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# Social capital effects for dual civic participation

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## Abstract

Pekkanen(2006) mentioned, recently, Japanese civil society has been shown to have dual structure. He stated that Japanese civil society is vital locally. For example, he addressed neighborhood associations (NHAs, called Chonai-kai or Jichi-kai in Japanese). Nevertheless, at national level, Japanese civil society organizations lack staff and thus do not have the expertise and ability to make their presence felt in national debate. He called it as dual civil society. Pekkanen showed the Japanese dual civil society structure, especially at the organization level, but he did not consider that individual's civic participation at all. We should notice that individual level perspective when analyze civil society. Thus a question here arises; what are the factors that determine the individual to participate in civil society in Japan?

Based on the network-basedness of social capital perspective, Son & Lin (2008) examined that social capital produces expressive and instrumental civic actions. From these definitions, we can consider NHAs activities as a sort of expressive civic actions, and civic movement as a sort of instrumental civic actions.

By secondary data analyses, we showed that those who participate on NHA activities are more than fivefold the participants of civic/residential movements. This is to say, Japanese civil society has been shown to have dual structure, which should be called as "dual civic action." In addition, this study has demonstrated the importance of social capital to mobilize individuals in the citizenship activities in the context of Japan.

## Keywords

Civic participation, Social capital, Japan, Neighborhood association, Civic movement

## Civic society and civic participation in Japanese context

Pekkanen(2006) mentioned, recently, Japanese civil society has been shown to have dual structure. He stated that although Japanese civil society is vital locally, for examples of the vital local civil society he addressed include the neighborhood associations (NHAs, called Chonai-kai or Jichi-kai in Japanese). NHAs in Japan are more than 2 hundred and 98thousand and extremely high joining rate thanks to the community forces residences to join this associations. On the contrary, at national level, Japanese civil society organizations lack staff and thus do not have the expertise and ability to make their presence felt in national debate. He called this paradoxical structure of civil society organizations as "dual civil society." Additionally, he stated that Japanese civil society organizations

have “Members without advocate” which means emphasizing the participatory contribution but lack of policy influence of Japan’s civil society configuration. Actually, as Pekkanen pointed out, NHAs address various activities for better community life, better communication among neighborhoods, and maintenance infrastructure. Cabinet Office (2007) shows that the kind of activities addressed by NHAs. For example, Environmental activities is 93.5%, Communication is 93.3%, Events is 87.5%, Public relations is 84.8%, Disaster prevention / Crime prevention is 84.2% and so on. Those who participate in activities are all volunteers.

Japanese NHAs originate in the rules of five-man groups(*Goningumi*) in Tokugawa Era. The *Goningumi* (state-approved intravillage family alliances) were formed to promote mutual help among villagers, while they also served as a surveillance tool by which villagers could “snitch” on their neighbors. Because of its latter function, each alliance usually consisted of families unrelated by blood, marriage, or adoption. As Pekkanen pointed, only government support can explain the spread of NHAs across the country (Pekkanen, 2006: p.161). NHAs in Japan often work with branches of local government in disseminating information or maintaining public facilities. 84.8% of NHAs distribute public relation papers of local government to community residency. At same time, 71.0% of them have a lobbying experience to local government institutions or assemblies. NHAs are closely related to local governments, then, Japanese scholars regard NHAs as a part of governing structure at the street level. In fact, according to Japan Center for Cities (2001), two-third of NHAs surveyed received federal funding as a main source of income.

However, recently, NHAs activities cannot attract so many participants. In 2007, it is only 12.7% of the adults in Japan who participate in NHAs activities at least once-a-month. On the other hand, the rate of individuals who has never participate in NHAs activities reach up to 51.5% as a whole<sup>1</sup>. We have to say that NHAs have many joiners but not many participants. It is thought that one of the reasons of the lower level of participant in NHAs activities is a growing numbers of single dweller. In fact, 70.0% single living people do not participate in NHAs activities at all<sup>2</sup>. Addition to that, those who live in privately-rented housing (collective housing) tend to exclude from their local community. The percentage of person or family lives in a privately-rented housing is 10.3% of all the respondents, however, in the respondents isolated within their community, the percentage reaches 22.8%<sup>3</sup>. These lifestyle changes (single dweller and living in a privately-rented housing) seem to affect the decreasing of the participation in NHAs activities.

