of the local government environment initiative (*kankyō jichidai*), as well as a preparatory committee for the deliberations of a citizens' draft of the Basic Environmental Law. The deliberations about the draft of the latter law and the central idea behind broadening the citizens' impact on environmental policies on the local level in connection with the setting up of *kankyō jichidai* or environmental conscious local governmental bodies, the broadening of citizens' participation, became the central theme in 1993: "Participation towards a social system" (*shakai no shikumi e no sankai*). In 1994, the focus was on global issues expressed in the slogan "Let's get together on the earth and get to know each other" (*chikyū de tsudō, o-tagai wo shiru*). On this occasion, the Japanese organizers had invited representatives of environmental groups from other Asian nations and representatives of Earth Day International to discuss a broad range of urgent environmental problems for which a solution strategy can only be developed cooperatively. Another aspect was the general hope that people can understand each other and accept their differences only if they meet and discuss with each other about their different problems and different approaches in trying to solve them.

4.3.1.2 Use of Media

The organizers and supporters of Earth Day in Japan began very early to publish not only internal papers and information letters, but also books. In time for the first Earth Day, they published a guide for an environmentally friendly lifestyle that tried to demonstrate the close relation between one's own personal lifestyle and the state of the global environment in a book titled "*chikyū wo suku 133 no bōhō*" (133 Ways to Save the Earth) (1990)²⁵⁴. It asked its readers not only to make

²⁵⁴ A book with the same title was first published in the USA. This book emphasizes the need for a change of lifestyle, away from the full-fledged consumerism of the 1980s towards a more environmentally conscious way of living. Above that, the books ask the readers to abandon a life style that is mainly focused on the pursuit of productive expansion and financial affluence in favor of a "life-style based on citizen activity" which is characterized by

their life-styles environmental friendly, but more generally, to become more active in all kinds of citizens' activities. Earth Day Kanagawa wrote their own leaflet titled "127 Ways to Save the Earth", which was thought to be more suitable for the domestic situation in Japan. They distributed about one hundred thousand copies, for Japanese standards, an exceptionally high number. Earth Day Japan published the above mentioned more specific "life-style manual" in Japan in 1990. This first book was succeeded by more than ten similar books aiming at specific readers (children, households, etc), which all became best-sellers in Japan (Earth Day Japan - Tokyo Office and Jichiro 1993:5). After the first Earth Day they published a book describing all the events and initiatives that were started or brought forward titled "*chikyū shimin no tanjō*" (The Birth of The Global Citizen, 1990). In the following years, the organizing committee published very detailed and elaborate accounts after all respective Earth Days²⁵⁵.

In 1990, the Earth Day contact bureau in Tokyo (*āsudē 1990-2000 nihon*) began to publish a newsletter (*Earth Day News Japan*). The newsletter became the most important forum to debate a wide variety of environment problems on a general or national level, but also to exchange experiences from about 250 local environmental groups and their specific problems. A very important part of every issue is the announcement of news and information about upcoming events in all parts of Japan. The Japanese language newsletter is published roughly every month²⁵⁶, edited by very few members in the Tokyo headquarter, printed in their own printing room, and posted mainly by women who work at the office part-time as volunteers without salary. In January 1992, they have begun to publish an English-language newsletter with the same title that carries translations of the Japanese language edition. Translations are done by

"1) direct activities rather than indirect, 2) small unit activities rather than indirect, and 3) putting priorities on factors which seem natural rather than artificial." (Earth Day Japan - Tokyo Office and Jichiro 1993: 3).

²⁵⁵ One for the respective Earth Day in 1991, 1992, 1993-1994, and 1995-1996.

²⁵⁶ A number of times, the period between publications was longer than one month, but since about 1995 the publication became more reliable.

volunteers (mostly university students with the help of some foreigners), and then send to non-Japanese activists in Japan and Earth Day offices in other parts of the world. The newsletter is sent out free of charge and financed only by voluntary donations; therefore, the English language edition of the newsletter, that was published simultaneously with the Japanese language edition between 1993 and 1996, has been published on a more irregular basis since then²⁵⁷.

The “Valdez Society”, which shares its headquarter with the Earth Day Japan and the All-Japan Citizens’ Movements Center (*shimin undō zenkoku sentā*) in a small office in central Tokyo, regularly publishes books and other information material mainly aiming at corporations. Among others, they published the “Corporate Disclosure by Business Report” which introduces information about environmental activities of Japanese companies, and the “Green Consumer Report” for the distribution industry.

4.3.2.3 Political Background

The Earth Day Japan Initiative differs in some respect from the vast majority of environmental movements in Japan in the sense that it is trying to develop an ideal of a society and the world that is to some extent influenced by more than nice words and idealistic and sometimes naive ideas. These ideas reflect not only single environmental problems or the environmental problem as such; through the many discussions inside a certain core group and the many symposiums and discussion meetings nationwide, they have also begun to set as a theme the international economic system and the economic imbalance between developed and developing countries (these issues are often addressed to as North-South issues in their publications). The suggestions that are developed are rather practical, including an exchange of anti-pollution technology, support through financial resources, etc. One can observe a debate inside and outside of the citizens’ movements about the use of technology in developing countries in

²⁵⁷ In 1997 and 1998, the English language newsletter has been published about every two to three months.

order to solve problems (environmental, economic, and political) that were actually caused by the existing socio-economic system. This dilemma is recognized by Earth Day activists, but according to their opinion, this should not mean that financial resources should be withheld from developing countries to prevent pollution and further environmental destruction.

A keyword that is frequently used by Earth Day activists when trying to locate their ideology is “sustainable social system”; a concept that required a debate which considered problems such as the exploitation of natural resources and the necessity of the development of a citizens-based, far more participatory socio-economic system that would put the protection of the natural environment in the center of deliberations. On the other hand, this still very vague concept avoids the theoretical socio-economic debate between Communist or Socialist concepts of ownership and distribution of wealth and Capitalist concepts instead, it is preferred to opt for a “third direction” (third way) (Earth Day Japan - Tokyo Office and Jichiro 1993: 8).

4.3.2.4 Concluding Remarks

Although it is a rather decentralized network with a central office but without any clear-cut organizational hierarchy, the Earth Day movement can be considered as one of the successful movements. It was successful in convincing individual politicians from all political parties²⁵⁸ as well as industrial corporations to participate in the events, not only as speakers but also in the Diet in order to promote environmental policies. The drafting of the *Basic Environmental Law* in 1992 and 1993 in fulfillment of the Agenda 21 as well as the promotion of stricter environmental standards in cooperation with the *kankyō jichidai* initiative

²⁵⁸ Naturally, politicians from some political parties (SDPJ, former Shintō Sakigake, DPJ) are more active in the events than politicians from other parties (LDP). Still, almost from the very beginning, politicians were interested and participated in a great number of events. The main events in Tokyo and Osaka and the so-called “Citizens’ Diet” are of exceptional importance.

of the Municipal Workers Union were new in the environmental movements' scene in Japan that is by far dominated by local groups and parish-pump politics.

Although the focus of the Earth Day network lies on the natural environmental and its problems, the more than 250 local groups do not confine their activity to environmental problems in the narrow sense; many of them consider these issues in a broader sense. A fair number also organize events that focus on problems of development, particularly in Southeast Asian countries, human rights problems in Japan and South-East Asia (e.g. human-rights infringements caused by nature destruction by Japanese investment) and also Japanese PKO (UN led Peace Keeping Operation) activities. The environmental problems tackled by the movements in the Earth Day network range from particular local pollution problems and protest against construction of industrial sites such as waste incinerators or landfills, but do also include cleanup and so-called beautification activities, anti-golf course groups, and groups and networks which work on issues such as global warming, environmental education, nature observation and extend to anti-nuclear and anti-plutonium movements who are part of the network in a surprisingly large number²⁵⁹.

When Earth Day Japan was founded, it choose the name "Earth Day Japan 1990-2000", reflecting the spirit of the founders in the United States to conduct a campaign over only one decade, to provide a realistic timeframe²⁶⁰. In 1998, the movement's organizers were still contemplating whether to continue Earth Day Japan after the year 2000 or not. Although they have been successful in building awareness and attracting a large number of movements and individual participants nationwide as well as broad media attention in the first five or six

²⁵⁹ Surprisingly, because the anti-nuclear movement in Japan acts - at least compared to most Western European movements – more in the background and is visible mostly during nuclear fuel transports or accidents in nuclear-power stations. The number of active followers and sympathizers of the Japanese anti-nuclear movement is likely only in the range of a couple of thousand.

²⁶⁰ Paper from Earth Day Japan, Tokyo Office (1998), titled Vision for the Earth-Day of 2000.

years, in the last half of the 1990 their publications and statements reveal a certain degree of frustration. This is also reflected in the newspaper coverage about the major events; since 1996, there have been only very sporadic reports about the major events²⁶¹.

It is surprising that a movement initiative that was originally developed in the USA has been adopted in Japan, and that it was the strong insistence of an American environmental leader, namely Dennis Hayes, that convinced the political parties and the Environmental Agency to support the Earth Day initiative in Japan and begin a serious dialog with CEMs. The Earth Day initiative in Japan, which became the vanguard and birth place of a great number of new environmental movements of which many participated in the 1992 UNCED had a significantly positive effect on the development of the environmental and nature protection movement in the first half of the 1990s. Although the activities of Earth Day are clearly based on initiatives from Japanese groups, this movement can also be considered as an example of foreign pressure (*gaiatsu*) on the Japanese government, as well as on the environmental movement in Japan itself.

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Summing up the general impression of the case studies, it seems that in general, the protest movements introduced in chapter 4.1 but also the few nationwide environmental movements networks (4.3) have applied similar tactics and strategies as in Western Europe or North America. Although the protest movements introduced in section 4.1 cannot be considered as the typical Japanese environmental issue related residents' or citizens' movements, which on

²⁶¹ The Asahi Shinbun for example, which has covered almost every aspect of the early years of Earth Day Japan, seems to have lost all interest in the activities. In 1997 and 1998, there have been less than five articles respectively. Number of articles about Earth Day Japan activities in the Asahi Shinbun (all Japanese language editions): 1989 (1), 1990 (34), 1991 (14), 1992 (18), 1993 (5), 1994 (10), 1995 (7), 1996 (12), 1997 (4), 1998 (2) (own calculations, W.V.).

average do not make use of legal and political tactics to the same extent²⁶², but the development of events and the problems and barriers experienced by the movement in Hinode-machi and the one against the construction of the Nagara River dam can nevertheless be considered representative for many similar protest movements in contemporary Japan.

From a theoretical point of view, it could have been assumed that the movements introduced in section 4.1 had a viable chance to succeed. Following Hannigan's scheme (cp. above p. 13), the protest movements in Japan have (1) discovered the respective environmental problem independently, their claims where later supported by independent scientific research, fellow environmental movements and nationally renowned natural and environmental scientists, the movements could name the problems and in general the pollution issues did not lack clarity, therefore they could relatively easily be made to be understood by the general public, whether it was the large amount of garbage or the ecological side effects of the dam construction. It can also be argued that the protest movements presented here were (2) able to command attention and legitimize their claims. All movements were able to win public and media attention through a large number of different events, they were visible and in some cases used dramatic verbal or visual imagery (e.g. the leak in the protecting sheet in Hinode, dead fish in the case of the Nagara River movement, or other rhetorical tactics as in the case of the Earth Day Network). Even in the third and perhaps most difficult sphere, the (3) contesting and defending of their claim in the public discourse, it can be argued that in general, the movements have been successful. Some of them could win support of mayors or groups of local assembly members, some of them even managed to run their own candidates (e.g. in Hinode-machi), and they also attempted to use national networks.

²⁶² See chapter 5 for a general discussion about the characteristics of the environmental movement as a whole.

In the case of movement organizations and networks that are concerned with a broader range of environmental issues, such as Earthday Japan or the Citizens Forum 2001, one cannot easily decide whether these movements have been successful or not, because they work on more long-term issues and are attempting to influence the environmental belief system and environmental policies in more general terms. Nevertheless, they also suffer from the same constraints as protest or adversary movements, namely to be virtually excluded from the political decision-making process and from the government and administrative internal information flow. Protest movements in particular had to counter well-organized economic interest groups as well as an administrative system, which still seems to consider itself as the sole guardian of progress in Japan.

National or nationwide operating movement organizations have been important in cases where national political decisions and relatively general policy initiatives were involved, for example nature protection and conservation. The awareness that the natural environment is important for human beings and has therefore somehow to be protected is an often-heard statement from all sides of the political spectrum, and from business and industrial cycles as well. Therefore, the often relatively general demands from the national – and also from the vast majority of small nature protection movements – are mostly stated in such general terms that they are no basis for fierce debates or disputes. However, more concrete and substantial claims from environmental organizations, for example if they are directed against the construction of major industrial or government sponsored projects, do frequently lead to strong opposition from local, prefectural or national government bodies.

On the other hand, movement networks have the potential to be relatively successful in shaping general problem awareness, particularly if they cooperate with sympathizing social and political groups and organizations, such as in the case of Earthday Japan, the Citizens' Forum 2001, and a few other smaller

networks. They can regularly be successful, if they use foreign pressure to some degree, particularly by bringing some “big names” in the global environmental movement scene to Japan. However, nothing is more motivating than visible success, particularly when major issues are at involved, and that is something most of these networks have still not experienced. It still remains to be seen whether networks such as Earthday and Citizens Forum 2001 can be truly successful, for example in uniting the atomized movement, or in forcing the Japanese government to change central environment related policies, e.g. the nuclear policy.

5. CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This thesis does not assume that there is a mono-causal relationship between certain characteristics of the movement and its significance for the general debate. For example, it cannot necessarily be assumed that greater professionalization and greater expertise will lead to greater influence, it might as well be the opposite, because movements that are too professional might deter citizens from participation and support. The number of members of the overall movement is also not sufficient to explain its success or failure in achieving a certain objective, the composition (membership and leadership structure), and the cost of participation (rational choice argument) is also of central explanatory value. Nevertheless, all these aspects combined have the potential to explain movement dynamics and its significance.

Therefore, this chapter attempts to describe and analyze a broad spectrum of characteristics of the contemporary Japanese environmental movement, by covering the following questions: How is the movement organized? What types of movement have been developed and what role do they play for the movement overall? Why do certain historical periods seem to feature large-scale protest and upheaval, while others do not? How are social and political movements related to mainstream politics, such as political parties and lobbying? What is the role of leaders, activists, and organizers? What strategies and tactics do movements employ? Do protest movements make a difference in changing public policy?

In detail, the following subchapters therefore attempt to highlight the importance of distinct postwar historical periods that have led to the establishment of environmental movements (5.1.1), the duration they have been active (5.1.2), the mobilization rate and its development over time (5.2), the functional division and level of professionalization of movement organizations (5.3), the membership composition of the citizens' environmental movements in respect to social or educational background of their members, their political experience and orientation (5.4) . It is also considered essential to analyze paradigmatic issues, activities and tactics (5.5.1 – 5.5.5), the use of media (5.5.6), and the relation to administrative and political entities, such as local and prefectural governments, political party organizations, and individual politicians (5.5.7). The final two sub-chapters highlight the financial (5.6) and judicial situation (5.7) of the contemporary movement and its significance for their success. The problematic aspects of some of the characteristic features will then be analyzed in chapter 6, before they will be taken as the background for the analysis of the social and political significance of the contemporary environmental movement in chapter 7.

The following table 5 provides an analytical frame based on four distinct environmental movement types divided by their size and legal status, in order to illustrate their distinctive features.

Size (Membership)	Legal Status	
	Without legal status	With legal status (Non-profit organizations, NPOs)
Small	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grassroots movements • Local • Single issue (often) • Direct action groups (nature preservation, recycling, clean-up) • Small budget, often community based, use volunteer workforce 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Small regional and national organizations • Local or regional and national research oriented organizations • Non-policy oriented organizations • Law related organizations and networks • Use volunteers and staff

Large	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional and National Network • Similar activities as grass-roots movements but set up for organizational and coordinative purposes (victims movements, anti-pollutions movements, etc.) • Individual members and organizations • (Often) advocacy groups with generally political intentions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Organizations • Nature Protection Organizations • National Trust • Have relatively large financial resources and own staff (local activities still rely heavily on volunteer cooperation)
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Table 5 Types of Environment related organizations by size and legal status

These general descriptions of movement types in the four quarters have been developed based on movements in North America and Western Europe, but largely, they reflect the different types civil organizations according to their membership size and their legal status. However, there are obviously movement organizations in Japan, which have different characteristics than those given in this table, it should therefore not be considered final.

In the Japanese case, the vast majority of environmental movements are in the upper-left quarter, they have a small membership and lack any legal recognition, most have either a single issue or a rather broad agenda, such as “a clean environment” or nature protection in general. The latter often means that they are either directly attempting to clean or preserve the natural environment in their vicinity, or attempting to increase problem awareness through environmental education.

Small groups that managed to gain a legal status are much smaller in number. Typically, they are either supported or even founded by established organizations, or supported by influential individuals or groups from a political, administrative, or business organization. Some are think tanks or law related organizations, but most of them do not openly advocate a distinguished political or ideological point of view, and often refrain from openly criticizing government policies or individual politicians, they rather keep good relationships with them. By doing so,

they might in certain cases achieve their given objective, but for the outside observer, it seems as if these organizations are attempting to intermingle with and cooperate too closely with the political and administrative establishment.

What has been said about small environmental organization with local status is in part also true for the larger organizations. The decisive difference, however, lies in their relatively large membership, which has frequently been used to strengthen their position in open or hidden bargaining situations with the political elite. Examples are the Worldwide Fund for Nature, the Nature Conservation Association Japan (NACS-J), and in a few cases also the Wildbird Society of Japan, which have all on certain occasion openly criticized government policies and project, such as the Nagara River Dam, or the land reclamation projects at Isahaya Bay (Kyûshu) or the Shinji Lake (Shimane Pref.). Due to their large membership, these organizations also enjoy larger financial resources, but most of them still heavily rely on volunteer staff for their larger projects.

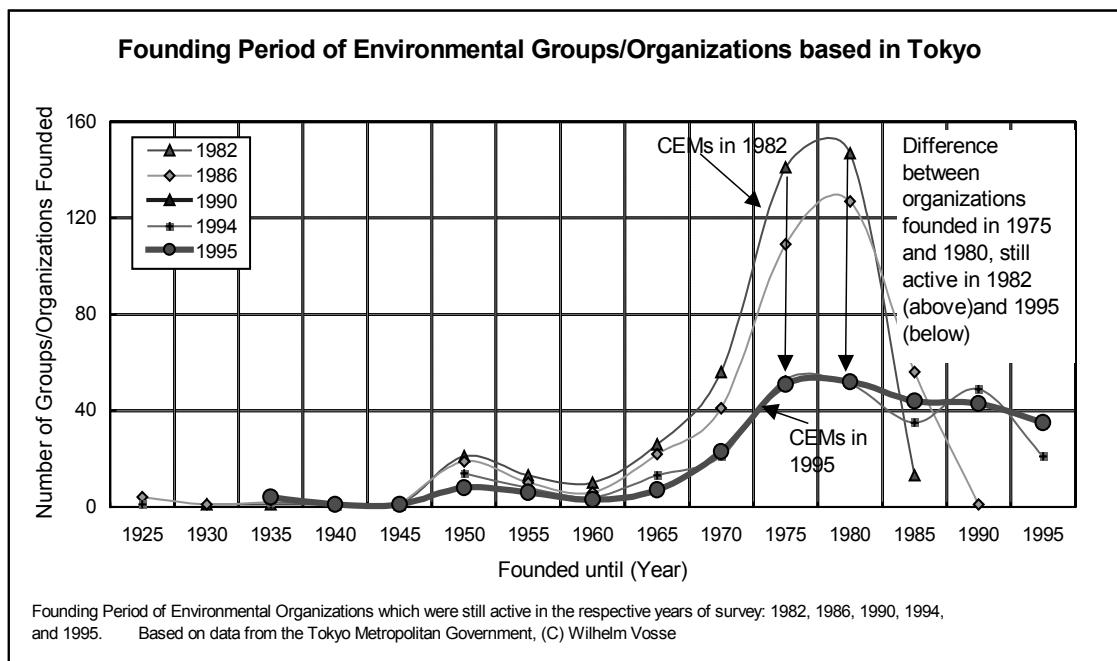
Larger, but also smaller, environmental organizations without legal status have been the focus of this study, because it has been proven that those that are most active and openly confrontational are in this sub-group. The organizations in the fourth quadrant cover a wide spectrum of activities and objectives, but comparatively large shares are advocacy groups and formal organizations. A few have set up regional or national networks, many of these networks have been important for the coordination of activities within the sub-movement, only a few have, however, been able to develop name-recognition and public acceptance. Their independence from the regional and national administration has given many of these groups the flexibility to pursue without much interference, but due to their lack of access to information and recognition among the public, most of them work diligently towards a given objective without ever expecting to become socially or politically more influential.

5.1 FOUNDING PERIOD AND “AGE” OF ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

In the literature on Japanese citizens’ and residents movements, it has frequently been argued that residents’ movements in particular have in most cases been set up for a single issue or purpose by relatively inexperienced residents, and that many movements developed from, or were founded by other more established communal organizations, such as neighborhood associations, PTAs, and more specific common interest clubs and associations, and were therefore rather short-lived. Once either a goal was achieved or the likelihood of achieving a given objective became dim after a certain period of activity, most of the residents’ groups and organizations would cease existence (e.g. MCKEAN 1981; TAKABATAKE and HUFFMAN 1975). However, this subchapter will illustrate that many of the movement organizations, which have been set up in the last thirty years have managed to continue their activities, and that furthermore, many of the movements have increased their life-span from a few month or years, to over a decade and longer. This argument will be demonstrated with statistical data concerning environmental movements active in the Greater Tokyo area, and findings of the author’s mail survey.

The graph below illustrates that the findings of McKean and Takabatake might have been true for movements founded during the 1960s and 1970s, but that it is no longer the case for most of the movements that have been established in the 1980s and 1990s.

5.1.1 Founding Period



Graph 1 Founding Period of Environmental Organizations based in Tokyo²⁶³

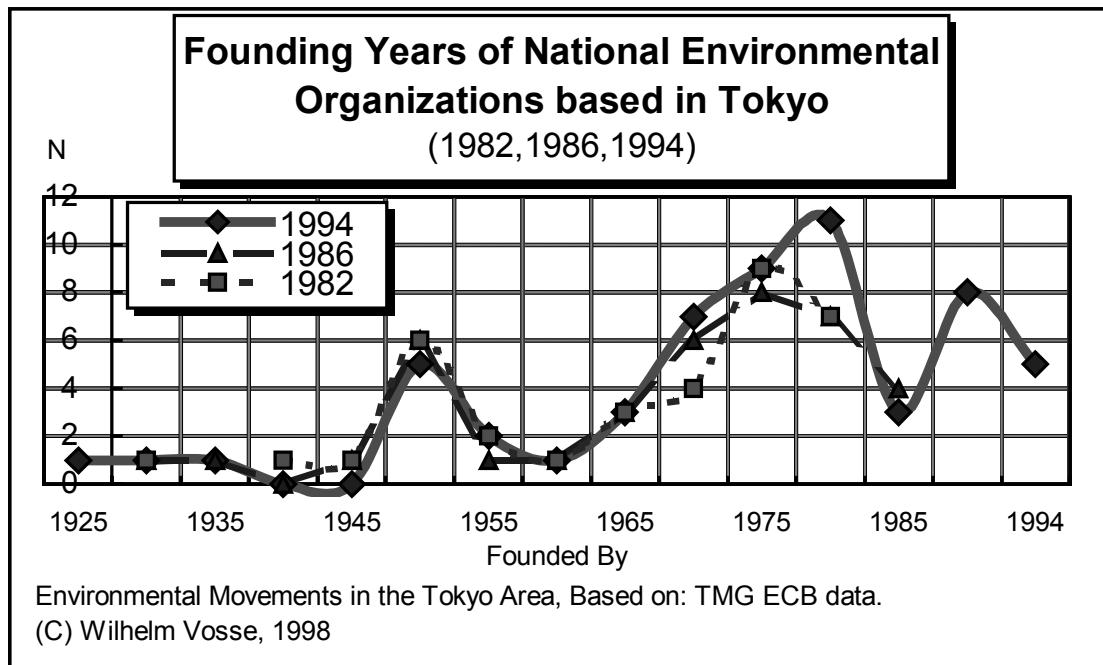
The graph above illustrates that among all environmental organizations, which are still active today (thick line), only very few were founded before the World War II, and the graph 2 (below) shows that those were mostly organizations, which were active on the national level; hence most of them were founded by other established organizations or by nationally renowned persons. It also illustrates that the 1970s were a period when environmental activity as exemplified in the number of founded environmental organizations was at its peak. As the line with triangles in graph 1 shows, more than 150 movements based in Tokyo and registered by the TMG still existed in the early 1980s, but the vast majority of these latter movements had been dissolved by the early

²⁶³ The five distinct graphs represent the number of movement organizations that were founded in the years (x-scale) of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government data of the years 1982, 1988, 1990, 1994 and 1995. For example: The thicker graph represents the years of foundation of the organizations that were printed in the 1995 edition of the TMG list, and which were hence still active in 1995. The two graphs, which have peaks in the mid 1975, represent the lists from 1982 and 1986, respectively. It can be noticed, that in 1982 and 1986, movements that had been founded in between 1971 and 1975, and 1976 and 1980, were of far higher quantity than in 1995. In effect, this means that there were far more movements founded in the 1970s that had been survived until the mid 1990s, hence many of the 1970s movements were indeed rather short-lived.

1990s (see arrows in graph). The 1960s had also seen a large number of movements being founded, but only a few of them had survived until the early 1980s, when the TMG began to collect their data to contact them or get information from them on a more regular basis.

One of the reasons why so many movements from the 1970s had been dissolved particularly in the latter half of the 1980s is the setback that many environmental activists experienced in the 1980s, when the Japanese government once again considered economic growth and stability more important than the protection of the natural environment. This led to a stagnation of environmental activism and a reduction in the overall number of organizations and activists.

Another reason for this development might be the high number of local pollution incidences and support groups (hence rather typical residence' movements) which were founded in the 1970s and which were dissolved once the goal was achieved, or because the members and supporters became frustrated in face of decreasing chances to actually improve a situation, and limited time and human resources required to keep the movement alive. Further analysis of the movements that were dissolved in the early 1980s and that subsequently led to the often-cited demise of the environmental movement in Japan, reveals that it was predominantly the local and regional CEMs, which have discontinued their activities. Movement organizations with a national operational basis - some of them have branch offices in several prefectures – managed to survive the 1980s. The second half of the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s is characterized by a renewed revival and the founding of new *national* environmental organizations (graph 2).



Graph 2 Founding Years of National CEMs

Surprisingly, even among the larger Tokyo based national movements, next to those few that have been founded in the 1920s and early 1930s, those founded in the immediate postwar period and those founded in the 1970s have been proven most stable. On the other hand, there are only a very few environmental movements still active today which have been founded in the 1950s and early 1960s. The second postwar wave started in the latter half of the 1960s, but among those movements which are still active today, the vast majority has been founded in the 1970s, hence in the years immediately before and after the first wave of success of the movements, which culminated in the enactment of the fourteen environmental laws decided upon by the so-called “Pollution Diet”, and the establishment of the Environmental Agency in 1971.

The author's mail survey, which only covers those movements that were active in 1993/1994, supports this view. Of the large number of movements, which had been founded in the 1970s, only a small fraction survived, namely 10 of the sample of 78; the majority of citizens' environmental movements in the sample were founded in the latter half of the 1980s or the early 1990s. Given the data

from the Tokyo organizations, it was therefore not surprising that the author's survey sample included not a single movement organization founded in the 1960s²⁶⁴.

FOUNDING YEAR OF ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS²⁶⁵ IN 1993 AND 1994				
	Own Survey 1993/1994		Eco Pages 1994	
Year (Range)	N	% of sample (N=78)	N	% (N=289)
Before 1960	4	5	28	9.6
1960-1964	0	0	8	2.7
1965-1969	0	0	15	5.1
1970-1974	6	8	47	16.2
1975-1979	10	13	33	11.4
1980-1984	8	10	47	16.2
1985-1989	25	32	55	19.0
1990-1994	14	18	56	19.3

Table 6 Founding Years (Own Survey and Eco Pages compared)

5.1.2 Age of Environmental Organizations

It has long been assumed that most citizens' movements and particularly residents' movements in Japan do not survive for a very long time. They were often not considered "real" movements or movement organizations but rather collectives, or "cooperation(s) of unrest" (TAKABATAKE and HUFFMAN 1975), which were founded for a very closely defined purpose, and once they had either achieved their goals or their goal had proven to be unattainable, they would quickly dissolve. Their average activity time span was estimated between a couple of months and a few years, seldom longer.

²⁶⁴ Statistically, there should have been movement organizations founded in the 1960s in this sample, but the relatively small sample (N=78) is not statistically representative.

²⁶⁵ Figures given represent data of author's mail survey conducted in 1993/1994. Q3: "When has your organizations been founded?" (See appendix).

²⁶⁶ Data calculated by the author, based on (Sendai kita hōjinkai shōnen bukai 1994).

However, data from CEMs in the Tokyo area indicate that movements in the 1980s and 1990s have managed to survive for a much longer period of time, and that their life-span has even increased from an average of about 11 years in 1982, to about 17 years in the mid 1990s. It can therefore no longer be assumed that movements simply dissolve as soon as problems arise, and they can neither simply be considered "spontaneous gatherings" by the unsatisfied to organize protest for a very specific and closely defined cause virtually without any stamina or long-term agenda.

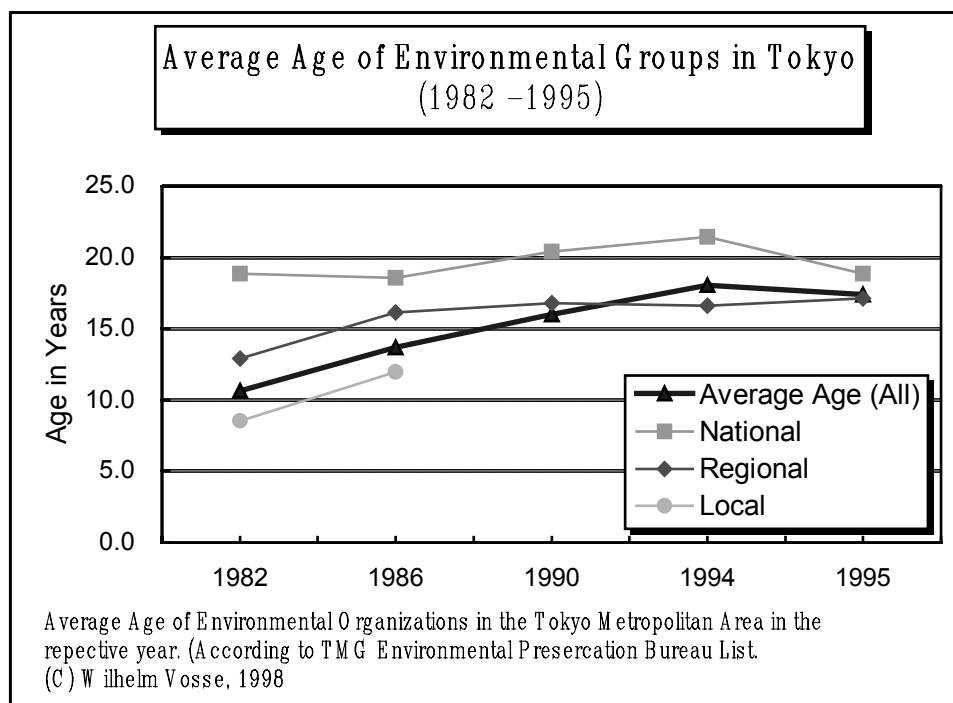


Figure 6 Average Age of CEMs in Tokyo

The majority of environmental movements have therefore been founded for long-term objectives; they are not simply informal groups or collectives of irritated residents who want to solve a clearly defined problem immediately. The overwhelming majority of them have set up their own rules, an agenda, and have stipulated regulations to elect their leaders and representatives (see: chapter 5.3: Functional Division, Staff, Volunteers).

5.2 SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

5.2.0 Introduction

Based on the development and situation of social movements in many other industrialized countries, one could proceed from the assumption that environmental movement organizations are composed of members who share very similar ideas or goals, namely to contribute to the protection of the natural environment in one way or another, and that most or all movement organizations are somehow interconnected, that they are networking, hence that they are constantly exchanging their ideas and coordinating activity initiatives, in order to effectively contribute to an environmental policy agenda. Such activities could for instance be targeting the policy decision-making process through interest groups, lobbying groups or political parties, or they could be targeting the general public by informing and educating, or publicizing research findings. All those methods require the movement as a whole to have a certain number of individual members that can be used as a pressure instrument and that would demonstrate to the public as well as to the policy makers that certain demands are backed by a significant share of the public, that the movement in its entirety is or can become socially and politically significant.

There are no reliable and comprehensive statistical databases comprising membership and activity areas of environmental movements in contemporary Japan. Since an overwhelming number of movement organizations do not have a legal status, they do not necessarily feel obliged to register with any one central organization, be it governmental or non-governmental. Nevertheless, in order to cooperate with local governments or national government agencies, many movement organizations have registered with such institutions and have provided contact information (name, address and telephone numbers, name of chairperson, etc.) and in most cases their basic purpose. However, detailed information about their actual membership, their actual activities, their affiliation

with other groups and organizations, hence any information that could be used to their disadvantage²⁶⁷ is not openly available.

5.2.1 The Importance of Membership

Membership is not everything, even a single organization with a small membership can broaden and strengthen their sphere of influence by being a member organization of a larger network or a nationwide organization with the logistical resources to assist smaller local organizations, or by having support from popular (e.g. celebrities) or political and/or socially influential people (former mayors, business people, leaders of public or nonprofit organizations, etc.). Nevertheless, if the latter is not the case, and the citizens' organization cannot draw on any particular financial or political resources from outside the organization, membership is in most cases an important and decisive factor that can enhance the political and social influence of a social movement organization. A larger membership, whether based in one location or connected through a network of organizations on a regional or even national basis, usually translates into more and better opportunities to contact politicians and bureaucrats and to potentially affect the political decision making process, but also the society as a whole. Through large campaigns or simply through individual contacts, group members or supporters can inform and convince a wider share of the society about the group's goals and objectives. Groups with less than a hundred or a few hundred members or supporters²⁶⁸ can change the public sentiment about a single controversial (local or regional) issue to a certain extent, but unless they have influential outside support or are exceptionally determined in their

²⁶⁷ If the groups reveal their actual number of members (sometime they reveal some estimate figures), many groups fear that governmental bodies might not take them seriously if they knew that they have only 10 or 20 members. The difference of a group that has less than a hundred members and a group that has a couple of thousand members will usually be obvious, because larger groups naturally have larger financial and personnel resources, their own office and maybe even staff, but as long as smaller groups keep up appearances and work very hard even with a few members, government offices and other organizations will still cooperate with them.

²⁶⁸ For an explanation, please refer to the excursion titled: What is a *member*? (p. 200).

endeavor, they usually fail to effectively alter political or administrative decisions or trigger oppositional and supportive sentiment within the local community.

5.2.2 Development of Individual Membership

Exact figures for individual membership in grass roots or citizens' organizations are extremely difficult to accumulate. Most figures are mere estimates derived from newspaper articles, such as in McKean (1981: 7-8) who quoted an article in the Asahi Shinbun in March 1973 in which it was assumed that there were over 3000 citizens' movements at that time, or publications of the citizens' organizations themselves. The following figures are based on far more reliable data collected or edited by governmental and semi-governmental offices (e.g., Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Japanese Government Economic Planning Agency, Environmental Agency, Environmental Information Center), national and international public opinion polls (Prime Ministers Office, NHK Culture Research Center, International Social Survey Program (ISSP)), as well as the author's mail survey and the analysis of publications of citizens' movement organizations (*Sendai kita hōjinkai shōnen bukai* 1994).