Furthermore, it recently changes in circumstances surrounding civil society organizations in Japan. Due to outstanding good work by volunteers in the disaster-relief activities after the 1995 earthquake in Kobe, Law to Promote Specified Nonprofit Activities (alias NPO Law) went into effect in December 1998. Previously, the Japanese government strictly regulated making new traditional non-profit corporation, and the management. The new NPO law has allowed freely obtaining corporate status for the associations based voluntary and citizen participation. Within 10 years

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<sup>1</sup> The data Source is “White Paper on the National Lifestyle 2007.”

<sup>2</sup> See Id.

<sup>3</sup> See Id.

following the NPO law, over 41000 organizations have incorporated. The new NPO corporations include some typical advocacy organizations such as environmental protection organizations, human-rights groups and groups of citizens' ombudsmen. However most new NPOs are only a small size, and so, we assume that they do not have much influence to government,<sup>4</sup> it may be thought that the increasing the number of new NPO corporations affects to enhance their advocacy power and influence to the government. In fact, 22.4% of the organizations acted in the field of "Global warming" and 23.2% in the group that and "Recycling society" made policy proposals or other policy actions according to the investigation of the NPO civic group in the environmental preservation field researched by Central Research Institute of Electric Power Industry (2009). The incorporated nonprofit organization in Osaka Prefecture study of Yoji Horota, Hiroshi Kashiwagi, and Hirotooshi Yano from November to December of 2009 found 11.3% of them made policy proposals<sup>5</sup>. These studies show a certain number of incorporated nonprofit organizations are engaged in the policy proposal activity though it is few as the ratio<sup>6</sup>.

As mentioned earlier, Pekkanen found the civic society structure in Japan from organizational perspective. He mentioned civic movements in Japan are usually done locally and never on a big scale. In fact, environmental advocacy groups in Japan has rather small the annual budget size in average, and the relative small number of professional staff though civic actions become gradually encouraged due to the new NPO law effecting. In local level, the member of NHAs has kept on high joining rate, however NHAs' activities cannot attract so many participants. Nevertheless, he did not consider that individual's civic participation in his model explaining the structure of Japanese civic society at all. The recently trends of individual civic behavior and the social context dynamics as thus far described indicate that individual action may show different figure from collective "dualism." What are the factors that determine the individual to participate in civil society in Japan? We should notice that a process of individual participating in civic actions when we deeply understand about civil society in Japan. Further considerations need to be taken into account in developing the models of the individual participation in civic activities in Japan. In the next chapter we refers the theoretical background of the network-basedness perspective of social capital to explain a useful annalistic concept for our study.

### **The network-basedness perspective of social capital theories**

The notions of social capital help us to decompose the mechanisms that individuals engage civic actions in a society themselves belonging. There has been much attention to the topic about the association between civic action and social capital (Putnam, 2000, Dasgupta, 2000; Grootaert &

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<sup>4</sup> Cabinet Office (2010) shows that Over 80 percent of the incorporated specified nonprofits have less than 1 million yen size of annual budget.

<sup>5</sup> See Website, 6 Desember 2010. <http://www.co-existing.com/>

<sup>6</sup> However, we can't completely deny the possibility that incorporated nonprofits have limited effectiveness against government because for the most part, most those organizations are small in scale. According to the Cabinet Office (2010), about half of incorporated nonprofits have an operating annual budget of less than \$40,000, and of them, 37.5% percent had only their budget of less \$20,000.