To the best of the author's knowledge, such a broad basis of empirical and statistical data has never been used for the analysis of the environmental movement in Japan. The eclectic and unsystematic data basis of some data collections has nevertheless proven to be problematic in the analysis and comparison of data from different sources. For instance, some statistics provide data on membership and organizational features but not on the founding year, others provide detailed data on the latter but lack detailed descriptions of objectives of the movement organization. Nevertheless, the broad basis of data used here has proven to be a valuable basis for a detailed analysis of the overall movement.

5.2.2.1 The Development of the Number of Movement Organizations in the Tokyo Area

The number and activity area of single environmental organizations has no direct link to the number of overall members, but is an important indicator for a potential process of concentration of the entire environmental movement. This concentration towards fewer individual movement organizations if they in sum still had the same or a similar number of members could then again be a sign for a tendency towards a unification of forces in order to better counter government policies.

Due to a lack of nationwide long-term data of the overall number of organizations and individual members of environmental organizations, the following numbers are taken from data from the Tokyo Metropolitan area; but it can nevertheless be assumed, that at least the number of local and regional movement can give some indication about the development in Japan in general.

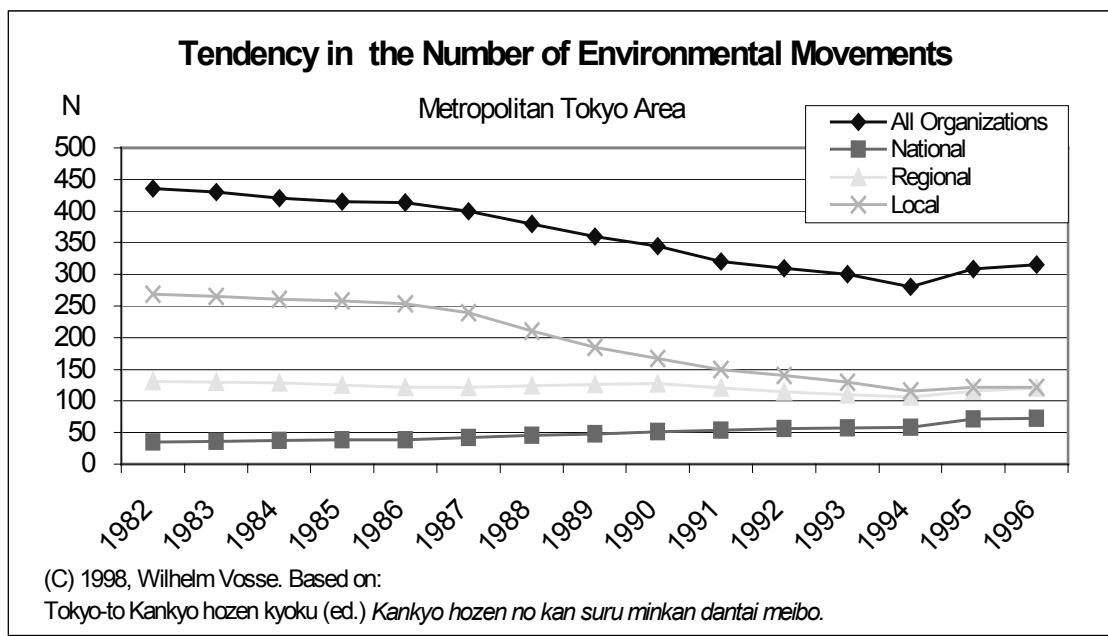


Figure 7 Number of Environmental Movements in Tokyo²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ This chart reflects only those groups, which are registered with the Environmental Protection Bureau (*Kankyo hozen kyoku*) of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government in the respective year. See: Tokyo Metropolitan Government [Tokyo Tojo] (eds.) *Kankyo hozen ni*

Figure 7 indicates that the number of all registered²⁷⁰ environmental groups in the Tokyo Metropolitan area has decreased between 1982 and 1996 from about 450 to about 300. This trend can largely be attributed to the sharp decrease of local groups from about 270 in 1982 to 120 in 1995. On the other hand, the number of citizens' environmental movements that are working on the *national* level has increased from about 35 to 73. The actual number of local and national environmental movements is higher, but still these data reflect a tendency in favor of national groups. Nevertheless, according to Environmental Information Center²⁷¹ statistics, 58% of all groups and organizations which are concerned with environmental issues²⁷² are local environmental groups working only in the same city or district, 23% are working in one prefecture, about 6% are active in several prefectures, 8% consider themselves as national organizations, and 5% are active on the international level. Among those groups, which will be labeled *primary environmental movement organizations*, because their primary target is environmental preservation, the rate of national and international groups is higher to some extent. The following figure 8 illustrates the just described overwhelming dominance of local and regional (prefectural level) environmental organizations in the late 1990s.

kan suru minkan dantai meibo [List of environmental protection citizens' organizations], (unpublished).

²⁷⁰ "Registered" does in most cases **not** mean, that the groups and organizations are legally registered as "public interest organizations", but that they have been registered with the Tokyo Metropolitan Government's Bureau of Environmental Protection. The list is not published but only for internal use.

²⁷¹ The Environmental Information Center in Tsukuba is a semi-governmental think tanks that has close organizational ties with the Environmental Agency.

²⁷² This definition includes all groups that are in any way connected with environmental issues (environmental protection, beautification, education, etc., see above for the classification).

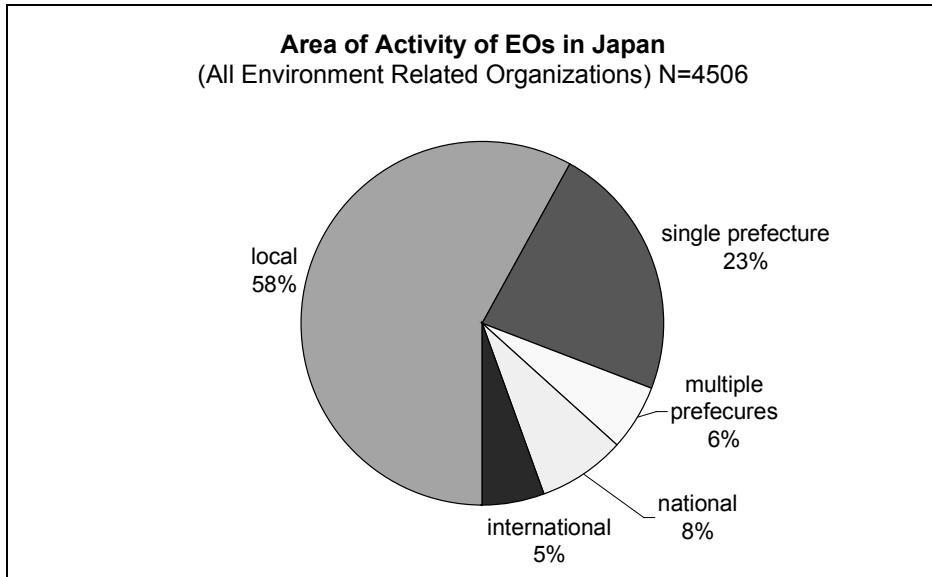


Figure 8 Activity Area of Environmental Organizations
 (distribution according to data from the Environmental Information Center)

5.2.2.2 Membership Development of Environmental Movements

Partly due to the decrease in the number of environmental organization, the number of members has also decreased between 1982 and 1996, as the next figure illustrates. The figure 9 also shows that the sharp decrease is essentially due to a membership decline among local and particularly regional environmental movement organizations.

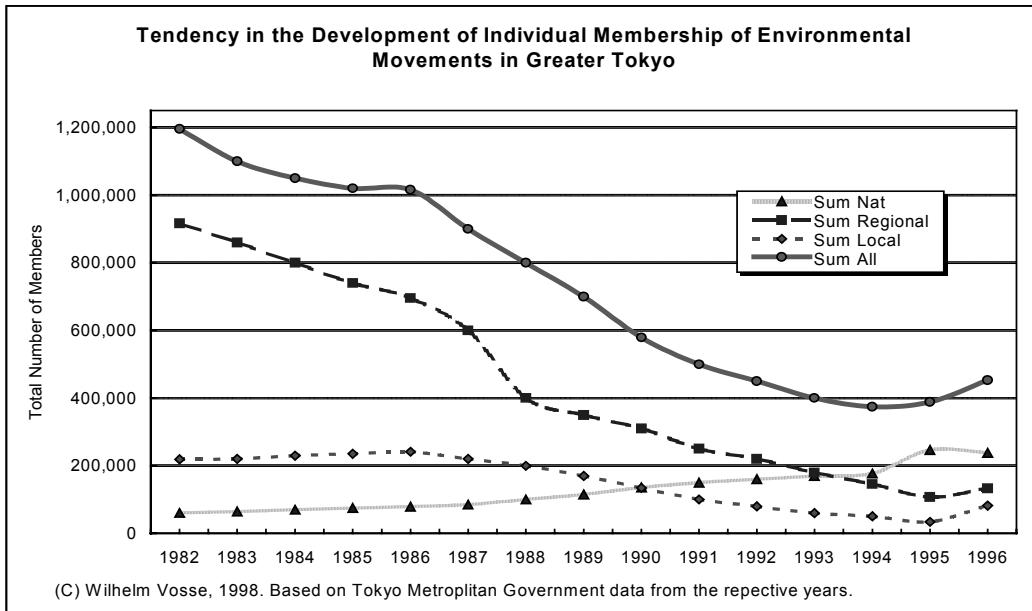


Figure 9 Development of Individual Membership in CEMs in
Metropolitan Tokyo

While the data hitherto was content with data from Greater Tokyo area, the following table, based on data by the Economic Planning Agency (EPA, Government of Japan), refers to Japan in general. According to a survey among citizens' civic organizations²⁷³, the distribution according to individual membership among organizations that have a membership system (2796 among the surveyed 4,152) in 1996 is as follows:

²⁷³ The survey conducted by the Economic Planning Agency of Japan (GoJ, Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997) took into consideration only citizens' organizations without any public service corporate status (e.g. *kōeki dantai*) (ibid: 1).

DISTRIBUTION OF CITIZENS' ORGANIZATIONS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP		
Number of individual members	All civic organizations (N=2796) in %	Only environmental organizations (N=276) in %
Less than 20	19.7	17.4
20 – 50	24.6	22.1
50 - 100	15.8	17.4
100 - 200	10.0	11.6
More than 200	20.4	24.3
No answer	9.5	7.2

Table 7 Distribution of Citizens' Organizations by Individual Membership

Hence, almost 80% of all the surveyed citizens' movements have less than 200 members, although the majority of CEMs has adopted a rather loose and open definition of who is to be considered a "member" (see below). The size of membership of environmental organizations is very similar to that of all citizens' organizations (see table 7). These estimates are supported by another independent list of groups that are predominantly active in the field of *nature protection*. Based on author's calculations on the number of individual members in nature protection groups and organizations (N=600) as published in the Yearbook of Nature Protection (*Kankyō. Shizen hogo kyokukyūyoku. Shizen hogo nenkan benshū iinkaishū* 1989) in 1992/93, about 80% of all the nature protection groups and organizations listed stated they had less than 300 members, more than 50% had even less one hundred individual members.

Nevertheless, because the few national organizations have a membership in the range of a few thousand to few tens of thousand, the large majority are members of those larger organizations, in fact an estimated 80%. About 300,000 of the 360,000 individuals²⁷⁴ are active in those larger organizations. Only 60,000 are members of organizations with less than 500 members. These figures are clearly

²⁷⁴ The accumulate membership of the more than 600 single organization that the author has counted in the Yearbook on Nature Protection is about 360.000, excluding a large number of movements that appeared to be groups that are making use of the natural environment rather than protecting it (see next footnote).

just estimates, but because they are based on the membership figures of such a large number of nature conservation organizations, namely 600²⁷⁵, they can certainly provide reliable and representative indications about the membership distribution.

In order to give the reader a general impression about the larger environmental organizations in Japan, and in order to introduce their names in Japanese and English language equivalent, table 8 provides an overview about their names, location of main office(s), number of individual members, and their founding years. Although it has been mentioned above that the majority of current members of environmental movement organizations are active in larger organizations, the table illustrates clearly that even the largest organizations have a membership of not more than 45000 individual members. It can therefore be assumed that their small membership base is a severe impediment for the development of name recognition, and societal recognition, as well as political influence.

²⁷⁵ Not all of the organizations that are mentioned in the Yearbook on Nature Conservation were considered as nature conservation movements, some where movements who rather used nature for sporting or recreation (e.g. hiking and mountaineering groups, or local cultural groups), those groups and organizations have been excluded in these calculations, so that only those organizations whose main objective appeared to be nature or environmental protection were taken into account.

LARGE ENVIRONMENTAL AND NATURE PROTECTION ORGANIZATIONS BY INDIVIDUAL MEMBERSHIP (1993/94)				
Japanese Name	English Name (Translation)	Main Office	Number of individual members (ca.)	Founded (Year)
Nihon Yachô no kai	Japan Wild Bird Society	Tokyo (plus ca. 250 branch offices)	45,000	1935
Sekai shizen hogo kikin - nihon iinkai	WWF-J	Tokyo	38,000	1972
Nihon shizen hogo kyôkai	Japan Nature Conservation Society (NACS-J)	Tokyo	20,000	1952
Nihon chôrui hogo renmei	Japanese Union for Bird Protection	Tokyo	12,000	1948
Shinrin bunka kyôkai	Forest Culture Association	Tokyo	8,000	1979
Chikyû kankyô zaidan	Global Earth Foundation	Tokyo	7,300	1986

Table 8 Memberships of Large Nature Protection Organizations (1993/94)

Excursion: What is a member?

In general, it would be assumed that a member of an organization was someone who had voluntarily signed in to become a member. Members could either be active members who might also pay a membership fee, or paying members, who just contribute a certain amount of money on a more or less regular basis and might either never or seldom actually engage in any activities of the group or organizations. One would assume that both types of members would have, at some point in time, declared his or her membership to this particular organization. However, among the 67% of the surveyed organizations that have any kind of membership system (*kaain seido*) 82% consider those people as "members" who have at some point participated in activities of the group; and 25% consider those as "members" who somehow support the organization²⁷⁶. Volunteers or activists might have signed into a list of participants that is usually provided at any event, but might not have decided to officially join the organization by getting active on a more or less regular basis. The figures for

²⁷⁶ 9.9% consider those that help in the service of the organization and 8.2% consider supporting citizens' organizations or business as "members". See: (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997:32).

environmental organizations are in a similar range²⁷⁷. As a result, the actual number of members, hence those who participate in events and activities on a regular basis and constitute the core group of any organization, is certainly much smaller than the official number of members published by the respective organization. Taking these considerations into account, it can be assumed that the relatively small membership figures particularly of the smaller citizens' organizations as given in section 5.2.2 are very likely to be even smaller. Although some small-scale groups might claim to have fifty or a few hundred members, the author suspects that a considerable number of these groups have indeed not more than perhaps ten or twenty core members who meet on a relative basis. Hence, there are compelling reasons to assume that the environmental movement in contemporary Japan is even smaller than the official membership data suggest.

5.3 FUNCTIONAL DIVISION, STAFF, VOLUNTEERS

Given the mere number of members and financial resources of the great majority of environmental citizens groups, most smaller groups have not set up a formal hierarchical organization with strictly divided responsibilities and functions. Although almost 80% do have specific rules or regulations stipulated to decide how leaders and representatives are supposed to be elected, and even 90% of the organizations stated they have some kind of functional division (mail survey²⁷⁸, Q11), most of the smaller groups are rather associational type organizations where human relations and the responsibilities are in a way naturally "felt" by the members. In many cases, it is only a very small core group that consists of an extraordinarily large percentage of women who do the main

²⁷⁷ Only environmental organization (N=276): Members is someone who is or has been active in the organization (74.6%), someone who helps in the service (7.6%), someone who supports the organization (31.9%), another citizens' organizations or business that supports the organization (16.3%), or else (3.3%). No answer: 1.4%. (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997:56).

²⁷⁸ If nothings else is mentioned, mail survey refers to the self-administered mail survey conducted by the author in 1993 and 1994. No answer: 11. (See appendix for details).

work, hence planning and organizing activities and events, or even carrying out these events.

DEGREE OF PROFESSIONALIZATION (1995) RULES AND PUBLICATIONS ²⁷⁹		
	Have rules and regulations	Publish own newsletter
Yes	78%	77%
No	22%	23%
N	(274)	(278)

Table 9 Degree of Professionalization: Rules and Regulations

Due to their very constrained financial resources, small environmental citizens' groups in particular do not have their own separate office, so over 90% either meet in houses or apartments owned or rented by an individual member (61%), or in public meeting places such as a *kominkan*, or social welfare centers (28%), only 7% either rent or own a separate office²⁸⁰.

Professionalization is furthermore constrained by the fact, that only a small percentage of the citizens' environmental movements have a significant number of regular and paid staff. The following table 10 shows the number of staff of mostly smaller environmental organizations in Japan without legal status in comparison with all nonprofit organizations (N=4152), shown in the first row.

²⁷⁹ Calculated by the author. Based on data of the Tokyo Metropolitan Government Environmental Protection Office (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Environment Protection Office) of 1995.

²⁸⁰ Based on data of GoJ Economic Planning Agency (1998: 47), N= 415, and supported by similar findings of the author's mail survey 1993/1994.

NUMBER OF STAFF OF SMALL CITIZENS' ENVIRONMENTAL GROUPS (1998)					
	Number of staff				No answer
	0	1	2-5	Over 6	
All small citizens or civic groups (N=4152) ²⁸¹	22.6	17.8	24.9	26.1	8.6
All Environmental Citizens' Organizations (N=415) ²⁸²	22.2	21.7	26.0	24.6	5.5
(With paid holidays)	81.2	13.3			5.5
Regular full-time staff	75.5	10.4	6.7	1.7	5.5
(Salary, with paid holidays)	86.5	4.6	2.7	0.7	5.5
Part-time staff	33.0	17.3	21.4	22.7	5.5
(Salary, with paid holidays)	87.7	4.8	1.0	1.0	5.5

Table 10 Number of Staff of Small Citizens Environmental Groups

The author's mail survey provided very similar data as for the CEM above. Among the organizations (N=92) that answered the question (Q16) about their staff composition (n=59), 28 or 47% answered they had no full-time staff, an additional 10% each stated to have either one or two full-time staff members. Hence about two third of all survey groups had either none or less than two full-time staff members. Among those with the highest number of full-time staff was the *Japan Wildbird Society* with over 60. Although the above figures given by the organizations voluntarily and independently indicate that almost 75% of the organizations have any kind of staff, which might seem relatively high, one must not overlook that the greater part consists of part-time staff members; less than 20% of the organizations have any number of full-time staff. Furthermore, the movements' definition of staff becomes clearer when one looks at the percentage of staff members who receive any kind of regular salary. Less than 8% of the organizations that responded to the survey indicated to have paid full-time staff; as expected, the number is even smaller among part-time staff, namely less than 7%. Taken these figures into account, it can be assumed that the salary

²⁸¹ Calculated by the author, based on data from the (EPA 1998).

²⁸² Only Citizens environmental movements (CEM). Calculated by the author, based on data from the (EPA 1998).

paid to the majority of the staff members is not competitive, and might in most cases only pay for the basic expenses, therefore many staff members have to work at other places part or full-time. Analogous to the movements' definition of "member", the definition of "staff" is also a very general one, and often better described as a "volunteer". In many cases, it is not directly comparable to what would be considered a member of staff in Western Europe or North America.

The number of staff of nonprofit organizations with legal status that are active in the environmental sector is somewhat higher. According to a recent comparative research report, which included the data of 59 relatively large and 69 relatively small nonprofit organizations active in the environmental field (YAMAMOTO 1998: 161), the accumulated number of staff amounted to 2616 (YAMAMOTO 1998: 105), hence an average of about 20 full-time staff²⁸³ per organization. The number of staff of environmental organizations (with legal NPO status) amounted to only 0.2 percent of the total employment in the nonprofit sector in Japan²⁸⁴, which was far below the seven-nation average of 0.7%²⁸⁵.

Because the overall employment in the nonprofit sector in Japan is relatively high due to the fact that a large share of organizations in the educational and health sector have legal nonprofit status, it seems to be more appropriate to put the percentage of employment in environmental nonprofit organizations in relation to the total employment in Japan (1991: 62 million). In Japan this

²⁸³ The number of part-time was calculated into the overall figure, depending on the number of hours they work, and included into the figures given here. Therefore, they are comparable between nations.

²⁸⁴ The total number of staff in the nonprofit sector in Japan amounts to about 1.44 million, hence about 2.5% of the total number full-time equivalent employment of 61.3 million (Yamamoto 1998:102).

²⁸⁵ The figures for employment in nonprofit organizations that were active in the environmental field in the other nations surveyed was (total number of employment in parenthesis): France: 0.6% (4800), Germany: 0.2% (2000), Hungary: 0.8% (65), Italy: 0.2% (800), UK: 1.8% (17 000), USA: 1.1% (78 000). (Salamon and Anheier 1994:127).

quota²⁸⁶ is 0.0042%, whereas the respective figures for selected other industrial countries are: UK: 0.063%, USA: 0.06 %, France: 0.02%, and Germany: 0.0068%. Hence, the Japanese quota signifies the still relatively low employment rate in the environmental nonprofit sector, in contrast to the relatively high total employment rate in the nonprofit sector.

In the late 1990s, the vast majority of citizens' environmental movements and nonprofit organizations with legal status therefore heavily rely on volunteers and part-time staff, whereas the latter are often paid only a nominal sum for certain expenses. Particularly housewives in their forties and fifties whose children have either already entered secondary education or who have already left the nuclear family, and also elderly men are typical for the volunteers that are essential for the day to day business of the small environmental groups. Nevertheless, most offices of environmental groups are located in private houses, therefore it is frequently difficult to contact those groups, and for most of the smaller groups and organizations, it is increasingly difficult to pursue larger social or political goals, and to put their individual objectives in a broader perspective. Severe financial restrictions make it therefore difficult to keep contact with groups and organization in other prefectures. In the late 1990s, the Internet has provided new and economical possibilities and opportunities to exchange information and discuss environmental and more general social and political issues on a geographically independent level. Whether this will actually lead to an improved coordination and a strengthening of the political power of a significant number of small groups is something that remains to be seen.

²⁸⁶This quota represent the share of employees in nonprofit environmental organizations as percentage of the total employment in Japan.

5.4 THE MEMBERSHIP OF CITIZENS' ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

5.4.0 Introduction

So far, there have been only a very few and mostly very selective surveys on the composition of the membership of citizens' environmental movement (CEM) organizations in Japan. Although overall and aggregated membership figures are published in some of the lists that have also been mentioned and used here, in-depth data on the membership of environmental movements have so far not been published or used in social science research on social movements in Japan. Among the very few studies that have touched the question of social, occupational, family status, or age distribution, there has been one study conducted in 1990 by Aoyagi-Usui Midori and published in 1995 (AOYAGI-USUI 1995)²⁸⁷ that focuses particularly on female activists in "waste management groups". Aosugi-Usui reconfirmed the widely held belief that garbage and waste related movements are predominantly run and supported by housewives. As far as the social background of these active women are concerned, Aosugi-Usui found, that "housewives who join environmental active groups have very similar attributes as married women in the wider social movement" (AOYAGI-USUI 1995: 160), hence they were not to any significant degree better educated, had not achieved higher career status, and did not come from different social strata than average women in Japan.

Using data from general and national public opinion surveys entails the problems that usually only a small minority of the sample are actual members of environmental movements or otherwise active in the environmental field. The ISSP 1993²⁸⁸ survey covering the environmental issues is a very good basis for an assessment of the general level of knowledge, concern, or participation in

²⁸⁷ Aoyagi-Usui is mainly based on a nationwide random sample of 5000 housewives (response rate: 80.5%, hence 4,025 respondents) and was completed in summer 1990. Data from the ISSP 1993 survey was also used in her survey.

²⁸⁸ The ISSP, or International Social Survey Program, is a comparative sociological survey that is currently conducted annually in about twenty participating countries. Japan has been participating since 1993 when the survey focused on environment related questions.

environmental organization. Since, however, only 28 of the 1305 respondents in Japan were environmental movement members, it was considered statistically difficult to draw any reliable and statistically representative conclusion from their responses. Nevertheless, the ISSP results have also been used to provide a general background. The author's mail survey in 1993 and 1994 seems to provide the most detailed data on the inner composition and is used as the main source of data.

First, let us consider the age distribution of members in environmental organizations. The following figure 10 illustrates the percentage of members in environmental organizations in selected age groups in Japan in 1993, according to the results on the ISSP survey in 1993.

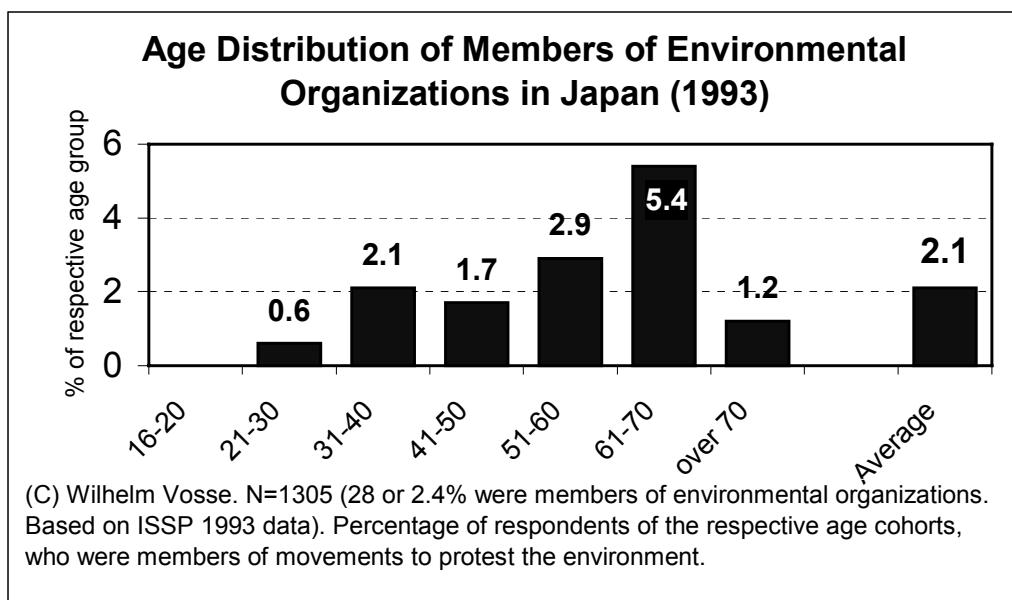


Figure 10 Age Groups and Membership in CEMs in Japan

The age distribution of members of environmental movement differs fundamentally from those of the general public in the sense that members are on average significantly older. According to ISSP 1993, over 60% of the members are older than 50 years, whereas the relevant share in the overall population is

only 38% (ISSP 1993, V60²⁸⁹). The percentage of members in the age group between 50 and 70 years was particularly high. As for those between 60 and 70 years for example, 32% of the CEM members were in this age group, however, only 12.9% of the general public. Significant in this respect is also the small number of younger members, with only 3.6% of them in the age range between 21 and 30, and none in the ISSP survey was younger than 20 years. As for the general population, the respective figures are 12.5% (21-30 years) and 8.4% (16-20 years), respectively. The average age of CEM members in the ISSP 1993 survey was about 48 years, similar to the average in the author's survey.

The age distribution not only corresponds with the author's mail survey (average age of all respondents that included many staff members: 49 years) but also with the impression the author got when visiting the offices of environmental organizations. Although many of the staff members are younger, mostly in their twenties or thirties, many of the ordinary members who visit conferences, meetings, and symposiums, were usually older, with a surprisingly high percentage seeming to be pensioners.

The relative underrepresentation of the younger age cohorts in Japanese environmental organizations is particularly striking when compared with the age distribution in selected other countries. As figure 11 shows clearly, the age distribution of the membership in CEMs in most other countries in the ISSP 1993 sample²⁹⁰ was far more evenly distributed than in the Japanese case. In general, the average age of the members was between thirty and fifty years of age, and a relatively high percentage of the members belonged to younger age cohorts.

²⁸⁹ V stands for variable in the ISSP survey.

²⁹⁰ Because of space constrains, the data of other participating countries in the ISSP 1993 survey could not be given here. Countries have been selected to represent at least one other country in Western Europe, North America, and Asia.

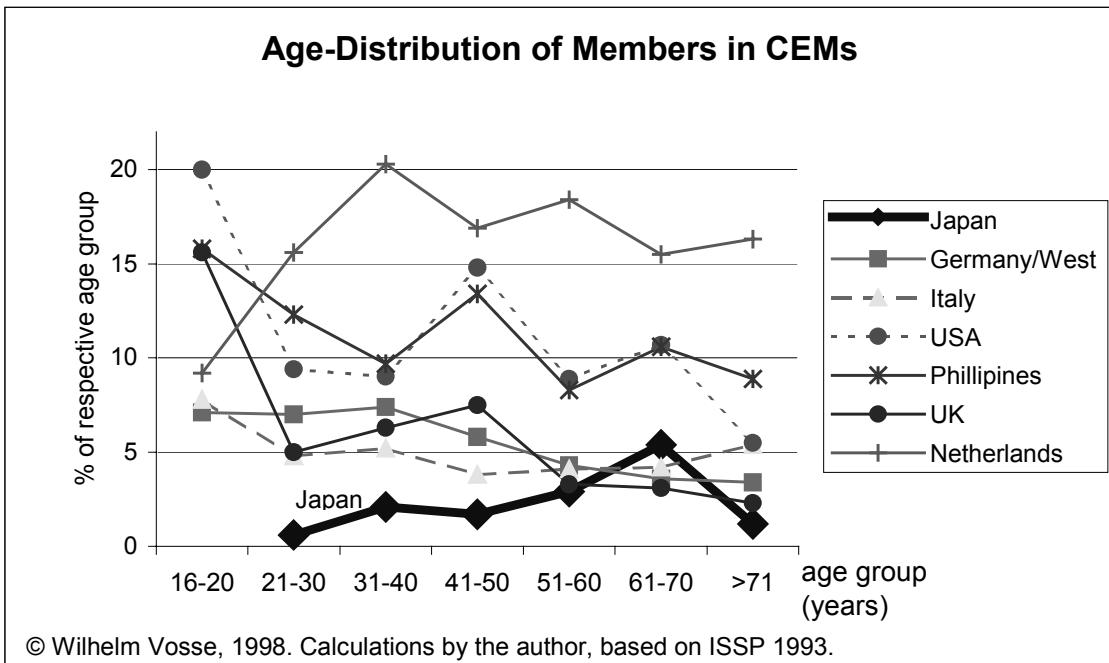


Figure 11 International Comparison of Age Distribution of CEM Members

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, in many European countries social movements in general and environmental and peace-movements in particular became one of the most important mobilizing agents for younger people, many of whom later entered political organizations and political parties. In Japan, however, due to the small percentage of younger rank-and-file members, environmental movements have only limited capacity to function as mobilizing agents for more advanced political participation, or to increase interest in social and political affairs in general, which is an important factor that particularly limits the political significance of environmental movements in the 1990s.

5.4.1 Female Percentage among the Members

In the author's survey, the groups were to estimate independently their share of female supporters, members, and leaders. Since most groups did not actually distinguish between supporters and members, the following will only distinguish between female members and leaders. The survey showed that, as far as rank-and-file members are concerned, women were in the majority (more than 55% of the overall membership) in more than 47% of the organizations,

whereas in only 30% women were in the minority. In about 22% of the organizations, the share was equal.

SHARE OF WOMEN AMONG MEMBERS AND LEADERS (Author's survey 1993/1994)				
	Members		Leaders	
Share of Women in Percentage	Number of Organizations	% (valid) ²⁹¹	Number of Organizations	% (valid)
Under 5%	1	2	9	15
5-14	3	6	8	13
15-24	4	8	6	10
25-34	6	12	6	10
35-44	1	2	6	10
Female share between 0 and 44 percentage		30%		58%
45-54 (well-balanced)	11	22 %	3	5 %
55-64	8	16	6	10
65-74	5	10	5	8
75-84	2	4	4	7
85-94	5	10	2	3
95-100	3	6	5	8
Female share between 54 and 100 percentage		47 %		36 %
(No answer)	32	--	21	--
Total	81		81	

Table 11 Share of Women among Members and Leaders

Among the leadership of the organizations on the other hand, women are significantly underrepresented. Among all the organizations that participated in the author's mail survey, 58% had a leadership that consisted of less than 45% women, in contrast to about 35% of them having a leadership that consisted of more than 55% women. This results support the author's assumption that women certainly make up the majority of the members and supporters of a great number of social movements and particularly environmental movements (e.g. 60% (n=30) of the respondents of the individual questionnaire were women), the leadership of many of the groups and organizations, however, is still largely dominated by men.

²⁹¹ The valid percentage reflects only the organizations that answered this question, hence all questionnaires minus the "Missing" or "No answer" responses. The number of missing and no answers is given in the second last row.

In the ISSP 1993 (Environment) survey, there was no significant difference among male and female respondents who stated to be members of a group to preserve the environment (ISSP 1993, V60²⁹²), which can certainly be attributed to the low number of respondents who claimed to be members of such organizations. As for both sexes, the level was only about 2.2%, the smallest among all other industrialized countries (see chapter 5.1).

GENDER OF MEMBERS OF GROUPS TO PRESERVE THE ENVIRONMENT (ISSP 1993)				
	Male		Female	
	Member of group to preserve the environment		Member of group to preserve the environment	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	13	2.2 %	15	2.1 %
No	581	97.8 %	696	97.9 %

Table 12 Gender in Relation to Membership in CEMs

Another result of the ISSP 1993 survey is a rather insignificant difference in relation to gender distribution as far as the percentage of those who had signed a petition concerning the environment in the last five years (V61: man: 42.3%, women: 25.7%), those who had donated money to an environmental protection organization (V62: man: 9.4%, women: 11.8%), or those who had participated in a protest demonstration concerning an environmental problem (V63: man: 2.7%, women: 2.7%) was concerned.

Based on these results, complemented by the author's observation in meetings and conferences of civic groups, it can therefore be argued that there is no significant gender disparity as far as the political belief, enthusiasm and determination towards environment related activity is concerned, but that, although notably less than in political parties and other mainstream social and political organizations, men do still play a dominant role in the leadership of

²⁹² The question stated was "Are you currently a member of an organization that preserves the environment?" (The Japanese version of the question was: "*anata wa kankyō hogo wo omo-na mokuteki to shite dantai no kaiin desu ka?*").

citizens' environmental organizations. While representation disparity along gender lines can be observed in virtually all environment related organizations, it is particularly striking in the larger organizations, which leadership is predominantly occupied by men. Contrary to the anticipation and hope of women in citizens' organizations in the 1970s and 1980s, environmental organizations in general and larger civic (non judicial) and legally recognized nonprofit organizations in particular, have therefore not proven to be a vehicle to advance gender equality to any significant degree. Women, and particularly women and housewives, have long been the backbone of the environmental movement, they have frequently been the force that kept movement organizations and initiatives alive, even in times when they could not expect only very limited or no outside support. However, returning to the central question of this survey, it must be argued that the relatively strong and important position of women in the environmental movement, and similarly also in other social movements, has not led to a significant improvement of the position of women in traditional and long established social and political organizations, that the political elite has not become significantly more accessible for women, that the anticipated consolidation of the Japanese democracy has virtually excluded the female half of the population. The often described "invisible wall" between the minor and major "system", exemplified in the disparity between the associational, local, grass-roots domain and the mostly national political-economic power domain could obviously not be brought any closer together by the environmental movement.

5.4.2 Educational Background of Members of CEMs

Among the respondents in the author's survey, the educational level was significantly higher than among the society as a whole. Particularly the share of respondents who had completed 4-year university was significantly higher with 50% (general population 12%). Only 30% stated completed secondary education (e.g. senior high school) as their academic background. All other categories were so small, that they cannot be considered statistically valuable, with only one or

two respondents in the respective sub-group. The ISSP 1993 survey promises to be more suitable in this respect, because it allows a comparison with figures concerning the general population. As illustrated in table 13, the highest educational background is only insignificantly higher among members of CEMs as opposed to those who are non-members.

The educational background of the membership supports this interpretation. According to the results of the mail survey ($N=50$), a disproportionately high percentage of the individual members had a university degree (50%) or a degree from a junior college (4%), a percentage that far exceeds that of the general population. However, according to the results of the 1993 ISSP survey on environmental issues ($N=1305$)²⁹³, the percentage of members with university degrees was only insignificantly higher than among non-members, 14,3% for members against 12,1% for non-members. As for CEM members, 46% had a completed secondary education (e.g. senior high school), against 41% of the non-members. The percentage of all other educational levels did not show any significant differences. The ISSP survey can claim to be more representative as far as the study as a whole is concerned because of larger sample size (members and non-members combined). Nevertheless, as far as the number of respondents in environmental organizations is concerned, the author's mail survey can claim to be more representative as far as members of environmental organizations alone are concerned, because it is based on a sample of 50 members²⁹⁴ instead of 28.

²⁹³ (International Social Survey Program (ISSP): Environment (1993) 1995).

²⁹⁴ To the author's knowledge, there has so far been no representative survey among individual members of environmental groups.

COMPARISON OF THE EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF MEMBERS OF GROUPS TO PRESERVE THE ENVIRONMENT AND NON-MEMBERS		
Highest Education	Members (%)	Non-Members (%)
Incomplete primary	-	5.6
Completed primary	17.9	19.0
Incomplete secondary	10.7	9.6
Complete secondary	46.4	41.6
Incomplete semi-higher	3.6	2.5
Complete semi-higher	7.1	9.2
Completed University	14.3	12.1

Table 13 Comparison of the Educational Levels of CEM Members and Non-Members, according to ISSP 1993 data.

The gap between the ISSP results and the findings of the authors can to a certain degree be explained by the assumption that a relatively high percentage of the respondents in the author's survey had been core activists or members of the staff (volunteers or full-time), whereas the respondents of the ISSP survey represent more the ordinary rank-and-file members or activists.

Although the educational background of members and activists in environmental organizations is not significantly higher than the national average, the educational level of those actively involved in open protest activities, on the other hand, is. In 1996, for example, 95.1% of the Japanese respondents in the ISSP 1996 survey ($N=936$) answered, they had not participated in any public protest meeting in the five years preceding, whereas 2.3% answered they had participated once, while 2.0% answered they had participated even more than once. Among those with a university degree, 6.2% had participated once, and 5% had participated more than once. The percentage level for those with only primary or completed secondary education was considerably lower than the average.

5.4.3 Social Stratification of the Membership

In the last two decades, there have been a large number of studies on social stratification in Japan. Their results have frequently given reason to suspect a

simple strata system is insufficient or inappropriate to describe and analyze the Japanese society. All government surveys (Prime Ministers Office 1958ff) since the mid 1950s that included self-classifications of social class or strata concluded that the overwhelming majority (usually more than 90%) of the respondents had classified themselves as “middle class”²⁹⁵. The explanatory value of these figures has frequently been discussed. One of the reasons why the majority of respondents consider themselves middle class is certainly that in Japan most citizens do not want to be any different than the rest of the society so they perceive middle class as the best place to be, although their income, property, job status, and difference in other factors (e.g. societal recognition, possession of leadership positions in citizens or other public organization, etc.) that would have a certain degree of influence on their social status in other countries has been disregarded. Another major reason for the disproportionately large number of self-proclaimed middle class (middle stratum) membership is the very limited choice of answers presented to the respondents. One can only be lower, lower-middle, middle-middle, upper-middle, or upper class, whereas in most other industrialized countries, one could find more sub-categories, in the lower and upper strata section.

The mail survey among individual members conducted by the author in 1993 and 1994 included also a question on self-perception of social status, but the lower and the upper strata were divided into two sub-categories respectively²⁹⁶. Although the sample size was too small to be representative for the entire membership of environmental movements in Japan, the result nevertheless indicated that a larger percentage than among the general public perceived themselves as upper-middle (22%) and even lower-upper strata (18%). Very

²⁹⁵ E.g. in 1996 respondents perceived their own living status in relation to that of others as: Lower Strata: 0.4%, Lower Middle Strata: 10.8%, Middle Middle Strata: 57.8%, Upper Middle Strata: 23%, Upper Strata: 5.2. According to: (Prime Ministers Office 1958ff:Q7).

²⁹⁶ The categories were: lower-lower, middle-lower, upper-lower, lower-middle, middle-middle, upper-middle, lower-upper, and upper-upper.

similar to the result among the general public, however, only about 2% perceived themselves as lower strata (all sub-categories combined) and about 75% as middle strata (all sub-categories combined)²⁹⁷. Therefore, these results indicate to a certain extent that the activists perceive themselves as distinctively higher on a social strata scale.

The social status of members of environmental organizations in Japan is very difficult to estimate, and the following attempt to shed some light on this aspect can only be based on estimates. The ISSP 1993 survey included only 28 members of environmental organizations, so the analysis of the social background can only provide a general idea. The following evaluation of the social background is predominantly based on the family and personal income situation of respondents in the ISSP surveys and the results of the authors mail survey.

One result of the ISSP 1993 survey is that the family income of members of environmental movements is either below or above national average. Members of citizens' environmental movements with a family income of less than 5 million Yen are as well overrepresented as members with a family income of more than 12 million Yen. The group in the medium income bracket (between 5 and 12 million Yen) was clearly underrepresented.

²⁹⁷ The results were: N=50. Middle-Lower: 1, lower-middle: 11, middle-middle: 15, upper-middle: 11, lower-upper: 9, upper-upper: 1.

**PERSONAL EARNINGS OF MEMBERS OF
ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS**
BY GENDER IN 1993

(N=28, BASED ON ISSP 1993 - ENVIRONMENT)

Personal Earnings (In million Yen)	Male			Female		
	Membership in CEM		All (%)	Membership in CEM		All (%)
	Yes (%)	No (%)		Yes (%)	No (%)	
<1	7.7	7.2	7.2	85.1	41.9	42.7
1 - 1,99	23.1	5.1	5.6	14.3	24.6	24.4
2 - 2,99	7.7	17.0	16.7		15.6	15.3
3 - 3,99	15.4	18.7	18.6		10.7	10.6
4 - 4,99	15.4	14.0	14.0		2.8	2.8
5 - 5,99	7.7	13.2	13.0		1.0	1.0
6 - 6,99	7.7	4.9	5.0		1.8	1.8
7 - 7,99	7.7	6.4	6.4		0.5	0.5
8 - 8,99	7.7	4.2	4.3			
9 - 9,99		3.4	3.3			
10 - 11,99		3.2	3.1		0.5	0.5
12 - 14,99		1.9	1.9		0.3	0.3
>15		0.8	0.8		0.3	0.3

Table 14 Personal Earnings of Environmental Movement Members

The analysis of those who either participated in public protest meetings or public demonstrations was clearer, and it can be concluded that the family income of participants in both cases was higher than for those who had not participated in the last five years.

The average family income of CEM members and the general public does, however, not differ significantly. The distribution among different income brackets on the other hand reveals striking peculiarities. The average family income in Japan in 1993 was about 5.8 million Yen, whereas the respective amount for CEM members was 6 million Yen, hence only 3.4% higher, an insignificant difference, particularly taking into consideration the small number of members in the ISSP 1993 survey. Interesting in this regard is, however, that although the family income might not be much higher, the personal income of the CEM members is significantly lower than the personal income of non-members.

These findings hint at the likelihood that many of the female members and activists are either housewives, or employed in low level jobs, which gives them the freedom to devote at least a part of their time to activities and membership in CEMs. Table 14 shows the personal income brackets of members and non-members divided by gender. Considering these figures, it seems obvious that the majority if women in this survey have virtually no regular income, with about 86% of the female members having a yearly income of less than one million Yen, and the rest of 14% has an income of between one and two million Yen, hence far below the average of women in Japan in 1993. The personal income of the male members is also below average, but not as low as that for the women.

In both cases, male and female members, but particularly the latter, it must be assumed that they are supported by their partners or perhaps parents. This financial support allows them to devote time and money to activity in environmental movements. This also means that professionals and experts, who might work full time but could devote a part of their time and expertise to environmental preservation accounts for significantly smaller percentage of the membership in Japan than in most other industrialized countries. This naturally has consequences for the degree of professionalization and expertise of the vast majority of environmental groups and organizations. Since they often lack the financial resources to pay think tanks and professional experts, they rely heavily on the few members who have assembled enough knowledge about environmental protection but also political and social lobbying through their participation and experience in the CEMs.

5.4.4 Political and other relevant Experience of Activists

Prior experience or relationships to political parties or other citizens' movements also have the potential to influence the political and social role of social movements to a considerable degree. Parallel mobilization and connection can improve the coordinating power and political clout of any one single organization or network of organizations, and long experience with political

bodies, their organizational structure, knowledge of the inner-working of other organizations and political tactics and strategies can shorten the learning curve of newly established citizens' movements. Therefore, the experience in political parties, citizens' movements, and experience with protest activities will be highlighted next.

Established political parties do not play any significant role in the strategies of the vast majority of environmental movements. Although many movements maintain some loose relation with individual members of city councils, the overwhelming majority of environmental organizations in the author's survey (64%), and another 13% answered "rarely"²⁹⁸, less than 10% of the responding groups and organizations stated they maintained permanent relations with any one political party. An additional 13% maintained occasional relationships. The limited organizational relationship to political parties is paralleled in the low level of party membership among individual CEM members. In the author's survey, only 12% of the respondents were currently members of any one political party, 88% were not. Among the non-party members, more than 85% could not imagine that they would themselves to become party members in the future (Q30). Of the six party members in this survey (N=50), two were members of the JSDP, two were members of the Komeitô, and two members of the Fukuoka Consumer Net, a local party set up by the Fukuoka Seikatsu Movement as part of the consumer movement.

Although the level of political party membership among members of environmental movements is considerably higher than among the general public²⁹⁹ (less than one percent), it nevertheless supports the author's assumption

²⁹⁸ 64% of the group who gave a valid answer to the question 15A "Does this group have any relationship with a political party?" (*kono gurûpu ha izureka no seitô to nani raka no kankei ga arimasika?*) with *No, never*, another 13% answered "rarely" (Q15A). N=92.

²⁹⁹ The author could not find any reliable data on political party membership in Japan. Nevertheless, based on estimates from the 1980s it can be assumed that the number of individual rank-and-file party members is below one million. This figure does not include the members of Sôka Gakkai, the mother organization of Komeitô.

that social movements including environmental movements can not necessarily be considered a springboard for a political career in one of the established political parties. Nevertheless, one fifth (24%) of the core members could imagine running for any one political office (Q 32), and more than two thirds could imagine joining an ecological political party, if there was one. The non-existence of any one clear-cut ecological political party in Japan is therefore considered by many as a regrettable fact (Q41³⁰⁰). Additionally, apart from relations and frequent exchanges with individual politicians, the environmental movement has so far not found any natural parliamentary party that could become a partner for the environmental movement. For a long time after its establishment in June 1993, Shinto Sakigake has been the most open political party for the entire NGO and NPO sector³⁰¹.

The vast majority of current members in environmental movements have either experience in other citizens' movements, or are currently members of one or more such movements (author's survey, Q26³⁰²), which clearly shows that many of those who are active in any one environmental organization have either already collected experience in other similar organizations, or have broader social or political interests. This impression is supported by the author's observation in protest meetings, conferences, and symposia organized by environmental movements. Those events are visited largely by relatively small group of core members.

³⁰⁰ On a scale between -3 (strongly disagree) and +3 (strongly agree), the core members of environmental movements which responded to the authors survey in 1993/1994 approved the statement "It is a pity that there is no strong ecological political party in Japan" with an average of +1.6.

³⁰¹ Dōmoto Akiko for example, a female Shinto Sakigake member of the House of Representatives has until today been one of the most prominent support of the entire citizens' movements sector. However, since Hatoyama Yukio and Kan Naoto have left Shintō Sakigake to establish the Democratic Party of Japan in September 1996, the political influence of Shintō Sakigake has been replaced by the individual stature of the few remaining members of parliament.

Traditional community groups and neighborhood organizations, on the other hand, are not the stepping-stone from which environmental activists begin their commitment in social movements. Only a very small minority of CEM members is currently (only 5 out of 49) or have in the past been members of neighborhood organizations (only 14 out of 44), (Q28). Community groups in general play a somewhat greater role for current CEM members, because 12 out of 49 were also a member of community group in 1993/1994 (Q29).

Public protest demonstrations play only an insignificant role in the action repertoire of social and other movements in Japan. Comparative data show clearly that Japan has one of the smallest participation rates among surveyed industrialized nations. In 1997, only 2.3% and 2% respectively had either once or more than once participated in protest demonstrations within the last five years (see figure 12).

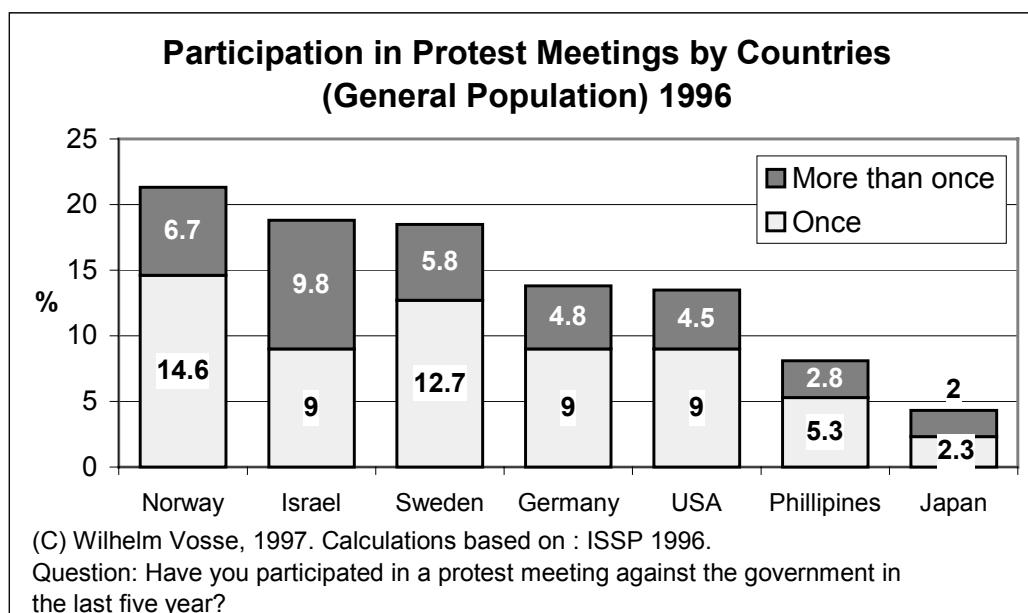


Figure 12 Participation in protest meetings by the general population in selected countries

³⁰² Q26: Are you currently a members of another citizens' movement? Yes: 32 (64%), No: 15 (30%). In addition, the follow-up question: "If no, have you ever been a member of another citizens' movement?" Yes: 5, No: 8.

The relatively low value priority of rallies and protest demonstrations even among members and activists of environmental movements is even more apparent in the findings of the ISSP 1993, in which only 4 of the 28, or 14% of the current members of environmental movements stated that they had participated in a protest rally in the last five years. Nevertheless, the share among movements' participants is considerably higher than among the society as a whole, which stood at only 2.7% (ISSP 1993, V63). More than three fourths of the members of environmental movements, however, had at one point in the last five years signed a petition in connection with an environmental demand, in contrast to only one fourth of the general public (ISSP 1993, V61).

A central reason for the surprisingly small number of protest demonstrations is the widely held view among environmental activists that those means can no longer achieve the goals they were originally made for. In the author's mail survey among individual members ($N=49$), only one respondent (2%) considered public demonstrations univocally a good means to achieve the group's objectives, and another 8 (16%) considered them as "sometimes useful". The majority, however, 23 (46%) and 17 (34%) were opposed or strongly opposed to public demonstration as a useful approach for their particular organizations (author's survey, Q17).

5.4.5 Political Orientation of Group Members

Although the figures of the ISSP 1993 and 1996 have to be interpreted cautiously because of their relatively low absolute number of members of environmental movements, namely only 28, in combination with the author's own survey they can nevertheless be used as a general background for the analysis of the political preferences of CEM members.

However, it is this issue, party preference in the case of ISSP 1993, and judgment of political parties, where the two surveys differ fundamentally, something this author cannot explain simply with the difference in wording and connotation of

the questions. In the ISSP survey, 3.6% and 14.3% of CEM members expressed either far left or center left party preferences, respectively, which was somewhat higher than the share among the general population, where the levels stood at 1.9% and 9.9% respectively. The difference as far as the center parties are concerned is less significant, with 7.1% for the CEM members, and 5.8% for the general public. The interesting point, however, is the relatively high percentage of environmental movements members who expressed affiliations with right or conservative parties. As for the society as a whole, affiliation with conservative parties - in the case of Japan the LDP - was 32.1%, whereas among the CEM members it was 39.3%, or 7% higher. This result of the ISSP survey contradicts not only with the assumption about political preferences of members of CEMs in Japan and in most other industrialized countries, but also the findings of the author's survey.

When the respondents were asked to judge the Japanese political parties that were active in 1993/94 on a scale between -3 (very bad, *taiben warui*) and +3 (very good, *taiben yoi*), the LDP received the worst judgment of -2.2, however, not significantly worse than the Minshato with -2.0, the Komeito with -1.8 and Shinseito with -1.7. The left of center as well as the parties that had been newly established in the wake of the party reform movement in 1992 and 1993 were judged much more favorable, but none of them were judged positively (see table 15).

POLITICAL PARTY EVALUATION OF CEM PARTICIPANTS (1993/1994)	
(On a scale between -3 and +3, ranked by evaluation)	
LDP	-2.2
Minshato	-2.0
Komeito	-1.8
Shinseito	-1.7
Shinto Sakigake	-1.1
Nihon Shinto	-1.0
JSDP	-0.9
JCP	-0.9
Shaminren	-0.7

Table 15 Party Judgment by Participants in CEMs (Author's survey)

On the one hand, these results illustrate that CEM members consider the left or center much more favorably, but it also shows that in 1993 they shared positive expectations as far as the newly established reformist parties were concerned. In another question (Q36), members of CEM expressed deep dissatisfaction with the environmental policies of the LDP (-2.7, on the same scale as above), and at the same time, they were hopeful and expressed comparative appreciation for the environmental policies or policy plans of the newly elected coalition government, namely -1.3. The general judgment about the newly elected reform government under Prime Minister Hosokawa was even more favorable, with -0.3. The fact that all these figures are in the negative spectrum and differ only in the degree, to which the respondents judge them more or less negatively, illustrates the widely held suspicion among CEM members and activists towards all political parties and the political system in general.

Although members of environmental organizations in Japan might have a more conservative political stance than the general public, they differ in respect to the society at large in the sense that they do to a significantly higher degree have any political party preference at all. Japan has one of the highest share of citizens without any party preference, namely between 45 and 55% depending on survey (ISSP 1993, 1996, NHK 1993). In the ISSP 1993 survey, the share of all

respondents who could not state any one party preference was 45% for all, but only 35.7% (ISSP 1993, V281 over V60) among members of CEMs. The general political value orientation of members of CEMs does not altogether mirror the expectations one could have considering the generally rather left-leaning and progressive political values expressed by members of CEMs in Western Europe and the USA. In Japan on the other hand, the value priorities are far more heterogeneous. Following are a few examples taken from the ISSP 1993 survey.

The ISSP surveys in 1993 and 1996 revealed some surprising social and political value preferences of Japanese CEM members, particularly when compared with the society at large. When CEM members were asked to name their highest social and political value priority, in Japan more than 32% of the respondents answered “order in nation” (ISSP 1993, V7), a level that was even 2 percentage points higher than the national average. On the value preferences concerning greater public influence on government decision-making, 42% of the CEM members responded affirmatively, almost the same level as that of the general public with 44%.

On the other hand, as far as “freedom of speech” was concerned, the percentage of CEM members who choose to put this on the top of their priority list was more than twice as high as among the general public, 21% and 10% respectively. Both values are nevertheless surprisingly low compared with most Western democracies. Asked for the second highest priority, the number of members who demanded more say for the people was also more than twice as high as that of the general public with 42% and 25% respectively. In considering both the first and the second priority (V7 and V8), in general, it can be argued that political values such as “freedom of speech” and “citizen’s influence in government” differ between CEM members and the public at large because the former share a higher value preference for pluralistic values. In contrast, value preferences that are more closely related to environmental issues in the broader

sense, such as positive “belief (and trust) in science” are not significantly different between CEM members and non-member.

Based on the results of the author’s mail survey and interviews, it can generally be argued that the vast majority of activists, sympathizers, and occasional supporters of environmental protection activities do not share an elaborate and overt environmental ideology that is based on socio-economical or deep-rooted ethical convictions that would bestow the highest priority to the natural environment; a conviction that could eventually strengthen a general opposition towards the belief that scientific and industrial progress should exclusively be used to the benefit and comfort of humans (e.g. deep environmentalism). In his empirically based study on an environmental dispute between opponents and proponents of a landfill in Oita prefecture, the sociologist Jeffrey Broadbent also found a lack of overtly environmentalist ideology among environmental movements and its leaders in Oita Prefecture in the early 1980s (Broadbent 1998: 362). He noted that in Oita, most people rather complained about the “loss of coastal beaches enjoyed in times past” (*ibid*: 362). Most people first hesitated to criticize the authorities because they felt the pressure to maintain “social harmony”, a way of thinking reinforced by Confucian norms. In practice, however, local Conservative bosses had the power to impose “their version of ‘harmony’ on the community” (*ibid*: 362). Although many people sympathized with protest movements, they hesitated to join the demonstration themselves (Broadbent 1988: 142).

5.5 MAJOR ISSUES AND ACTIVITIES

The following sub-chapter is concerned with the central question: What problems and issues environmental groups and organizations in Japan are primarily concerned with, and how do they approach them? Although there are various databases and self-descriptions of citizens’ groups and organizations in general and environmental organizations in particular, it is nevertheless difficult

to determine the composition of environmental movements in terms of their activities and goals. Figure 13 illustrates the percentage of groups, which are active in different fields.

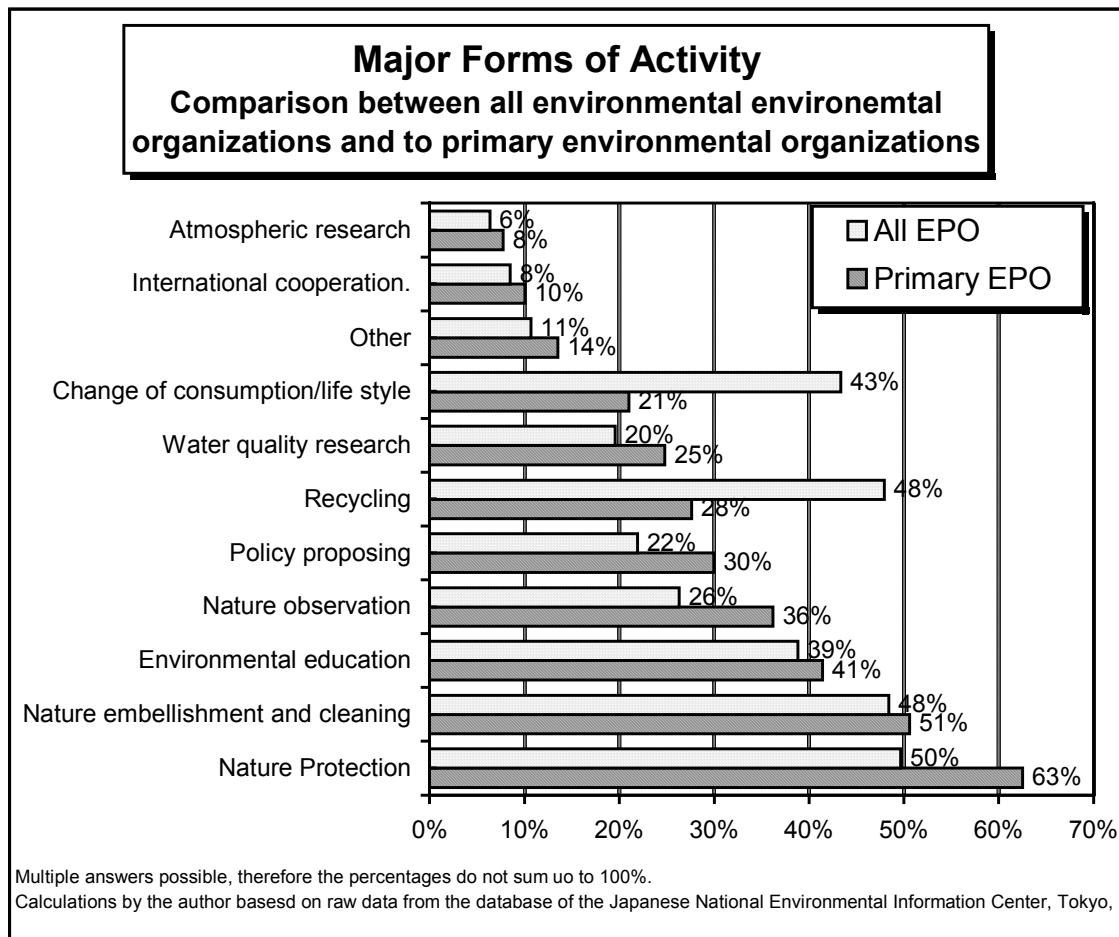


Figure 13 Major Forms of Activity and Action of CEMs

The dominant shares of the movements are active in fields, which are directly linked to nature preservation; hence, they are trying to improve the natural environment either directly, or by shaping awareness for environmental problems. Of the primary environmental groups (dark bar), 63% see their main activity in nature protection, 51% in nature improvement, beautification, and cleaning up, 41% in environmental education, and 36% in nature observation. The most striking characteristic is that only 30% named “*influencing the policy process*” in one way or another as one of their activities. Assuming that *nature protection, beautification and observation* activities are a central part of *environmental*

education, with only very indirect and probably long-term implications for the policy process, one can argue that the foremost activity and aim of environmental movements in contemporary Japan is environmental education, and to a far lesser extent, influencing the policy process directly.

This impression is also corroborated by the result of a public opinion survey in 1991³⁰³. When asked about their environmental protection activities, 49% of all respondents answered, they “had done something”. In more detail, it shows that 41% had participated in some kind of nature embellishment activity, such as picking up waste, 13.6% had conducted greening activities, 5% had given donations and 4% other wildlife protection activities, only about 4% had taken part in the opposition against development projects, which were considered potentially harmful to the natural environment.

Again, this reflects the declining importance of protest and anti-development movements with any political implications, and the overwhelming preference of genuine and direct nature conservation activities. The fact that only a few environmental groups are trying to reach their goals through political and parliamentary decision making and legislation, is also corroborated by the findings of the author’s research, which proved that only 9% of the groups in the sample maintained permanent contact to any one political party, an additional 13% had occasional contacts.

Environmental movements have developed a broad range of different activities over the years. In the introduction to the specified historical phases of the environmental movement in postwar Japan, it has been explained that early postwar movements were dominated by the experience or fear of environmental pollution, and indeed, the word *kōgai* in Japanese is only insufficiently translated with pollution. For most Japanese the connotation is dominated by the series of

³⁰³ Prime Ministers Office (1991), *Shizen no hogo to riyō ni kan suru seron chousa* [Public Opinion Poll Concerning Nature Protection and Use], Tokyo.

severe pollution incidences in modern Japanese history, and particularly with the series of pollution poisoning cases in the 1950s and 1960s. In the following decades, the focus has shifted more towards the use of nature as a place for relaxation, and consequently the desire to preserve the natural environment. The major activities of the contemporary environmental movement reflects this tendency, because nature protection, the cleaning and embellishment of the natural environment are the two dominant fields of activity for environmental movement organizations in the late 1990s (see figure 13).

5.5.1 Direct Nature Protection Activities

Direct nature activities are by far the most typical form of activity of environment related organizations in Japan. In this case, *direct* means that members or volunteers interact with the natural environment directly, often with their hands. The theoretical agenda of many of these groups might include broader issues, such as improving or protecting the environment in general, but their activities often remain confined to the resources of their individual members. Typical categories of activities include cleaning up, recycling, nature observation, protection of certain environmentally valuable strips of land, water, wetland, and might for certain occasions such as action days also include help from local residents outside the organizations. Although it can be assumed that many members in these groups are aware of the broader context of environmental problems, such as overconsumption and the socio-economic system, yet they prefer to refrain from broader political involvement because they favor direct and personal ways of interaction with the natural environment.

5.5.2 Research

Environment related research is not only conducted by special scientific laboratories and think tanks, but also by a large number of the smaller CEMs. Typical in this regard is the measurement of water and air quality. Through these semi-professional research and study activities, the members learn about the quality of the environment in their neighborhood, and particularly about

potential pollution related problems that would not be noticed without specified tools and measurement techniques.

5.5.3 Core Political Activities

In general, classical political activities play a comparatively insignificant role for the vast majority of the contemporary movement organizations. The protest movements, which have been introduced in chapter 4, have to a limited degree been involved in legislative political activities by nominating own candidates for local elections, organizing signature rallies for petitions, or by openly supporting sympathetic council members or mayors and in a very few cases even candidates for the Diet; but the vast majority of the smaller movements essentially refrain from these types of activities. Therefore, open protest movements still do not play any significant role for the movement as a whole. For them demonstrations and increasingly litigation developed into a far more important strategy. Many other movements are also attempting to attract media attention. The following sections therefore focus on these forms of activities.

5.5.4 Demonstrations and Conferences

As had been outlined in section 5.4.4, the importance of public street demonstrations and rallies has decreased significantly since the 1960s and early 1970s. Reasons for this decline are the decreased media attention for small demonstrations, the difficulty to mobilize enough people on a specific date and time, and the fear that demonstrations with a small number of participants would rather reveal the weakness rather than the strength of any protest movement. Direct negotiations and petitions that are signed by ordinary citizens have lost, conferences and symposia, on the other hand, have gained in importance. Although there are no reliable data on the actual number of conferences organized by environmental movements, newsletters of environmental organizations are filled with invitations and announcements for conferences on all levels. In view of the small number of more or less centralized national organizations or network structures, for the vast majority of CEMs,

regular conferences are virtually the only opportunity to exchange information, experiences, and to make their own endeavor known to a broader group of interested people within the environmental movement scene.

The conferences themselves are organized and conducted in a comparatively strict mode, with a prearranged list of speakers and perhaps a panel discussion at the end. In the opinion of the author, these conferences appear to be relatively hierarchical and formal, often without much time for any lengthy discussion among activists during the official line of events. Although participants certainly have the opportunity to get to know each other and the activities of their respective organizations after the official conference has ended, the author considers it a missed opportunity for an open and potentially critical debate about the current situation and future development of the environmental movement. A great number of conferences rather appear to be mere opportunities to demonstrate to others how devoted³⁰⁴ the movements pursue a given objective.

5.5.5 Litigation

Lawsuits have long been considered a weapon of last resort in Japanese society and also among members of anti-pollution and victims' movements. Filing a lawsuit has traditionally been considered as violating social peace and an admission of failure to solve a problem peacefully in a direct exchange of the parties, or perhaps with the help of a mediator. This cultural impediment to file a lawsuit is furthermore aggravated by extraordinarily high litigation costs in Japan, in part due to the underdeveloped legal system with a comparatively small number of lawyers. As a consequence, the duration of legal disputes has

³⁰⁴ Phrases and slogans that include word such as “we’re working hard” (*gambatteru!*, *gambarō*) can be frequently heard and read on such occasions. This is certainly standard for meetings in Japan in general, but the author expected social movements to be more capable to self-reflect and scrutinize their own actions and strategies in an open discussion.

frequently been ten or even twenty years³⁰⁵. By keeping the legal system small and lawsuits expensive, the Japanese government has successfully kept the number of lawsuits small and is practically withholding the right to use the legal system. A central problem for civil lawsuits filed by a group of victims against a company or government office is the inability to file class action lawsuits. Japanese courts usually consider those as a number of cases filed simultaneously and handled by the same lawyer. This complicates the lawsuit to a degree that it can take years until the suit is just accepted by the court, because it has to examine the validity of every single case³⁰⁶.

Nevertheless, encouraged by the political success of the Big Four Pollution trial cases, a fair number of anti-pollution but also some environmental protection movements have proceeded to the court of law. The reasons for pollution victims to file a lawsuit together with other victims might be the prospective financial compensation rewarded by the court in a successful case, but movements that only pursue this single goal regularly dissolve after a part of the victims have been successful and see no further incentive to invest time and money into a lawsuit. Kidder and Miyazawa (1993) hence distinguished in their case studies of a lawsuits of pollution victims four different groups of plaintiffs (*ibid*: 621): (1) money crusaders who only seek a quick settlement and money, (2) local crusaders, who consider only the "symbolic value" of any financial payment, they seek justice and also join demonstrative activities of the group, (3) national crusaders, who also seek justice but also some influence on the Japanese political system as a whole, and (4) world crusaders, who have a broader agenda yet,

³⁰⁵ Prominent negative examples are the four big pollution cases (see above), but also the other cases of pollution victims in the Anti-Shinkansen movement, the case of air-pollution victims introduced in (Kidder and Miyazawa 1993) which took over ten years, or the examples introduced in chapter 4, namely the Hinode-machi landfill trials and the trials of the Anti-Nagara-gawa estuary dam movement.

³⁰⁶ For a more detailed introduction to the deficiencies of the Japanese legal system and the specific problems to file a lawsuit for pollution victims, see: (Kidder and Miyazawa 1993), (Upham 1987).

namely mobilizing and enhancing global environmental awareness and movements.

The lawsuits of the citizens of Hinode-machi (chapter 4) were not filed to receive any financial compensation; it was not a lawsuit of pollution victims, rather of pollution preventers. The core activists including their chief lawyers could be categorized as national or even global crusaders. Their aim was to challenge and even provoke the local but also the national government and to compel them to rethink their environmental policies, particularly their waste management system. Litigation is viewed as a form of political action³⁰⁷; besides the threat to the relevant administrative bodies, it can also be an effective means to attract new members or sympathizers, and it frequently attracts important media attention and places public attention not only on the specific objectives of the lawsuit, but on environmental problems in general.

Kidder and Miyazawa (1993) concluded their research on air-pollution litigation the political importance of litigation, that despite of the small number of courts and lawyers, “the Japanese legal profession and legal institutions have become a partial but regular contributor to the development of environmental protection consciousness and action in Japan” (Kidder and Miyazawa 1993: 624).

5.5.6 Use of Media (*Mass- and mini-komi*)³⁰⁸

In a recent study on the effects of media exposure on political participation in Japan, Scott C. Flanagan concluded that those who follow politics through media are likely to be older, urban, male, and have a high socioeconomic status. (Flanagan 1996: 303). However, he also found that social networks play an even greater role than mass media and partially offset the inequalities caused by

³⁰⁷ Cp. also Hasegawa Kôichi considers lawsuits as a useful means of resource mobilization, and among others to mobilize new activists (Hasegawa 1988b), exemplified in the lawsuits of the anti-Shinkansen movement in the 1980s (Hasegawa 1988a).

³⁰⁸ Taken from the Japanese expression for mass-media (*masu-komi* = mass communication) and publications with a relatively small circulation and distribution area (e.g., newsletters, small local newspapers) often referred to as *mini-komi* or mini communication media.

urbanization and socioeconomic status. In short: “involvement in social networks stimulates more attentiveness to politics in the media” and “because network involvement is higher in rural areas and largely unrelated to socioeconomic status in Japan, it plays an important role in equalizing media exposure” (*ibid*: 304). Flanagan emphasizes the vital importance of the Japanese media to enhance political participation. Media effects, which were also discovered in most other industrial countries, also hold true in Japan. Media usage (1) increases the citizens’ political knowledge, (2) their ability to translate issue preferences into electoral choices, it (3) increases interest in politics and enables people to discuss political issues, and it is relevant in decreasing psychological barriers of social and political mobilization. Because the issue agenda of mass media in general has shifted from “position to valence issues” (Flanagan 1996: 304), Flanagan argued that (4) it has depolarized political competition and enhanced electoral volatility, and has finally (5) weakened the power of party factions and strengthened the position of party leaders and the personalization of political issues. Flanagan argues that through these effects, media has “enhanced the quality, levels, and the context of political participation in Japan over the postwar period” (*ibid*: 304).