Bastelaer, 2002; Hooghe, 2003; Isham, et al., 2006; Wollebæk & Selle 2003). The network-basedness perspective of social capital theories is a helpful for understanding this topic. Theories of social embeddedness are an important background of social capital based on network approach. In this theories framework, individuals are seen as embedded in social relationship. Gould noted that “social ties make individuals’ decisions about participating in collective action interdependent” (Gould 1993:182). From this theoretical view, social capital defined as the “resources embedded in a social structure that are accessed and/or mobilized in purposive actions (Lin, 2001).” Concerning the utility of social capital for individual action and interaction, it should be recognized that individuals access and mobilize resources embedded in social networks for personal goals, such as status attainment (Burt, 1992; Lin, 2001). Putnam (2000) emphasized that the degree of participation in voluntary organizations indicate the extent of social capital. The number of associations and joining for them promote and enhance collective norms and trust, which are central to the production and maintenance of the collective well-being. Yet, the studies based on the network-basedness approach suggest that social ties may be as important as or even more important than joining social associations in engaging in civic action.

Son & Lin (2008) examined that the role of individual and organizational social capital to produces civic actions. In the present study, they defined two types of civic actions - expressive civic actions and instrumental civic actions. Expressive civic actions defined as the actions are intended to preserve resources (e.g., values, living standard, and welfare) in the community. Instrumental civic actions seek more resources to improve the chances of certain success for the community. They found that individual social capital was the consistent and significant predictor of both expressive and instrumental civic actions. At same time, organizational social capital played the most important role in predicting instrumental civic actions, although it was not significant in predicting expressive civic actions. In addition, they found that civic actions are different by gender. To be specific, women were more likely to be involved in expressive civic actions, but the female dominance disappeared in the realm of instrumental civic actions. The results provided that affiliations with organizations and organizational social ties are means to consolidate the civic participative action to solve public problem and gain new resources rather than action to consolidate resources and defend against possible resource losses.

In another research, Ryan et al. (2005) examines the influence of community attachment on voluntary citizen participation of rural community improvement projects in Iowa, US. They defined that the different types of the social ties as fellows. The weak informal ties defined as the proportion of adults in the community that were known by name. The strong informal ties defined as the proportion of close personal friends who lived locally. In addition, formal ties defined as the number of memberships in different types of local organizations (maximum of 5). The findings provided overall support for the positive influence of local social ties positive affect voluntary participation. In the case of Ryan et al. (2005), weak informal ties and strong informal ties can be seen as individual social capital. Formal ties are a form of organizational social capital<sup>7</sup>. The findings provide formal

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<sup>7</sup> In the results, the strength of formal ties is affected by status (SES) which measured with education, income, occupation, or some combination of the three. Tenure’s total effect on informal ties both weak and strong.

ties positively and directly affect voluntary citizen participation in community projects. Positive influence of weak informal social ties is indirect. However, there is little evidence that strong informal social ties affect on voluntary participation directly and indirectly.

According to the definition of Son & Lin (2008), each of participation in two kinds of civic actions in Japan is defined as following. We can regards participation in NHAs activities as expressive civic actions because most NHAs activities play the role of preserving resources on the community such as environmental activities, communication, disaster prevention, crime prevention and so on. In other hand, participation in civic/residential movements engages advocacy action means instrumental civic actions as behaviors gaining additional public resources.

### **Civic participation and social capital: Research methods**

Pekkanen(2006) stated, as we mentioned earlier, Japanese civil society has been shown to have dual structure. However, he did not consider that individual's civic participation in his model explaining the structure of Japanese civic society at all. The recently trends of individual civic behavior and the social context dynamics as thus far described indicate that individual action may show different figure from collective "dualism." Thus, our first research question asks how figure of the current tendency of the individual civic action is in Japan.

H 1: the individual civic action tendency in Japan indicates frequent participation for NHA activities and rare participation for civic/residential movements, in other words, the figure of "dual civil action."

He mentioned civic movements in Japan are usually done locally and never on a big scale. "Members without advocate," which is his straightforward expression for situation of Japanese civil society organizations, means Japanese local civil organizations have abandoned social capital though they don't have enough power to influence on any policies of local and national governments.