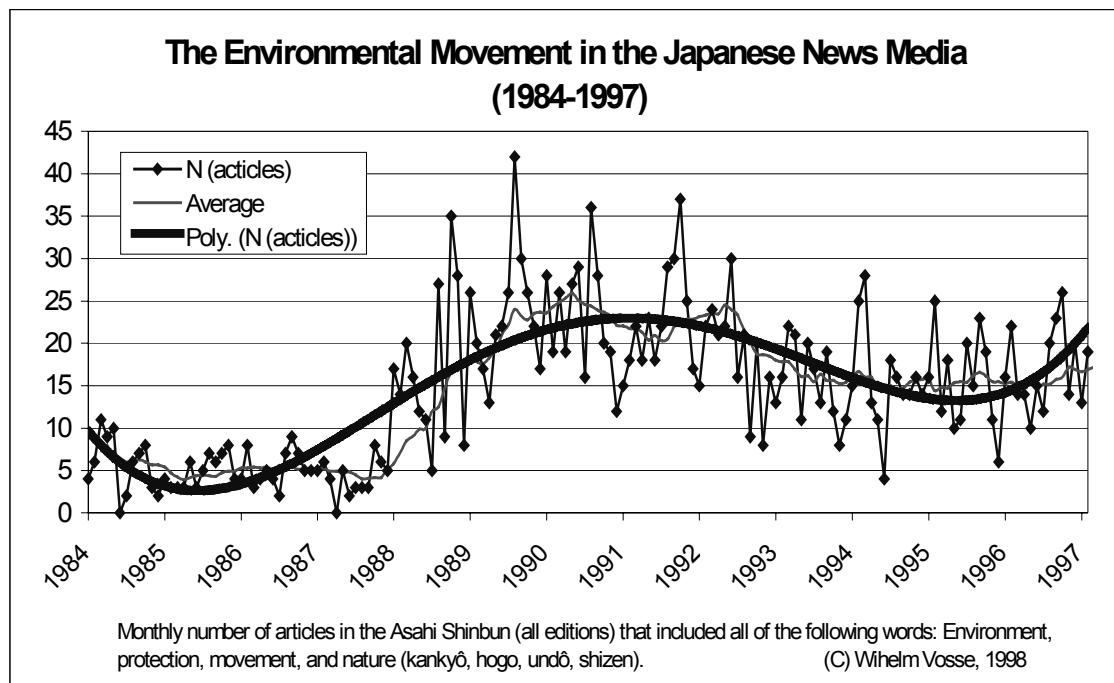
As far as Japan is concerned, it can therefore be argued that mass media has the potential to be an imperative tool to increase public awareness concerning environmental issues in general, and the respective value preferences in particular. Throughout the 1960s and then again in the 1990s, media reports about the UNCED 1992, pollution scandals, and lawsuits of victims have increased the necessity to use mass media as well as internal movement publications more intensely.

Because the vast majority of smaller movements have serious difficulties to attract sufficient media attention, most have established their own publications and newsletters in order to expand the exchange of information, and to illustrate interested citizens their activity field and area, and often even more important,

how diligently they pursue their objectives. Therefore, about three fourths (in Metropolitan Tokyo 77% in 1995)³⁰⁹ of environmental organizations publish their own newsletter. Newsletters of the small local organizations usually have only a very small circulation (generally between 50 and a few hundred), which are distributed by members and supporters or given to members and supporters during meetings. In the case of movements with a stable income, they are mailed to a greater number of supporters and those who have in the past expressed interest in the movement, for instance during a visit or participation in a meeting or event that was organized by the organization.

Among Japanese mass media, newspapers are the most important mass media as far as reporting about the activities of environmental movements is concerned, because they report not only national news, but also local and regional news in their respective local news sections. The following graph illustrates the number of articles in one major daily newspaper and how successful environmental movements were in their activities and in launching campaigns that attracted media attention.

³⁰⁹ N=278, calculated by the author. Based on data of the TMG EPO (Tokyo Metropolitan Government, Environment Protection Office) of 1995.



Graph 3: The Environmental Movement in the Media³¹⁰

From the number of articles that dealt with the environmental movement, whether in Japan or abroad, between 1984 and 1998, it becomes clear that there has been at least one climax, namely in the time leading to and around the UNCED in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Japanese media, and one can say the Japanese public in general, was surprisingly interested in this event and in the process that followed. Environmental issues and reporting about the movement activities in particular had been on the decline throughout the 1980s, but the preparations for the UNCED and the fact that famous politicians, including former Prime Minister Takeshita, and representatives from more than a hundred Japanese environmental organizations participated in either the official government conference or the alternative NGO conference, made clear that the Japanese government and the general public had begun to realize the importance of global environmental problems, and global warming in particular.

Although overall media attention seems to have to some extent declined between 1993 and 1996, news reports on pollution scandals (asbestos scandal,

³¹⁰ The thick line labeled *Poly. N (articles)* is the polynomial trendline, which indicate the overall tendency in the number of articles that appeared in the Asahi Shinbun.

dioxin from waste incinerators) and environment and pollution related lawsuits have triggered renewed media attention since about 1996. Yet, media attention is basically restricted to newspapers, weekly magazines, and occasional NHK news reports and documentaries. Private television stations virtually neglect movement activities except for a few nationwide events.

5.5.7 Relations to Different Levels of Administration

Another particularly important way to achieve some of the groups' or organizational objective is through keeping contacts or close relations with the local, prefectural, or national administration. The few bigger national organizations, such as Friends of the Earth Greenpeace, NACS-J, or WWF-J have established close and sometimes official relations with national administrative bodies and in most cases very close relations with sympathetic officials, e.g. in the Environmental Agency (EA) or even in MITI (Ministry of International Trade and Industry). The large numbers of small and local groups, however, do seldom have close links to the national, but rather with city or prefectural administrative bodies. According to the author's mail survey, about 60% of all surveyed organizations (N=92) in 1993 and 1994 maintained contacts to some level of administration on a permanent or occasional basis³¹¹. About the same percentage of the surveyed groups did either permanently or occasionally cooperate in one way or another with the local administration³¹². Additionally, one third of the groups, which had so far not cooperated with the local government would like to do so (7 out of 21 which did not cooperate.) All these figures indicate that the vast majority of today's environmental movement

³¹¹ Survey in 1993 and 1994: Question Q13: Does your group have contacts with the local, prefectural, or national offices of the administration? (e.g. with any representative of the local, prefectural, or national administration, government offices, or member of representative body). Given answers: Yes, permanently (26%), yes, occasionally (35%), rarely (7%), no, never (12%), No answer (20%). [For Japanese language original of the questionnaire, see appendix].

³¹² Q14: Would you say that you cooperate with the local government to achieve your goals? Given answers: Yes, permanently (25%), yes, occasionally (33%), rarely (14%), no, never (9%), No answer (20%). [For Japanese language original of the questionnaire, see appendix].

organizations regularly attempt or may maintain to attempt to cooperate with administrative bodies as far as practical and non-confrontational matters are concerned. The author therefore assumes, that in order to sustain this positive cooperation, many movement organizations, therefore, often refrain from developing clear political or generally confrontational platforms (cf. chapter 5.5; 5.5.3; and 5.5.4).

5.6 FINANCIAL SITUATION

The following two sub-chapters attempt to illustrate the financial situation of small-scale and therefore rather grass-roots based, and generally larger environmental organizations with a legal non-profit status, the problems related with this issue will then be analyzed in chapter 6.3 and 6.4.

5.6.1 Small-scale Citizens' Organizations

Virtually all of the smaller grass-roots citizens' environmental movement organizations suffer from insufficient financial resources. The great majority of the smaller civic groups that are active in the environmental field have a yearly budget of only a few hundred thousand Yen (see figure 14). Over 70% of the groups have a budget of less than 500,000 Yen (about 4300 Euro). Given the high prices for office space and the generally high price level in Japan, the small budget does prevent the great majority of the groups from initiating campaigns or events that would require more than the voluntary help of their members.

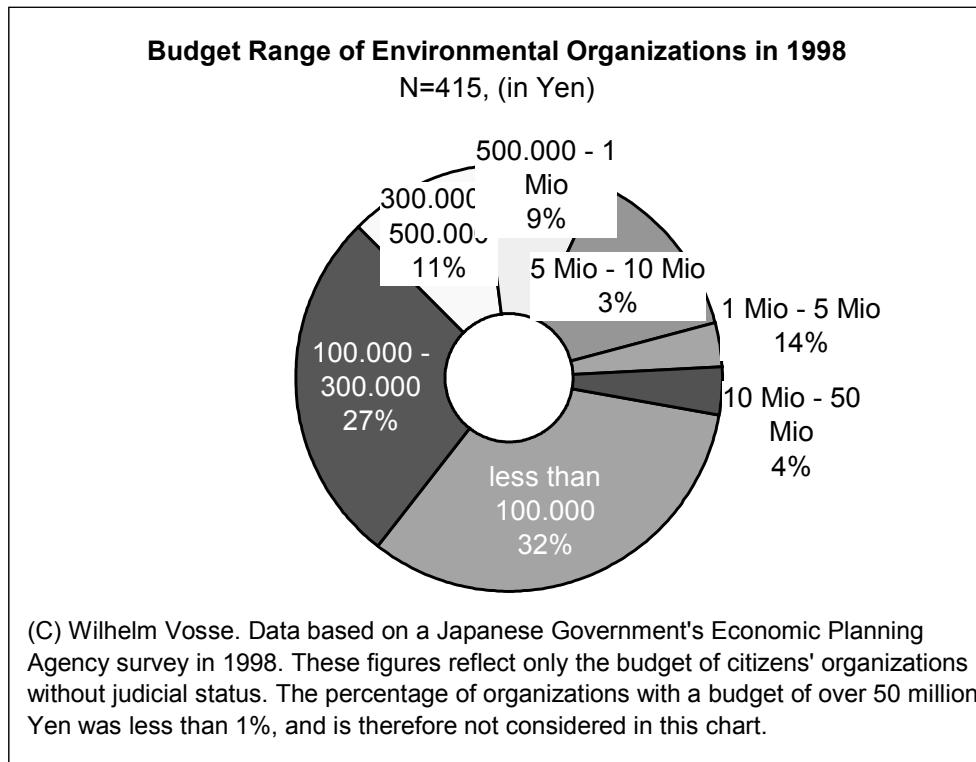


Figure 14 Budget Range of Environmental Organizations³¹³

The vast majority of the so-called citizens' groups (sometimes also called civic groups, or *shimin dantai*, as in the EPA survey) suffer from insufficient financial resources to an extent that prevents them from conducting any kind of more wide-ranging activities that cannot be managed by the group's members and some volunteers alone. For the greatest share of their income, they depend on their own membership fees (33%) and to a lesser degree on financial assistance from the administration (local, prefectural and national). Private donations and assistance from citizens and other citizen's organizations constitute only a very small portion of their income, on average 5 % or less (see: figure 15, below).

³¹³ Based on: (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997).

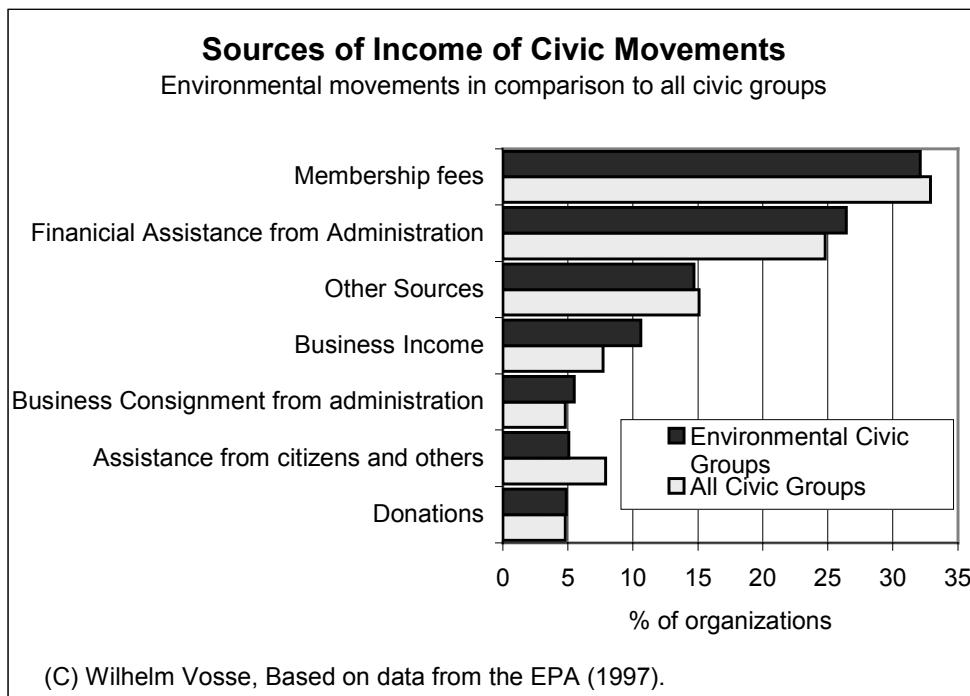


Figure 15 Sources of Income³¹⁴

5.6.2 Large Scale Nonprofit Organizations

The John-Hopkins Comparative Nonprofit Sector Project was a comparative survey of the nonprofit sector in seven industrialized countries that took into account only those organizations that were judicially recognized as nonprofit organizations. As far as the Japanese case is concerned, only a very few environmental organizations have legal NPO status, and virtually all of those are large scale organizations, usually with a few thousand to a few ten-thousand members and a yearly budget that is far above the average of ordinary civic or citizens' organizations active in the environmental sector. The greatest number of organizations that have a nonprofit status in Japan are active in education and research (39.5%), health (27.7%), and social services (13.7%). Only 0.2% of all NPOs in Japan belong in the category *environment*. Therefore, the results of these studies can be taken as exemplary of large-scale environmental organizations in Japan and provide a suitable contrast with the mostly small-scale citizens' organizations or civic groups.

³¹⁴ Based on: (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997:45).

SOURCES OF INCOME OF ENVIRONMENT RELATED NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS			
Sources of Income (%) Country	Private Giving	Public Sector Payments	Private Fees and Payments
Japan	10	4	85
UK	36	19	45
Italy	14	22	64
Germany	4	23	73
France	15	32	52
USA	26	44	29
Hungary	0	95	5
AVERAGE	15	34	51

Table 16 Sources of Income of Environmental Nonprofit Organizations³¹⁵

Whereas in most other surveyed countries environmental NPOs could to a significant degree rely on public sector payments for a range of twenty and forty percent of their yearly budget (except Hungary with 95%), the public sector payments for the larger Japanese environmental organizations with nonprofit status amounted to a mere four percent of the organizations' budget. This financial deficiency had to be compensated with the largest share of private fees and payments, which amounted to more than 85%, by far the largest share in the sample. The almost exclusive reliance on private fees and payments, which have to be earned through membership fees, service payments or payments for products, poses a severe problem for most nonprofit organizations because they have to focus much of their resources towards raising money.

The following table (table 17) reflects the difficult financial situation of even the largest environmental organizations in Japan.

³¹⁵ Based on: (Salamon and Anheier 1994:128-130).

LARGE ENVIRONMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS BY BUDGET (1994/1995)		
Name of Organization	Location	Yearly Budget
Nippon Ecology Network	Tokyo	¥12,000,000,000
Nihon Yacho no kai	Tokyo/nationwide	¥1,000,000,000
WWF Japan	Tokyo	¥695,000,000
Aluminum Recycling Kyoukai	Tokyo	¥250,000,000
Global Environmental Foundation	Tokyo	¥200,000,000
Chubu Recycle Movement	Nagoya	¥200,000,000
Overseas Environmental Cooperation Center	Tokyo	¥150,000,000
Nihon Shizen Hogo Kyokai (NASC-J)	Tokyo/nationwide	¥80,000,000
Association for Safe Products	Tsu City	¥50,000,000
Chernobyl Study group	Nagoya	¥30,000,000
Forest Culture Association	Tokyo	¥23,000,000
The Defense of Green Earth Fund	Tokyo	¥20,000,000
Japan Recycling Association	Hotano City	¥20,000,000
Japan Organic Farming Study Group	Tokyo	¥16,000,000
Japan Ecolife Center	Tokyo	¥10,000,000
Greenpeace Japan	Tokyo	¥10,000,000
JEAN - Japan Environmental Action Network	Tokyo	¥8,000,000

Table 17 Large Environmental Organizations by Budget. Data based on mail survey by the author in 1993 and 1994.

The list does not claim to be complete; it gives only the yearly budget of those organizations that have opted to disclose data on their financial resources in the author's mail survey in 1993/1994. Yet, it includes all of the largest environmental organizations in Japan. Except of the Nippon Ecology Network, none of the other organizations, which are all active nationwide, has a yearly budget of more than 1 billion Yen, or about \$10 million, and internationally known organizations, such as Greenpeace, have a budget that is below 10 million Yen, or less than \$100,000. Even without further elaboration of the budgetary situation of Japanese environmental organizations, it becomes clear that budgetary constraints which are fundamentally which are indirectly caused by the lack of legal status as non-profit organizations pose the most serious problem that effects all aspects of their activity, and eventually their social and political importance.

5.7 LEGAL SITUATION

In most industrialized countries, citizens can independently set up nonprofit groups or more formal nonprofit organizations, as long as the organization adheres to some basic rules which generally include that the purpose has to some extend to be beneficial or has to improve the public good, and that it does not pursue any profit-making endeavors. Environmental organizations or nature protection groups do easily fall into this category and are in most cases granted a status as association or foundation. Those legally recognized organizations enjoy a number of advantages compared with groups without legal status. Among others, they have the same rights as any legally registered organizations, for instance in terms of agreeing to contracts, buying or renting houses or offices in the name of the organization, taking out bank loans, or agreeing to any other legal agreements, as long as the purpose of the organizations does not change and it adheres to the nonprofit organizations rules set out either in the Civil Code or other specific laws and regulations. In most industrialized countries, nonprofit organizations can benefit from certain privileges, which businesses cannot. In terms of taxes, the level is often set lower than for business enterprises, or they are completely exempt from income tax and consumption tax. One of the most important benefits, however, is that donations to the foundation are up to a certain level tax deductible for the donating person or organization.

In Japan on the other hand, the vast majority of citizens' organizations are unincorporated foundations (*nin'i dantai*). In 1983, the Japanese Economic Planning Agency estimated its number at 556,000, and those did not include community organizations and mass organizations (children's associations, neighborhood associations, elderly associations, etc.). According to 1996 EPA estimates, the number of unincorporated citizens' organizations (*shimin katsudô*

dantai) is about 85,800³¹⁶ (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997: 1). These organizations are all unincorporated, and pursue social activities on a continuous and voluntary basis (*ibid.*).

The author assumes that particularly smaller civic groups with severely limited financial resources would benefit from legal recognition. This would especially be the case for groups and small organizations, which pursue potentially controversial objectives and which openly protest against government decisions aiming at the construction of dams or expressways, or the construction of new waste processing facilities. Mainstream environmental groups, such as those which are concerned with nature and environmental protection and conservation in general, would certainly also benefit from a legal status, but for the latter, it has traditionally been easier to cooperate with local and prefectural government and to attract donations from a wider share of the general populations. As for the former, protest movements, it has not only been more difficult to attract larger amounts of donations from e.g. companies and wealthy individuals, but they also regularly have to bear relatively large legal costs.

The following table 18 illustrates clearly, that the percentage legally recognized nonprofit environmental organizations, which are active on the national or international level is significantly higher than among those movements, which are active on the local and prefectural level.

³¹⁶ The EPA has compiled a list of these citizens' organizations based on data collected from prefectural administrative offices. In September 1996, the EPA commissioned a mail survey, which was conducted by the Social Research Institute (*shakai chōsa kenkyōjō*). 9826 questionnaires were sent out to a statistically representative sample of citizens' organizations in all parts of Japan. 4152 organizations responded to the questionnaire so that the response rate amounted to 42%. (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997:1).

CLASSIFICATION OF CITIZENS' ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS BY LEGAL STATUS³¹⁷					
Of all citizens' environmental movements related organizations and groups N=4518					
		N	N		
Inc. Corporations (Shadan hōjin)		98			
Inc. Associations (Zaidan hōjin)		137			
Sum of all Incorporated Bodies		247	←of those ³¹⁸	All CEMs	CEMs with judicial status
Activity Area Level	Local		51	3143	1.6%
	One prefecture		67	1234	5.4%
	Some prefectures		25	309	8.1%
	National		108	427	25.3%
	International		72	296	24.3%

Table 18 Classification of CEMs by Legal Status

In detail, table 18 shows that among all 247 legally recognized nonprofit organizations (primary or secondary environmental organization combined), only 51 are exclusively active on the local level (city, town, village), and 67 and 25 respectively are either active in only one, or in more than prefecture. However, of all 247 nonprofit organizations, 108 are active on the national, and 72 are active on the international level. The disparity between local and prefectural organizations on the one hand, and national and international organization on the other, becomes especially clear when one takes the overall number of organizations on these geographical level into account. The last row shows the percentage of all environmental citizens' movements on the different levels, which have a nonprofit status. Whereas only 1.6%, 5.4%, and 8.1% of the local, single prefecture and multi prefecture organizations, respectively, have been granted a judicial status as nonprofit organizations, the level is significantly higher among national and international organizations, namely 25.3 and 24.3, respectively.

³¹⁷ Calculations by the author based on (*EIC-netto: Kankyō jobō sentā. Kankyō NGO*. [EIC (Environmental Information Center)-Net: Environmental Information Database: Environmental NGO Compendium 1997].

³¹⁸ Numbers do not add up to the same number because of multiple answers.

In contrast to the judicial situation and social and political integration of citizens organizations in most other industrialized countries, the Japanese case shows some significant differences that have in the past contributed to the unbalanced status of the vast majority of citizens movements in relation to government institutions and adversaries of social movements, such as large industrial companies or local governments. These problems will be outlined in detail in chapter 6.4.

5.8 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has attempted to illustrate the most important characteristics of the Japanese environmental movement in the 1990s, in order to understand their position and importance in the Japanese political system, as a potential recruiting platform for political activism, or a body of political debate and discussion about the development of the Japanese political economy.

It has been shown that, as far as the setting up of new movement organizations was concerned, there has been a development towards rather short-term movements since the late 1970s and until the late 1980s, but that movement organizations that have been set up since the early 1990s appear to be more persistent. Despite the decrease in the total number of environmental movement organizations and the decrease in the number of members of local and regional organizations, the rising number of members in nationwide organizations and their relatively functional and professional, yet politically moderate approach appears to indicate a tendency towards a centralization and advanced professionalization of the movement as a whole.

The factors that have prevented many citizens to join environmental organizations has until the 1970s been their image - something that is no longer the case today - or the often mentioned lack of spare time, particularly as far as male employees and professionals are concerned. One major characteristic and potential long-term problem is the relatively small number of younger members,

so that these movements do not effectively function as the social and political springboard they have in Western Europe. Since many movements are dominated by older people who often pursue rather moderate and uncontroversial objectives, young members might profit from increased environmental problem awareness, but they hardly ever get a chance or see the connection between environmental problems, social movement activity, and political and economic issues; for example the relationship between money politics and large-scale construction projects. Critical awareness is largely kept out of the political domain. Another important characteristic is the membership dominance of non-employed women, yet their relative underrepresentation in the leadership, and the low number of professionals in the membership. These characteristics can explain why most movements have not been willing – or not been capable – of facing the administration and politicians on the same level (professionally and in terms of information standards). Although the often-mentioned iron triangle (LDP, government, business) and back-room decision-making style in Japan has made it extremely difficult for ordinary citizens or citizens' movements to effectively challenge government decision throughout postwar history; large-scale, effectively organized, and widely accepted citizens' organizations could at least theoretically have a chance to challenge this system long-term. Only the relatively small protest movements attempted to do that in certain, mostly rather restricted areas, such as in the opposition to single projects. Even the many small recycling groups might have shaped a certain level of awareness among ordinary citizens, but they have not been successful in forcing the national government to significantly stricter laws that would drastically diminish the quantity of waste, for example by demanding higher taxes for products, which use excessive amounts of natural resources or packaging.

Summing up, one can argue that the relatively limited success partly to blame on mostly moderate tactics of the movements themselves, and partly on another factor which has also been raised here, the largely insufficient provisions to grant particularly environmental groups and organization a legal status, which would

stabilize the organizations and would on the long term, probably lead to an enforcement of such organizations.

These problematic aspects, namely certain socio-cultural peculiarities, the small membership, but especially the weak financial status which is partly caused by the insufficient legal nonprofit status, and partly due to the fact that social movements do not have any strong parliamentary support; and the severe reluctance of the administrative bodies to disclose public data, will be introduced and analyzed in the next chapter.

6. MAJOR PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

6.0 INTRODUCTION

The case studies that have been introduced in chapter 4 made clear how persistently at least some of the protest movements have fought to achieve their objectives, and how some of the larger organizations and grass-roots based national networks have been trying to organize protest more effectively. However, despite a broad variety of activities and tactics, which can neither be considered as typical “Japanese” in the sense that the movements had been trying to be exceptionally conservative nor reticent or unobtrusive, only a few protest movements³¹⁹ can be considered as successful in the sense that they have achieved their original objective.

The analysis of the basic characteristics in chapter 5 has already hinted at some of the most prominent problems of the environmental movement in general, namely the relatively small membership, very restricted financial resources that allow to conduct only a very limited range of activities, as well as the exceptionally restricted granting of a legal status. This chapter aims at elaborating on the most fundamental obstacles that have prevented the environmental movement from effectively entering the political sphere, namely certain socio-cultural problems (6.1), deficient membership (6.2), weak financial situation (6.3), legal status (6.4), and problems in connection with the information disclosure policies of Japanese administrations (6.5). The latter aspect has been particularly

³¹⁹ The term *protest movement* is used for those citizens’ movements that aim at preventing or undoing a construction, or which openly protest against a legislative or administrative decision. Protest movements are a subgroup of environmental movements, but they differ from *nature preservation movements*, which are characterized by direct preservation activities and generally close cooperation with administrative bodies.

problematic for many citizens' movements (e.g., the case of the residents in Hinode-machi (section 4.1.3), which for instance needed and demanded reliable information and pollution data from local, prefectural, and national administrative offices in order to pursue their objective.

6.1 SOCIO-CULTURAL PROBLEMS

One of the most fundamental problems environmental movements can face in any society is a weakly developed or lack of any level of environmental concern. However, as it has been shown earlier, Japanese do certainly not lack a significant level of environmental concern (Kalland and Asquith 1997a; Asquith and Kalland 1997; Bruun and Kalland 1995). This is not only rooted in the severe pollution problems they experienced in the 1960s, but also in a relatively high degree of appreciation for the natural environment. Nevertheless, some socio-cultural factors weakened or thwarted the basic sentiment and hence the development of the environment movement, namely a relatively weak environmental belief system that also gave rise to a general preference for technological solutions to environmental problems, and a relatively weak human rights concept.

6.1.1 Weak Environmental Belief System

A comparative research project on the environmental belief system of the Japanese and the U.S. American elite and public that was conducted in the mid 1980s (Pierce et al. 1987), came to the conclusion that although post-industrialism had also been influential in Japan³²⁰, in terms of environmental beliefs (1) postindustrial values had a far greater effect on "conventional traditional political orientations" as well as on "specific environmental policy beliefs" (*ibid*: 155). Furthermore, they found further support for the notion of

³²⁰ On the long debate of post-industrialism and the importance and effects of postindustrial values in Japan, see: (TSURUTANI 1977, FLANAGAN 1982, FLANAGAN 1987a, INGLEHART 1982, INGLEHART 1985; INGLEHART 1987).

(2) a “markedly more homogenous society and political culture”³²¹ (*ibid*: 156), and the often noted (3) local focus of environmental politics in Japan.

Environmental concern, and more specifically support for the *new environmental paradigm*, a belief system that attributes the same level of importance to humans and the natural environment and therefore disagrees with the so-called *human exceptionalism paradigm*, which proceeds from the assumption that humans hold an exceptional position in nature and which should therefore serve humans³²², is comparatively weak in Japan. More importantly, it was discovered that environmental concern does not lead environmental activists to criticize science and technology (Pierce et al. 1986: 441). Most rank-and-file members of environmental movements in the 1980s were characterized as traditionalistic, nonpreservationistic, and localistic. Only small percentages of the environmental leaders were perceived as holding rather post-material views, favoring new politics, and to be preservationist (*ibid*: 442). The post-material value indicators used by Pierce et al. were based on (Ingleharts 1971) and also included judgments concerning political participation and freedom of speech. The majority of materialists in the Japanese sample of environmental activists did not consider an increase of citizens’ influence on the political decision-making process as a primary objective, neither did the Japanese public. Therefore, it can be argued, that environmental concern of the general public as well as that of activists of environmental organizations remained on a very general stage. Recreational and esthetic values of the natural environment were generally shared and were major reasons to commit to its protection and conservation; the importance of technological and economic factors for the environmental destruction might have been realized, but these aspects did not develop into decisive issues within the environmental movement until the early 1990s.

³²¹ All comparisons are between the two local areas Spokane (Washington State) in the USA, and in Shizuoka Prefecture in Japan.

³²² Originally, the distinction has been developed by Dunlap and Van Liere (Dunlap and Van Liere 1978) and further developed in (Dunlap and Van Liere 1984).

In the 1990s, there was still reason to suspect problems concerning the limited increase in environmental awareness. According to respondents of the mail survey as well as interviewees, activists had the impression that general understanding and awareness of environmental problems had risen substantially. Responses depended, however, on the primary objective of the citizens' organization. For instance, an activist of a Chernobyl victims' support movement complained about weak understanding about volunteer activities in Japan³²³; on the other hand, activists of an anti-nuclear movement in Nagano Prefecture were encouraged by a 1992 signature campaign because they had successfully collected over one million signatures. Although this was considered as evidence that many Japanese opposed nuclear energy, group members complained that despite a certain level of understanding, awareness, and critique, "Japanese on the whole are quiet people who accept and believe in the words of the government and business"³²⁴.

6.1.2 Preference for Technological Solutions

Japanese postwar history is characterized by a reliance on technological development for the advancement of economic growth. Particularly in the first two postwar decades, technology brought large industrial projects to all parts of Japan. Slogans such as "large is great" and "difficulties can be solved by money and technology" (Satofuka 1988: 46) exemplified the widely held belief that technology was considered the key to bring prosperity, and that most problems could be solved by technological means, even those that had occurred as a consequence and byproducts of technological development. The *reactive phase* since the late 1960s was again characterized by trust in technological solutions for virtually all pollution problems, a belief that was later often criticized as

³²³ Comment in the mail survey of a member of the *Chernobiri kyōen. Chūbu* (Chernobyl Relief. Chubu).

³²⁴ Author's mail survey respondent of the *Tatsu-genpatsu Kita-Shinano nettowāku* (Anti Nuclear Power Station Kita Shinan Network), comment (35).

“techno-fix” (Ui Jun)³²⁵. This overall trust in technological solutions allowed the majority to ignore other solutions and a scrutiny of the fundamentals of the socio-economic or political system, hence the structural reasons behind the widespread and disastrous spread of environmental pollution incidences during this period.

Criticizing technological developments in general is still not very widespread in Japan. Most citizens share a fundamental belief that virtually all problems can ultimately be solved by technology. Therefore, most environmental organizations, rather than beginning a fundamental debate about the merits of technology, prefer to address environmental problems in the context of over-consumption or recycling, and stress a gradual shift in consumer behavior.

6.1.3 Weak Human Rights Concepts

Beginning with the early postwar victims’ movements, today a large number of Japanese environmental organizations base their demands for a clean and healthy natural and living environment on human rights. They often argue that a clean and healthy living environment is not merely something aesthetic or a selfish claim by people who do not want a certain industrial plant, for instance a nuclear power station, garbage incinerator, or landfill, in their backyard (NIMBYism³²⁶). A great number of movements today base their claims on human rights, hence on the idea that a clean and healthy natural environment is a human right. However, in Japan human rights do not enjoy the same strong status and are not as well socially established as in Western industrial countries³²⁷ (Satofuka

³²⁵ The famous former Tokyo University natural scientist and environmental activists Ui Jun criticized in the 1970s and 1980s that most Japanese favor technological solutions for environmental problem, and consider changes of lifestyle and the use of natural resources as unnecessary (Ui 1989).

³²⁶ Often used abbreviation for “*not in my backyard*”. Usually used pejoratively for people who oppose a certain project merely because it is in their neighborhood, not because they are fundamentally against a certain technology, therefore they might discontinue their protest if the same plant is constructed somewhere else.

³²⁷ This argument was early established by Hani Goro (1971) and Ui Jun (1968).

1988:45). Satofuka Fumihiko³²⁸ argued that the Japanese elite has always rejected human rights ideas; because Japan had never experienced a bourgeois revolution; free democratic, and human rights movements had always been suppressed (*ibid*: 45). Particularly in rural postwar Japan, democratic values had never really “penetrated into the real life of farmers and fishermen” (*ibid*: 45) as the pollution disease case in Minamata exemplified. Instead, Satofuka argues that feudalistic values were emphasized and became the basis for support of high economic growth and inscrutable and unlimited industrial expansion (*ibid*: 45). Throughout Japanese history, individual rights and the value of human life has frequently been considered less important than national progress, in military as well as in economic terms. Particularly local protest groups were therefore careful not to appear too individualistic or particularistic. Generally, in their arguments they tried to emphasize that they fought for a public good, nature protection in general, and stressed that they were not necessarily against a certain technology but only against a certain construction project. For example, movements that seek to prevent the construction of a waste landfill or garbage processing plant are frequently demanding an improvement of the waste processing technology and a promotion of recycling and better waste utilization. Despite the relative weakness of the human-rights concept, in recent years, the number of environmental movements, which argue in terms of human rights, has again increased³²⁹.

6.2 MEMBERSHIP

In the opening chapter, “general social objectives” have been determined as one of the basic characteristics of social movements. However, this general and large objective can only be pursued if certain preconditions are met; one of them is

³²⁸ Satofuka Fumihiko is an expert on the anti-pollution movement in Japan.

³²⁹ The human rights basis for environmental protection claims had already been used by pollution victims’ movements in the 1960s and 1970s, but the number of CEM’s which argue along the human rights and right for human health line of arguments has again increased in the 1990s.

that the movement as a whole - not necessarily the individual movement organizations – are successful in finding and organizing a significant degree of social support from people who share and support their goals. Joachim Raschke has emphasized mobilization (of support) as one the fundamental activities of all social movements, because “the power base of social movements is precarious and not secured through any kind of institutionalization. Therefore, mobilization of support becomes the basis of existence for social movements, especially if compared with other organizational types. The keeping-of-the-momentum is thus one quality of social movements” (Raschke 1988: 77f, author’s translation). The only power basis of social movements is therefore their commitment and the persuasive power of their members and activists. Unlike lobby groups and organizations which are affiliated, operated and/or supported by third-party organizations³³⁰, social movements can exert influence on social consciousness and eventually political and economic decisions only through education and mobilization of a large enough support base, hence through members and supporters. The degree of mobilization of any movement is thus one of its decisive factors or preconditions for success.

Throughout postwar history, the environmental movements in Japan have suffered from a relatively small number of individual members. Although there was a boom in the late 1960s that led to an increased number of movements, most of them remained relatively small in terms of membership and often dissolved soon after their objective had been achieved. Since the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s, membership and support for environmental movements decreased or remained small and it therefore became one of the most essential problems³³¹ of the contemporary movement. The ISSP³³² survey in 1993

³³⁰ E.g. business and financial organizations, foundations that are supported by external organizations, etc.

³³¹ The insufficient number of members, participants, and supporters has frequently been mentioned in the questionnaire (1993 and 1994) and in almost all interviews as the central most important reason for the limited social and political success of environmental

concerning the issue “environment” provided comparative data on public opinion concerning environmental issues in the participating countries. The next graph gives the percentage of respondents in the respective countries that participate in environmental movement; it illustrates clearly, that the recruitment level in Japan is a mere 2.1% and the lowest among all participating industrialized countries³³³.

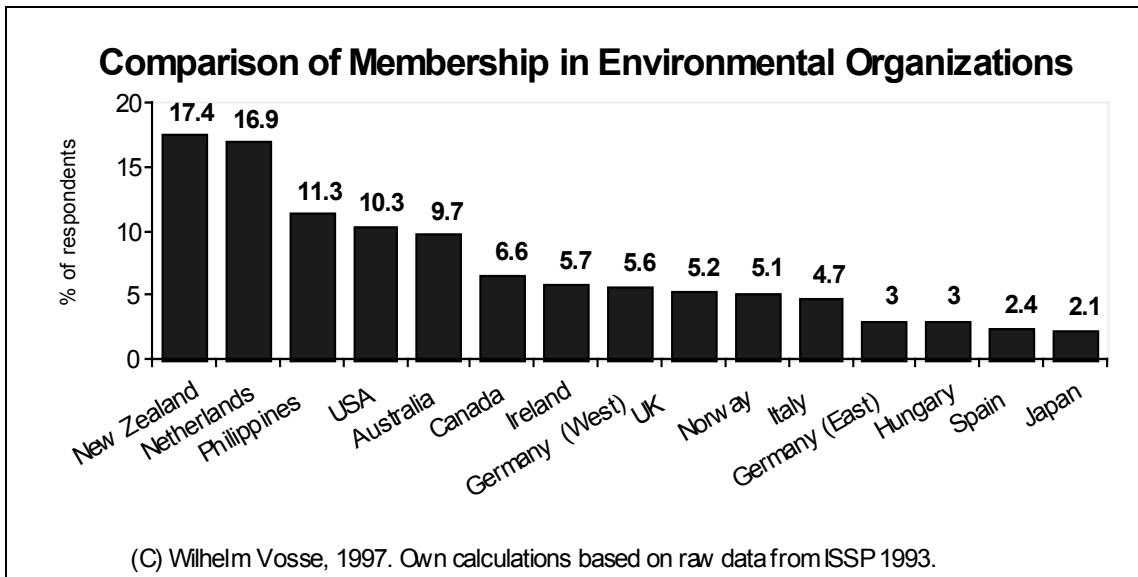


Figure 16 International Comparison of Membership in Environmental Organizations

There are a number of possible reasons, which are important in explaining the relatively weak support from individual members in Japan, notably the social and political structure, image, and general political disaffection. Although the results

movements in Japan. Connected with the small number of members and supporters are lack of funds and expertise.

³³² The *International Social Survey Program* is comparative surveys with 20 participating countries under the supervision of the Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung an der Universität zu Köln.

³³³ (Zentralarchiv für Empirische Sozialforschung an der Universität Köln: 1995). This is probably the first comprehensive and empirically based comparative study that includes data on the environmental movement in Japan. Japan participates in the ISSP project only since 1993. Other Japanese statistically based surveys, notably those conducted by the Prime Ministers Office, offer somewhat different percentage rates which are, however, relatively unstable (they differ to a large degree in small time span). However, those difference can to a certain degree be explained with the wording of the questions. For example, results of a

of the author's mail survey³³⁴ and interviews, as well as other studies concerning the environmental movement in Japan provide some indications, it is still difficult to determine statistically which reasons are most crucial in this respect.

A potentially negative image of a movement can deter people from participating. The modern concept of social movements in Japan has been shaped by the anti-AMPO, the students' movement, and the anti-Vietnam war movement of the 1960s³³⁵. These movements enjoyed broad support among the public and encouraged an exceptionally large number of people to participate in demonstration rallies, notably the anti-AMPO demonstrations in Tokyo in 1960. However, after a number of demonstrations had turned violent, a growing number of moderate Japanese felt they could no longer support these movements. The violent yet unsuccessful AMPO protest became one of the dominant reasons for the rather negative image of social movements (*shakai undō*) and particularly citizens' movement (*shimin undō*); their radical image led to increased rejection of this kind of protest activity (Sasaki-Uemura 1993). The AMPO protest therefore had conflicting consequences: On the one hand it became a symbol of protest activity and provided the basis for the movements of the 1970s and 1980s; on the other hand, its failure also led to dissatisfaction and frustration among participants, sympathizers, and the public. Overall, this led to an increased support of more moderate types of social movements. Apart from certain anti-construction movements, notably against new Shinkansen lines and airport constructions, environmental movements began to favor nature protection and beautification activities, that were far from controversial.

PMO survey in 1995 indicate that 4.5% of the population was at that time active in an environmental movement (Prime Ministers Office 1995: Q23 and follow-up question SQ).

³³⁴ The mail survey that was conducted by the author in 1993 and 1994, see appendix.

³³⁵ In the 1970s additionally by the citizens' movement against the construction of the New Tokyo International Airport in Narita.

This has led to a fundamental improvement of the image of citizens' movements, which are active in the environmental sector. A survey in 1993 showed that 68% of the respondents considered citizens' movements (*minkan dantai*) which are concerned with the natural environment as "necessary", yet 52% of those considered their activities as "insufficient" (Prime Ministers Office 1993: Q14). In 1995, 60% of the respondents of a representative survey considered citizens' environmental organizations as "very important", another 29% as "necessary"³³⁶. In all, a vast majority shared a positive impression about the contemporary citizens' environmental movement.

Early victims' movements had long suffered from ostracism and discrimination, but this is no longer the case today. Participation in an environmental movement is generally considered as "positive", as a contribution to enhance the general good. The change of image must certainly be attributed to the change of activity fields, from demonstrative activities with potentially political connotations, to uncontroversial and socially accepted environmental improvement activities, hence a social activity that does in general not lead to political activity in a narrower sense³³⁷. Nevertheless, this overall positive image of the environmental movement and the relatively high number of Japanese who could imagine to participate in environmental protection activities or join environmental protection organization had not led to a significant increase in the number of active members until the early 1990s. This can in part be explained by the low level of knowledge about the activities of environmental movement organizations³³⁸.

³³⁶ Prime Ministers Office 1995: Q23. The focus of this question was on environmental movements that are concerned with global environmental protection.

³³⁷ For example, joining political parties, running own candidates in elections, forming own political organizations.

³³⁸ In the survey (Prime Ministers Office 1993), 25% of the respondents could not judge the activities of environmental movements, because they admitted they did not know enough about them.

Contributing factors are certainly the long working and commuting times that hinder employees, particularly male employees, to participate in social movements, which is one reason why the number of women, particularly unemployed women (housewives) has traditionally been relatively high among the rank-and-file members³³⁹. Another factor that contributed to the low level of participation in citizens' movements (*shimin undō*) might have been the negative reputation of politicians and political parties, and general political disaffection³⁴⁰. At least between the mid 1970s and mid 1990s, participation in citizens' movements suffered from this rather negative association³⁴¹, because movement activity was at least potentially considered political or aiming towards the political decision-making process, since that was the objective citizens' movements were set up for in the 1960s³⁴².

Another factor that impedes participation in the environmental movement is its disunity. The entire environmental movement is divided into thousands of predominantly very small groups and organizations with very low level of cooperation and coordination³⁴³. On the contrary, even the smallest groups are trying to remain as independent as possible. The small movements do participate in regular prefecture wide or even nation-wide conferences and symposia in order to exchange opinions and information, but in between these meetings, the level of cooperation on the day-to-day basis remains strikingly underdeveloped.

³³⁹ About the activity of housewives, see: (Goebel-Noguchi 1992).

³⁴⁰ For example, Japan has one of the highest quota of citizens without party affiliation, in 1996 it amounted to about 50%. The quota is particularly high among the under 30-year-old, namely 70% (Monden 1996; Monden 1997) (Tsujii and Kamimura 1995); (International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 1996) (Nonodera 1996)

³⁴¹ Hashimoto: 1994b: Q44; also Prime Ministers Office 1969ff.

³⁴² S. Hashimoto 1994b: Q33 and Q41.

³⁴³ According to (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997) there are about 8000 groups and organizations which are active in the environmental field (10% of the 85000 groups and organizations which are registered with the EPA. This study uses the word *shimin katsudō dantai*, which could be translated as *citizens' activity organizations* or *citizens' initiatives*, for groups nonprofit groups without any judicial status. Additionally, 11% were active in the field of "city and village improvement and embellishment", parts of which could also be counted as environmental movements.

This diversification is also reflected in the fact that almost all groups have opted for a different name that reflects its single purpose or area of activity, such as “...*yama/ko tomo no kai*” or “...*wo mamoru no kai/undō*”. The reason for this independent approach can often be explained by the social or political affiliation of the original group founders or inaugural leaders³⁴⁴.

In interviews, the author has been told that many groups prefer to remain independent because they consider this as an element of their strength, since any administration or organization that was opposed to the objectives of the environmental movement organization could potentially undermine or infiltrate the organization. It was argued that if there were only a few large nationwide movement organizations and relatively centralized networks, the movement as a whole would become far more vulnerable. On the other hand, however, the vast number of different group names and the complicated overall organizational structure must be considered a serious impediment for the recruitment of new members. For interested citizens it is therefore rather difficult to make sensible decisions about which group or organization to join. This is one of the reasons why the recruitment of new members is almost exclusively based on personal contacts, and therefore to a certain extent more on social pressure than an independent decision.

Although the diversification and disunity of the Japanese environmental movement might protect it from infiltration and political pressure, it also fundamentally weakens their political bargaining power. Other lobby groups in Japan, such as economic and industrial pressure groups frequently utilize their

³⁴⁴ There are a great number of movement organizations, which were founded by members, or representatives of the Social-Democratic, Communist, or other political parties. The primary recruitment basis of those movements are members or supporters of the respective parties or party-affiliated organizations. Those organizations are not simply party-affiliated movements - their activities might sympathize but actively support a certain party - nevertheless, certain political sympathies and loose affiliations might not be obvious to the outside observer, but potential members usually know it, e.g. because a prominent group member or leader was a former member of the local city-council or trade union.

unity as a central element of their bargaining power, as do large environmental organizations such as *Friends of the Earth*, *Greenpeace*, *BUND*, *National Wildlife Federation*, *World Wildlife Fund*, or the *Sierra Club* in Western Europe and North America. The author therefore considers the disunity as a disadvantage rather than an advantage in terms of social and political bargaining power and as a major impediment for development and growth of a national environmental movement.

6.3 FINANCIAL SITUATION

As has been documented in chapters 5.7, the financial resources of the vast majority of environmental movement are very limited and therefore constitute one of their major problems. Worldwide, citizens' organizations complain about insufficient financial resources, but as the international comparison in table 16 reveals, Japanese citizens' environmental organizations are the most dependable on private fees and payments, which amount to comparatively small sums due to the relatively small membership. More than two third of citizens' organizations (without legal status) that are concerned with environmental issues have a yearly budget of less than 500,000 Yen or about 4,300 Euro (cp. p. 230).

Almost all responding groups and single members in the mail-survey and in interviews conducted named insufficient financial resources and staff members as the most serious problems, which hampered and obstructed the efficiency of the activities of the organization. Even organizations that did receive a certain amount of subsidies from the local or prefectural government said that they had to be careful not to become too reliant on public subsidies because they might eventually restrict the freedom and activity repertoire of the organizations³⁴⁵. The limited financial base forces movement organizations to use a large amount of their budget for office equipment, postage, office rent, printing expenses and

³⁴⁵ As, among others, been mentioned in a comment in the author's mail survey by an activist of the *Adachi kankyō nettwāku* (Adachi-ku Environmental Network) in Tokyo.

other basic necessities of any organization, so that the vast majority does not have enough financial resources left to pay for larger events or activities that require outside assistance.

6.4 LEGAL STATUS AND TAX EXEMPTIONS

6.4.0 Introduction

In most Western industrialized countries, there are specific laws that regulate the status of nonprofit and/or public interest organizations. Among others, such laws usually specify which organizations are considered NPOs, how such organization can apply for recognition under that law, which rules and regulations NPOs have to maintain, and provisions about the financial basis and possible tax exemptions.

The lack of a specific NPO law in Japan until 1998 must be considered as the main obstacle against a broadening of citizens organizations, in terms of their number, but even more important, in terms of their financial and human resources, and their recognition within the broader society. Citizens organizations, whether they have set up a formal organizational structure or whether they are groups of devoted activists who meet and get active on a regular basis, share the difficulty that as long as they have not been legally recognized, legally they have the same status as groups of friends or any other informal group or gathering of people. Such groups or organizations can, for instance, not sign any legal contract to buy a house, rent an office or a car, or engage into any legally binding relation with other organizations. In Japan, these unincorporated associations make up by far the largest share of the nonprofit sector, as it has been shown in chapter 5.7.

6.4.1 Difficult Application Process for Legal Status

According to Article 34 of the Civil Code, public benefit organizations are “associations or foundations relating to worship, religion, charity, science, art, or otherwise relating to public interest and not having for their object the

acquisition of gain”³⁴⁶. Organizations which are judicially recognized as *kōeki hōjin* can either get the status *shadan hōjin* or corporate judicial person (incorporated association, in the case the organization is a group of persons associated to serve a public interest purpose), or *zaidan hōjin* or foundational juridical person (foundation), for a body of assets (an endowment) dedicated to a given charitable activity (Tanaka 1975:8). The core conceptional distinction is that the operations of foundations’ are relatively limited compared to associations; however, as Tanaka noted, “differences between these two types of charitable corporations are largely conceptional; in actual practice the differences are not substantial” (Tanaka 1975:9). Until 1998, the application process incorporated two major problems, (1) the definition of *public benefit*, and (2) the fact that the application and granting process was conducted and decided either by a government ministry or the prefectural government without the obligation to reveal the reasons behind the administrative decision. Organizations and groups that are concerned with the natural environment can usually only apply for the status of *kōeki hōjin*, namely charitable organization or public benefit organizations.

Problematic Definition of "public benefit" or "public interest"

In Japan, one of the central requirements for an organization that applies for a judicial status as *kōeki dantai* is that it has to promote a “public interest”. This provision has long provoked the criticism of those who campaigned for an easier recognition process in order to widen and strengthen the possibilities of citizens’ organizations. The Japanese Civil Code was established in 1898, and with the exception of some areas of the family law, it has not been changed. Hence the major definition of *kōeki hōjin* in Article 34 of the Civil Code dates back a hundred years, although the type of organizations and the society as a whole

³⁴⁶ The Japanese original of article 34 of the Civil Code reads: (1) Saishi, shūkyū, jizen, gakujū, gigei sono hoka kōeki ni kan suru shadan mata ha, zaidan mata ha zaidan ni shite eiri wo mokuteki toseru mono ha shumukanchō no kyōka wo ete kore wo hōjin to nasu koto wo e. (2) Shadan hōjin mata ha zaidan hōjin ni hizaru mono ha sono meishōchū ni shadan hōjin wakaku ha zaidan hōjin naru moji mata ha shinado.

have changed fundamentally since then. A wide variety of heterogeneous organizations falls under this definition, from private schools and hospitals, welfare organizations and those that support international friendship or even business relations. Although a number of separate laws for some of the more specialized nonprofit organizations were enacted after World War II, due to the unspecific nature of the definition *public benefit*, the types of organizations that could apply and were granted the status under the provision of Article 34 still remained diverse.

The interpretation of *public benefit* has, however, changed over the years. Shortly after the first wave of citizens' protest against AMPO, the Vietnam war, and especially pollution, in 1972, the relevant government ministries and prefectural governments decided in an "Agreement regarding standards for the establishment, approval, and surveying of *kōeki hōjin*", on a new and even stricter interpretation of *public benefit*. It was then defined that "only nonprofit organizations with clear, unambiguous, and direct 'public benefits' are to be given the status of *kōeki hōjin*" (Amenomori 1997: 196). Those organizations that had been granted nonprofit organization status under the wider interpretation before 1972 were allowed to retain their legal status³⁴⁷. In addition to these, there are also a great number of quasi-governmental nonprofit organizations, which are set up on the initiative of a government agency, and which are predominantly financed and controlled by the latter (*ibid*: 196).

Arbitrary Decision Making Process and Financial Resources

One of the central problems for all citizens' organizations, which consider to apply for a legal status, is the difficult, time-consuming application process, and the fact that there are no clear legal guidelines. The final decision solely rests with

³⁴⁷ Those nonprofit organization that were approved before 1972 and did not meet the stricter requirements in terms of their public benefit, are so-called *chūkan hōjin* or intermediate organizations. They are mostly membership associations such as trade or business organizations.

the government body where the procedure has been applied for³⁴⁸, and usually remains at the discretion of the officer in charge of the application case, who is not bound by any clearly stated and standardized criteria (Amenomori 1997:197). Organizations, which are only or predominantly active in one prefecture, have to apply at the prefectural government, all others with a relevant national government agency.

Another almost insurmountable obstacle, which prevents the overwhelming majority of citizens' environmental movement organizations from becoming a *kōeki hōjin*, is the extremely high financial asset required by the public authorities. Although the actual amount depends on the ministry responsible for the application process, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for instance required total assets of 300 million Yen (2.6 million Euro), and sometimes even more. The relevant laws do not require any specific amount, but the ministries have obviously set such a large sum to prevent small groups, which might actively work against government policies, to take advantage of any legal recognition.

Government Supervision of Legal Corporations

Recognized charitable corporations have the advantage that they can conduct their own business and can enter legal contracts, and can benefit from some tax benefits, but on the other hand, they put themselves under close official supervision. Yamaoka Yoshinori, the Managing Director of the Japan NPO Center, has often criticized the Japanese system of incorporation. Yamaoka complained, that “it is extremely difficult for nonprofit organizations to freely conduct activities and yet become incorporated”, and that “strictly speaking we (Japan) do not have NPOs”, which are not for profit, independent from the government, and have a foundation in the legal system” (Yamaoka 1998). The legal expert Tanaka Minoru³⁴⁹ also criticized the dilemma of government

³⁴⁸ For a detailed explanation of the application process, see: (Amenomori 1993), (Amenomori 1997: 195-197), (Tanaka 1975).

³⁴⁹ Minoru Tanaka is professor of Civil Law.

supervision. He emphasized that charitable corporations are “requested to subject themselves more directly to official supervision over their management, including appointments and the personnel”, so that corporations increasingly become a quasi-government body. Since the early postwar years, many public benefit corporations became the career “landing ground” for retired government officials, a practice that is widely referred to as *amakudari*.

The following table 19 shows the Japanese government affiliation of all 27170 legally recognized non-profit organizations in Japan, as of 1998. It illustrates unmistakably, that the majority of NPOs are active in sectors which are assisting and supplementing the Japanese government’s public policy responsibilities, namely in the field of education and health care, followed by agricultural development and international industrial relations. This reflects the high number of private schools, hospitals, agricultural cooperatives, and industrial sector organizations, which have been legally, recognized as nonprofit organizations. Of all registered NPOs in Japan, a mere 269 were registered with the Environmental Agency, an indication of the low priority environment related organizations possess in the eyes of the Japanese government.

**NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR AFFILIATION
WITH GOVERNMENT MINISTRIES (1998)³⁵⁰**

	Number of kōeki hōjin affiliated with given government ministry/ agency. Central office (+branch office)	Registered with prefectural governor	Total	% of total
Prime Ministers Office	74	109	183	0.7
National Police Agency	51	523	574	2.1
Management and Coordination Agency	31	142	173	0.6
Hokkaido Development Agency	8	11	19	0.1
Japan Defense Agency	22	4	26	0.1
Economic Planning Agency	30	24	54	0.2
Science and Technology Agency	124	30	154	0.6
Environmental Agency	64	205	269	1.0
Okinawa Development Agency	3	3	6	0.0
National Land Agency	41	68	109	0.4
Justice Ministry	135	0	135	0.5
Foreign Ministry	243	121	364	1.3
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	119 (+679)	73	871	3.2
Education Ministry	1792	395 (+4586) ³⁵¹	6773	24.9
Health and Welfare Ministry	573	5239	5812	21.4
Agricultural Ministry	496	1945	2441	9.0
MITI	908	1833	2741	10.1
Transport Ministry	277 (+571)	222	1070	3.9
Ministry of Post and Telecommunications	119 (+108)	0	227	0.8
Labor Ministry	223 (+217)	1592	2032	7.5
Ministry of Construction	336	1226	1562	5.7
Home Affairs Ministry	74	1501	1575	5.8
TOTAL	5743	15266	27170	100.0

Table 19 *Kōeki hōjin* and their affiliation with government ministries

Public offices and local governments have also independently established a number of nonprofit organizations³⁵². Those organizations are typically active in

³⁵⁰ Based on: (Prime Ministers Office (PMO) 1998: table 5).

³⁵¹ Educational body.

the social welfare sector and are set up because many local governments lack the personnel and financial resources to fulfill all their responsibilities with government employees alone³⁵³. Private organizations are often more cost-efficient, and are better equipped to implement certain restricted policies. Finally, those private nonprofit organizations are also established on a wide scale, because they provide a suitable landing ground for retiring government employees, and do therefore cement the close vertical relationship between the nonprofit sector and the government.

A number of interview respondents have therefore mentioned that the legal status and especially government supervision can develop into a key obstacle when such organizations intend to openly criticize government policies. In many cases, potentially critical organizations have not been granted judicial recognition, and if they had been, the fact that former government employees with their close ties to former colleagues and ministry officials frequently became part of the management or leadership of such foundations prevented open criticism of government policies. This dilemma has long been a central reason for the hesitation of many independent CEMs to apply for a *kōeki hōjin* status; they were concerned to eventually lose their independence³⁵⁴.

The often close vertical relationship between private NPOs and the government bureaucracy, and the fact that some formally private organizations have been set up by the public sector imply some fundamental problems for the analysis of the nonprofit sector in Japan. Public and private organizations can often not easily be distinguished, and the real intentions of nonprofit organizations are often

³⁵² Local governments for example establish about one hundred *kōeki hōjin* every year (Amenomori 1997:208).

³⁵³ Those so-called auxiliary bodies are often responsible for routine work such as the management of parks and buildings.

³⁵⁴ Only 11.8% of the 4152 unincorporated associations questioned by the EPA in 1997 considered the application for a incorporated status as *kōeki hōjin* as desirable (GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997:38).

hidden behind fairly general agendas like “nature protection” or “nature observation”. Many of these NPOs - judicially recognized organizations in particular - are so closely intertwined with government agencies (national, prefectural or local) that they cannot necessarily be considered as genuinely private and independent organizations. Nevertheless, these problems are mentioned here because they form a crucial reason for the often confusing composition of the environmental movement scene in Japan. In the introduction, it was explained that only a certain percentage of all movements and formal organizations that claim to be a part of the environmental movement in Japan can actually be considered as independent *primary* environmental movements. The problem in relation to the legal status of many of the larger groups and their close connection with government bodies fundamentally complicates the scientific analysis.

6.4.2 Activities to Change the NPOs Legal Provisions

Legal experts, and to a lesser extent the citizens’ movements themselves, had recognized the insufficient legal integration of the nonprofit sector and the necessity to establish a smoother and easier way for citizens’ groups and organizations without legal recognition to register their status, so that they could benefit from the same legal rights as citizens’ organizations or NPOs in other countries. Therefore, since the early 1970s, it was deemed necessary to alter the outdated and vague provisions laid down in the Civil Code of 1896. As early as 1975, hence a few years after the first wave of citizens activity and the founding of thousands of small but independent citizens movements in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the civil law professor Tanaka Minoru noted that “the Japanese system has serious shortcomings of not providing for the existence of a juridical person that is neither profit-oriented nor engaged in charitable activities” (Tanaka 1975: 7). He specifically criticized the dependence on and control by the government, and the problem that government bureaucrats have frequently interpreted “public interest” as rather “national interest” (*ibid*: 15). Thus, Tanaka considered the core of the problem as the hierarchical leadership of the

bureaucracy in Japan, which led to strict control and dependence of the civil or nonprofit sector, which is therefore organized in ways so that they support or assist state programs, rather than criticize or debate them openly. Tanaka argued that public interest activities should assume greater independence, which could only be achieved if the role of the bureaucracy could be diminished (*ibid*: 16).

Since the early 1990s, a growing number of groups and individual activists have begun to organize conferences and discussion meetings to debate this central problem that has so long prevented citizens' action groups to extend their influence in society, and which has delayed or prevented their growth due to their inadequate financial resources, namely a fundamentally revised and facilitated process to grant a judicially recognized nonprofit status. For a long time, senior activists has compared the situation of citizens' groups in Japan with that in other industrialized nations, and recognized that the insufficient legal status was one of the central problems that had to be solved before the situation of the nonprofit sector in general, and that of the tens of thousands of smaller citizens groups in particular, could essentially improve.

The debate about legal provisions that would simplify the application process for a legal status experienced a great push forward after the UNCED in 1992, and a second time after the great Kobe-Hanshin earthquake in January 1995. In 1995, a number of well-known citizens' activists in cooperation with lawyers set up the most important network to discuss this problem, namely "C's Japan. Coalition for Legislation to Support Citizens' Organizations"³⁵⁵ (*shizu. shimin undō wo sasaeru seido wo tsukuru kai*). The organizers early on realized that it would not be enough to simply talk about the problem of a legal recognition among activists; therefore they invited politicians from all political parties to explain the difficult situation the vast majority of small citizens' groups have to work in, and how important it is to improve the legal and organizational status of citizens' activities and the

³⁵⁵ The "C" in the name stands for citizen, it also exemplifies the importance of Western concepts of citizens.

nonprofit sector in general. Although they organized talks with almost all political parties, in the end it was primarily *Shinto Sakigake* and later the *Democratic Party of Japan*, which actively supported their goals and drafted a law to improve the situation of NPOs.

Since the mid 1990s, even the semi-governmental think tank NIRA (National Institute for Research Advancement) demanded in their own research publications to draft and enact a law that promotes and facilitates broader participation of citizens in volunteer networks or organizations³⁵⁶. The Kobe earthquake in January 1995 and the large number of volunteers who decided to assist the victims in the weeks thereafter, marked the beginning of a far more intense and serious debate about the necessity of a closer integration of citizens in areas where the government was obviously no longer capable of fulfilling all the responsibilities, that had been prevented by an uncompromising government bureaucracy throughout the postwar period³⁵⁷.

After an intense debate particularly between 1995 and 1997³⁵⁸, on March 25, 1998, the Japanese Diet finally promulgated the Law to Promote Special Non-Profit Activities [*Tokutei hieiri katsudō suishin hō*]. The law regulates which

³⁵⁶ In its first report on the promotion of “welfare activities” of citizens (NIRA (National Institute for Research Advancement) 1994) strongly recommends that government promote such citizens organization, among others by promoting the cooperation and especially the legal status of citizens’ organizations. The NIRA report particularly calls for an improvement of the financial situation of nonprofit organizations through the introduction of tax-deductible donations (*ibid*: XIV).

³⁵⁷ According to the Hyôgo prefectural office more than one million volunteers came to Kobe after the earthquake in January 1995 to help the victims and later to help with cleaning up and in reconstruction activities (Nakamura 1996:10). In 1996, after an offshore oil-tanker accident in the Japanese sea near the town of Mikuni, several thousand volunteers came to clean up the beach and the shoreline. This sudden eruption of volunteer activities is particularly strong among young people. The inability of the Japanese government to deal with certain crisis situations has forced it to admit, that it needs increased citizens’ cooperation, not only after such accident but also on a long-term basis.

³⁵⁸ In these years, the New Party Sakigake and from December 1996 the DPJ (Democratic Party of Japan) has been on the forefront of support for this law. Sakigake has long maintained close relation with C’s Japan and drafted several versions, essential parts of it have finally written into the law.

nonprofit organizations can apply for the status of “specified nonprofit corporation” (*tokutei hieri dantai*), and specifies the approval process and all legal provisions for the organization³⁵⁹. It includes, among others, organizations that are active in the *conservation of nature*³⁶⁰. One major deficiency, however, is that tax deductibility of donations is not yet included in the law, so that the financial situation of recognized organizations does not change significantly. This regulation is expected to be added in the year 2000. Many citizens’ groups are therefore dissatisfied with the new law; they admit that it is a good step in the right direction, but unless the financial situation is not significantly improved, movements will be handicapped and virtually unable to pursue their objective efficiently. This might be one reason why only about one thousand groups had newly applied for legal nonprofit status between December 1998, when the application process began, and July 1999, and only 394 had been approved³⁶¹. According to a survey of a citizens’ organizations, the vast majority (65%) of those organizations that were applying for legal nonprofit status were engaged in health care, medical treatment, and social welfare, hence in the traditional areas of most existing legal nonprofit organizations³⁶². It can be assumed that

³⁵⁹ Prospective organization that can apply for the judicial status at the prefectural governors office, if the corporation is located only in the respective prefecture, or with the director general of the Economic Planning Agency, if the corporation is active in two or more prefectures (Law to Promote Special Non-Profit Activities [*Tokutei hieiri katsudō suishin hō*], Article 9).

³⁶⁰ Other nonprofit organizations that are permitted to apply for the status can be active in the (1) promotion of health, medical treatment, or welfare, (2) promotion of social education, (3) promotion of community development, (4) promotion of culture, the arts, or sports, (5) conservation of the environment, (6) disaster relief, (7) promotion of community safety, (8) protection of human rights, (9) international cooperation, (10), promotion of society with equal gender participation, (11) sound nurturing of the youth, and the (12) administration of organizations that engage in the above activities or provisions of liaison advice, or assistance in connection with the above activities (Supplementary provisions. Attached schedule of article 2).

³⁶¹ According to GoJ Economic Planning Agency data, quoted in the AEN: 3. August 1999, p.4 . Though the Asahi Evening News article judged this as a surprisingly high number, given the overall number of more than 85,000 unincorporated organizations, the author considers this as a relatively slow growth and as an indications, that the vast majority of the organizations, particularly environmental organizations, consider the 1998 NPO Act as a good step, but still unsatisfactory.

³⁶² AEN: 3 August 1999, p. 4.

environmental organizations make up only a very small percentage because they cannot benefit from a status to a significant degree because the new nonprofit law still lacks provisions that would significantly improve the financial situation of these organizations.

6.4.3 Concluding Remarks concerning Nonprofit Legal Status

The difficulties for citizens' organizations to become nonprofit organizations has been one of the major reasons why the nonprofit sector in general, and environmental protection or nature protection organizations in particular, have so far not been able to establish the same political effectiveness that many such organizations in other countries have. Most people in Japan are not aware of the significance of the environmental movement because most movement organizations have not been legally recognized, and hence could not benefit from the same prestige as industrial organizations, government bodies, or profit-making organizations³⁶³. In their comparative study on the nonprofit sector, Salamon and Anheier pointed out, that "while the chartering of nonprofit organizations is reasonably open in the common law countries, many civil law countries erect significant barriers. Japan is perhaps the clearest example among the countries examined here of a legal structure that impedes rather than encourages the creation of nonprofit institutions. From the perspective of Japanese law, the formation of such organizations is treated not as a right but as a privilege to be granted or denied by governmental authorities based on their view of the value of the organization to the government. That these organizations might have value to citizens that justifies their existence regardless of official opinion is not a concept that finds much acknowledgement in the Japanese legal tradition" (Salamon and Anheier 1994: 100-101).

³⁶³ The notion of the public and the nonprofit sector (here including organizations with and without a legal status). In general, public or *kō* is regarded superior to private or *shi*, a distinction that is rooted in Japanese culture and particularly Confucianism (Amenomori 1997:207).

6.5 ECOLOGICAL POLITICAL PARTY

The author considers it as one of the major strategic differences between the Japanese and West-European environmental movements, particularly those in Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, or in recent years in France, that movements in the latter countries have at one point in time decided that extra-parliamentary activities of social movements can only be one pillar, which should (ideally) be complemented with a parliamentary political wing. In Japan on the other hand, setting up a political party never seemed to be a viable political option for environmental movements, which was in part due to political structural reasons (high costs of election campaign, multi-member electoral districts, lack of leadership within the green movement, etc.), but can also be explained by a widely held suspicion and detachment from established political organizations in general, and political parties in particular (see e.g. section 5.4.5 and 5.4.5 for an analysis on the political belief system of members and sympathizers of environmental movements).

The Japanese political scientists Maruyama Shin and Yamaguchi Yûji have both attempted to shed light on the different development in Japan, Germany, and the United States. Maruyama Shin (Maruyama 1994) has frequently examined the political dimension of ecological problems and introduced environmental movements and ecological issues - actual movement activities as well as the theoretical debate about different approaches towards environmental problems - into the political science debate in Japan. For Maruyama, “political ecology” (*seiji-teki ekorojî*) means the politicization of the ecological sphere (*ekorojî no seijika*), (Maruyama 1994: 249). In terms of the environmental movement, he contrasted the Japanese case with the development in the United States and particularly in Western Europe, where such movements became important political actors. As far as green political parties are concerned, he took the German case as a counter example, and sought to explain why there had been no serious attempts to set up a Green Party in Japan. He considered the broader political impact of the

German students' and peace movement of the 1960s as an important factor in his explanation. Students' and other social movements' activists of the 1960s and early 1970s (peace movement, human-rights movements) eventually entered political life and opened up the political system for new social and political groups and ideas. Demands such as broadening of political opportunities and improvement of the quality of life became an essential part of the mainstream political debate in Germany in the early 1980s³⁶⁴.

According to Maruyama (1994), the difference between the German and the Japanese political development in the 1970s and early 1980s was the trend towards “reformism” (*kairyōshugi*) in Germany, where all major political parties had begun to adopt at least some environmental policies and had begun to take environmentalism or ecologism more seriously (Maruyama 1994:275-277). The other major factor that encouraged the development of a broader concept of democratization and eventually bolstered the spread of Green political parties in many European nations was the deep-rooted concept of anti-authoritarianism (*han-kenishugi*), anti-bureaucratism (*han-kanrishugi*), and a support for a maximum of freedom and liberty (Maruyama 1994:268).

Yamaguchi Yûji (1995) is another Japanese political scientist who is also very familiar with the development of social movements and the Green Party in Germany (Yamaguchi 1995:180). He pointed out that, although environmental awareness had risen in Japan since the late 1960s and a great number of new social movements, notably volunteer groups, environmental protection movements, woman's networks, cooperatives, and international assistance movements as well as local political parties and groups had been set up,

³⁶⁴ Maruyama mentions the importance of leading politicians of the German SPD such as Oskar Lafontaine in the debate about consumerism and materialism in the debate about a reconstruction of the socio-economic system, environmentalism, and ecologism in Germany in the 1980s. The importance lies in the fact that since the late 1970s and early 1980s, even politicians of the main-stream political parties began to reconsider industrialism and the importance of citizens' participation in the political decision-making process (broadening of the political opportunity structure, decentralization of power) (Maruyama 1994:271-275).

particularly in the 1990s, no Green Party managed to enter the Japanese political system (*ibid*: 181). Yamaguchi attempted to narrow down the most crucial reasons by focusing on a number of fundamental differences between the Japanese and the German³⁶⁵ postwar political and socio-economic development. Yamaguchi³⁶⁶ argued that since the 1970s, there was a rise in post-industrial and post-materialist values in almost all advanced industrial societies because citizens began to realize that the new challenges to society and state could no longer be debated and solved within the classical political and ideological paradigms that was originally based on Marxist political ideology. Old social movements characterized by a formal hierarchy and strong revolutionary ideological backbones were gradually challenged by new social movements based on relatively loose networks and a far more grass-roots and reformist based approach towards a wide variety of socio-cultural and political issues. Yamaguchi considers problems concerning the destruction of the natural environment as the paramount example of the failure of so-called “old politics”, because these were problems that neither Capitalist nor Socialist and Communist states were willing or able to tackle comprehensively. The same applied to problems concerning international peace, women’s issues and feminism, nuclear power, and a wide range of other issues that were introduced into the political debate and political agenda, at least initially by citizens’ movements.

Unlike Japan, Yamaguchi notes, the German socio-cultural and political situation in the 1970s was characterized by (1) a rising acceptance of post-materialistic values including a genuine concern about the quality of life. This induced that objectives such as citizens’ rights and the creation of a more human society gained widespread support (post-materialistic political culture) (*ibid*: 189).

³⁶⁵ Yamaguchi notes that many of the German socio-economic and socio-cultural developments can also be found in many other West-European countries.

³⁶⁶ The following comparison between the development of environmentalism in Japan and Germany and an outline of the reasons for the foundation of a Green Party in Germany and not in Japan is developed in (Maruyama 1994).