H 2: NHA activists have more different types of both organizational and individual social ties than civic/residential movement activists

The results of researches based on the network-basedness approach give some suggestions and hypothesis for analyzing Japanese civil society. Early researches founded that individual social capital and organizational social capital lead to civic action. It is not clear this process keeps Japanese context reproducible, thus, we should argue functions of any type of social capital predicting expressive and instrumental civic actions in the Japanese context. What is the impact of social capital measured by social networks on both expressive and instrumental individual civic actions? We assumed those have different determinants. As is evident from the data of current NHAs activities, in addition, political influence may remain significant in Japanese civil society. The analysis of the individual civic action in Japan must take into account the "political social capital" (Lin, 2001). This study intends to get the understanding that social capital influence for civic actions from the empirical study as the second research aim.

H 3: Japanese expressive civic actions reflect positively different kinds of individual and organizational social capital.

H 4: Japanese expressive civic actions are not affected positively many types of individual and organizational social capital.

This study employs data from the Japanese General Social Surveys (JGSS)<sup>8</sup>. Although the survey has been executed on an annual basis since 1999, we only use data of 2003. The reason is that the question on several association memberships was only adopted in 2003. According to the data from JGSS in 2003, I conducted logistic regression analyses. The sample consists of 1706 respondents. 7.1% individuals participated in civic/residential movements in last 5 years. 36.0% individuals participated in NHAs activities in last 5 years. For measuring the participation in dual civil society, different equations were constructed for the two types of civic participation, which are participation in civic/residential movements and participation in NHAs activities in last 5 years. These dependant variables will be used to each analysis as independent variable.

Six personal background factors were prepared in this research as independent variables – Education (dummy variable. 1-university/ 0-under high school), Income (the whole of family income. used an ordinal-scale variable<sup>9</sup>), Age, Gender (dummy variable. 2-female/ 1-male), Housing (dummy variable. 1-private rental housing/0-others) and Living (dummy variable. 1-live alone/0-others). These factors may be added to the basic model either as control variables or as opportunity/constraint factors. Several earlier studies have shown that a level of education is strong predictor of volunteering as well as social capital (Wollebæk & Selle, 2003; Son & Lin, 2008).

Individual social capital was measured based on three kinds of personal ties. First, “do you have someone talking with some worried about?” (1-yes/ 0-no) Second, “do you know a man/woman who is a NHA leader?” (1-yes/ 0-no) Finally, “do you know a man/woman who is a civic association leader?” (1-yes/ 0-no) Dummy variables are used in these.

We add another type of individual social capital factors. Those are political individual social capital.

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<sup>8</sup> JGSS are designed and carried out at the Institute of Regional Studies at Osaka University of Commerce in collaboration with the Institute of Social Science at the University of Tokyo under the direction of Ichiro TANIOKA, Michio NITTA, Hiroki SATO and Noriko IWAI with Project Manager, Minae OSAWA. The project is financially assisted by Gakujutsu Frontier Grant from the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology for 1999-2003 academic years, and the datasets are compiled and distributed by SSJ Data Archive, Information Center for Social Science Research on Japan, Institute of Social Science, the University of Tokyo.

<sup>9</sup> 1- none, 2- less than 7 hundred thousand yen, 3- from 7 hundred thousand yen to less than 1 million yen, 4- from 1 million yen to less than 1.3 million yen, 5- from 1.3 million yen to less than 1.5 million yen, 6- from 1.5 million yen to less than 2.5 million yen, 7- from 2.5 million yen to less than 3.5 million yen, 8- from 3.5 million yen to less than 4.5 million yen, 9- from 4.5 million yen to less than 5.5 million yen, 10- from 5.5 million yen to less than 6.5 million yen, 11- from 6.5 million yen to less than 7.5 million yen, 12- from 7.5 million yen to less than 8.5 million yen, 13- from 8.5 million yen to less than 10 million yen, 14- from 10 million yen to less than 12 million yen, 15- from 12 million yen to less than 14 million yen, 16- from 14 million yen to less than 16 million yen, 17- from 16 million yen to less than 18.5 million yen, 18- from 18.5 million yen to less than 23 million yen, 19- over 23 million yen.

We assume that political connections may have significant influence in civic participation in Japan because Japanese civil society organizations such as NHAs are closely related to government, as mentioned before. Five questions were used to measure individual's political social capital: (1) Do you know a man/woman who is a officer at the managerial level of the national government? (1-yes/ 0-no) (2)Do you know a man/woman who is a officer at the managerial level of the national government? (1-yes/ 0-no) (3)Do you know a man/woman who is a diet person? (1-yes/ 0-no) (4)Do you know a man/woman who is a mayor? (1-yes/ 0-no) (5)Do you know a man/woman who is a member of a local assembly? (1-yes/ 0-no)

The measures of organizational social capital consist of seven indices that represent diversity of embedded resources in the organizational network. Those were measured by dummy variables based on number of memberships in different types of associations - Joining an industrial association, hobby association, religious association, join a civic association, join a neighborhood association, join a sports association, join a volunteer association.

## Results

Table 1 reports the results of Cross-Tabulation analysis for explain the participant number of NHA activities and civic/residential movements. The number of NHA activities' participant is 614, 36.0% of all. The number of civic/residential movements' participant is 121 (7.1% of all). We understand that those who participate on NHA activities are more than fivefold the participants of civic/residential movements. This result almost supports the first research hypothesis of the dualism tendency regarding the Japanese civic participation - frequent expressive civic actions and rare instrumental civic actions. However, we must keep in mind that, the individuals who had not participated in either activity was accounting for 61.9% of the whole. Many Japanese don't necessarily frequently participate in civic actions. The individuals who participate both on activities had the very small number that accounted for just 4.9 % of the whole.

Table 1. Cross-Tabulation: NHAs activities' participation X C/R movements' participation

		C/R movements		Chi-squared Test
		Not participate	Participate	
NHA activities	Not participate	1056	36	66.845***
	Participate	529	85	

\*\*\*<.0001

Kruskal Wallis test was used to compare independent variable's average scores among NHAs' participants, civic/residential movements' participants, participants who both activities, and individuals who have never done (see Table 2). In the case that we just focus on the difference between NHAs' participants and civic/residential movements' participants, the results show some significant differences. NHAs' participants are more aged than civic/residential movements' participants. Very high rate of civic/residential movements' participants live on private rental



housing compared NHAs' participants. For individual social capital, civic/residential movements' participants have likely more someone talking with some worried about on average. And more, civic/residential movements' participants tend to have various political individual social capitals more than NHAs' participants except for Mayor and NHA leader. To the contrary, NHAs' participants belong more different types' associations than civic/residential movements' participants --in other wards, NHAs' participants have variety types of organizational social capital. These results strongly support hypothesis 2.

Table 2. Kruskal Wallis tests: Difference on the type of participation

	Not participate	NHAs' participants	C/R movements' participants	Both participants	Significance (p-value)
Education	0.30	0.28	<u>0.33</u>	0.27	.7494
Income	13.26	12.61	<u>13.66</u>	12.74	.5455
Age	52.28	54.75	50.89	<u>55.94</u>	.0445*
Gender	<u>1.60</u>	1.56	1.58	1.44	.0189*
Hausing	0.15	0.05	<u>0.26</u>	0.11	<.0001*
Live alone	<u>0.09</u>	0.05	0.06	0.04	.0022*
Rural or arban	0.20	0.15	<u>0.25</u>	0.20	.0843
Talking about worries	2.29	2.47	<u>2.75</u>	2.45	.0146*
Dietperson	0.03	0.11	0.12	<u>0.23</u>	<.0001*
National government offecer	0.02	0.07	0.09	<u>0.16</u>	<.0001*
Local assemblyperson	0.20	0.37	0.50	<u>0.63</u>	<.0001*
Mayor	0.07	0.17	0.12	<u>0.40</u>	<.0001*
Local government offecer	0.17	0.31	0.33	<u>0.57</u>	<.0001*
NHA Leader	0.38	0.80	0.66	<u>0.83</u>	<.0001*
CA Leader	0.14	0.34	0.46	<u>0.68</u>	<.0001*
Civic Association	0.01	0.03	0.12	<u>0.28</u>	<.0001*
Hobby Association	0.13	0.20	0.31	<u>0.36</u>	<.0001*
Industrial Association	0.06	0.13	0.06	<u>0.22</u>	<.0001*
Political Association	0.02	0.07	0.06	<u>0.18</u>	<.0001*
Religious Association	0.05	0.08	0.06	<u>0.13</u>	.0357*
Sports Association	0.13	0.25	0.21	<u>0.36</u>	<.0001*
Volunteer Association	0.04	0.13	0.26	<u>0.29</u>	<.0001*