Eventually, (2) social movement gained access to the political system, indirectly through political pressure from extra parliamentary groups and organizations, and since the early 1980s more directly through Green political parties. As a result, the (3) entire political party system was forced to reorganize and react to the challenge induced by a growing percentage of floating voters. In Germany, it led to (3.1) a growing recognition of environmental problems within all established political parties, and (3.2) eventually to a reconstruction of the parliamentary party system and the evolution of practically two political blocks, the CDU/CSU/FDP on the center-right, and the SPD and the Green Party on the center-left parliamentary party spectrum. Yamaguchi considers this as the embodiment of “new politics” in a post-industrial society, because most European states accepted the challenge imposed on the political system by new social movements with new political ideas (Yamaguchi 1995: 188).

In the German case, Yamaguchi attributed the following factors to the growing power of the Green Party in Germany: New social movements promoted post-materialistic values particularly among young people with a high academic background, who originally shared leftist ideas but were disappointed of the traditional leftist parties, particularly the SPD³⁶⁷. Many former leaders and activists of the 1960s students’ movements who were neither attracted by the SPD nor by the German Communist Party because they favored a more autonomous and less-hierarchical party structure, yet felt the desire to enter politics, were attracted by the idea of setting up a new political party from scratch. However, most essential for the initial success of the Green Party in Germany was the growing environmental awareness (particularly anti-nuclear sentiment) and the fear that the “arms race” might eventually lead to a third world war with Western and Central Europe as its central battle ground.

³⁶⁷ The SPD was a government party throughout the 1970s and greatly depended on the trade unions, which supported an economic growth policy. Despite its contacts to other new social movements, the SPD did not take environmental problems seriously, e.g. it vehemently supported the expansion of nuclear power.

Yamaguchi argued that the two most fundamental reasons for the successful foundation of a Green Party in Germany was the strong anti-nuclear movement, and the fact that a national political party could benefit from the experience of smaller alternative parties on the local and state level. Hence, the federal political structure in Germany was advantageous for the setting up of a national movement and a national political party structure. In Japan, on the other hand, the anti-nuclear movement remained rather locally based and its activities sporadic (*ibid*: 191).

Japan also experienced the foundation of a large number of citizens' and residents' movements in the 1960s and 1970s; many of those were, however, single-issue movements. Although material values remain deep-rooted in Japan, Yamaguchi argues that in the 1990s, one could nevertheless observe a growing acceptance of post-material values³⁶⁸, and with it an increase of "*lively politics*"³⁶⁹, a term coined by Yamaguchi. In Japan, the anti-nuclear movement remained relatively unorganized and local. Most such movement organizations remained isolated and small, and the fact that they could not seriously enter the bureaucracy dominated decision-making process and also failed to prevent the construction of new nuclear power stations caused frustration and the feeling of powerlessness among its participants. The nuclear power accident in Chernobyl triggered a revival of the anti-nuclear movement in Japan, and the mobilization of new social groups, particularly housewives from metropolitan areas. However, in general this movement remained a loose network of action groups and

³⁶⁸ Other studies have shown that at least in the early 1980s, Japan still had considerably less so-called post-materialists (as defined by Inglehart (1971) than for example the United States, and that even a relatively high percentage of those who shared the so-called *new environmental paradigm*, hence those who considered nature and humans as belonging to one system and equally important and necessary to protect actively, were value materialists, who considered "maintaining order in the nation" and "fighting rising prices" more important than "giving more say to the people" and "protecting freedom of speech" (Pierce et al. 1987:66,75-77).

³⁶⁹ The demand that politics should be closely related to life and living, a central element of post-industrial societies (Yamaguchi 1995: 194).

organizations, which focused on their own activities rather than nationwide political activities.

According to Yamaguchi (1995), the central reasons for the failure to set up a Green Party in Japan are (1) the long ruling period of the LDP and (2) the centralized decision-making system without any real access for citizens and extra-parliamentary groups and organization, and without an effective mechanism of “checks and balances” (Yamaguchi 1995: 196). He notes that until today, citizens’ movements only have the power to influence government decisions indirectly through public opinion. Yamaguchi therefore calls them a “non-system opposition power” (*hi-seidō-teki na takōryoku*) (Yamaguchi 1995: 196). He also holds a (3) fundamental conservatism especially on the regional level responsible for the continuous electoral success of the LDP (*ibid*) and the huge electoral difficulty of any new party without large financial resources. The fact that the (4) LDP as well as the other political parties have at least in the 1990s adopted a number of moderate anti-pollution measures, and that (5) in the 1990s, the newly established reform parties have also absorbed a large segment of any theoretical “environmental vote” (*kankyōhyō*) have further eroded any realistic prospect for a green party in Japan. Between 1986 and 1992, some green or ecological parties made efforts to win seats in local and national elections, but they all failed to secure a significant share of the votes³⁷⁰. Maruyama Shin (1994)³⁷¹ emphasized the small number of “political ecologists” (*seiji-tekina ekorōjisuto*) in Japan (*ibid*: 275). He noted that, among others, this can be explained with certain peculiarities on the Japanese language, which can for instance by exemplified by the confusing Japanese translation of the concept

³⁷⁰ Yamaguchi (1995:199) names the Japan Green Party (*nihon midori no to*), and the Japan Green Union (*Nihon midori no rengō*) founded in 1986, the Green and Life Network (*midori to inochi no nettowāku*), another Green Party (*midori no to*), Environment Party (*kankyōto*), "We don't need Nuclear Power" (*genpatsu iranai hitobito*), and the Earth Club (*chikyū kurabu*) founded in 1989, and Hope (*kibō*), and another Environment Party (*kankōto*) founded in 1992.

³⁷¹ Maruyama (1994) compared the Japanese with the German ecology movements and reasons for the lack of a successful Green Party in Japan.

"sustainable development". In Japanese it can mean "sustainable growth" (*jizokuteki seichō*), "sustainable exploitation/development" (*jizokuteki kaihatsu*), or "permanently possible progress and development" (*eizoku kanō-na hatten*) (ibid: 275-276)³⁷², and does therefore not necessarily demand a fundamental change of the economic system and a comprehensive reduction of the use of natural resources.

According to Yamaguchi, German environmental movements also profited from (1) the deep-rooted love for nature and especially forests that is in part rooted in Christianity (Yamaguchi 1995:199), and (2) a democratic political education after the Second World War that encouraged critical thinking and civic values³⁷³. The Japanese society on the other hand, still maintains educational principles that discourage public criticism³⁷⁴ (ibid: 199). The European movements have also been positively influenced by (3) a long history of nature protection movements rooted in a certain degree of anti-modernism. The movement is diversified and benefits from a large membership (ibid: 199). Particularly in Germany, the movement benefited from widely held (4) cultural pessimism and skepticism additionally promoted by economic fears in the 1970s (ibid: 200). Furthermore, the (5) German level of democratization was already comparatively high, so that for example the anti-nuclear movement could take advantage of open judicial trial hearings. Finally, Yamaguchi puts great importance on the German system of (6) federalism with its vertical separation of power. This setting encouraged political experiments, promoted citizens' participation on all administrative levels, and gave opposition parties far greater opportunities to influence political decisions (ibid: 200).

³⁷² Maruyama (1994) quotes the definitions as elaborated by Nishimura Tadayuki (citation not mentioned in reference).

³⁷³ Yamaguchi emphasized that the primary educational goal in Germany is to teach children and young adults to become "good political citizens" (*yoi seiji-teki shimin*) (Yamaguchi 1995:199).

³⁷⁴ Education is still based on "examinations" and "no criticism" (*shiken benkyō-teki muhiban shugi*), according to Yamaguchi.

Yamaguchi argues that most of the factors that promoted the founding and political success of a Green party in Germany were weak or absent in Japan. In detail, (1) the Japanese view of nature is too optimistic and favors artificial and human conditioned nature³⁷⁵, a view that is still widely held due to insufficient environmental³⁷⁶ as well as social education³⁷⁷. Despite the enactment of relatively strict environmental standards in the early 1970s, the 1980s were again characterized by a (2) weak vision about environmental policy (*ibid*). A very important problem in Japan, Yamaguchi argues, is a (3) weak willingness to participate in social and political movements³⁷⁸, hence also in environmental movements and political parties. The (4) flexibility of the LDP, which accepted certain demands of the environmental movement and enacted moderate environmental policies to an extent that it appeared as if the environment movements were successful. This made the establishment of an own ecological party seem unnecessary for most activists and citizens alike³⁷⁹. Finally, Yamaguchi argues that the (5) Japanese value structure is different from that of the West in that old material values coexists with post-material values because Japanese had only recently escaped poverty due to its late economic development (*ibid*). Further reasons are the (6) long working hours, and the (7) problem that the vast majority of environmental movements are not legally recognized and therefore not taken seriously by the government and administrative bodies (*ibid*: 207).

³⁷⁵ Yamaguchi takes bonsai trees as an example that Japanese prefer artificial nature (*ibid*: 201).

³⁷⁶ Only since 1992, environmental education became a subject in some Japanese schools. As of 1998, there are still only two universities where prospective teachers can study environmental education. About the state of environmental education in Japan and proposals for improvements, see: (Okajima 1991).

³⁷⁷ On the problems of social and political education in contemporary Japan, see: (Yamaguchi 1993; Kajita 1992; Thomas 1985).

³⁷⁸ Yamaguchi attributes this to the Japanese national character (*kokumin katagi*).

³⁷⁹ On the other hand, the German Social Democratic governments of the 1970s did not respond adequately to demands from the environmental movement and therefore gradually encouraged the foundation of green parties and party-political movements and organizations.

Taking all these considerations by Maruyama and Yamaguchi into account, it can be argued that the absence of ecology oriented political parties on the national level combined with the virtual absence of more than a few larger nationwide environmental organizations or an effective network structure with a considerable number of members and supporters, ideally a few hundred thousand, constitutes one of the most fundamental problems the environmental movement in contemporary Japan is confronted with. The reasons for this situation are in part associated with the financial situation and the difficult legal status, but also with the structure of the political system in general (centralized and hierarchical order, without influential political forces on the prefectural level, money politics). A central reason for the lack of any efficient nationwide and politically and socially influential network or umbrella organization must, however, be attributed to the unwillingness of the smaller local and regional organizations to cooperate closer and to give up some independence.

6.6 PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

Throughout postwar history, virtually all citizens' movements in Japan have been suffering to some extent from serious problems in accessing information in general, and information from public and government institutions in particular. This problem refers especially to the publication of pollution related data³⁸⁰. The case study of the Hinode-machi waste landfill movement illustrated clearly the uncooperative attitude of many administrative offices to disclose information, disregarding the fact that these information and data had been assembled with public financial resources and were supposed to be used for administrative purposes.

³⁸⁰ In general, pollution or emitting data will often only be published in accumulated form, not allowing to single out individual polluters.

Legally, a primary reason for the unwillingness to disclose data has long been the lack of a comprehensive Information Disclosure Act that would regulate³⁸¹ and guarantee that in essence, all data and information that had been assembled by public bodies should in general be open to the public, without any unreasonable bureaucratic procedures. In effect, environmental movements suffer from an enormous information gap between citizens and the government administration. Although many local governments have in recent years enacted information disclosure ordinances, which regulate the disclosure of a wide variety of official data, in many incidences it is still left to the discretion of the respective local government and its administration which data to publish and how the application process is organized³⁸². Meanwhile, concerned citizens, social movement activists, and legal experts have set up a number of organizations demanding the immediate enactment of a comprehensive law to regulate the publication and disclosure of virtually all government data and information and an improved cooperation between citizens' movements and public administration³⁸³.

One of the central tasks an environmental movement should ideally cover is the assembly of data and information about environmental issues and problems to enable them to develop a convincing line of arguments about the seriousness of a given problem, and possibly to offer solutions or sensible policy proposals (see: chapter 2.2.1: Environmental Sociology. Social construction of environmental problems). Unlike most other social problems, the analysis and comprehension

³⁸¹ Such regulation usually includes that published data and information should not allow drawing conclusions on data of individuals, etc.

³⁸² About information politics especially on the local level: (Utsunomiya 1996). Local council members expressed the impression that not even elected councilors have access to all information of the local administration; on the local level, it is eventually left to the discretion of the mayor who has a very powerful role in the Japanese local government system.

³⁸³ See: (Horibe 1996). An Information Disclosure Act (*jōhōkōkaihō*) has been an element in the political reform debate since 1993, and particularly since about 1994. Over the years, a great number of local governments have enacted local information disclosure ordinances (*jōhōkōkaijōrei*).

of environmental problems essentially relies on science, particularly natural science, because specific problems can in most cases only be discovered and assembled by individual scientists, research institutes, think tanks, or by concerned environmental movements, provided they have the scientific tools to do so. Here lies another fundamental problem of Japanese environmental movements that are either aiming at discovering and presenting environmental problems, or at presenting reasonable alternative policy proposals. Apart from a few large national nature protection organizations, which have the financial resources to pay for researchers or are otherwise capable of attracting knowledgeable staff, the vast majority of the movement organizations are either confined to conduct rather simplified pollution detection tests, or rely on sympathetic researchers and think tanks. However, in the past, it turned out that only a small number of researchers were willing to contact or cooperate with citizens' movements, because most of them work for large companies or administrative organizations in the metropolitan areas (about 90% around Tokyo (Shimizu 1997)). They are frequently located in a distance from the pollution sources, and feel strong loyalty for the organizations for which they work (Funabashi 1992: 15). Another group of experts and scientists work for think tanks, but independent think tanks, which citizens' organizations could use for contract research or for cooperating in the formulation of policy proposals are exceedingly rare in Japan. The large and influential think tanks, such as Nomura Research Institute and Mitsubishi Research Institute³⁸⁴, are now independent from their mother institutions, but they are primarily active in the forecast of economic trends and management consultancy for private enterprises (Kajita 1992: 282-285). The largest semi-governmental research institute NIRA (National Institute for Research Advancement) is concerned with environmental issues and, for instance, with the drafting of policy proposals aiming at promoting broader and more widespread participation of NGOs and citizens'

³⁸⁴ The two largest think tanks in Japan, Nomura and Mitsubishi each have between 1000 and 2000 researchers working for them.

organization in the policy drafting process³⁸⁵, as well as the development and publication of research findings that are in some cases critical of specific government policies³⁸⁶. Nevertheless, the sociologist Kajita Takamichi remained sceptical about the independence of NIRA because many researchers are transferred from government agencies, local governments, and large firms; and NIRA does entrust most of the research to external research institutes and universities (Kajita 1992: 283). Kajita added, “non-governmental organizations for environmental issues and ecoactivities are very weak in Japan. Most eco-activists are defensive in nature and do not have the capability to present alternative policies due to the lack of specialists working for them on a regular basis” (*ibid*: 284).

The case studies in chapter 4 and other empirically based data on the environmental movement in Japan supply sufficient evidence for the assumption that the lack of access to official data and research findings is one of the crucial reasons why the movement has so far been relatively ineffective in the field of finding and proving environmental problems, and particularly in drafting own policy proposals. The governmental, administrative, academic, and economic infrastructure in Japan is highly centralized, therefore virtually all experts who could theoretically support the activities of environmental organizations are located in the Tokyo area and affiliated with large organizations. Environmental movements on the other hand, generally do not have the financial resources to pay for contract research or to hire natural scientists or policy experts; they are geographically located too far away from the intellectual power center.

³⁸⁵ See, e.g. research findings published in: (NIRA (National Institute for Research Advancement) 1994; NIRA (National Institute for Research Advancement) 1996).

³⁸⁶ Examples are: (Araki 1996; Arima and Fujioka 1996; Kishi 1996). The essays published in the NIRA Review are mostly written by scientists and even representatives of citizens' organizations institutionally unrelated to NIRA. The fact that their critical essays are published in a NIRA journal indicates the relatively independent position of this think tank.

6.7 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It would be impossible here to present an exhaustive analysis of all the problems and obstacles the environmental movement in contemporary Japan is confronted with, but the problems discussed above belong to the most pervasive in the sense they have prevented or at least essentially hindered the broadening of political and societal importance of the overall movement. The relationship between state and society is certainly mutually interdependent in the sense that societal pressure can force the state to alter decisions or policies, provided the pressure exceeds a certain threshold. On the other hand, government and legislature have the power to alter this threshold, in order to make the political system more or less accessible and open for citizens' groups or individual citizens. Moreover, both state and society have been set up and developed within a specific socio-cultural framework, certain aspects of which are again constantly altered by socio-political reality.

In the case of contemporary Japan, this analysis of the problems exemplified that the Japanese political elite has been trying to prevent a broadening of access for citizens' movements, particularly environmental protest movements. The presumed socio-cultural problems (6.1.) do certainly bear some responsibility for the relatively weak "environmental belief system" and the still prevalent preference for technological solutions, as opposed to socio-economic or political solutions. However, the relatively unresponsive Japanese state system has caused a widely held disinterest in direct political activity as well as movement strategies that would include legislative or administrative measures. The vast majority of environmental movements have therefore chosen to adopt rather direct and sometimes self-help approaches to environmental issues, for instance in the form of clean-up, recycling, urban planning, nature preservation, and nature reconstruction activities. Those approaches might sometimes receive support from local authorities, but most movements pursue their goals with or without this support.

In order for movements to enter the sphere of interest brokering, lobbying, balanced negotiations with national administration officials, or convincing and pressuring political parties to shift or adopt specific policy positions, they need personal and financial resources as well as in-depth knowledge and information that would have to be provided in advance by the administration, the scientific community, or possibly by investigative journalism. In Japan, this is largely not the case. In general, Japanese environmental movements have therefore been prevented from assuming a strong position in the Japanese political system that could not be overlooked. The next chapter will therefore provide a final analysis of the contemporary societal and political position of the environmental movement.

7. ROLE AND POSITION OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT IN CONTEMPORARY JAPAN

7.1 ROLE AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR CITIZENS' MOVEMENTS IN THE JAPANESE POLITICAL SYSTEM

The central argument of this thesis as it has been laid out in the introduction (chapter 1), was that the Japanese political system of the 1970s could be considered a consolidated democracy³⁸⁷ in the sense that up to that point in time, Japan not only had a formally democratic system that was based on open and free elections, horizontal and vertical separation of powers including an independent legal system, but that a sizable number of citizens had also developed an acute appreciation of democratic rights and the willingness to use them to a certain degree. The frequent protest events of labor unions in the 1950s and the decade-long wave of protest against specific but diverse issues such as the extension of AMPO, the Vietnam War, and a large number of pollution related protest activities had revealed two fundamental characteristics of the Japanese political system. First, that, provided the protest lasted for a significant period of time and movement leaders were able to mobilize a sizable number of citizens or the support of prominent persons such as writers, intellectuals, or scientists, and made use of a relatively wide variety of protest tactics including lawsuits, sit-ins, hunger strikes, open public demonstrations in Japan and possibly even abroad, the protest could finally force the Japanese

³⁸⁷ The term consolidated democracy has since the early 1990s been used for a nation which - in short - has not only adopted democratic institutions and a democratic decision-making process, but where democratic values and convictions are held by the vast majority of the citizens and the society as a whole. Originally, it has been developed to assess the degree of democratization of the former Socialist states in Central and Eastern Europe, and developing democracies in Latin America. There is a lively debate about this concept and its usage, e.g. see: (Diamond 1994; O'Donnell 1996a; O'Donnell 1996b; O'Donnell 1996c; Schmitter 1992; Schmitter 1994).

government to react to the demands of the citizens, as it did in the early 1970s by drafting and enacting stricter environmental laws. However, secondly, the protest wave of the 1950s and 1960s also showed that in cases where citizens' demands targeted defense related and international issues, such as the AMPO and the Vietnam War, the Japanese government was not willing to accept those demands or change its policies. The protest movement had also proven that even the largest number of protesters in Japanese postwar history that was mobilized during the AMPO crisis in 1960, was not able to seriously endanger the majority of the ruling conservative party - the LDP - in the Diet and in Japanese politics in general.

It was argued, however, that after its heydays in the late 1960s and early 1970s, citizens' movements in Japan could not keep the momentum that had been built up and that they lost energy and influence on the political system as well as on the society as a whole (see chapter 3). The case studies in chapter 4 and the analysis of the more general characteristics of the contemporary environmental movement (chapter 5) have exemplified issues, tactics, and strategies, as well as its standing in relation to government and bureaucracy, and its role in contemporary Japanese society. In the author's opinion, the case studies of the protest movement illustrate clearly that numerous movements have used virtually all the social and political options that were available to them, and that the most fundamental difference between the political options in contemporary Japan and those in many Western-European countries, is their deficient influence on legislative power, whether directly or indirectly. Japanese movements have only marginally been able to enter legislative bodies (as in the case of some members of the Hinode-machi movement, chapter 4.1.3) and are until today virtually excluded from the central state legislature. The main and most fundamental obstacle the contemporary environmental movement has encountered is the inflexible political and administrative system, and the unwillingness of the leading political parties to reform the system, so as to make it more accessible for ordinary citizens. Many citizens' movements have fought

for a certain period of time with all their energy and with all social, political, and legal means, but by the mid 1970s, it seemed frustration about the ultimately uncompromising governmental and administrative elite has become the dominant attitude among movement activists and ordinary citizens, to a degree that only a very few determined groups (such as in the case of Hinode-machi or the Anti-Nagara-River Dam movements) continued their battle for years or even decades. The vast majority of environmental movements and environment related organizations, however, have withdrawn from serious disputes and confrontational approaches. Most of them are today active in widely undisputed and main-stream fields of environmental and nature protection.

The following chapter 7.2 will highlight two important aspects of the central question of this study as outlined in chapter 1, namely the potential and actual importance of the contemporary Japanese environmental movement on the politicization of the general public and eventually its significance for the advancement of the Japanese democracy.

7.2 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

7.2.0 Introduction

Unlike lobby and interest groups, whose general objective is to influence the political decision-making process or the drafting of laws in more direct ways, the central objective of contemporary environmental movements is rather to contribute to the shaping of public awareness about environmental problems and the attempt to broaden channels for citizens' participation, in order to eventually promote democratic and participatory values³⁸⁸. Greater social and political interest and participation of a broader share of the general public might then finally lead to greater influence on the government decision-making process.

³⁸⁸ On the role of the Japanese environmental movement for an increase of political awareness, see: (McKean: 1980; Fischer 1993; Giffard 1996; Smith 1986).

In an analysis on the impact of environmental movements, Dieter Rucht (Rucht 1996: 18) emphasized that the effect on the governmental environmental policy; is mostly indirect and complex, it is usually by means of (1) influencing public opinion, (2) altering individual values and behavior, and possibly (3) through an ecological party or the commitment of an established political party.

The initial objective of environmental movements in politically complex and highly industrialized nations is therefore often to intensify environmental problem awareness through environmental education that covers pollution problems and possible solutions to the problem; the promotion of widespread participation of citizens from all social strata in direct nature and environment protection initiatives, education measures, protest activities, and other potentially more political activities, in order to create the background for long-term, yet widely supported social and political change. Additionally, there are a number of environmental organizations that attempt to influence the political decision-making and legislation drafting process or exchange with industrial forces more directly (political power oriented movements³⁸⁹). The following analysis attempts to ascertain the social and political role of the environmental movement in contemporary Japan³⁹⁰.

7.2.1 Political Influence

This study has also attempted to determine factors that are influential to encourage and discourage political participation in general and participation in

³⁸⁹ Rucht called them: *macht-orientierte Bewegungen*, (Rucht 1996: 17).

³⁹⁰ An analysis of the political influences of the Japanese environmental movement is subject to the following methodological problems: (1) an analysis of the political impact and significance can never rely on a causal relationship (e.g. no causal relationship between clean environment and the significance and impact of an environmental movement). (2) Comparative analysis of environmental movements would be more appropriate, however, suffers from a shortage of empirical data (exception only the 1993 ISSP and a few surveys in connection with the World Values Survey. (3) The actual influence of social actors cannot be isolated or be determined unequivocally, because the environmental policy-making process is influenced by too many actors and is itself a mixture of different policy areas (Rucht 1996: 17).

social movements in particular. Because of the large number of social movements that are active in a wide spectrum of fields, the environmental movement has been chosen as a case movement. One might argue that the activities of social and environmental movements are not necessarily political in a narrower sense; on the contrary, they might be apolitical or remain in a pre-political sphere, because their activities are often confined to very direct environmental protection activities, or might rather focus on individual behavior. However, factors that encourage or discourage political participation or participation in social activities in general nevertheless have to be considered because they can also be of explanatory value in an attempt to determine and analyze participation in social movements.

A wide variety of factors have been considered as influential in explaining political participation. Such factors can be: economic (cost of activity in the broader sense), political reasons (political concern and interest, party identification, political party support, political trust), regional or national identification and affinity, social factors (class, age, occupation, gender, etc.), as well as psychological factors (feeling to be or become powerful, feeling of obligation)³⁹¹. Based on a number of studies on political participation in Japan, Kabashima Ikou (Kabashima 1994) argued that the following factors are most influential in explaining participation in regional and neighborhood protest movements: Most important of all is (1) political concern in general and the interest in political debates (*seiji-teki giron*) and general political party support, and (2) the feeling to be politically powerful along with a (3) certain level of attachment to the region (Kabashima 1994: 84-88).

The following sub-chapters intend to address the most important factors, which have contributed to encourage or discourage political participation in social movements in contemporary Japan. Those are psychological factors, structural

³⁹¹ These factors have widely been used in political participation research. Kabashima (1994) also uses them to analyze political participation in Japan.

factors, deficiencies in the policy-formulating abilities of social movements, social and political education, political alienation, particularism and weak political awareness, and the problematic relationship between environmental movements and the state.

Psychological Factors

The MITI scientist Araki Yukiko³⁹² complained in an article titled “Can Japan ever have a citizen-driven society?” (Araki 1996) about the lack of spontaneity and the underdeveloped sense of “citizen responsibility” or ‘citizens morality’ in Japan. According to Araki, the main reasons for the relatively weak political involvement of the vast majority of Japanese are lack of time and energy, and “psychological barriers towards ‘citizen movement’ in Japan”, because “they tend to be associated with certain ideological citizen movements” (ibid.).

Additionally, many citizens share a “sense of dependency and apathy” (ibid.) towards the government. Araki claims that the psychological climate in Japan is overwhelmingly determined by “indifference and dependency on ‘experts’”, and that Japan therefore is a ““authority dependent society”” (ibid.), where citizens prefer to believe that the “government will think and decide on their behalf” (ibid.). A comparative political culture study concerning the *new environmental paradigm* and *post-material values* in a local area in Japan conducted in 1983/84 revealed that, although a relatively high percentage of the public, activists in the environmental or civic groups, and members of the elite shared values that are attributed to the new environmental paradigm, yet many of them had nevertheless not abandoned traditionally material values (law and order, price stability) (Pierce et al. 1987, Pierce et al. 1986). It could therefore be concluded that most environmental activists do prefer to combine, for example, comprehensive environmental protection and a moderate expansion of civic values with the economic status quo.

Structural Factors

Araki Yukiko (1996) also argued that a “widespread belief among politicians, bureaucrats, and private business that citizens are not to be trusted” (*ibid.*) is the reason why the Japanese government has built a number of institutional barriers that make citizens’ involvement in government decisions very difficult, and often prevents it altogether. The cost for involvement far exceeds the potential success. Nakatani Iwao³⁹² also noted an uneven balance of power between citizens and the bureaucracy in influencing and changing laws and regulations, “the rise of public opinion and entrepreneurship that overturns government regulations is seriously lacking in contemporary Japanese society. Pressures from businesses that enjoy the benefits of regulation exceed any public sentiment favoring the abolition of such regulations. This is the fundamental reason why deregulation and economic reform in the broad sense have failed to proceed”³⁹⁴.

Policy Formulating Deficiencies of Social Movements

Japanese environmental movements have always suffered from deficiencies in the area of actively drafting own policy proposals, which can partly be attributed to their lack of staff and experts, as well as the problems in gathering reliable data about environmental problems. On the other hand, Araki Yukiko (Araki 1996) blames both sides, citizens as well as the government, bureaucracy and the business side for their weak cooperation. Citizens, she claims, “are preoccupied with accusing the government of misdeeds. They rarely share input on solutions to problems, present original ideas, or come up with counterproposals” (*ibid.*). Government, bureaucracy, and business, on the other hand, had taken a “passive stance towards citizen participation, and are wary of disclosing information that would help support citizens in making decisions” (*ibid.*). The Japanese environmental activist and author Suda Hiromi (Suda 1993) has also frequently

³⁹² At the time of writing her articles, Araki Yukiko was Deputy Director of Planning at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry.

³⁹³ As quoted in Araki (1996). Nakatani Iwao is a professor at Hitotsubashi University.

³⁹⁴ *Nihon Keizai Shinbun*, January 11, 1996, cited in (Araki 1996).

emphasized the still rather small number of citizens' movements that are capable of formulating or drafting policy proposals, although, he claims, the number has been growing since the late 1980s.

Social and Political Education

Another factor that has certainly contributed to the uneasiness many Japanese still feel when it comes to open public protest and participation in social and political groups and organizations is in the educational system. Education in schools is still widely dominated by passive learning of facts and figures, open discussions in classes are still rather the exception than the rule³⁹⁵. Universities, which, in the 1960s, were the preferred breeding ground for opposition movement leaders and critical thinking, have become mere graduation machines that supply generally trained young people for the economy and administration³⁹⁶. For young adults, there are only very limited positions from where to enter the political sphere. Even taking into account commitment in political support groups (*kōenkai*) or citizens' movements, there are only a very few places to learn political skills and study about the political and socio-economic state of affairs. The adult educator Yamaguchi Makoto complained that "Japanese people are weak in political skills and in citizens' participation" (Yamaguchi 1993: 18) and explained this with the strong position of the ruling LDP, which has "intentionally excluded provisions aimed at giving opportunities to learn about politics, the Japanese constitution, and peace (...)" (ibid.), because it does not want to endanger its own strong political position that can best be maintained in a quiet and relatively docile society. He therefore demands the broadening of learning opportunities to study about political or human rights issues, and an

³⁹⁵ The Japanese Ministry for Education, Science, and Culture (*monbushō*) is solely responsible for matter of textbooks and educational rules, and has long restricted teaching comprehensively about certain historical facts. Teachers are severely restricted in their choice about educational content and pedagogical style.

³⁹⁶ Political organizations, students' or youth wings of political parties are virtually nonexistent. Students of universities such as Tokyo and Waseda University still seem to be relatively active, however, mostly without any real impact on the political system as a whole.

increase of the level of consciousness about these issues through adult education or mass media (*ibid*: 21-22).

Although the level of interest of the younger generation in Japan has increased to a certain extent in the 1990s, environmental movements with a more political and policy drafting agenda have long suffered from the small number of young people who are interested in political activity in a wider sense. The recent trend towards volunteer activity has turned out to be attractive for many young people who are eager to engage in activities that serve a general positive goal; personal commitment in environmental movements that do more than direct nature protection activity and engage in open protest or the debate about political reform is, however, still considered unattractive and unrewarding³⁹⁷. All things considered, the shortage of training grounds for aspiring political and social activists, and insufficient political education in schools and adult education facilities must be regarded a major obstacle that prevents or at least delays the broadening of a more positive value of active social and political participation in the widest sense.

Political Alienation

The deficiencies in adult political education also contribute to widespread and growing political alienation in postwar Japan. Jim Griffith, a long time environmental activist with the Japan Environmental Exchange (JEE) and law professor at Kyoto University, emphasized a deep-rooted and widespread political alienation that is intensified by a common operating principle of the Japanese government that says “respect the bureaucrats and suppress the people” or *kanson minpi* (Griffith 1990: 95). Many Japanese “regard their government and legal system as they would a large and foul-tempered dog tied up next to the road: it may not bite if you go near, but it is not worth getting

³⁹⁷ For an analysis on political participation of the younger generation in the 1980s see: (Kabashima 1994: chapter 6 (*nenrei to shimin sanka* [Age and political participation])), for the early 1990s, see: (International Social Survey Program (ISSP) 1996), (Monden 1996; Monden 1997).

close enough to find out” (*ibid*:). Many Japanese frequently complain openly about the Japanese political system, many consider politicians and in recent years also bureaucrats³⁹⁸ as corrupt and as people working only for their own personal benefit, but they hesitate to engage into political activity themselves.

Particularism and Weak Political Awareness

The overwhelming number of small citizens’ groups with seldom more than ten or twenty activists, and a much specified local agenda normally have only loose contacts to larger networks. They are only vaguely interested in larger socio-economic issues and their often rather personalized approach towards environmental problems supports the impression expressed by Jim Griffith in 1990 that “even the most environmental concerned Japanese show little interest in the political dimension of a particular problem, but prefer to ask instead what they can do about it in their daily lives”, by and large “few Japanese realize the larger effects of industry’s contribution to the environmental crisis” (Griffith 1990: 95). This exemplifies a fundamental lack not so much of environmental but - more important - of political awareness. This view is not only supported by other analysts (Broadbent 1998; Maruyama 1994) but also by the results of the surveys for this study. It is no longer the case that the vast majority of the movement organizations are still concerned with only one issue or environmental problem, and even if they are, most of the participants do realize the greater connection. This particular problem with the general state of the natural environment in Japan and even globally - which is one important effect of the worldwide discussion and rising awareness of global environmental problems - but the development of regional or nationwide networks and closer cooperation of environmental movements is still only in the beginning stages.

³⁹⁸ For the longer part of postwar Japan, bureaucrats were considered the backbone of the political and administrative system and the guarantor of economic success and development. With the rising number of scandals that also involved bureaucrats (e.g. the AIDS-scandal that was discovered in 1996, and recent “wining and dining” corruption cases where leading bureaucrats were invited for expensive dinner parties and nighttime entertainment) shook the trust in the elite administration. Empirical findings support this impression, see: ISSP 1995.

Closer cooperation of individual movements is often prevented by either a shortage of financial and personnel resources required to send members to conferences and network meetings; but more important, most movements, though keeping some form of informal contacts with other groups and organizations, still want to decide independently about their own activities³⁹⁹.

Environmental Movements and the Central State

Jeffrey Broadbent concluded his comparison of the anti-pollution movement in Germany, the UK, France and Japan and the reaction of the respective states to protest and pressure from citizens in the 1960s and 1970s with the remark that because of the close resemblance of Japan and France in respect to their highly centralized distribution of power, both states reacted with “preemptive projects to reduce air pollution, while at the same time actively attempting to quell protest” (Broadbent 1998: 338). However, in sharp contrast, the French state used “*hard* means of social control to quell the protest, while the Japanese state used social *soft control*” (*ibid*, italics added). Almost all analysts of the Japanese environmental movement emphasized a relatively closed political opportunity structure and the dominance of the bureaucracy, particularly on the national level (BROADBENT 1982; BROADBENT 1986; BROADBENT 1989; BROADBENT 1997; BROADBENT 1998; MCKEAN 1980; MCKEAN 1981). On the local level, however, environmental protest movements often in cooperation with other local and community groups, have frequently been successful in changing individual policy decisions. Reasons are the closer relationships between local politicians and their voters, and the fact that they more closely reflect the social and political structure of the local population (BROADBENT 1988: 141).

³⁹⁹ This is an impression the author got in many interviews with movements' leaders and activists. Result of the mail survey 1993/1994: (N=74) of all valid responses (N=67): 28% were member of a network or part of a regional or national organization, and 25% considered themselves as “some kind of” member organization (Q8, Organization Questionnaire).

7.2.2 Influence on the Society

The most decisive factor to judge the influence of the environmental movement on the society as a whole is to what extent it is successful to contribute and possibly influence the course of, or dominate the public discourse about environment related issues in the broadest sense. But new social movements such as the environmental movement aim not only at influencing narrow issue-related debates, their other central objective is to influence the socio-cultural or socio-political climate, for instance by introducing new political or debating styles, including the opening up of new channels of influence for individual citizens or citizens' movements⁴⁰⁰.

As far as the influence of the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s on the society as a whole is concerned, most analysts agree that it has mobilized social groups that had up to that point not been socially or politically active, that it had broadened the political opportunities of citizens' movements and increased the social acceptance and general legitimacy of political conflict, and citizens' movements as an agent of political discourse. Therefore, it can be argued, the citizens' movements of the 1960s and 1970s have significantly contributed to the social and political democratization of Japan (MCKEAN 1980: 273; KRAUSS/SIMCOCK 1980: 218).

Throughout the 1980s, however, the environmental movement has extensively diversified into a very large number of movement organizations, and the activities of the movement as a whole have been virtually exclusively focused on nature protection in a rather general way, compared with the 1970s; whereas more politically oriented types of activities regressed. The influence of the overall movement is therefore much more difficult to estimate. On the whole,

⁴⁰⁰This demand on new social movements has been raised by representatives of the political process theory (Tilly, Gamson, Oberschall), as well as European new social movement theorists. The latter have particularly emphasized the importance of symbolic activities (expansion of autonomy and self-determination), besides more classical instrumental approaches (political influence). See: BUECHLER 1995: 442.

environmental awareness has largely increased, and since the mid 1980s, an increasing percentage of Japanese demand a more aggressive approach towards environmental problems⁴⁰¹. There are clear indications that despite decreasing mobilization levels since the late 1970s, the domestic environmental movement has been positively influenced by a renewed worldwide awareness of environmental issues since the early 1990s, which has even triggered a modification of value preferences among a broad sector of the Japanese public. Public opinion polls conducted in 1996 and 1997 revealed that more than three fourths of the public is now concerned about protecting the environment⁴⁰²; consider nature protection more important than economic development⁴⁰³, and are concerned about global environmental problems. The majority of Japanese (in 1997: 72%) now even favor a change of the economic and social structure⁴⁰⁴. This favorable attitude towards modifications of the social and economic structure is particularly surprising, since the Japanese public on the whole has

⁴⁰¹ See, surveys of the PRIME MINISTERS OFFICE 1958ff.; and ISSP 1993, which indicates that patterns of environmental awareness among the general public in Japan is similar to those in most other surveyed industrialized countries.

⁴⁰² Yomiuri Shinbun personal interview poll among national voters conducted between May 24, 1997 and May 25, 1997 with a sample size of N=1984 that was released on May 28, 1997 asked: "Are you concerned about protecting the environment and nature, or not?". Response options and percentage points: "Concerned" (78%), "Not concerned" (20%), No response (2%).

⁴⁰³ Yomiuri Shinbun personal interview poll among national voters conducted between May 24, 1997 and May 25, 1997 with a sample size of N=1984 that was released on May 28, 1997 asked: "Which of the following is closest to your thinking regarding the balance between economic development and protection of nature and the environment?". Response option and percentage points: "Priority should be given to economic development" (6%), "Priority should be given to economic development though I realize the importance of protecting nature and the environment" (18%), "Priority should be given to protection of nature and the environment though I realize the importance of economic development" (55%), "Priority should be given protection of nature and the environment" (17%), No response (3%).

⁴⁰⁴ Asahi Shinbun personal interview among national voters poll conducted between June 8, 1997 and June 9, 1997 with a sample size of N=2248 that was released on June 11, 1997 asked: "Taking the current global environment into account, do you think Japan should change its economic and social structure, or not?". Response options and percentage points: "Should change" (72%), "Should not change" (19%), Other/no response: 9%. Data were originally collected by Asahi Shinbun and were obtained from the Japan Public Opinion Research Location Library, JPOLL, Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, University of Connecticut.

throughout postwar history clearly favored rather moderate responses to environmental threats, namely measures that would not significantly interfere with continued economic development. In the mid 1990s, even such policy measures as environmental taxes applied to products that are harmful to the environment are no longer a taboo for a majority of Japanese⁴⁰⁵. The renewed international debate about environmental issues also helped environmental movements gain respect from the general public. Today, most Japanese judge citizens' organizations or NGOs favorably. A sizable percentage, on the other hand, is either not quite sure whether their activities are effective or simply does not know their activities sufficiently⁴⁰⁶.

Development projects that potentially harm the environment have long attracted protest mainly from residents who were directly affected, for example by noise pollution from expressways or Shinkansen lines, or bad odor from chemical or petroleum plants. In the mid 1990s, however, the vast majority of Japanese agrees that harmful effects from development projects are unacceptable⁴⁰⁷. In the 1990s, the majority of Japanese disapprove the Japanese government's policy on environmental protection⁴⁰⁸; therefore, almost no politician can win an election

⁴⁰⁵ Shin Joho Center personal interview poll among national adults conducted on March 1, 1996 with a sample size of N=1034 that was released on April 4, 1996 asked: "The Environmental Tax is applied to products that are harmful to the environment in order to curb production and consumption of such products. Do you approve or disapprove of the tax?". Response options and percentage points: "Approve" (52%), "Disapprove" (24%), Do not know (24%).

⁴⁰⁶ Asahi Shinbun personal interview among national voters poll conducted between February 2-3, 1997 with a sample size of N=2203 that was released March 5, 1997 asked: "Groups of civil volunteers".

⁴⁰⁷ Asahi Shinbun personal interview among national voters poll conducted between September 7-8, 1997 with a sample size of N=2240 that was released on September 10, 1997 asked: "Development projects can harm the natural environment. Do you think people have to accept the deterioration of nature in order to obtain an affluent lifestyle, or not?". Response options and percentage points: "Yes" (15%), "No" (81%), Other/no answer (4%).

⁴⁰⁸ Yomiuri Shinbun personal interview poll among national voters conducted between May 24, 1997 and May 25, 1997 with a sample size of N=1984 that was released on May 28, 1997 asked: "Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the Japanese government's policy on natural protection?". Response options and response rates: "Strongly approve" (2%), "Somewhat approve" (24%), "Somewhat disapprove" (51%), "Strongly disapprove" (18%), No response (6%).

without openly vowing his or her concern for the natural environment⁴¹⁰ or without promising to introduce environment related policy proposals.

7.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Returning once again to the original question of this thesis (cp. above section 1.2) that had been raised by Beverley Smith (1986), namely whether the apparent gains made by the citizens' movements in the 1960s and 1970s, had already been jeopardized, and the hypothesis advanced in the introduction that the rather limited long term influence on the social, and above all the political sphere, could not sufficiently be explained by socio-cultural phenomena, but by political and ideological factors.

Taking into account all the evidence presented here, it can be argued that the original hypothesis has been generally proven correct, namely that social movements in general and the environmental movement in particular do play an important role in public life and the local community, but that its political potentials of more than two decades ago, have not been successfully extended into the socio-political and legislative arena, and that the reasons for this failure have not been the unwillingness of the citizens, or any type of social passivity or desire for social harmony, which has widely be considered a value priority inherent in Japanese historical value predispositions; but that the reasons can mainly be found in the political and administrative system and its proponents, which have to a large extent be successful in instilling a preference for an elite system into the Japanese public. In the opinion of the author, it can be argued that the environmental movement has fundamentally contributed to a development towards widespread antiauthoritarianism and personal liberalism,

⁴¹⁰ Author's impressions gained by observing election campaigns in Japan in the 1990s, supported by a statement of the leader of the Kanagawa Network Movement on the occasion of symposium in Yokohama in November 1998.

but that it has not yet succeeded in raising the importance and the status of the political sphere as the central setting to debate social and political issues and to find solutions, thereby establishing an effective mechanism of checks and balances between society and the state.

After the social reform movement of the 1960s, the political and administrative system has proven to be just flexible enough to counter limited legitimate claims raised by the society in general, and citizens' movements in particular, for instance by introducing just enough reform measures as to satisfy the disappointed, but politically less inclined citizens, but by positively preventing any fundamental reform of the system at large, so as to make it more accessible for the general public. On the contrary, by considering environmental movements, which oppose public works projects as renegades, and by actively preventing the introduction of a facilitated legal recognition mechanism, by excluding citizens' movements from official hearings and negotiations, and by actively preventing the disclosure of large amounts of official information and data, the elitist political and administrative system in Japan has virtually prevented the development of a system of checks and balances that would be essential for the development of a genuinely democratic society.

In more general terms and taking into account the findings of this study, it can be argued that the iron triangle of power and influence in Japan is still strong and perhaps prevalent, strong enough to effectively keep most of the social movements and citizen based organizations out of the political power play. As far as the social movements themselves are concerned, this study also showed massive deficiencies on their side, they remained to be largely unprofessional and mostly too moderate and conservative. Due to reasons outlined above, it appears that they were not capable of forming a unified agenda to counter administrative rulings and government policies, and they predominantly attracted rank-and-file members without political experience and political ambitions. Environmental movements suffer from a serious dilemma, which they have so far not been able

to effectively overcome: the dilemma between elitist superiority and the citizens' inferior belief in their efficacy. The vast majority of Japanese still perceive the political matters as something that interests them but that should ultimately be left to the elite (government, politicians, etc.) to decide upon. Many Japanese criticize political decisions and individual politicians, but they do not necessarily consider it their business to change that situation because the "cost" would be too high (see: section 7.2.1). One important function of social movements is to undermine this fear of commitment and involvement in the political decision-making process in the broadest sense, hence to undermine the belief that individual citizens and citizens' groups cannot change anything. Social movements should therefore encourage citizens and lift the belief in their political efficacy, even if this is a long-term perspective. On the whole, Japanese movements have not yet been able to effectively challenge government and industrial dominance, particularly as far as Japanese politics on the national level is concerned.

Attempting to predict the near future development of the role of the social and civic movements in Japan, certain recent developments give reason to be cautiously optimistic. The new NPO law enacted in March 1998 has significantly facilitated the process to gain legal nonprofit status, an improved provision that might particularly change the position of the numerous small-scale groups and organizations, which have long been excluded from the benefits accompanying this status. However, caused by the lack of any provisions to improve the financial situation in the NPO law, and due to the fact many organization are concerned the a legal recognition would put their organizations under too close government scrutiny, one year after its introduction many groups are still reluctant to apply. Other encouraging signs have been the recent enactment of an Information Disclosure Act, for environmental movements this will certainly facilitate the gathering of much needed information. Finally, the globalization of the environmental movement, which has recently been aided by modern

communication channels such as the Internet, provide reasons to belief that the Japanese environmental movement might finally also increase its political power.

8. APPENDIX

8.1 DATA ASSEMBLY METHODS

The methodology applied in this survey is mainly empirically based. The reasons for this approach is that after intense and long literature research as well as conversation with experts on the citizens' movement in Japan and fellow scientists, it became obvious that there is hardly any up-to-date literature available that is based on pure scientific and empirical data. A very interesting aspect in this regard is that there is a significant shortage of studies conducted by Japanese researchers published in Japanese language. Only since the beginning of the 1990s, a number of environmental activists and critics have published very general accounts on the citizens' movement or descriptions of certain environmental movements or movement in a particular region⁴¹¹.

Therefore, the author decided to conduct a nationwide mail-survey targeted at environmental movements and organizations as well as individual members⁴¹². The second empirical method applied were informal conversations and structured interviews with supporters, members, representatives and leaders of various environmental groups and organizations, ranging from small groups with very specific objectives to groups and organizations, which have a nationwide basis and are acting either on the national or international level⁴¹³. The third method applied was participant observation at gatherings, cleaning-up activities,

⁴¹¹ E.g.: Murakami, Akio (1990) *Kankyō hogo no shimin seijigaku. Minimatambo kara no midori no mesēji* [Citizens' Politics of Environmental Protection. Green Messages from Minimatambo], Green Spirit Publisher, Tokyo. A study of the rice field protection movement in Minimatambo with references and ideas about the significance and the ideas of the citizens' movement in Japan.

⁴¹² For a more detailed description of the mail survey, its advantages, problems, and constraints, please refer to section 8.2.1.

self-organized conferences, and informal meetings of supporter and members of various movements.

8.2 METHODOLOGY

In the following three sections, the above-mentioned methodologies and data sources will be introduced in more detail, how those methods have been applied. These are supplemented by considerations about the advantageous and constraining aspects of these methods concerning research on the environmental movement in Japan.

8.2.1 Mail Survey

Although a number of government-, government affiliated, and private institutions in Japan conduct surveys on a wide variety of topics and items, or select research institutions and private public-opinion institutes for this kind of research. Many of these findings went into the analysis and interpretation of data of this study. However, there was hardly any study which could answer even the most-basic questions of this study, namely, what is the size of the environmental movement in Japan, how many persons participate in these movements in one way or another, what are the main issues of these movements, what are the main problems and how do the movements cope with them, what kind of connections exist between local, prefectoral, and national bodies and these movements, what kind of connections to the political parties exist.

The very few studies on the environmental movement in Japan which do contain some figures about the size and composition of the movement in general, and certain movements in particular, usually provide only very unspecific estimations and are secondly often conducted in the 1970s when the

⁴¹³ For details on the methodology and style of interviews conducted, please refer to chapter 8.2.2.

Japanese environmental movement was at a climax, and are therefore obsolete and unreliable to even give an impression of the movement in the 1990s⁴¹⁴.

Surveys and opinion polls conducted by the Prime Ministers Office for example usually asked a sample of all Japanese and not a particular sub-group of the society. However, these surveys by the Prime Ministers Office were very helpful in getting data on the concepts, knowledge, and ideas concerning environmental problems of the average Japanese. Most of these surveys are telephone surveys among Japanese of over 20 years of age. Since the sample size is comparatively high, usually between 1000 and 5000 people, the significance of these results is very high⁴¹⁵.

Some environmental organizations themselves have also conducted some surveys. These surveys have a sample, which consists mainly of people who are somehow related to environmental movements; therefore, they made a good reference for the analysis of the survey data. Another interesting mail survey commissioned by the Asahi Glass Foundation in Tokyo in May and June 1993 titled “Questionnaire on the Environmental Problems and Survival of

⁴¹⁴ For example, according to a survey conducted in 1970, there were about 135.000 active adults and about 6 million peripheral rank-and-file members at that time. See: Zenkoku no shimin undō (Citizens' Movements Across the Nation), in: Shimin 1, March 1971, supplement, pp. 1-82, quoted in: McKean Margaret (1981), Environmental Protest and Citizen Politics in Japan, Berkeley and Los Angeles, pp. 7-8.

Another Yomiuri Shinbun article estimated the number of active grassroots groups in Japan to about 3,000, whereas the number of active adults was estimated 60. – 90,000, with an additional 900,000 to 1.5 million rank-and-file members, according to an Asahi Shinbun article of May 21, 1973. The last two articles were quoted in: Holliman, Jonathan (1990), Environmentalism with a Global Scope, in: Japan Quarterly, July - Sept. 1990, p. 285.

⁴¹⁵ Examples of studies: Prime Ministers Office (ed.) (1993) Kankyō hogo ni kan suru seron chōsa [Public Opinion Survey on Environmental Protection], conducted: February 1993, Tokyo, sample size: 5000, Japanese above 20 years of age; (1992), *Kankyō mondai ni kan suru seikatsusha ijiki - jittai chōsa kekka hōkōshō*, Part 2, [Survey on the citizens' consciousness concerning the environmental problems - Conditional result report, Part2], conducted: April/March 1992, published May 1992. Foreign Press Center Japan (ed.) Public Opinion Survey on Nature Conservation (translated and summarized version of a survey conducted under the auspices of the Prime Ministers Office), May 1992, Nr: S-92-9.

Humankind”⁴¹⁶. This study is particularly interesting because it is one of the very few⁴¹⁷ comparative studies on environmental awareness and “opinions about the progress of Agenda 21 and the current state of those issues in each respondent’s country (...) and contained more detailed questions about issues that were identified as environmental problems in the previous year survey” (*ibid*: foreword). The survey results are broken down by regions and give some impression about the opinion and estimation of the progress of environmental protection in those regions. Unfortunately, the response rate was only 17.4%, which is why the data cannot be considered representative. This applies to a comparison of Japan with the other surveyed regions, as well as the results of the Japanese respondents (N=61). However, the study gives some sight into the opinions and ideas of Japanese members of governmental organizations and NGOs concerning progress in environmental protection, changing lifestyles, overpopulation, environmental education, technological contribution to environmental problems, economic measures and regulations, and the influence of Eastern philosophy on global civilization. Another important study also used in the study is the International Social Survey Program (ISSP). Of particular importance was the ISSP study in 1993, because it tackled the overall topic “The Environment”. Unfortunately, only 28 of the 1150 of the respondents in Japan in 1993 stated to be member of environmental groups. However, because the overall sample can be considered as representative of the overall population in Japan, the sub-sample has also been considered as representative of ordinary rank-and-file members of the Japanese environmental movement.

⁴¹⁶ See: Asahi Glass Foundation (ed.) Results of Second "Questionnaire on Environmental Problems and Survival of Humankind". Focus on Agenda 21, September 1993. This survey was conducted in May and June 1993 and sent to 2550 members of governmental and nongovernmental organizations that were registered with UNCED (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) held in Rio de Janeiro in June 1992.

⁴¹⁷ According to the foreword, this is the "only comprehensive, international survey to record the current state of the Agenda 21", *Ibid.*, foreword (without page numbering).

8.2.2 Main Intention of the Mail Survey

The central purpose of the empirical part of this survey was to provide an account of the environmental movement in Japan as a whole, and their role in contemporary Japanese politics. In order to tackle this task, it was deemed important to have at first structural data of a large number of such movements, and additionally, data about their goals, approaches, tactics, strategies, their main activities, and several other data, which should be used in the analysis. Moreover, it was considered important to know more about the supporters, members and leaders of such groups themselves such as the reasons why they joined the movements, what kind of political experience they possess, their affiliation to and judgments about the political parties in Japan. There are only a few empirical approaches to collect data which do on the one hand cover a wide variety of movements throughout Japan, and at the same time provide information on a wide and deep enough scale for a following in-depth analysis of these data, interviews and mail-surveys. Interviews can be conducted either personally with the respondents directly present or by telephone. A questionnaire survey can also be conducted with the researcher present while the respondent is filling out the questionnaire, or by making use of a self-administered mail-survey, where the respondent is sent the questionnaire by mail which he or she fills in, and send it back to the researcher by mail. The main distinction therefore is between an interview surveys and a questionnaire survey.

These two main methods of empirical social research carry several general problems and constraints. At this point, these general problems will be introduced very briefly since a broader analysis would go beyond the frame of this study. However, there are aspects and problems of these methods, which are particularly applicable to the Japanese case, therefore, these will be illustrated more deeply in the second part.

8.2.3 Realization of the Mail Survey

8.2.3.1 Designing the Questionnaires

The main questions for this research arose while writing the author's Master thesis on citizens' movements in postwar Japan. Having read most of the material available in English and German language and having considered the topics and results of Japanese sources, the author got a rather good idea of the knowledge gaps and the problems which were so far hardly touched by these studies. Furthermore, many research results of former studies are either based on projections and hypotheses about the movement as a whole, or on case studies that have been conducted by American, European, or Japanese scientists, writers, as well as the activists themselves.

Having considered the findings of this research, it was concluded that there is a knowledge gap in terms of the groups as a whole, but even more about the members themselves. Since these two groups cannot be reached by only one questionnaire, the author decided to write two different questionnaires, one to be sent to the groups and organizations containing questions about the group as a whole, and one to individual members⁴¹⁸, containing personal questions about this particular supporter or member.

The **group questionnaire** was supposed to cover the following aspects:

- Development of the group since it has been founded, including original goals and objects, reasons to set up this movement, and possible changes in these objectives.
- The main activities
- Size, gender composition, and functional division
- Cooperation with citizens' networks
- Affiliation with political organizations and bodies, and political parties

⁴¹⁸ When the term "member" or "members" is used, it does not necessarily mean members who have officially joined a certain group or organisation. When it is not further specified, I use this term for all those people who are active in or for a certain movement in one way or another, be it a supporter, enlisted member, or leader c.p. above, section: "What is a member?".

- Movement staff
- Group meetings
- Most serious problems
- Financial situation

Most of these aspects of environmental groups were raised by the authors as well as other surveys, which often concluded that these aspects should be further studied since sufficient data are not available.

The main questions, which should be covered in the questionnaire for individual members were the following:

- Pre-membership political experience
- Current and future political activity in and besides this group/movement
- Reasons to work in a movement
- Activities which were considered most important
- Most serious problems
- Judgments of the own group/movement and the environmental movement in Japan in general
- Political preferences and judgments
- Possible discrimination because of group membership
- Favored activities of the own group and the movement in general
- Attendance and importance of group meetings and other members
- Financial commitment

Besides, these questions, there were of course further statistical questions concerning gender, age, marital status, social strata, education, living conditions, and the profession, which allowed a categorization of this individual member⁴¹⁹.

After the decision about the main areas of interest had been made, the author began writing the actual questionnaire in English, about half a year before the actual mail-survey was to be conducted. Now followed a phase of editing, reconsidering the question's contents, connotation, and wording. First, this was

⁴¹⁹ Please see the appendix for a reprint of the whole questionnaire in English and Japanese language.

done by the author, considering other questionnaires, which had already been used in Europe and the United States, and later, some questionnaires which had already been used for a Japanese survey. At the second step, I showed the questionnaires to my German and Japanese supervisors Prof. Dr. R. W. Müller of the University of Hanover, Germany, and Prof. Dr. Dr. Takeo Ônishi of Waseda University, Tokyo, who gave me valuable comments on some questions which should be added, their wording and positions in the questionnaire, and equally important, some questions which I should better not put in such a questionnaire because they would certainly diminish the return rate, both important aspects which had to be taken into account.

After having considered the content and the wording only in English language, the two questionnaires were translated together with a Japanese university graduate of social science. The main translation work was done by the Japanese graduate with the author always present for questions about the actual meaning and intention of certain questions.

It was deemed best to have the two questionnaires translated by one person alone, because only this would provide consistent wording and style. Having the translation of the questionnaires done by a native Japanese woman and graduate of a social science faculty was also indispensable because she could deliver a translation, which would consider the target group and their particular use and disuse of certain words and expressions. After she had translated parts of questionnaire, the author read them and asked her reconfirming the meaning and connotation of particular words in Japanese society today, and considered if they would correspond to the notion originally intended when the questionnaire was designed in English.

Following, the author consulted several activists of environmental movements, showing them the two questionnaires and asking them for their opinion, before the wording of a few questions and its order were altered according to their

advise. Then, a small-scale pre-test among a few members of environmental groups was conducted. After they had filled in the questionnaire, they were asked about their opinion of the contents and wording of the questionnaire and the attached letter. Some respondents said that the questionnaire was worded well, but that the whole questionnaire seemed to be too long. The group-questionnaire contained 26 questions with nine open and the rest multiple-choice questions. The questionnaire for individual members contained 50 questions, however, some questions containing follow-up questions and questions requiring further explanation, there were 87 gaps to be filled in. However, several questions applied only to a part of the sample.

8.2.3.2 Sampling Procedures

The population of this survey were members, groups and organizations, which are concerned with environmental issues. Therefore, to have a basis for the survey population, it was considered ideal to have a file or list with the names, addresses, and a short description of all citizens' or environmental movements in Japan. Although such a list covering Japanese NGO's concerned with developing countries is published yearly by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there was unfortunately no such list covering the entire Japanese environmental movement. Therefore, the author had to find and gather as much material and data on actual environmental movements as possible, notably names, addresses, and their main fields of activity.

In the first phase of my collecting such data, I consulted four publication which provided detailed data on a number of citizens' movement, including their address and main field of interest, namely: Japanese Working for A Better World, Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Japan 1992, *Chikyō shimin no midori no NGO dairekutori* (Directory of Green Global Citizens' NGOs), and *Mō hitotsu no nihon chizu* (An Alternative Map of Japan)⁴²⁰. The first book does include

⁴²⁰ Honnoki (ed.) Japanese Working for A Better World. Grassroots Voices & Access Guide to Citizens' Groups in Japan, San Francisco, 1992; Japanese NGO Center for International

an introduction of 47 activists of various citizens' movements and a list of about 754 citizens' groups. The main categories of these groups were: consumer groups, groups concerning energy resources, environmental groups, recycling groups, natural and organic food production groups, international support and cooperation groups, peace movements, education movements, women's movements, human rights' movements, eco-publishing organizations, and national trusts. The following two books are directories with names, addresses and short introductions of 173 general NGOs, and of 65 "green" or ecological NGOs, respectively. The last book (An Alternative Map of Japan) is a description of about 220 citizens' movements throughout Japan with various issues and activities.

Altogether, the author had a list of about 900 citizens' movements in Japan (several groups occurred in more than one publication), in the case of about 500 of them, the name and address was supplemented with a short introduction, which allowed the categorization of the respective groups and organizations.

Because of the wide range of issues these groups represented, and the many groups who are somehow concerned with the natural environment, it was deemed necessary to define the scope of the target population as clearly as possible. Here is the working definition of those environmental movements for this survey:

*Environmental movements are those movements, which are freely set up by independent people and not by governmental or semi-governmental organizations. The groups should be open to anyone and act independently. The **main** issue of the movement should contain one or more of the*

Cooperation [JANIC] (ed.), Directory of Non-Governmental Organizations in Japan 1992, Tokyo, March 1992; JANIC (ed.), Chikyô shimin no midori no NGO dairekitori- [Directory of Green Global Citizens' NGOs], Tokyo, 1992; Inochi no netwa-ku [Inochi Network] (ed.); Mô hitotsu no Nihon Chîzu 1992-1993, Kyoto and Tokyo, 1992. For a follow-up survey, I also used Senda-do kurabuhen [Sendai Club] (ed.) Kaette kita senda-do mappu. Sendai - Miyagi no ekolojî to enttwâku no hon [Ecology and Network Book of Sendai - Miyagi Pref.], Sendai (Japan), 1991. This book includes a list of over 400 citizens' groups and network in Miyagi prefecture.

following: environmental issues in general, nature preservation, energy, waste control, recycling, chemical products, or they organize or coordinate corresponding activities in national and international networks.

This definition was aimed at finding a key to include certain groups and movements in this survey, especially for the mail survey, and exclude others. However, going beyond the above definition, *the environmental movements covered in this survey are only those, which are based in Japan.*

In many cases, however, it what difficult if not impossible to determine whether a certain group belonged into this group or not. Therefore, the reader should understand this definition only as a guideline. Groups that were not considered, or were considered only to a lesser extent included farming cooperatives and consumer groups. Although the list of goals of these groups and organizations often include ecological issues, they are not genuine environmental movements in the frame of this study.

The second demand on the mail survey target population was, that it should include groups in all parts of Japan, preventing bias in favor of some regions⁴²¹. Furthermore, it should cover small, medium, and large organizations, with a local, prefectural, national, or international target activity field and membership basis. Following is a list of all 47 prefectures and the number of movements, which were based there. It was prepared before sub-groups were formed according to the eight regions in Japan (Hokkaidô, Tôhoku, Kantô (sub-subgroup: Tokyo), Chûbu, Kinki, Chûgoku, Shikoku and Kyûshu).

The regional distribution of the movements mentioned in the two books Honnoki (1992) and Inochi no netwâku [Inochi Network] (1992) are as follows:

⁴²¹ This is an imminent problem in Japan because of its centralized administration systems and infrastrucutre. This is the reason why many medium-sized and larger citizens' movements do have an their headquarter or office in Tokyo.

DISTRIBUTION OF CITIZENS' AND ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS BY REGION

Region	N ⁴²² total	%	N (Only environmental organizations) ⁴²³	%	N ⁴²⁴ total	%
Chûbu	59	11	28	9	36	16,4
Chûgoku	8	1,5	4	1,5	15	7
Hokkaidô	19	3,5	10	35	8	3,6
Kantô	309	57	191	63	57	26
...Tokyo	(205)	(38)	(147)	(47)	(35)	(16)
Kinki	77	14	35	12	38	17,3
Kyûshu	27	5	16	5	30	13,6
Shikoku	12	2	5	1,5	10	4,5
Tôhoku	27	5	14	4,5	25	11,4
TOTAL	538	100	303	100	219	100

Although the collection methods for both books makes it probable that they can be biased in favor of certain regions, or in favor of certain types of groups, given that they are based on the data of about 750 different movements, the author presumed, that the data was generally representative for the overall distribution of citizens' movements in Japan.

Some striking differences are the percentages of movements based in the Kantô region. Overall, the list in Inochi no Netwâku (1992) lists more movements in the lesser populated regions of Japan, whereas the opposite is true for the list in Honnoki (1992). Generally speaking, the listing in the book by Honnoki covers a higher number of nationwide and internationally operating movements, which often do often offices in Tokyo, or sometimes in Osaka or Kyoto. The listing in Inochi Network book does mainly include small and medium sized movements with a relatively small membership.

⁴²² The calculated figures in the first 4 columns are based on Hinnoki(ed.), Japanese working for a better world, op. cit., pp. 126-183.

⁴²³ This includes only movements concerned with energy (e.g. anti-nuclear energy movement), general environmental movements, recycling movements, recycling shops, environmental preservations movements, movements concerned with rivers and water, and waste concened movements. Categorization according to Hinnoki (ed.), Japanese Working for a Better World, op.cit., pp. 126-183.

⁴²⁴ These calculated figures are based on Inochi no Network (ed.), Mô hitotsu Nihon chizu.

Although data covering the above mentioned descriptive characteristics (location, the movements' main objective) were available for about 750 movements, data, or estimations on the probability of these movement data were not available. Therefore, it was assumed, that the movement in the two publications would reflect the regional and issue distribution of environmental movements in Japan. However, it is not assumed that the given data do represent the actual size of the movement as a whole.

Since a list or even an estimate on the actual size of the environmental movement does not exist, one can only try to find some hints on the actual size. A publication on citizens' movement in Miyagi prefecture⁴²⁵, which has a population of 2.2 million, included a list of over 400 citizens groups and movements, ranging from peace, international and environmental movements to women, children's and cultural movements. About 86 of these are environmental movements listed under the following categories: living and the environmental problem, taking root on the earth, nature, and prosperity, questioning nuclear power. If one would presume that the number of environmental movements in Miyagi prefecture mentioned in this list would be in line to the Japanese average, then there could be over 4,500 environmental groups throughout Japan. Taking into account that the list is not complete, the number could be even higher. However, the number of actually working environmental movements is probably smaller. The estimates for this study proceed from the assumption that the number of actually working and acting environmental movements in Japan in the beginning of the 1990s is approximately 3.500 - 4.500 environmental groups and movements. This

⁴²⁵ Sendâdo Kurabuhen (eds.), *Kaette kita sendâdo mappo. Sendai - Miyagi ekolojî to nettwâku no hon*, Sendai, 1991. Although the publishers of this book admit that the list in this book is by no means cover all the groups and movements in Miyagi prefecture (p.31), it does certainly represent a very high percentage of them in 1991.

estimation is based on the available data of the number of groups in the other regions⁴²⁶ (see table) and the estimations of former studies⁴²⁷.

Proceeding from these assumptions concerning the actual movement size for all Japan, the available list of about 500 environmental movements would represent about 15% of all environmental movements throughout Japan. However, it was considered that the list was somewhat biased towards groups in the Kantô region, especially Tokyo, because the population density in this region is extraordinarily high, and the network connection are closer. Hence, gathering group data is considered easier in the Kantô, as well as in the Kansai region, therefore, these it was considered necessary to include groups acting in the more rural areas of Japan to a higher somewhat extent. This was also done, because groups in the Kantô area and especially in Tokyo should be interviewed later in the course of this research project.

Taking into account the financial resources available for this research project and the number of known environmental groups, it was decided to have a sample size of 150 groups and a sample size for the individual members of 350. Because the difference between the population and the sample size (500 and 150), the sampling method for the groups applied was a non-probability quota sampling. The two characteristics taken into account were the objectives⁴²⁸ of the groups and the area where it is based. The main objectives of the groups, which were considered in the sample, should match with the working definition of environmental movements, which are considered in this survey.

⁴²⁶ Projections for the nationwide environment movement based on the number of listed groups in the Kantô region would be about 1.500, whereas in all the other regions the figure is between 650 and 900 movements. Assuming further, that these the listed figures may represent about 30 to 40% of all working movements, the estimation of between 3.500 and 4.500 environmental movements in Japan seems realistic.

⁴²⁷ See: footnote 4 for details.

⁴²⁸ The basis for decision to which sub-group the group or movements belonged was first the name, and then the (self-) description of the movement according to the publications. The address of all these groups were known.

The members' questionnaires ($N=346$) were sent only to a sub-sample of the groups because sending between two to three member questionnaire to each and every group would entail the danger that these were only filled out by the staff and the two or three members which happened to be in the office when the letter arrived. Therefore, it was decided to send the 300 member questionnaires to only about 50 groups, the actual number of respective questionnaire depending to the actual or estimated group size. The sub-sample of these 50 groups was drawn on the overall sample of 150 groups.

8.2.3.3 Realization of the Mail Survey

After the final text of the questionnaires was completed, these and the enclosed letters were written and printed. Both questionnaires contained eight pages; respectively two pages were copied on each (Japanese) B4 size paper in brochure style. The two copied pages were folded and affixed, finally having a B5 size brochure. The first was a mere cover page explaining briefly the purpose of the study and containing instructions for filling in the respective questionnaire. The final page was left free for comments and contained a final appeal for cooperation. A letter was attached to both questionnaires introducing the author and his research interest and explaining the purpose of the study in more detail. The letter attached to the group questionnaire for the groups, which received questionnaires for the members, contained an additionally appeal to the respective group to pass those questionnaires to their supporters, members, or leaders.

Additionally, a European art-postcard as non-monetary incentive was attached to 190 member questionnaires (about 55%), aiming to enhance the response rate. It was assumed, that non-monetary incentives would be ideal in the Japanese environment, because it is a part of Japanese culture to feel obliged to do someone a favor, if one has already received something in advance.

Overall, 124 group-, and 346 members' questionnaires were sent out. A brown (recycled paper) B6 (234mm x 119mm) self-addressed envelope was put inside the brochure questionnaire, together a respective letter mentioned above, and in with the (190) art-postcards. The address written on the envelopes was a general delivery to Mr. Wilhelm Vosse, c/o Waseda University, Prof. Ônishi. Both questionnaires were then put together into a larger envelope (KF 4 size for B5 sheets).

The questionnaires were sent out between November 2 and 7, 1993, to be returned by 10th, December 1993, allowing 5 weeks to respond. On November 30, a reminder card⁴²⁹ was sent out to those groups, which had not answered to that date. Some answer postcards arrived later than November 30, 1993. At the end of the survey period in mid December, 55 organizations had return their questionnaire for organizations and groups, which mean a return rate of 44%, which can be considered rather high. The return rate for member questionnaires was not as high. Of the 346 questionnaires that had been sent out, only 50 were returned, which makes a return rate of 14.4%.

The environmental organization mail survey was repeated in July and August 1994 with a slightly shorter group questionnaire and without individual member questionnaires. On 18 July 1994, 67 were sent out, and by mid August 1994, 43 had been returned (return rate 64%). However, as was later noticed, eleven of the responding organizations could not be labeled actual (or primary) environmental organizations. Environmental or nature protection was mostly only a minor activity, often of only a small group within the organization. Such groups were for instance local trade unions, housewives organizations, bicycle clubs, mountaineers clubs, and even trade organizations; however, all of them had appeared in one of the lists that were used for the sampling. Because only 32 were finally included in the analysis, the processed return rate was 47%, still

⁴²⁹ A facsimile of the reminder-card and a translation can be found in the appendix.

rather high. The data of both organization mail surveys have then been combined and used in the analysis, mostly with the help of the statistical computer program SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Science).

8.3 DATA TABLES

Approximate Number of Nature Protection Organizations per Prefecture in the early 1990

Prefecture	Region 430	Number Groups 431 (1989)	Number Groups 432 (1992)	Number (Jap. Work).	Population in 1990 (In Million)	Groups per 1 Mio. 433	Regional Distribution
Aichi	C	8	7	7	6,7	2,1	9,6
Fukui	C	10	9	0	0,8	11,3	
Gifu	C	2	3	2	2	2,5	
Ishikawa	C	10	11	3	1,1	12,7	
Nagano	C	18	15	4	2,1	9	
Niigata	C	27	28	2	2,4	12,5	
Shizuoka	C	23	22	5	3,6	7,5	
Toyama	C	7	7	1	1,1	7,3	
Yamanashi	C	15	14	3	0,8	21,3	
Hiroshima	CH	16	21	1	2,8	7,9	
Okayama	CH	26	27	3	1,9	15,8	15,8
Shimane	CH	7	10	0	0,8	12,5	
Tottori	CH	11	15	1	0,6	26,7	
Yamaguchi	CH	29	24	0	1,5	16	
Hokkaido	H	54	76	10	5,6	15,4	
Chiba	K	6	5	15	5,5	3,6	14,9
Gumma	K	24	23	2	1,9	13,2	
Ibaraki	K	19	21	2	2,8	8,2	
Kanagawa	K	62	58	13	7,8	9,1	
Saitama	K	115	136	11	6,4	23	

⁴³⁰ C=Chubu; H=Hokkaido; CH=Chugoku; K=Kanto; KI=Kinki; KY=Kyushu; S=Shikoku; T=Tohoku

⁴³¹.Number of regional groups according to: Kankyocho - Shizen hogo Kyoky^ryoku & Shizen hogo Nenkan Henshfiinkaihen (ed.) Shizen Hogo Nenkan - Heiwa 1, 2 Nen (1989, 90), (Nature Protection Yearbook 1989/90), pp. 341-397.