As presented in Table 3, employing logistic regression analysis, we can find the determine factors on civic participation in NHAs activities. The table conveys the influence of the independent variable on the outcome and whether the variable is significant (when other variables are present). All of the first, abandoned social capital determines the participation in NHA activities. Three kinds of individual social capital (NHA leader and CA leader), One kind of individual's political social capital (National government officer) and three kinds of organizational social capital (Political association, Sports association and Volunteer group) were the significant predictor of participation in NHA

activities. Further, we point to the fact that particular class of people has a tendency of positively entering in expressive civic actions because several personal background variables were significantly associated with participation in NHAs activities. Conversely, in one sense, the tendency suggests that local communities exclude or ignore individuals such as the people of low income, live alone, or live in private rental housing. However, there was no evidence that isolated people measured by having someone who talk with worries had significantly negative effects on participating NHA activities.

Table 3. Logistic regression analysis: Determinants of participation in NHAs activities

	coeffecient	standard error	
Education	-0.0202237	0.075923	
Income	0.03041292	0.0110978	**
Age	0.00868943	0.0045237	
Gnder	-0.043193	0.0656101	
Hausing	-0.3342572	0.1187706	**
Live alone	-0.3980521	0.1394113	**
Rural or arban	-0.0672155	0.0859316	
Talking about worries	0.09913362	0.1164135	
Dietperson	0.15708877	0.1357988	
National government officer	0.46481283	0.170771	**
Local assemblyperson	0.00888001	0.0806384	
Mayor	0.06883112	0.1122052	
Local government offecer	-0.0413355	0.0840805	
NHA Leader	0.84178526	0.0718139	**
CA Leader	0.2036389	0.0825633	*
Civic Association	0.15995289	0.213161	
Hobby Association	-0.0426742	0.0874825	
Industrial Association	0.11823819	0.1085303	
Political Association	0.50441991	0.1812968	**
Religious Association	0.02867784	0.1369091	
Sports Association	0.27712134	0.0838576	**
Volunteer Association	0.29757177	0.1273379	*
C/R movements participation	0.45994134	0.1342155	**

chi-squared	411.4629
Prob>ChiSq	<.0001
R2(U)	0.2064
Obsavations	1537

\*p≤.05. \*\*p≤.01.

Table 4. Logistic regression analysis: Determinants of participation in civic/residential movements

	coeffecient	standard error	
Education	-0.2209896	0.1416248	
Income	-0.0300054	0.021826	
Age	0.00753643	0.0093885	
Gender	-0.1943606	0.1235477	
Hausing	0.5791489	0.1855187	**
Live alone	-0.0148674	0.2683926	
Rural or arban	0.14858831	0.1519756	
Talking about worries	-0.0506116	0.2120728	
Dietperson	0.05065804	0.1850512	
National government offecer	0.20151276	0.2045544	
Local assemblyperson	0.14405441	0.1407654	
Mayor	0.04223408	0.1674272	
Local government offecer	0.25597531	0.1466658	
NHA Leader	0.23806309	0.1569348	**
CA Leader	0.36705797	0.1424661	**
Civic Association	1.04662591	0.2012637	
Hobby Association	0.19797439	0.1398288	
Industrial Association	0.06708357	0.1666661	
Political Association	0.1377615	0.2110793	
Religious Association	0.26287705	0.2137729	
Sports Association	0.08838826	0.1399226	
Volunteer Association	0.14477858	0.1615047	
NHA activities participation	0.4783107	0.1365893	**

chi-squared	174.0499
Prob>ChiSq	<.0001
R2(U)	0.2319
Obsavations	1537

\*p≤.05. \*\*p≤.01.