⁴³².Number of regional groups according to: Kankyocho - Shizen hogo Kyoky^ryoku & Shizen hogo Nenkan Henshfiinkaihen (ed.) Shizen Hogo Nenkan - Heiwa 4, 5 Nen (1992,3), (Nature Protection Yearbook 1992/93), pp. 422-463.

⁴³³.Based on the sum of the two environmental movements lists and the population as of 1990. According to Japan Statistical Yearbook 1992, Statistics Bureau Management and Coordination Agency, Tokyo.

Tochigi	K	37	37	3	1,9	21,1	
Tokyo	K	148	156	148	11,8	25,8	
Hyogo	KI	24	24	8	5,4	5,9	9,9
Kyoto	KI	15	14	7	2,6	8,1	
Mie	KI	15	13	3	1,7	9,4	
Nara	KI	5	7	0	1,3	5,4	
Osaka	KI	5	6	11	8,7	2	
Shiga	KI	7	21	4	1,2	20,8	
Wakayama	KI	13	16	2	1	18	
Fukuoka	KY	30	33	2	4,8	7,3	13,6
Kagoshima	KY	22	33	3	1,7	21,2	
Kumamoto	KY	0	13	5	1,8	10	
Miyazaki	KY	7	7	0	1,1	6,4	
Nagasaki	KY	17	20	3	1,5	15,3	
Oita	KY	31	33	0	1,2	27,5	
Okinawa	KY	4	10	3	1,2	10,8	
Saga	KY	6	7	1	0,8	10	
Ehime	S	6	6	1	1,5	4,7	7,9
Kagawa	S	6	6	2	1	8	
Kochi	S	7	6	2	0,8	10	
Tokushima	S	8	7	0	0,8	8,8	
Akita	T	7	18	1	1,2	15,8	
Aomori	T	50	50	4	1,4	38,6	23,8
Fukushima	T	53	51	0	2,1	24,3	
Iwate	T	4	19	1	1,4	14,3	
Miyagi	T	27	27	5	2,2	14,5	
Yamagata	T	35	42	0	1,2	35	
TOTAL		1078	1214	304	121,5	12,5	12,5

Table 20 Approximate Number of Nature Protection Orgs by Prefecture

**INTENTION OR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN
ENVIRONMENTAL/NATURE PRESERVATION ACTIVITIES
AND RESPECTIVE ORGANIZATIONS.**

Yearly comparison of selected opinion polls (1981 - 1995)

Year	Participation in Environmental Preservation Activities				Participation in Environmental Protection/Preservation Organizations/Movements		
	Has participat ed in the last 5 years	Participat es now	Want to parti cipate	Never particip ated	Things about joining	Participa tes right now	Does not think about joining
1981	5.6 *		9.8	53.0			
1982							
1983							
1984	26.0 *		69.1	72.5			
1984							
1985							
1986	38.8		66.3	61.2			
1987							
1988	17.8 *		66.3	80.1	13.9	1.8	70.7
1989							
1990							
1991	49.0			51.0			
1992							
1993	39.2 *	5.4		57.3			
1994							
1995							
1996	54%			46.0		4.0	
1997							

Table 21 Intention or Willingness to Participate in CEMs

An asterix (*) indicates, that these figures are based on the following public opinion research results which were all conducted and published by the Prime Ministers Office: 1981: Public Opinion Poll concerning Pollution [*Kōgai ni kan suru yoron chōsa*]; 1984: Public Opinion Poll concerning the environmental problem [*Kankyō mondai ni kan suru yoron chōsa*]; 1988: Public Opinion Survey concerning the environmental problem, [*Kankyō mondai ni kan suru yoron chōsa*]; 1993: Public Opinion Poll concerning environmental protection, [*Kankyō hogo ni kan suru yoron chōsa*]. 1993: PMO (1993), *Kankyō hōzen ni kan suru seron chōsa*, [Public Opinion Survey on Environmental Protection]. 1996: PMO. Shin jōho center, conducted Nov. 21, 1996 – Dec. 1, 1996, revealed: June 1, 1997.

8.4 SECONDARY PUBLIC OPINION DATA

On the situation of citizens' movements in the 1990s:

(GoJ. Economic Planning Agency (EPA) 1997), (*Kankyo. Shizen hogo kyokukyū yoku. Shizen hogo nenkan benshū iinkaisha* 1989), (Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation [JANIC] 1992a; Japanese NGO Center for International Cooperation [JANIC] 1992b), (Honnoki 1992).

On the opinion of individual activists: (Asahi Glass Foundation (ed.) 1993) and the Japanese public in general (Prime Ministers Office (PMO) ; Prime Ministers Office (PMO) 1998; Prime Ministers Office 1958ff; Prime Ministers Office 1969ff; Prime Ministers Office 1993; Prime Ministers Office 1995) (Hashimoto 1994a; Hashimoto 1994b; Monden 1996; Monden 1997). For comparative data, the ISSP (International Social Survey Program) surveys in 1993 (Environment) and 1996 (Citizen and State), (Nonodera 1996).

8.5 MAP OF JAPAN (ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS)

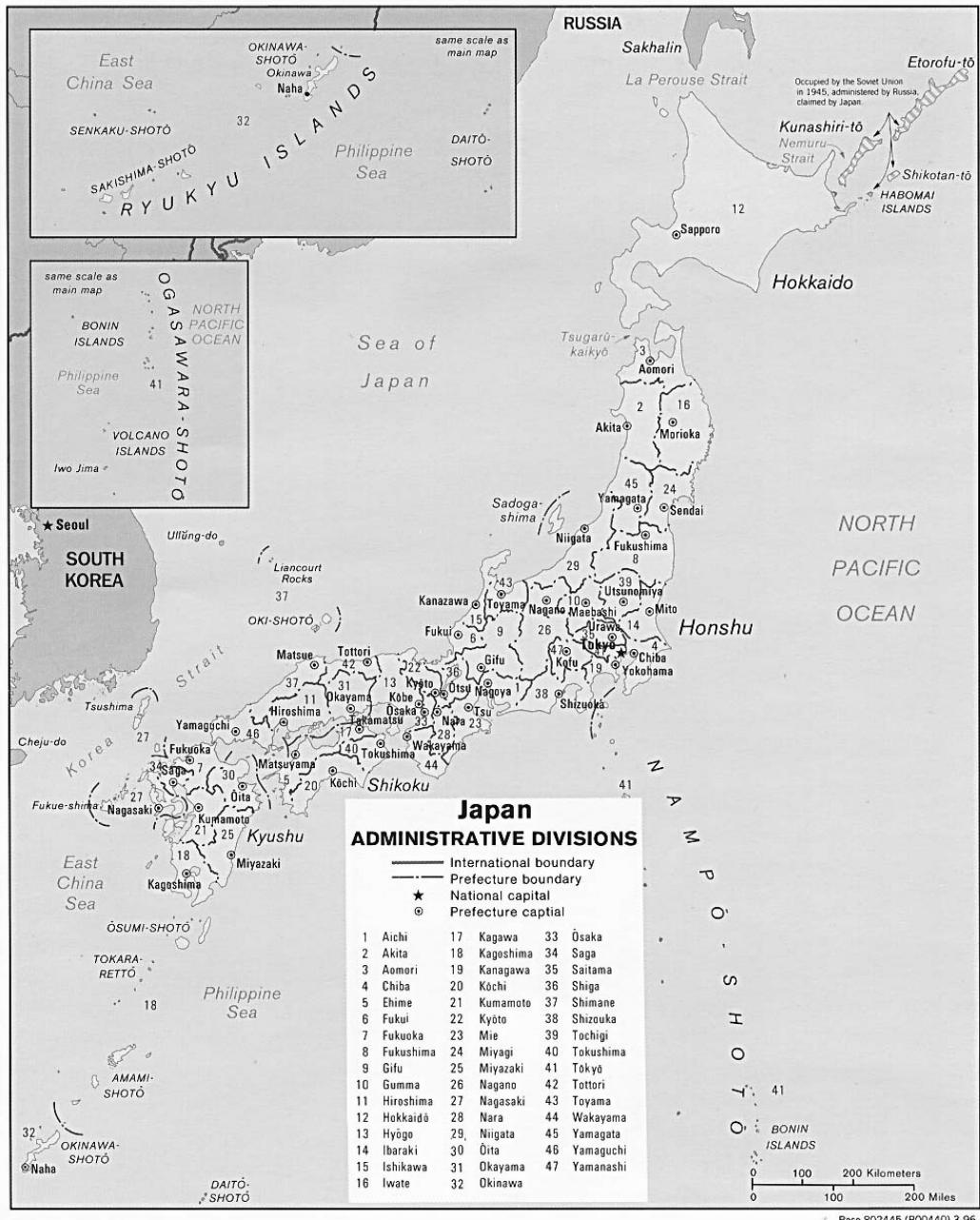
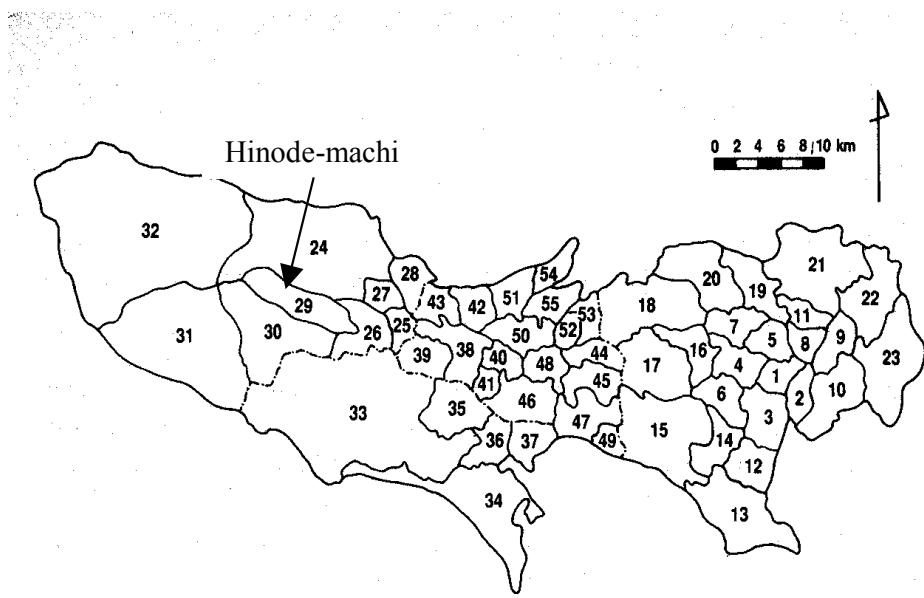


Figure 17 Administrative Divisions of Japan

8.6 ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS OF TOKYO



Ward Area	Central Tokyo	1. Chiyoda	2. Chuo	3. Minato
Yamanote District	4. Shinjuku 7. Toshima	5. Bunkyo	6. Shibuya	
Downtown District	8. Taito 11. Arakawa	9. Sumida	10. Koto	
Southern District	12. Shinagawa	13. Ota		
Western District	14. Meguro 17. Suginami	15. Setagaya 18. Nerima	16. Nakano	
Northern District	19. Kita	20. Itabashi		
Eastern District	21. Adachi	22. Katsushika	23. Edogawa	
Tama Area	Nishi-Tama District	24. Ome 27. Hamura 30. Itsukaichi	25. Fussa 28. Mizuho 31. Hinohara	26. Akikawa 29. Hinode 32. Okutama
	Minami-Tama District	33. Hachioji 36. Tama	34. Machida 37. Inagi	35. Hino
	Kita-Tama-Seibu District	38. Tachikawa 41. Kunitachi	39. Akishima 42. Higashi-Yamato	40. Kokubunji
	Kita-Tama-Nanbu District	44. Musashino 47. Chofu	45. Mitaka 48. Koganei	46. Fuchu 49. Komae
	Kita-Tama-Hokubu District	50. Kodaira 52. Tanashi	51. Higashi-Murayama 53. Hoya	54. Kiyose
		55. Higashi-Kurume		

Note: In the Tama Area, 27. Hamura 28. Mizuho, 29. Hinode, 30. Itsukaichi and 32. Okutama are towns. 31. Hinohara is a village, and the others are cities.

Figure 18 Administrative Areas of Tokyo

8.7 MAIL SURVEY

8.7.1 Letter to the Environmental Organizations (First survey October/November 1993)

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1993年10月24日

日本の環境保護運動に関する調査についてのお願い

環境保護運動に参加されている皆様へ

私の名前はヴィルヘルム・フォッセといい、ドイツ・ハノーバー国立大学の研究生です。数年来、日本の市民・住民保護運動に関心を持ち、それについて調査してきました。私は戦後日本の市民運動について修士論文を書き、現在は博士論文のため、現在の日本の環境保護運動についての調査を国際交流基金の補助のもとで行っています。指導教官はハノーバー大学のR. W. ミュラー教授と早稲田大学の大西健夫教授です。

西側諸国において、日本の環境保護運動とそれらの活動に関する情報がいかに少ないかは驚くべきことです。日本社会に関する事柄の中で、環境保護運動は完全に無視されているものの一つだと思います。ですから私は、日本において全国規模の環境保護運動に関する調査を行うことを決めました。このアンケートはその主要部分です。一つ一つのお答えが大変重要です。それらはこの調査の結果の中核を成し、日本の環境・市民運動の行っている努力・貢献に関する、現在とは比べものにならないほどよい理解を産み出すだろうからです。

この調査用紙は、団体としてお答えいただくためのものです。どなたかこのグループ／運動のことよく知っている方が全体の立場を代表してお書き下さい。

設問の中には、あるいはお答えになるのをめらう、または不愉快に感じられるような、立ち入ったものがあるかもしれないことをあらかじめおわびいたします。しかし、それらの設問は、日本の環境保護運動の現在を、いろいろな角度から捉るために作ったものです。もしよろしければできるだけお答え下さい。お答えはあくまでも集計して統計データとするためのものであり具体的なデータは公表されないので、読めば個人や団体が特定できるようなことは決してないことをお約束いたします。いずれにせよ解答用紙にはお名前をお書きにならないでください。

この調査に関する、またはそれに関係することで、何か疑問点がおありの場合は、どうぞご遠慮なく東京都国立市の私の住所にご連絡下さい。

調査用紙は同封の封筒に入れ、11月20日までにご返送ください。
お忙しいところ恐縮ですが、このアンケート調査にご協力いただければ、誠に幸いに思います。
敬具
ヴィルヘルム・フォッセ

8.7.2 Questionnaire for Organizations (October 1993)

日本の環境保護運動に関する調査 1993/94

Japanese Environmental Movements Survey 1993/94

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調査用紙（団体用）

この調査用紙は団体用です。参加者の皆様の中で、このグループ／運動について
よく知っている方がどなたか代表してお書き下さい

環境保護運動に参加されている皆様へ

これは、日本の環境保護運動に関する、全国規模の調査の中核を成すアンケートです。私はこの分野と、いろいろな事柄に関する皆様の考え方に対する興味を持っています。どうぞ以下の質問を注意深くお読みになり、できるだけ多くの設問に、ご存じの限り正確にお答え下さい。

設問の中には、あるいはお答えになるのをためらう、または不愉快に感じられるような、立ち入ったものがあるかもしれないことをおわびいたします。しかし、お答えは、あくまでも集計して、1993年における日本の環境保護運動についての統計データとするためだけのものであり、具体的な情報が公表されたり、読むことにより、個人や団体が特定できるようなことは決してないことをお約束いたします。解答用紙には個人のお名前はお書きにならないでください。

お書きになった調査用紙は、同封の封筒に入れてご返送下さい。たとえお答えを書かれた項目が少な目だとしても、ためらわれる必要はありません。答えてくださった項目だけでも、この調査のためには大変重要なのです。

調査用紙は同封の封筒に入れ、11月20日までにご返送ください。

ご協力を心から感謝いたします。

ヴィルヘルム・フォッセ

1. この調査の対象となっているグループ／運動の名称は何ですか。

2. 所在地 _____ 都道府県 _____ 市区町村

3. 発足したのは何年頃ですか。 19_____年

グループ／運動の発達過程について

4. この運動を始めたそもそもの理由は何でしたか。

主要な目標

5. 設立当時のこのグループ／運動の主要な目標は何でしたか。

6. 現在の主要な目標は何ですか。

(それについてパンフレット等がありましたら、お送りいただければ幸いです)

7. これまでのあいだに目標が変化している場合、その変化の理由は何でしたか。

9. このグループ／運動の、1番／2番目に／3番目に重要な活動は何ですか。
(下の選択肢から3つ選んで、それぞれ当てはまる重要度を×で消してください)

- a. 自然環境を直接的に改善する活動
(例 森林・河川・海岸のごみ集め、リサイクルなど) ① ② ③
- b. 陳情のためなどの署名活動 ① ② ③
- c. デモその他の示威行動の組織 ① ② ③
- d. 情報交換 (例 ネットワークでなど) ① ② ③
- e. 環境汚染についての情報を一般に広めること ① ② ③
- f. 汚染その他の原因による被害者の救済 ① ② ③
- g. グループ内で環境について話し／考え合うこと ① ② ③
- h. 調査活動を行うこと ① ② ③
- i. マスコミの注目を集めるため、センセーショナルな行動を起すこと ① ② ③
- j. グループ／運動の目標達成を助けるよう、政治家に情報を提供し説得すること ① ② ③
- k. 何らかの国際交流 ① ② ③
- l. その他 _____ ① ② ③

このグループ／運動が、一つまたは複数のネットワークの一部である／ネットワークと関係がある場合、以下の設問に答えてください。

10. a. このグループ／運動はいくつのネットワークに属していますか _____ 個
b. そのうち主なもの名称を書いてください

- _____
- c. 最も重要なネットワークの規模は
市町村 ○ 都道府県 ○ 地方 ○ 全国 ○ 国 ○ 國的 ○
- d. そのネットワークの一部であるか、そのネットワークと関係のある
グループ／運動の数は _____ 個

会員およびサポーターについて

次の2つの設問において、正確な人数が不明のときは、およその推定数を、「約」をつけて書いてください。

11. a. このグループにはどのくらいのサポーターがいますか
_____ 人 うち女性 _____ 人 男性 _____ 人
- b. 会員はどのくらいいますか
_____ 人 うち女性 _____ 人 男性 _____ 人
- c. グループの指導部（中枢）には何人くらいが属していますか
_____ 人 うち女性 _____ 人 男性 _____ 人

12. このグループには、議長／会長、首脳部、経理担当などの役割分担（漠然と
にせよ、厳密にせよ）がありますか。

ある ある意味ではある 特別な場合にある ない

ある、と答えられた場合、以下の地位のどれがありますか

議長／代表 執行部員 経理担当

広報担当 その他特別な役割の担当者

協力関係について

13. このグループは市町村、都道府県、国のいずれかのレベルの行政との関係が
ありますか。（例 これらの行政機関の首脳部、広報担当部局、または一般
の職員など）

恒常的関係がある 時には関係がある

ほとんど無い 全く無い

ある、と答えられた場合、それはどのような関係ですか（できれば具体的に
お書き下さい）

14. グループの目標を達成するため、地域の行政と協力関係にありますか。

常に協力関係にある 時には

滅多にそういうことは無い 全く無い

15. このグループはいざれかの政党と何らかの関係がありますか。

常に何らかの関係がある 時には

滅多にそういうことは無い 全く無い

ある、と答えられた場合、どの政党と関係がありますか

_____ , _____ , _____
それはどのような関係ですか

職員およびボランティアについて

もしこのグループに有給の職員、または事務その他の仕事をするボランティアがいる場合、次の設問に答えてください。正確な人数が不明の時は「約」をつけて書いてください。

16. a. 正規の職員（フルタイム）は何人ですか _____ 人
- b. パート／アルバイトの職員は何人ですか _____ 人
- c. ボランティアで、定期的にグループの仕事をしている人は何人いますか _____ 人
- d. その他（不定期）にボランティアでグループの仕事をしている人は何人いますか _____ 人

会合について

17. このグループが定期的に会合を持っている場合、それはどのくらい頻繁に行われますか。
年／月／週 _____ 回
18. 大体何人の人がいつも会合に参加しますか 約 _____ 人
19. 会合は大体どこで行われますか
 - ・グループの持っている／借りているアパート、マンション、家などで
 - ・個人の（例えば会員の一人）が持っている／借りているアパート、マンション、家などで
 - ・公共の場（例 公民館、市民会館、学校など）
 - ・その他 _____
20. 期的な会合の最も重要な役割はなんだと思いますか。

問題点について

21. このグループ／運動が最近直面した最も重大な問題点は何だと思いますか。

財政基盤について

22. このグループは会員から会費またはそれに類したものを徴収しますか。
- する 月／年額 _____ 円
自由意志の場合のみ (およその目安額があれば) _____ 円
特別の場合のみ
しない
23. 会費を払っている会員／サポーターは何人くらいですか。 _____ 人
24. グループの収入の内訳はどのようにになっていますか。
- | | |
|------------------|---------|
| 会費 | _____ % |
| 売り上げ（回収業者へ 等） | _____ % |
| 寄付金 | _____ % |
| 市町村／都道府県／国からの補助金 | _____ % |
| その他 | _____ % |
25. 每年のおよその収入規模 _____ 円
26. このグループの支出分野で最も額の大きいものを3つ挙げてください。
1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

この種の調査が日本で行われるのはおそらく最初のことです。ですから皆さんがどのような意見をお持ちなのか、私は大変興味を持っています。日本の政治についての一般的なご意見や、環境保護運動についてや、この調査についてのご意見、その他一言いいたいことなら何についてもかまいませんので、自由にお書き下さい。ご意見を読むのを楽しみにしています。

コメント：

この調査の結果について興味をお持の時は下の括弧内に丸をしてください。集計結果（日本語版）を無料でお送りいたします。

調査結果送付希望

ご協力ありがとうございました。

8.7.3 Questionnaire for Individual Members (October 1993)

日本の環境保護運動に関する調査 1993/94

Japanese Environmental Movements Survey 1993/94

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調査用紙（個々の会員用）

これは環境保護運動／グループに参加されている個々の方のための解答用紙です。会員、
サポーター、ボランティアなどの立場は問いません。個人としてのお答えをお書き下さい

環境保護運動に参加されている皆様へ

これは、日本の環境保護運動に関する、全国規模の調査の中核を成すアンケートです。私はこの分野と、いろいろな事柄に関する皆様の考え方の大変興味を持っております。どうぞ以下の質問を注意深くお読みになり、お答えにならない質問は、とばして下さって結構ですが、よろしければできるだけたくさん設問に、ご存じの限り正確にお答え下さい。

設問の中には、あるいはお答えになるのをためらう、または不愉快に感じられるような、立ち入ったものがあるかもしれないことをおわびいたします。しかし、お答えは、あくまでも集計して、1993年における日本の環境保護運動についての統計データとするためだけのものであり、具体的な情報が公表されたり、読むことにより、個人や団体が特定できるようなことは決してないことを約束いたします。解答用紙には個人のお名前はお書きにならないでください。

お書きになった調査用紙は、添付された封筒に入れてご返送下さい。たとえお答えを書かれた項目が少な目だとしても、ためらわれる必要はありません。答えてくださった項目だけでも、この調査のために大変重要なのです。

調査用紙は添付された封筒に入れ、11月20日までに
ご返送ください。

ご協力を心から感謝いたします。

ヴィルヘルム・フォッセ

1. 生年：19 ___ 年 2) 男 女
3. この調査の対象であり、あなたが現在参加されている運動／グループの名前
は何ですか

4. グループ内でのあなたの役割は何ですか
 サポーター（手伝い） 正会員 ボランティア
 代表者（リーダー） 職員
5. この運動／グループに参加されたのはいつですか 19 ___ 年
6. この運動／グループのことはどうやって知りましたか
例) 近所の人／友人から、新聞記事で

7. 一番最初に、住民／市民運動に参加したのはいつですか 19 ___ 年
(今それについて答えている運動が最初のものである場合は不要です)
それはどのような種類の運動でしたか _____
8. あなたがこの運動／グループに参加している理由でもっとも重要なものは何ですか (3つまで)
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____
9. あなたは、グループ／運動内で、何か特別責任のある役割を果たしていますか
 はい 時々 いいえ
 はい、と答えられた場合、どのような役割ですか

グループの活動について

10. あなたのグループ／運動の行っている活動の中で、最も重要だと思われるこ
と何ですか (3つまで)
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____
11. あなたのグループ（組織）で最も問題だ（欠けている）と思われることは何
ですか (3つまで)
 - _____
 - _____
 - _____

12. 全体的に言って、あなたの参加する運動は成功していると思いますか。
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 完全に成功している | <input type="radio"/> | 部分的には | <input type="radio"/> |
| 少しは | <input type="radio"/> | あまり成功ではない | <input type="radio"/> |
13. 全体的に言って、あなたは参加するグループ／運動の成果に満足ですか。
- | | | | |
|-----------|-----------------------|------------|-----------------------|
| 完全に満足している | <input type="radio"/> | 部分的には | <input type="radio"/> |
| 少しは | <input type="radio"/> | あまり満足していない | <input type="radio"/> |
14. あなたは、参加しているグループ／運動が、政治的に影響力を持つには小さすぎだと思いますか。
- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| 本当にそうだ | <input type="radio"/> | ある意味では | <input type="radio"/> |
| 少しは | <input type="radio"/> | 全然そうは思わない | <input type="radio"/> |
15. あなたは自分のグループ／運動の中で、今後どの程度責任のある立場に就きたいと思いますか。
- | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| もっとずっと責任のある立場 | <input type="radio"/> | もう少し責任のある立場 | <input type="radio"/> |
| 現在と同等 | <input type="radio"/> | もう少し責任の無い立場 | <input type="radio"/> |
| もっとずっと責任の無い立場 | <input type="radio"/> | | |
16. あなたの会社の同僚／学校の同級生は、あなたがこのグループ／運動に参加していると知っていますか。
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 大体の人は知っている | <input type="radio"/> | 知っている人かなりもいる | <input type="radio"/> |
| ほとんど知らない | <input type="radio"/> | だれも知らない | <input type="radio"/> |
- 友達はあなたが市民／住民運動に参加していることを知っていると思いますか。
- | | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| 大体の人は知っている | <input type="radio"/> | 知っている人もかなりいる | <input type="radio"/> |
| ほとんど知らない | <input type="radio"/> | だれも知らない | <input type="radio"/> |
17. あなたはマスコミの注意を引くような暴力的なデモ（結果的にとしても）は（時には）グループ／運動の目標を達成するいい方法だと思いますか。
- | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 常にそうだ | <input type="radio"/> | 時々はそうだ | <input type="radio"/> |
| そうは思わない | <input type="radio"/> | いい方法であることは決してない | <input type="radio"/> |

グループの会合について

18. あなたの参加するグループ／団体の会合はどのくらい頻繁ですか

週／月／年 _____ 回

(圈んで下さい)

19. あなたはどのくらい頻繁に会合に参加しますか 週／月／年 _____ 回

20. 最近2ヶ月中何回参加されましたか _____ 回

21. あなたのグループの活動で、あなたが最後に参加したものは何ですか

22. グループの他の参加者と、どのくらい長く一緒にすごしますか

グループ内で 週／月あたり約 _____ 時間

グループ外で 週／月あたり約 _____ 時間

23. グループの他の参加者の中にはあなたの個人的な友人でもある人がいますか

ほとんどの人がそうだ ○ 友達の人がかなりいる ○

何人かの人はそうだ ○ 個人的な友人でもある人はいない ○

24. このグループは参加費を徴収しますか はい ○ いいえ ○

徴収する場合、それはいくらですか 月／年 領 _____ 円

25. あなたは他の運動に寄付をすることもありますか

よくする ○ 時々はする ○ 減少にしない ○ 全くしない ○

あなたのその他の活動について

26. 現在、何か別の運動にも参加していますか

はい ○ いいえ ○

はい、と答えられた場合

参加している他の運動の数はいくつですか。 _____

また、それらは何についての運動ですか。 _____

いいえ、と答えられた場合、これまで何か別の運動に一度でも参加されたことはありますか

はい ○ いいえ ○

はい、と答えられた場合、それはどんな種類の運動でしたか

27. あなたはP T Aに参加していますか。 はい○ いいえ○

28. なたは町内会（または類似の団体）の役員ですか。 はい○ いいえ○

いいえ、と答えられた場合、

これまで役員だったことはありますか。 はい○ いいえ○

29. 何か他に、地域における団体の会員になっていますか。

はい いいえ

はいと答えられた場合それは何の団体ですか。_____

30. あなたは現在、何らの政治団体（政党など）の会員ですか

はい いいえ

会員（党員）である場合、どの団体（党）の一員ですか _____

その団体（党）にはいつから参加していますか _____ 年前から

その団体（党）内での地位は

例（一般会／党員、執行部員、代表者／党首 等）_____

その団体（党）の活動規模は 地域 市町村 都道府県 全国

これまで市町村議会／県議会／国会議員に

選出されたことがありますか ある ない

ある、と答えられた場合、

その議会の名を挙げてください _____.

この団体（党）の一員であることが、あなたの運動の目的を達成する
／そのために努力する助けになっていると思いますか。

本当にそうだ そうだと思う ある程度そうだ

それほどでもない 全然関係無い

会員（党員）では無い場合、以前そうだったことはありますか

もしあるとしたら、どの団体（党）の会員でしたか _____

将来、何らかの政治団体（政党）に参加することがあると考えられますか

大いに考えられる 考えられる あり得る

あまり考えられない あり得ない

あり得ると思われる場合、どの団体（政党）が可能性があるでしょうか

31. 1960／70年代に学生運動に参加されていましたか

（または当時学生だったとしたら参加していたと思われますか）

積極的に参加していた（ことだろう） しばらくのあいだは

参加しなかった（ことだろう）

32. 将来的に、例えば、市町村／都道府県／国政レベルで何らかの地位または議席獲得を目指すことなどにより、政治的活動を拡大することはあり得ると思われますか。

 大きいにあり得る ひょっとしたら

 あまり考えられない ありそうにない

33. 環境保護を主目的とする政党の一員となることは考えられますか

 大きいにあり得る あり得ると思う ひょっとしたら

 あまり考えられない ありそうにない

政治的意見について

以下の設問を読んで、あなたの意見に当てはまる数字を-3から+3の間で選んで囲んでください。
 -3 : 大変悪い -2 : 悪い -1 : それほど良くない
 0 : 分からない +1 : 少し良い +2 : 良い +3 : 大変良い

34. あなたがこれまで見聞きしたことから判断すると、

 今度の連合政権はいかがでしょうか。 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

35. 以下の政党を、大体においてどう評価しますか。

自民党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
-----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

社会党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
-----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

公明党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
-----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

共産党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
-----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

新生党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
-----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

日本新党	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3
------	----	----	----	---	----	----	----

36. 過去十年間の自民党政権の環境政策をどう評価しますか。

 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

37. あなたがこれまで読み聞きしたことから判断すると、

 新政権の環境政策はどうでしょうか。 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

38. 「緑の党」についてどう思いますか。 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

以下の分を読んで、その意見にどの程度賛成か反対かを数字から選んで囲んでください。

-3 : 強く反対 -2 : 反対 -1 : 条件つき反対 0 : 分からない

+1 : 条件つき賛成 +2 : 賛成 +3 : 強く賛成

39. 「日本の政治家は、実際に国民のために働いている」

 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

40. 「自分の地区を代表する国会議員は、地区内の自然環境の向上のために、大変貢献している」

 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

41. 「国会に強力な『緑の党』が無いのは残念である」

 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

42. 「リオ・デ・ジャネイロにおける「地球サミット」は大成功だったと思う」

 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

43. 「日本の環境保護運動は、今後もっとうまく行くようになると思う」
-3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
44. 「ほかの西側諸国と比べて、日本は依然、非常に高い水準の自然環境と、厳しい環境基準・法規を備えていると思う」 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3
45. 「環境保護運動の一員として、自分は依然、時として社会のほかの成員からの偏見・差別に直面しなければならない」 -3 -2 -1 0 +1 +2 +3

社会的背景について (統計データ用)

46. 家族状況

現在、配偶者（事実婚もふくむ）がありますか

はい ○ いいえ ○

いいえ、と答えられた場合、その理由は

結婚経験なし ○ 離婚 ○ 死別 ○

47. 子供はいますか いない ○ いる ○ (____人、____, ___, ___, ____歳)

48. 住宅状況： 現在、住んでいるのは

借家： アパート／マンション／団地／社宅／等／他 _____ ○

持ち家： マンション／一戸建て／他 _____ ○

(あてはまるものを囲んで下さい)

49. 居住地： 現在、住んでいるのは 大都市 ○ 地方 ○

市区町村名 _____

人口

1万人未満 ○ 1~5万人 ○ 5~10万人 ○
10~50万人 ○ 50万人以上 ○

50. 教育： あなたはどのような教育機関を卒業されましたか (最終学歴)

中学校 ○ 高等学校 ○ 専門学校 ○ 短期大学 ○

大学 ○ 大学院修士過程 ○ 博士過程 ○ その他 ()

高校または大学の学科、専攻は何でしたか _____

現在の職業または学校、学年 _____

勤務先 ○ 民間企業 ○ 公共機関 ○ その他 ()

51. あなたは、自分がどのような社会階層に所属していると思われますか

上流の上 ○ 上の中 ○ 上の下 ○ 中の上 ○
中の中 ○ 中の下 ○ 下の上 ○ 下 ○

日本の環境保護運動に関する調査 1993/94

この種の調査が日本で行われるのはおそらく最初のことです。ですから皆さんがどのような意見をお持ちなのか、私は大変興味を持っています。日本の政治について的一般的なご意見や、環境保護運動についてや、この調査についてのご意見、その他一言いいたいことなら何についてもかまいませんので、自由にお書き下さい。ご意見を読むのを楽しみにしています。

コメント：

この調査の結果について興味をお持の時は下の括弧内に丸をしてください。集計結果（日本語版）を無料でお送りいたします。

調査結果送付希望

ご協力ありがとうございました。

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Lebenslauf

Ich, Wilhelm M. Vosse, wurde am 20. November 1963 in Lathen als Sohn von Heribert und Maria Vosse geboren. Von 1970 bis 1974 besuchte ich die Grundschule und von 1974 bis 1980 die Realschule in Lathen. Von 1980 bis 1981 besuchte ich die Berufsbildenden Schulen in Papenburg und zwischen 1981 bis 1983 absolvierte ich eine Ausbildung zum Nachrichtengerätemechaniker und Funkelektroniker. Von 1983 besuchte ich das Fachgymnasium Technik in Leer, das ich 1986 mit der allgemeinen Hochschulreife abschloss.

Im Wintersemester 1986/87 begann ich mein Studium der Politischen Wissenschaft, Sozialpsychologie und Philosophie an der Universität Hannover. Von 1990 bis 1991 studierte ich Politische Wissenschaft und Internationale Beziehungen an der London School of Economics (LSE) in London, Großbritannien. Im Dezember 1992 habe ich mein Studium in Hannover mit der Magisterprüfung erfolgreich abgeschlossen. Im Februar 1993 begann ich mit einem Promotionsstudium im Fach Politische Wissenschaft an der Universität Hannover bei meinem Doktorvater Prof. Dr. Rudolf Wolfgang Müller. Seit Juli 1993 habe ich in Japan mit Hilfe eines Stipendiums der Japan Foundation, der Graduiertenförderung der Universität Hannover und eines DAAD Ergänzungsstipendiums empirische Untersuchungen durchführen können. Im Mai 2000 konnte ich meine Promotion erfolgreich abschließen.