The determinants of participation in civic/residential movements in Japan of the logistic regression analysis are found in Table 4. Organizational social capital didn't show positive effects, while individual social capital (civic association leader's ties and NHAs leader's ties) show positive effects, of the participation in civic/residential movements. We did not find a strong evidence that the having individual and organizational ties associate for entering instrumental civic action. It might be thought that our results did not support to the study of Son & Lin (2008). However, there is also little evidence that individual enter to civic/residential movements by individual social status (private rental housing). Thus, we can mention that social capital partially affects the participation in civic/residential movements except for political social capital, and these results show some support to the Son & Lin proposition. In the results, joining a volunteer association didn't have any effect on the participation in civic/residential movements although it has positive effects to the NHA activities. In one sense, this result demonstrates clearly that volunteer associations in Japan can be considered "members without advocates" (cited Pekkanen, 2006). Most volunteer social service organizations in Japan are organized under the umbrella of their local Social Welfare Council (Haddad, 2004). These councils were established across the country in the 1970s as quasi-governmental associations that brought city officials together with community leaders concerned with social welfare issues.

Another interesting aspect of our results is what the education level didn't affect any influence on both civic actions. Citizenship education in higher education becomes considerably important for making good civil society and vigorous local community. In contrast to U.S., citizenship education has received far less attention among universities in Japan. They have played so little role of nurture citizens who support democracy. Recently, the interesting of volunteer activity is increasing among universities in Japan. Actually, 73.7% of public universities and 84.6% of private universities provide volunteer activities information to students in their campus. However, only 0.65% of public universities and 2.8% of private universities have the independent section with professional staff.

## Conclusion

By secondary data analyses of JGSS 2003 dataset, we shows that those who participate on NHA activities are more than fivefold the participants of civic/residential movements. This is to say, Japanese civil society has been shown to have dual structure as Pekkanen (2006) mentioned, which should be called as "dual civic action." However, many Japanese don't necessarily frequently participate in any type of civic actions.

We identified the specific mechanisms that lead to each civic action - NHAs activities as expressive civic actions and civic/residential movements as instrumental civic actions in Japan. The present study extends research on the relationship between social capital and civic action on two major dimensions. From the Study of Son & Lin (2008), we operated NHA activities defined as a sort of expressive civic actions, and civic/residential movements considered as a sort of instrumental civic actions. Our results shown that while both individual social capital (including political social capital) and organizational social capital triggered expressive civic actions, only individual social capital

(excluding political social capital) predicted instrumental civic actions. Civic/residential movements' participants tend to have various individual social capitals more than NHAs' participants. To the contrary, NHAs' participants have more variety types of organizational social capital than civic/residential movements' participants. Nevertheless, abandoned social capital determines the participation in NHA activities in Japan though almost types of social capital didn't show positive effects on the participation in civic/residential movements. Some individual, not political, social capital types affect meaningful on the participation of civic/residential movements such as NHA leader's ties, civic association leader's ties, and NHA activities participation. Thus, we can say that civic activists are not "Joiners" but "Networkers." They are mobilized through a specific type of social ties for gain new resources for better community life.

In addition, we must notice that the participation on civic/residential movements and the participation on NHAs activities influence each other. That means civic activists are community activists as well. We should not consider the two civil society participants separately. However, the individuals who participate both on activities had the very small number.

This study has demonstrated the importance of social capital to mobilize individuals in the citizenship activities in the context of Japan. Japanese people usually pass on a specific road to the two types of civic actions. Is the results shown in a certain specific cultural context such as Japan? Or can we see there are universal in societies? One of the limitations of our study is that our sample data were only from Japanese civic action, which might limit the extent to which our results can be generalized. Future researches should examine of the relationship between civic action and social capital in more detail.

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